

GENDER, POWER AND INFLUENCE: EXPERIENCES OF MID-LEVEL
AND SENIOR ADMINISTRATORS AT A U.S. RESEARCH UNIVERSITY

by

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(Under the Direction of Sheila Slaughter)

ABSTRACT

A qualitative study of 22 mid-level and senior administrators at a predominantly male public research university examines the dynamics of gender, power and influence. Particularly of interest is how women administrators' experiences compare with male colleagues in similar positions in relation to a) perception of power, b) level of influence, c) university position, and d) resources for their areas of responsibility. The study also explores the faculty/staff dynamic when faculty leaders have academic freedom, tenure, and shared governance while administrative leaders do not. What do administrators see as unique and/or significant to their positions as non-faculty leaders? Finally, using a feminist framework and theories based on Acker (1999) and findings by Currie, Thiele and Harris (2002), the study seeks to answer "does gender (still) matter?"

The answer is yes for these non-faculty administrators. Differences in experience are identified by gender, ethnicity, and LGBTQ. With notable examples by white women, women of color, and men of color, most administrators interviewed recognize the "gendered" structure of

the predominantly male institution and its impact on the experiences of the mid-level and senior-level administrators.

Perceptions of who holds power at the university are fairly consistent: white men with Ph.D.s in science and engineering who are highly competent, have a strong work ethic, academic reputations in their fields, and a 24-7 commitment to the university. Consistent with Scott (1978), my interview findings show non-faculty administrators have demanding workloads, less respect than their faculty counterparts, and limited advancement opportunities. They are also more collaborative and focused more on institutional success than their own individual success. Women, even in senior positions, are clustered more often in “caregiving” or supportive roles. Unexpectedly, women administrators are not necessarily found in low resource areas. Resources are linked both to those who hold the purse strings and those with access to the decision makers.

Building on feminist research, I recommend strategies for creating a more inclusive and supportive work environment for women and men non-faculty administrators, and I suggest that it is time for institutions of higher education to really look at what a *gender-friendly* campus could be.

INDEX WORDS: Mid-level Administrators, Senior Administrators, Staff, Gender, Women, Power, Influence, Predominantly Male, Men, Higher Education, Public Universities, Research Universities

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*To my dear Amelia whose adventurous spirit and intellectual curiosity
has amazed and inspired me every single day of our lives.*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As a professional who has worked in the field of higher education for almost 20 years, I am fascinated by the gender dynamics I have seen play a significant role in the research university. I have spent the majority of my career at a research university that is atypical to national trends in student demographics. While nationally female students make up the majority of the student body on most campuses (Ward & Eddy, 2013), this institution's student body is predominantly male, and so is the academic and administrative leadership. As a student affairs practitioner and a scholar trained in women's studies, I found this environment to be filled with opportunities for observation, exploration, reflection and action.

I was intrigued to understand the experiences of undergraduate female students in this predominantly male, predominantly white educational environment. Through a study of undergraduate women on campus, I gained a better understanding of the range of experiences – and women – at the university. Female students came to the institute because of their outstanding capabilities, their desire for well-paying jobs, and the university's academic reputation. Most did not expect the gender dynamics they experienced from being one of only a few women in their classrooms. Their experiences varied as did the dynamics of race and gender. One student of color said she had to work “2 X” as hard as the men to earn the same respect (Upton, 2001). As director of the Women's Resource Center, I was moved – and inspired – by the individual stories shared with me. In response, I worked to build a coalition, a community, of allies (students, staff

and faculty) to support students' success, advocate for policy and protocol changes, and empower individual students of all backgrounds. Welcoming women's voices throughout discussions of policy changes, programming ideas and implementation, and even uses of Center space was reinforced as a critical factor in creating the empowering environment our students deserved.

While I now serve in an administrative role on a distinctly different campus, I still advocate for student-centered policies and practices as well as individual students in my daily work. As a feminist, I remain committed to creating a welcoming and empowering environment that supports the academic success and personal development of female and male students from *all* backgrounds and identities. As an upper-level administrator, I also have a responsibility and a commitment to ensure that my colleagues and staff members across campus work in an environment that is free of discrimination and filled with opportunities for their own growth, development – and advancement.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

As I advance in my career as a Student Affairs administrator, I am privileged to participate in and witness the important work conducted outside the classroom on college campuses. Student Affairs professionals engage directly with students on campus to provide support services for academic and personal success such as Disability Services, Counseling, and Career Services as well as transformative experiences through leadership opportunities and service (Armstrong Division of Student Affairs Mission Statement, 2014). Many other behind-the-scenes offices do equally important work to keep the university running – from Admissions to the Registrar to Business and Finance to Facilities to Development/Fundraising. Students need

to be admitted, oriented, academically advised, enrolled into classes, have access to functional computer networks and up-to-date software. They need a place to sleep (or park), a place to eat, a place to study, a place to socialize and so on. Faculty and department chairs may need classes scheduled, students advised, facilities maintained, budgets and grants managed, new faculty hired, support programs to make student referrals and so on. The president and university leadership need administrators to manage all the daily operational functions of the university so that they can focus on the strategic vision of the university and addressing major academic initiatives and campus issues. These “unsung heroes” (Rosser, 2000) support the priorities of the students, faculty and leadership at the university. The number and types of positions that have emerged within higher education in the more recent decades (Hazel, 2012; Scott, 1978) now make up the largest area of growth in higher education. Nationally, women hold the majority (60%) of these positions.

In the organizational structure of institutions of higher education, university leaders have positional and personal power, and faculty members may participate in shared governance of the university (Birnbaum, 1988). Where do these staff positions fit into the structure? Robert Scott’s comprehensive study in the 1970s may still be the most detailed information available (1978). As Hazel (2012) establishes in her extensive literature research on the topic, the research that has been conducted rarely focuses on the positions themselves or the gendered composition of the positions, though Hazel does address both role and gender in her own study. This gap in the literature leaves the perfect niche for a “non-faculty” administrator who is interested in women’s experiences in higher education – this time with a focus on the experiences of women administrators at a research university.

The purpose of this study, then, is to examine the dynamics of gender, power and influence at a public research university where few women are in leadership roles. The study framework will focus on the perceptions of middle and senior administrators who are not faculty members. These administrators may experience different perspectives of the university, based on their position, department, and resource level as well as gender and intertwining identities. The role of these administrators in the university may provide unique opportunities but could also serve to limit their opportunities for power, influence or advancement, a dynamic that could be compounded for administrators outside the white, male traditional structure of the “gendered” university (Acker, 1999). Whether these professionals have earned Ph.D.s and teach or conduct research, they do not have the same status of tenure-track or tenured faculty. How do these faculty/staff dynamics play out, and how might gender perceptions and expectations also impact these dynamics?

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

Institutional structures and cultures too often exclude women or create unnecessary boundaries that they perceive as insurmountable and unattractive. ... It is possible more women in academe would seek advanced positions if they saw models and norms of a balanced lifestyle, work-family integration, and institutional recognition of the intersection of gender and work. (Ward & Eddy, 2013)

“Managerial professionals” compose a large component of a university’s staffing structure and form a category nationally that is currently 60 percent female. For scholars and practitioners invested in gender equity, understanding the experiences of these professionals – as a field and comparatively by gender – is critical. These professional positions are understudied, at minimum, and the gender dynamics are almost untouched. While this case study may not be

generalizable to other campuses, it could provide insight for immediate actions at this individual institution. The findings also could provide further observations to guide future research in this emerging area of study. Ward and Eddy's statement above about women faculty seems to be relevant to staff as well, but without hearing directly from women staff/administrators themselves, how will we know? Hazel (2012) makes a strong case for the importance of studying women's work in an area that has been mostly ignored.

By focusing on the underrepresentation of female faculty while ignoring the overrepresentation of women in support and mid-managerial areas, progress toward equity will be stunted. It is not just a question of demographic inequalities that drives the need for a focus on women and gender issues in higher education research; it is the nature of women's work and experiences that offer a perspective that is underrepresented and often misunderstood or rejected as legitimate. When knowledge production is controlled by the professional group and that group is predominantly male, issues and concerns that are important to women may be ridiculed, marginalized or rendered invisible. (p. 33)

This research is needed to explore, encourage and advocate for the full potential and participation of women in higher education. Sharing the stories of "women's work and experiences" through this study will be one step closer to rendering *visible* women staff/administrators in higher education – and eventually transforming higher education into organizations that are not perceived as "gender neutral" or "gendered" (Acker, 1999) but ones that offer an environment that is welcoming and inclusive of all.

BACKGROUND

Given my experience working in a STEM¹-focused university, I chose to utilize such a setting for this research. With the increasing importance placed on STEM majors – and STEM

¹ STEM is a common acronym for Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics

jobs, the research on female students and female faculty in these areas has continued to grow and enrich our understanding of how women experience these classrooms, labs and workplaces and what coping strategies they use – i.e., being the best/no room for error, connecting with a mentor or ally, and making individual decisions about whether to stay in a STEM field and/or academia. Those “individual” decisions, however, may distract attention from the larger systematic challenges facing women in those fields. A number of scholars (Fox, 2006; Hopkins, 2002; Nelson, 2003; Rosser, 1995) have focused on the experiences of female STEM faculty and the impact of “chilly climates” when disciplines such as engineering and the sciences have so few women faculty and so many gender biases toward the female faculty and students remain.

A void within this still under-researched field is the experiences and voices of women *staff* and *administrators* in such environments. As a woman administrator in academia who has worked in a predominantly male campus environment (but a feminized department), I recognize my own experiences within this broader framework of higher education. I have witnessed and heard countless stories of women whose experiences could be contributable to their status as staff and/or their identities within our culture (i.e. gender, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, etc.). These experiences may be more overt given the “chilly climate” and male setting. These are the voices I hope to share through the research presented here.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to examine the dynamics of gender, power and influence at a public research university, as perceived by middle and senior administrators who are not faculty members. I am particularly interested in how women administrators’ experiences compare with

male colleagues in similar positions in relation to a) perception of power, b) level of influence, c) position within the university and d) resources for their areas of responsibility. Also of interest is the faculty/staff dynamic in an environment where one group of leaders has academic freedom, tenure and shared governance and the administrative leaders do not. What do these administrators see as unique and/or significant to their distinct positions as non-faculty leaders in the university? Finally, the study seeks to answer “does gender (still) matter?”

Method Overview

Using a qualitative research design, I conducted a case study of one public research university designated *Very Intensive Research* by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (2013). I interviewed 22 mid-level and senior administrators who were not faculty members, from areas such as Business and Finance, Student Affairs, Enrollment Services, Academic Affairs and Human Resources. To look closely at potential differences and dynamics compared by gender, position, department and resource level, I chose a public research university that is predominantly male in student body and academic and administrative leadership. Given the research on “chilly climates” in predominantly male settings (Fox, 2006; Hopkins, 2002; Rosser, 1995; Hopkins, 2002), if gender dynamics are present, they may be easier to observe than in other types of institutions of higher education. I used a feminist conceptual framework built upon definitions by hooks (2000) and Hart (2006) among others. I also utilized a framework influenced by Acker (1999), Currie, Thiele, and Harris (2002) and Hazel (2012) to guide my interviews and analysis. To minimize the possibility that these differences in credentials and expectations are not misread as specific to the gender of the individual, I explored the experiences of both male and female administrators in a range of administrative functions across the university.

ORGANIZATION OF DISSERTATION

The dissertation is organized into five chapters. The first chapter introduces and frames the work, describing the motivation and setting of the study. Chapter 2 includes a literature review of women administrators and “managerial professionals” in higher education. It also shares Acker’s theories of “gendered” universities and how her theory influences the work. Chapter 2 ends with a description of the study’s feminist conceptual framework.

Chapter 3 describes both the underlying qualitative methodology employed during the study and the specific methods used during collection of data the selection of participants, the semi-structured interview questions, and coding techniques. The research questions regarding gender, power and influence are revealed as well as the limitations of the study and the author’s positionality as a feminist scholar and practitioner.

Chapter 4 contains the results of the study, primarily through the words and experiences of the 22 participants. Beginning with “Eiffel University,” the predominantly male institution is explored as well as more detailed demographics on the study participants and their roles at the institution. Chapter 4 also includes sections related to power, gender, and opportunities of career advancement for non-faculty administrators. Sections included also describe differences observed by participants based on gender and the intertwining identities relating to ethnicity, LGBTQ and socioeconomic class.

Chapter 5 provides a feminist analysis of the material described in Chapter 4. The research questions are addressed, and recommendations to improve the university environment for non-faculty administrators are offered.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

“Managerial professionals”

Beyond the students, faculty and university leadership who arguably have fairly well-defined roles within the higher education setting, many of the staff and non-faculty administrators who do equally important work behind the scenes do not. These functions range from Admissions to the Registrar to Business and Finance to Facilities to Student Affairs to Development/Fundraising. The president and university leadership need administrators to manage all the daily operational functions of the university so they can focus on the strategic vision of the university and addressing major academic initiatives and campus issues.

These “managerial professionals” account for a growing component of the higher education landscape over the past three decades, yet little research has been conducted in this area, particularly in relation to gender. An extensive literature review conducted by Stephanie Hazel (2012) highlighted several key points: 1) one million administrative and non-faculty professionals are employed by universities; 2) the largest growth in higher education has been in mid-level professional positions over the last 30 years; and 3) women make up nearly 60 percent of this category in research universities. The category itself is difficult to name. Hazel found a wide range of terms used including: “midlevel administrators,” “administrative managers,” “professional managers,” “academic professionals,” “non-academic staff,” and “managerial professionals” (Hazel, 2012; Rosser, 2000; Whitchurch, 2004; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Rhoades, 1998). With all these options and no clear consensus on the term, I will refer to this

group of professionals as “non-faculty administrators,” or “administrators who are not faculty.”

While cumbersome, the phrase emphasizes the mid-level and senior-level positions I am discussing do not have faculty status. Later in the work I will use “administrators” to be more concise.

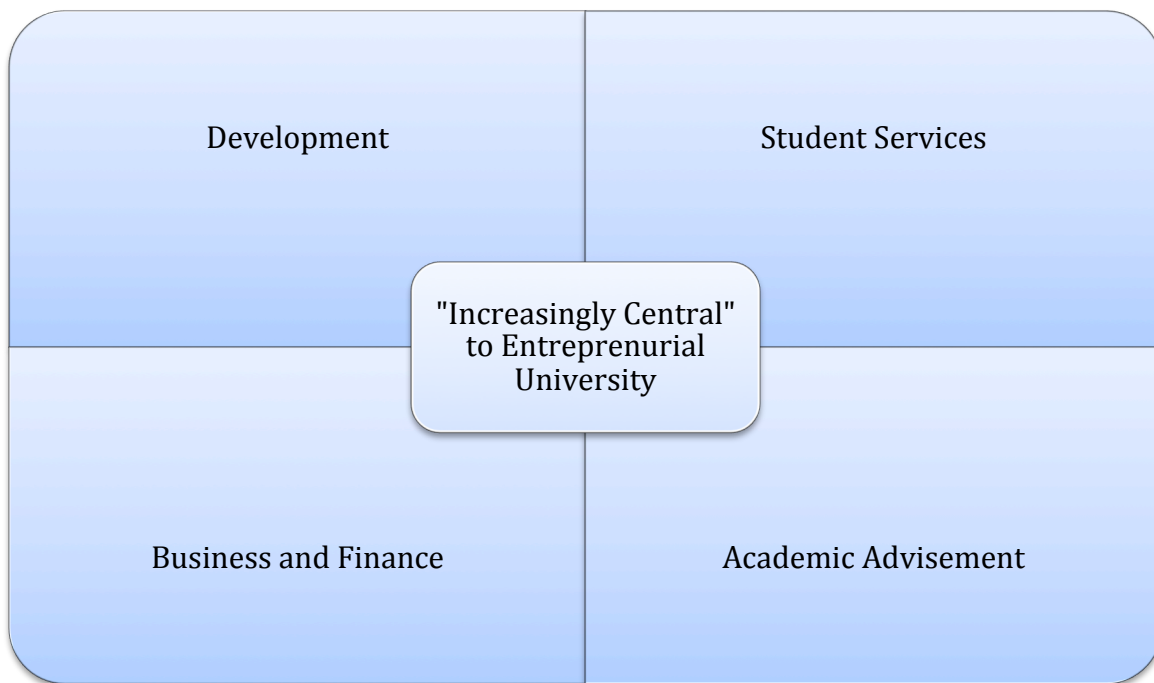


Figure 1: Functions of Non-Faculty Administrators
(Rhoades & Sporn, 2002, p. 16)

While these career positions have continued to take off in more recent decades, some of the most comprehensive early work by Scott (1978) sounds surprisingly contemporary:

[These professionals were] oriented to the service of faculty and students, committed to a career in the institution ... [but were] extremely frustrated that they [were] not taken seriously on their home campuses, by the lack of recognition for their accomplishments, by low pay and poor chances of advancement, by the lack of authority that accompanies their responsibility, and by the lack of direction given to them. (Scott, 1978 as cited by Hazel, 24)

This description, in many ways, could have been written today. Hazel (2012) finds that the female mid-level professionals she interviewed at an American research university, even

when campus directors, were clustered in more feminine areas: “Women are disproportionately located in the academic colleges, being more likely to perform student-oriented roles such as advising and student affairs, as well as taking on college roles in communications and public relations” (p. 190). She notes: “A category in which workers have little professional autonomy, are expected to serve the agenda of others, and are responsible for managing the relational aspects of that agenda seems to support the notion that it is a feminized area of the university” (Hazel, 2012, p. 190).

As I pointed out above, I will refer to these individual as “non-faculty administrators.” I recognize that phrase creates a dichotomist relationship with faculty, and while that is not completely intentional, it is reflective of other scholars’ work. For example, Rhoades and Sporn (2002) point out the faculty benefits these administrators do not have, such as academic freedom (though they may be experts within their own fields), no direct supervision, control over their own time, higher salaries (though salaries vary by field), and the possibility, no, the probability, of tenure. Their study builds on, and reinforces, Scott’s findings more than two decades earlier.

Women and Intertwining Identities in Higher Education Research

While the work on “managerial professionals” may be limited, articles incorporating gender at all are even less visible in the higher education journals. If the articles do examine gender, it’s likely to be either female students or women faculty, such as in Ward and Wolf-Wendel’s research on “academic motherhood” in 2004. Insight into the experiences and challenges of women faculty come from Valian (1998), Johnsrud and Rosser (2000), Turner (2002), White (2005), Fox, Johnson and Rosser (2006), Glazer-Raymo (2008) among others. While these studies can be of some use to examine non-faculty experiences, there are few articles that focus specifically on women administrators or staff in major higher education journals (Hart,

2006). The recent search by this author still found few articles relating to women administrators in higher education, and those papers typically featured women faculty in administrative roles. “Women and, particularly feminism, are not prevalent themes in recent higher education scholarship, a reality that has not changed dramatically since 1969 (Townsend, 1993)” (Hart, 2006, p. 57). Nor do the articles on gender consider equally important identifiers that should not, and cannot, be ignored. Hart (2006) explains:

The data examined rarely focus on gender as it relates to race, class, sexual orientation, and age. This pattern supports Aleman’s (2003) contention that race and gender are treated as separate phenomena in the academy; the intersection of gender with race, class, sexual orientation, age or other aspects of women’s lives are rarely examined in the literature. (p. 57)

These intersections are critically important to better understand the experiences of women “who must navigate the climate-related challenges that emerge from workplaces and learning environments that privilege white, middle-class, able-bodied and heterosexual norms” (Allan, 2011, p. 91). Studies in the higher education journals may not include analysis on gender within the context of “race, class, sexual orientation and age” (Hart, 2006, p. 57); however, research on higher education, inclusive of these intertwining identities, does exist. Anthologies such as *Working-Class Women in the Academy* (Tokarczyk & Fay, 1993), *Doing Diversity in Higher Education* (Brown-Glaude, 2009), and *Empowering Women in Higher Education and Student Affairs* (Pasque & Nicholson, 2011) come to mind as spaces where scholars and practitioners write about these connections and bring a wider range of voices and experiences – and actions – into the discussion. For example, contributors of many ethnic backgrounds share their personal stories as working-class² women in the academe. They share the difficulty of

² In *Working Class Women in the Academe*, the term “working class women academics,” is used to describe women whose parents had working-class jobs and were the “first generation in their family to attend college.” Working-class jobs are “physically demanding, repetitive, or dangerous” (i.e. waitresses, cleaning women, clerical workers, factory employees, janitors), jobs that are “largely differentiated by their lack of autonomy” (Fay & Tokarczyk, p. 5).

navigating such a different culture. In some cases, they attempt to “pass” as middle-class, stay silent in privilege-based conversations rather than risk being found out, and change their dress, speech, food choices, and so on in an effort to fit into their perception of middle- and upper-middle class behavior (Sowinska, 1993). They also recognize the impact their “success” has on their relationships with their families of origin, with whom they may no longer have much in common (Gardner, 1993).

“Despite our objective position in the class structure, many of us did not feel middle class or as if we really belonged in the world we inhabited.” Education and a “good job” do not negate a working-class person’s background. “As a consequence, a part of our identity was middle-class while another part remained back in the working-class world of our roots” (Gardner, 1993, p. 50). Similar to Scott’s 1978 findings of lack of advancement opportunities for staff administrators, they see that academia may provide some upward mobility for these faculty members but does so in a replication of the broader class structure of society.

Academia, too, has a class structure: a hierarchy of professors, assistant professors, and part-timers is not solely a ladder based on merit, but a track based on a number of gender, racial/ethnic, and socioeconomic factors. The degradation many working-class women experience in academia replicates that of the larger classed society. (Tokarczyk & Ray, 1993, p. 5)

If that is the case for women faculty, where do women who are not faculty fit into this structure? How do we fit into this class system based on positional status as well as multiple facets of our identity? Even in this anthology, the question is not answered.

Neutral or Gendered Universities

Representing organizations as gender (and race) neutral obscures the everyday reality of gender and race subordination. (Acker, 1998, p. 195)

Acker, best known for her work with gender and organizations, has influenced the use of the term “gendered universities,” based her theory on that organizations are not gender-neutral but built on masculine constructs that limit women’s full participation and advancement in organizations (Acker, 1998).

While Acker continues to evolve her organizational theories, for the purpose of this study, I will focus on her analysis of the “neutral” organization as a gendered one, in which, jobs are “defined by tasks, responsibilities, and authority, but devoid of any human body and any ties or obligations to anything or anyone outside the organization” (Acker, 1999, p. 82). In this model, Acker (1999) states that employers will assume that managers and workers prioritize work obligations before any other obligations, and they will spend “employer-defined periods of time at work during which they will keep their attention focused on work” (p. 82). She adds, “Taking care of physical needs, for example, eating, or social needs, for example, those created by a child’s illness are viewed as taking time *from* work” (emphasis added) (Acker, 1999, p. 82). Given that women, especially single mothers, usually assume more of the caretaking duties, they are not considered the “perfect worker.” When the structures are based on masculine models and gender norms, the systematic restrictions on women, especially single mothers, may be invisible to many, and the burden is often placed on individual women to find ways to negotiate their own strategies to embrace both the work and life that they love.

Several studies in journals inside and outside higher education add more context to these distinctions. In 2011, an ASHE Higher Education Report focused on Women’s Status in Higher Education, which included women staff and administrators as well as students and faculty. In this

volume, feminist researchers address the status of women from a variety of perspectives. One article notes that more than 20 years ago, Ohio State University released a report indicating the institutional change needed to address women's status at the university. The President's Commission on Women recognized how the number of women and the structure of the institution impact the climate and culture as well as the challenges within:

The very fabric of the institution, how we do business, must change in order for women to advance, to be successful, and thus to make their maximum contribution to the university ... Our most difficult challenge may well be not to change numbers, not even to change structures, but to change the *deeply and often unconsciously sexist* attitudes that pervade women's experience of those numbers and structures. (emphasis added) (Ohio State University, 1992, p. 10, as cited in Allan, 2011, p. 65)

Indeed, through the continued efforts of women at the institution, these issues are now being addressed through an institutionalized program with an Associate Provost at the lead. The purpose is to serve as "a catalyst for institutional change to expand opportunities for women's growth, leadership and power in an inclusive supportive and safe university environment" (Ohio State University, 2010, as cited in Allan, 2011, p. 113). This Commission, like others across the nation, began raising awareness of the male structured institution of higher education.

Women faculty in Portugal perceived the university to be an institution favoring neither male nor female, a " 'neutral organizational field' founded accorded to universal merit and equity principles" (Carvalho & de Lurdes Machado, 2010, p. 34). These findings are consistent with a general perspective in U.S. higher education that universities are gender neutral. Interestingly, the opposite is found through a study of an atypical department in a British university where women hold all the leadership roles in a business school. Priola (2007) notes that the women leaders face challenges in negotiating their identities as women and as managers "due to the predominance of masculine practices and values" in the organization. Priola (2007)

finds that women in these leadership or managerial roles do not automatically create a “feminine working environment” but may “reiterate the dominant masculine culture” (p. 35). Interviews also indicate that male staff may downplay the achievements of women as a way to “reclaim masculinity” (Priola, 2007, p. 36).

In their study of the gendered nature of two Australian universities, Currie, Thiele and Harris (2002) found that “male practices are taken as the norm and, in this way, they become invisible and difficult to alter” (p. 8). They add that the “normalization of male culture was not only present in the peak management culture where it was strongest, but it pervaded the organization. It was detected in responses from those who were satisfied with the gendered status quo and in those who were seeking to challenge it” (Currie, et al, 2002, p. 8). They concluded, based on their study and their review of the literature:

Universities are dominated by masculine principles and structures that lead to advantages for male staff and disadvantages for female staff (whether academic or general). The most valued activities in universities are those that reflect male patterns of socialization: individualist rather than collective, competitive rather than co-operative, based on power differentials rather than egalitarian and linked to expert authority rather than collegial support. (2002, p. 1)

The more detailed findings of their study resonated with both my own experiences working in higher education as well as themes that emerged from other studies and will serve as a point of comparison for this study. This kind of research is needed to explore and encourage the full potential and participation of women in higher education.

Conceptual Framework

Established scholars note that “feminist theory and methodology have yet to find fertile ground in mainstream higher education publications” and advocate that feminist research has much to contribute to the field of higher education (Ropers-Huilman & Winters, 2011. p. 667).

Defining feminist research is no small challenge, even to researchers within the field. In 1992, Shulamit Reinharz wrote the classic *Feminist Methods in Social Research* to address the then emerging field of study. In the 20 years following her statement, even more variations of feminism have emerged, with new phrases and ideologies to represent challenges and changes to earlier feminist thought. Reinharz's practical advice is "to use's people's self-definition" (p. 6).

Feminist researchers often define their research focus and lens in great specificity as an attempt to be transparent in their methods and work. This is true of the feminist research conducted by Hart and Metcalfe (2010) as well as Roper-Huilman and Winters (2011). Ropers-Huilman and Winters propose a three-part definition of feminism which includes that:

- 1) "women have something valuable to contribute to every aspect of our world,"
- 2) women have been unable to "develop their full potential or gain the related rewards of full participation in society," and
- 3) this should change in "public and private spheres" through "activism, scholarship, policy-making and individual action" (2011, p. 670).

They define the purposes of feminist research as "addressing omissions and misrepresentations, hearing and authoring women's stories and information about diverse women's lives, and valuing multiple ways of knowing" (Ropers-Huilman & Winters, 2011, p. 674). As indicated by the feminist frameworks described above, qualitative researcher Sharan Merriam (2009) notes "critical theory, feminist theory, critical race theory, queer theory and postmodernism" all have in common "a concern for the participants and their voices, the power dynamics inherent in the interview, the construction of the 'story,' and forms of representation to other audiences" (p. 108). In order to respect the voices of participants, bell hooks encourages researchers to consider: "Feminist ideology should not encourage (as sexism has done) women to believe they are

powerless.... Recognition of that strength, that power, is a step women together can take towards liberation” (as cited in Ropers-Huilman & Winters, 2011, p. 679).

Hart (2006) also builds on definitions of feminist research as work that “must challenge gender oppression (patriarchy) and include implications for social change. This means that the scholarship cannot solely seek to inform and raise awareness of gender oppression; it must also be proactive in suggesting remedies for inequity” (p. 45). I embrace Hart’s definitions of feminist research and will use Hart’s feminist framework for this research. Depending upon the findings of this study, I also plan to share the findings and recommendations of this study with individual participants as well as broader administrators at the university level to address any concerns raised by female and/or male administrators.

While it is noteworthy that I am approaching this work with a feminist lens, one that is focused on ending oppression of all people, I will not assume that differences, if any, experienced by male and female administrators are based on individual or systematic sexism. I will seek other possibilities as I analyze the data and allow the women and men’s stories to speak for themselves.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Research Questions

This study seeks to examine the dynamics of gender, power and influence at a predominantly male research university, particularly as perceived by middle and senior administrators (who are not faculty members). To address this topic, I pose the following research questions:

- 1) How do women administrators' experiences compare with male colleagues in similar positions in relation to the following:
 - a. perception of power
 - b. level of influence
 - c. position within the university and
 - d. resources for their areas of responsibility
- 2) What do these administrators see as unique and/or significant to their distinct positions as non-faculty leaders in the university?
- 3) Does gender (still) matter?

Research Design

To address the research questions posed above, I conducted a case study of one public research university with predominantly male leadership. I chose a qualitative research method because it is complementary to a conceptual feminist framework where participants have their own voice in the research process.

The qualitative researcher believes that human actions are strongly influenced by the settings in which they occur. The researcher cannot understand human behavior without understanding the framework within which subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings and actions. This framework or context is noted by the qualitative researcher during data collection and analysis. (McMillian & Schumacher, 2009, p. 13)

Qualitative research is sometimes challenged for its lack of generalizable findings; however, case studies “provide context-bound summaries for understanding education and for future research (Peshkin, 1993)” (as cited in McMillian & Schumacher, p. 18). A purposeful sample of administrators within the case study site will provide “information-rich cases for study in depth” (Patton, 2002, p. 230 as cited in Merriam, p. 77). Through the qualitative research design, I employed semi-structured interviews to explore the experiences of 22 mid-level and senior administrators who were not faculty members at a public research university.

Data Collection

Selection of Site for Case Study

The site selected for this case study is a public research university classified by Carnegie as very high research activity (see Table 1). While student enrollment at many universities is now majority female (Ward & Eddy, 2013), this University has a historically male-centered curriculum and is predominantly male in its student population. Its faculty and professional staff composition (see Institutional Profile table) are shown below. Given the predominantly male upper administration and student body, this setting provides a space where distinctions by gender, if present, would likely be more pronounced. Such distinctions may be easier to observe and analyze than in a setting where they may be more subtly experienced.

Table 1: Carnegie Classification

Site for Case Study: Carnegie Classification Sub	
Level	4-year or above
Control	Public
Student Population	20,291
Classification	Category
Undergraduate Instructional Program	Prof+A&S/HGC: Professions plus arts & sciences, high graduate coexistence
Graduate Instructional Program	CompDoc/NMedVet: Comprehensive doctoral (no medical/veterinary)
Enrollment Profile	MU: Majority undergraduate
Undergraduate Profile	FT4/MS/LTI: Full-time four-year, more selective, lower transfer-in
Size and Setting	L4/HR: Large four-year, highly residential
Basic	RU/VH: Research Universities (very high research activity)

Source: Institution Lookup, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Institutional Profile	Male	Female	Total
Undergraduate Students	9,458 (67.8%)	4,490 (32.2%)	13,948
Graduate Students	5,200 (74.4%)	1,793 (25.6%)	6,993
Faculty	831 (79.7%)	212 (20.3%)	1,043
Executive/Admin/Managerial	97 (70.3%)	41 (29.7%)	138
Other Professionals	2,288 (59.6%)	1,548 (40.4%)	3,836

Source: Profile compiled from Institutional Fact Book 2011: Faculty Profile, Staff Profile, and Enrollment Chart by Gender and Ethnicity.

Selection of Interview Participants

A purposeful sample was utilized for the selection of interview participants. Through information provided by the University's Institutional Research office, such as employees' names, titles, and salaries as well as gender and ethnicity, potential participants were selected for their mid- to upper-level positions at the university as well as their significant interaction with the administration and other departments on campus. Units considered for selection included Academic Affairs, Auxiliary Services, Business and Finance, Communications, Development, Enrollment Services, Human Resources, Student Affairs, etc. Titles ranged from Director and

Executive Director to Assistant/Associate Vice President. Male administrators were selected based on comparable roles and similar functions as female counterparts at the university, not necessarily in the same department/division. These “pairings” of administrators were consciously selected to identify if experiences were similar along work functions/position levels or if there were distinctions that may require further analysis. In utilizing interviews for data collection, “the crucial factor is not the number of respondents but the potential for each person to contribute to the development of insight and understanding of the phenomenon” (Merriam, 2009, p. 105). The selection of the participants did provide such insights based on their experiences as non-faculty administrators across campus units.

The final sample included 13 female and 9 male administrators (who are not university faculty) from different academic, administrative and student support units across the campus. Seven of the 22 participants were minorities or people of color. While I recognize ethnicities are not monolithic, including within one’s own ethnicity, I use this general term here due to the limited numbers of women and minorities in these positions. To be too specific could violate the participants’ confidentiality.

Of the 22 participants, 6 have worked at the university for more than 25 years, 14 for more than 15 years, and 2 for less than 5 years. All of the participants had at least 15 years or more of experience in higher education (and/or industry/government). Overall, the participants’ salaries ranged from under \$100,000/year to more than \$175,000/year. In three cases, the male administrators selected held positions a level higher than the female administrator, i.e. a male Executive Director with a female Director. In two cases, the male administrators were in a similar position to the female administrator but were compensated appropriately \$24,000 more each year than their female counterparts. In four cases, the female administrators held similar

positions to the comparative male administrators, but the female administrators were paid more; the median in these cases was \$16,300. These salary differences may be related to the actual position, years of experience, and additional job-related factors, but there was a notable distinction— and notable by gender. While this study is only comparing titles and salaries here, these salary differences would benefit from further analysis beyond the scope of this research.

Interview Protocol

During September 2013, 18 selected participants received an email invitation to participate in the study with background information and a consent form attached (Appendix A). The invitation included that both the University of Georgia's Institutional Review Board and their university's IRB office had approved the study. I heard immediately from a number of the participants willing to be interviewed. Additional administrators, recommended by participants, also agreed to be part of the study. Within six weeks, I received confirmation of over 100% participation. The initial goal had been 14 to 16 participants. The final total was 22 participants, 13 women and 9 men.

Interviews were conducted during October and November 2013. Participants were given the opportunity to be interviewed in their office or in a different campus location; almost all participants interviewed in person chose their office. Scheduling times to interview participants with such busy calendars was somewhat of a challenge; in a number of cases, Skype and phone interviews were substituted for on-site interviews. Ten were scheduled for the onsite visit; eight were actually available during the on-campus visit. The remaining 14 interviews were conducted by phone (5) or Skype (9). One even participated via Skype while on a family vacation. I had planned for interviews to take one to one-and-a-half hours; the length of interviews ranged from 50 minutes to more than two hours. Most interviews lasted approximately 1½ hours. For the

more lengthy interviews, the timeframe was based on the participant's time and interest in the topic, not set by the interviewer. The option for a follow-up interview was available if needed; however, no follow-up interviews were conducted.

The interview format was a semi-structured interview that included general questions about the participant's professional background and experience at their current institution as well as questions about advancement at the university, power and influence, resources, work-life balance and perceived gender dynamics. Participants were encouraged to submit a copy of their resume, and some did so. Many did not. Interviews were recorded, with permission, and transcribed for further analysis. Participants who responded that they would like to receive a copy of the transcript for their review were sent their transcripts and given the opportunity to correct or clarify any of their responses. Those who did so made only minor clarifications.

Participants were offered confidentiality and the option to select their own pseudonym if desired. In addition, they were asked if they were comfortable being identified through their campus division/department. No one selected a pseudonym, and many stated that they trusted I would take care to not identify them. Several stated that they were fine with having their names associated with their comments; others were more concerned about confidentiality. Given the limited number of female and minority administrators at this level of the institution, I decided to identify individuals as "F1" or "M2" and not by ethnicity, specific departments, or job titles to ensure that they would be less identifiable to their colleagues. Thus they may have felt more comfortable speaking candidly. While the university is purposely not identified in the study, it was known on the campus that I was interviewing individuals for my dissertation, hence the possibility of recognition of comments or individuals.

Upon reviewing the limited literature available on mid-level and senior administrators, I found the work by Currie, Thiele and Harris (2002) to be closely aligned with my research interests. In addition, Hazel (2012) did substantial work looking at “professional staff” in American universities. Both of these studies included interview questions relevant to the research questions I posed here; many of the interview questions for this study are based directly upon work by Currie, et al. (2002) and Hazel (2012). I slightly reworded questions and reordered them to flow more smoothly by topic and to address any that could be perceived as leading questions. A few were added to specifically address the current research questions. (See Appendix B for interview questions.) Some questions were omitted during interviews; others were not answered due to time limitations.

The questions generally followed the same order shown in the appendix. As recommended by Merriam (2009), the interview format began with a “relatively neutral, descriptive interview” such as asking participants to describe a “typical” work day. More sensitive questions including questions about gender, ethnicity and sexuality were asked last to ensure participants were more comfortable and invested in the interview, thus “more likely to see it through” (Merriam, 2009, p. 103). The format was also constructed to minimize any influence of these more sensitive questions on participants’ answers to other interview questions.

Other Data Sources

As noted above, the University’s Institutional Research office provided requested information regarding title, department, salary, gender and ethnicity of potential participants. The office also provided an overview of financial information for the University’s main colleges and divisions, which was reviewed in the context of resource level of the participant’s area of responsibility. In addition, I utilized the University’s online Fact Books, institutional data from

the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) and Carnegie Classifications for general University information. I also reviewed University policies referenced in the interviews, such as maternity and adoption leave policies, the Work-Life Task Force findings, and the limited information available about the University's recent Campus Climate Study.

Utilizing the financial information provided, I had planned to categorize which departments had high or low resources, so that I could examine how the resource level might impact administrators' experiences on campus and if there were more men or women in particular resource areas. However, as the study progressed, I realized that the categorization was not that simple. Unlike comparing a faculty member's research dollars or number of publications and citations (which is still complicated at best), determining an area had a high level of resources from the state dollars or number of employees was far from sufficient. Depending on the scope of the work, the resources may or may not have been adequate. In the end, I utilized the financial information to provide a context for the types of functions these administrators handled. Instead, I asked administrators directly (without specific dollar amounts) if they had the resources (funding, staffing, equipment, etc.) required to meet their area's needs and goals. I then asked how they felt their areas compared (high or low) with others on campus. I used these self-reported responses in the analysis of the participants' interview responses.

Coding Techniques

Interview questions elicit insight from participants through asking about their "experiences, opinions, feelings, knowledge, sensory, or demographic data" (Merriam, 2009, p.114). "Although this personal perspective is, of course, what is sought in qualitative research, the information in any single interview needs to be considered in light of other interviews and other sources of data such as observations and documents" (Merriam, 2009, p. 114). As such,

data analysis of the participants' transcripts included coding of individual transcripts – and comparison across transcripts. Categories related to the research questions emerged from the data. Emerging categories are considered the “most relevant and best fitted to the data” compared with pre-determined categories (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, as cited in Merriam, 2009, p. 185). Therefore, data was categorized into themes based on the topics of the interview questions as well as themes/categories emerging from the data analysis.

First each participant's transcript was reviewed individually and coded for interview topics and emerging themes. Then the participant's responses were compiled into a master document grouped by interview question and themes that continued to emerge during the data analysis. Additional categories included gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. If a participant's response fit into more than one category, it was included in each so that the responses could be compared side-by-side within each category. Emerging themes were noted throughout the interview process. Given the specific questions asked, there was, of course, an influence on the topics of responses; however, *how* participants responded varied and those similarities and variations were noted for further analysis.

The responses were also analyzed by gender, administrative level, department/division, and resource level, anticipated to be *High Resource* (likely male) – i.e. Auxiliary Services, Research, Development and *Low Resource* (likely female) – i.e. Student Affairs, Human Resources, Communications (S. Slaughter, personal communication, September 13, 2013).

While the work of Currie, Thiele and Harris (2002) was influential to the study's framework, I allowed the themes to emerge from the responses before I returned to their findings for comparisons. This separation was intentional to limit potential for bias. Themes were also then compared with broader findings from the literature review.

Limitations of the Study

As a case study of 22 individuals at one institution, this study's findings may not be generalizable to the broader field of higher education, administrators who are not faculty, or even predominantly male research universities, yet the findings should provide insight that will help frame and guide research in these areas in the future. These findings also illustrate only a snapshot of these administrators' experiences, framed by the interview questions and limited by time.

By only interviewing the administrators themselves about their own experiences and comparing their responses with other administrators, I may have missed important points about power, influence and gender within the broader organizational structure. I did not interview supervisors, direct reports, colleagues, or university leadership. These additional perspectives could have offered a more comprehensive look at the role of administrators. Studies such as Priola's (2007) on the British department of all women leaders provide a strong case for such an extensive look of how others view leaders. Additional interviews were beyond the scope of this project but would be useful to consider for future studies.

Because of the range of administrators who participated in the study and the complex calendaring exercise to meet with them, their participation is likely known to their supervisors and/or upper administration. Most of the participants were very candid in their interviews, which does not imply negativity. Some were less concerned about their identity being connected to their responses than others; however, awareness of the study's visibility may have influenced how much participants were comfortable sharing. With sensitivity to the participants' confidentiality, I have not included some of the most specific examples that may have identified the participant, other administrators, or leaders on campus.

In addition, administrators who were the most dissatisfied with their positions, work demands, or the institution in general may have already left the University. This is especially likely given that most participants have worked for the University from 15 to 30 years. Those administrators who have left may have offered different insights than those who remain.

Positionality and Assumptions

As a higher education administrator in the field of Student Affairs, I have my own individual experiences as a non-faculty administrator. As a white female administrator, I have my own race and gender experiences and perspectives. These experiences can be helpful in building rapport with participants, understanding context within these administrators' experiences, and possibly noting more nuances than someone less familiar with the specific positions and fields in the study. At the same time, I have to ensure those same "advantages" do not unduly influence my findings.

To address this possibility, I have reviewed the transcripts multiple times for themes and patterns that emerged. I also asked an external reviewer to code material in relation to gender and ethnicity; this reviewer found consensus with my findings. In addition, I compared participants' responses with University documents or other participants' comments whenever possible.

CHAPTER 4

EIFFEL UNIVERSITY

Eiffel University³ is a prestigious, highly ranked public research university surrounded by a vibrant city environment. Faculty members are often recognized internationally as experts in their fields, and students with exceedingly high SAT/ACT scores, GPAs and academic and co-curricular “extras” compete to be admitted to this selective state school. The University is ranked among the top public universities in the nation by *U.S. News & World Report* and has been named one of the “Best Places to Work in Academia” by *The Scientist* magazine.

Best known for its engineering programs, the University has more than 21,000 students, including 7,000 graduate students. University t-shirts, hoodies, and caps are a common sight when walking through the expanding campus of new construction and historical buildings. Students, faculty and staff take great pride in attending and working at the University.

Similar to a number of universities, the college’s early days were filled with only white male faculty and white male students. Not until the 1950s did women “officially” enter the University.⁴ In the 1960s, Eiffel U. voluntarily integrated as other universities were being ordered to do so. Today, the campus leadership and student body continues to be predominantly male. This is a common sight in most engineering schools but less so in the student population nationally (Mangan, 2013 October 29). Eiffel U. is comprised of a majority of male students,

³ Eiffel University was selected to provide anonymity to the Institution. The focus of the study is not to spotlight one university’s potential challenges but to explore how gender dynamics play out in a predominantly male higher education environment, particularly with non-faculty administrators. The name was chosen in honor of Gustave Eiffel, the “French civil engineer renowned for the tower in Paris that bears his name” (retrieved 16 February 2014 from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/180985/Gustave-Eiffel>).

⁴ A few women had attended early on before women were not allowed to enroll. Others were on campus during World War II for job-related training.

almost 70 percent of the total student body (University's Fact Book, Fall 2013). Consistent with its student body, the leadership of the University continues to be male as well, with the majority of faculty members holding a Ph.D. in a science and engineering field.

Increasing diversity in students and faculty has been a stated priority of the institution for more than 15 years, and recently Eiffel U. hired a Chief Diversity Officer at the vice presidential level to lead efforts to “embrace and leverage diversity in all its manifestations.” This new statement broadens the definition of “diversity” beyond its traditional concept of recruitment (and perhaps retention) of “underrepresented and historically underserved populations” that also included women due to their low representation in STEM fields. Now, “diversity in all its manifestations” includes recruiting and retaining faculty, staff and students “from a wide array of backgrounds, perspectives, interests, and talents” (University's diversity website, retrieved 16 February 2014).

STAFFING STRUCTURE

Depending on how one defines “academic” employees, the percentage of Eiffel University's academic staff are 44.8% of the total employees: 16% (instruction), 26.5% (research), and 2% (academic leadership). The “instruction” category includes all positions from temporary instructor to full professor, and the “research” category includes post-docs (4%) to various levels of research scientists and research engineers. The composition of academic leadership is listed in Table 3. The remaining categories, “managerial/professional” (16%) and “support services” (39%) make up 55% of all employees. (See Appendix C for a breakdown of the categories.) Women make up 56% of the management/professional category and 52% of the support services category. These numbers are fairly consistent with the national statistics of 60% female “managerial professionals” (Hazel, 2012).

Table 2: Eiffel University Employees

Total Employees as of Fall 2013					
Category	% Men	% Women	%Total Men	% Total Women	% Total Employees
Executive Mgt	74%	26%	2.6%	<1%	2%
Instruction	74%	26%	20%	10%	16%
Research	79%	21%	35%	14%	27%
Mgt/Professional	44%	56%	12%	23%	16%
Support Services	48%	52%	31%	52%	39%
Total	61%	39%	100%	100%	100%

Percentages derived from information provided by the University's Institutional Research Office
25 March 2014

The composition of the academic and administrative leadership is also consistent with male leadership nationally at research universities. Women make up 26% of the executive management category, but none of these administrative individuals hold positions above Associate Vice President. On the academic side, there is one female dean (of seven) and two female vice provosts at the highest levels of leadership.

Table 3: Academic Leadership Fall 2013

Title	Male	Female	Total
Provost	1	0	1
Vice Provost	3	2	5
Associate Vice Provost	1	1	2
Assistant Vice Provost	1	2	3
Assistant Provost	0	1	1
Dean	6	1	7
Associate Dean	10	4	14
Assistant Dean	6	3	9
Department/School Chairs	24	5	29
Total Number	52	19	71
Total Percentage	73%	27%	100%

Percentages derived from information provided by the University's
Institutional Research Office 25 March 2014

Table 4: Administrative Leadership Fall 2013

Job Category	Male	Percent Male	Female	Percent Female	Total
President	1	100%	0	0%	1
Provost/Executive Vice President	3	100%	0	0%	3
Vice Provosts & Vice Presidents	9	82%	2	18%	11
Assoc. VP & Assoc. Vice Provosts	13	76%	4	24%	17
Assistant Vice Pres-Vice Provost*	3	75%	1	25%	4
Executive Directors	6	75%	2	25%	8
Directors	159	56%	126	44%	285
Administrative Leadership Total	194	59%	135	41%	329

*AVP category does not include all AVP positions on campus; some are classified as “directors.”

Percentages derived from information provided by the University’s
Institutional Research office 25 March 2014

INTRODUCTION TO THE FINDINGS

The following sections highlight the themes that emerged from the interviews, whether specific to an individual question or across the responses of an interview(s). The findings are presented first as an overview of *all* the administrators’ responses, both male and female, to illustrate the experiences and perspectives of non-faculty administrators. Distinctions by gender, ethnicity, resource level, or position (if present) are then highlighted within the section. Administrators, whether in person, by phone or by email, display a calm, level demeanor, with no notable distinctions in types of responses among the interview formats.

CULTURE

[Eiffel U.] is go, go, go and think on your feet and always be looking for what can be better, what can be more exciting. (F17)

Each university has its own history, uniqueness and culture within the larger higher education context (Clark, 1972). Eiffel U. is no exception. Within the interviews, participants often situate their answers in their context of the university's culture, and the majority (14 of 22, 65%) note gender-specific comments related to the institution's culture. Insiders consider the institution to be faculty-led, research-driven, and innovative. "[Eiffel U.] doesn't like to do things the way everyone else has always done it" (M5).

While the curriculum has greatly expanded over the years, the engineering focus of the University remains strong. This focus is almost a given in the interviews, though one administrator specifically points it out in terms of the culture.

Engineering is king. It's 70% of the freshmen and 58% of the graduates. Our president is an engineer. Our provost is an engineer. The dean of the College of Engineering is obviously an engineer, but he is arguably the third most influential person. (M20)

Participants share a range of perspectives on decision-making at the University. Who provides the data – or the idea – may determine how much analysis and data is needed. An administrator who has spent his entire career at Eiffel U. describes the challenge his new supervisor faced coming into this culture from his previous university: "Our decision-making process is we want precision, we want accuracy, and we want to be assured that the decision is almost perfect before we implement anything" (M5). He compares the two universities further.

I think every campus has a pretty unique culture. [My supervisor] came from [a university] where the culture was, I think, densely populated with gamers. They weren't as concerned about over-thinking a decision. They would make a decision, and they would just do it. I think he has found it to be a little frustrating to come [here] where I think we have an overabundance of thinkers. They really

want to analyze every side of the scenario and then bring other people into the picture and let them analyze that same scenario to make sure that our analysis is accurate. (M5)

An administrator in a different division might agree with the “overabundance of thinkers.” She describes how to gain university approval for new initiatives. “In a Research I institution, you have to do the research. You have to show the data. You have to show it. It has to be there. You just can’t say, ‘Oh, we need this.’ People still will look at you like you’re crazy. You better show that you’ve done some homework” (F19).

Another administrator has a different perspective on university decision-making; she wants the University to be more data-driven than opinion-based: “I’m hoping that we will become an institution that makes decisions based on data and information instead of something that somebody remembers [from] 10 years ago” (F15). She adds that she has seen decisions based on an “ ‘I’ve heard this once so this must be the way it is for everyone’ ” attitude or because a higher-level person does not understand a process or program, “so we’re going to change the whole thing instead of maybe some education, some training, some awareness, a different approach.” Modifying systems with so many exceptions becomes “pretty expensive” (F15).

One long-term administrator describes the University.

The environment and the culture [here] is very much one, that I believe, I don’t know that we’re ever going to be satisfied. That’s part of the culture. I’m comfortable with that. When you come [here], it’s helpful to know that that’s the kind of environment that you’re getting into. If you’re not wired that way, it may not be a functional place to go to work because there’s always something more that can be done to improve our productivity. (M13)

Others mention “visionary” and “entrepreneurial” and refer to the non-stop pace of the research University. One describes the focus by some areas on money not students. In fact, most

administrators did not situate their work within the context of students, beyond the few who work directly with students or supervise those who do.

I can say for all my colleagues, the fiscal piece drives it for them. For me the student life piece drives it, and if we do the student life piece well, the fiscal will manifest from that. That's kind of my philosophy. (F6)

Another administrator adds, "I understand that we're not a directive institution, and I don't know if that's typical of all research institutions, but we don't tend to really say, 'This is what we're going to do.' " She references the lack of mandates – and the inconsistent enforcement of those that do exist, such as compliance on policy trainings, particularly with faculty (F15).

The topic of faculty comes up by another participant in the context of leadership:

I say this carefully because I don't want to cut off my nose to spite my face. But it is important to me that whoever is leading the organization has a complete set of skills. I think they grow up in the world to be individual contributors and highly competitive. That doesn't lend itself necessarily to leadership in a way that is going to create an environment where people want to do their best or can study and achieve at the highest levels. In an institution like [this], that would be heresy to say that, but it's true. (F7)

Gendered Culture

Beyond those more general University descriptors, the majority of administrators – male and female – commented on the gendered culture of the University. As Acker (1999) has noted, institutions of higher education are often seen as "gender neutral" when they are actually male-structured; however, the predominantly male environment at this University is quite distinct to the participants. "[Eiffel U.] has a long history of being a very male dominated place, and it's part of the culture here. It's part of the history" (F11). Nine of 13 (70%) women commented on the male culture of the University, including all five women of color. Five of 9 (56%) men also

noted the distinction. One male administrator shares his concern about the absence of women – and all people of color – in leadership roles.

It is a very Caucasian dominated culture with upper administrators ... Probably only about 20% of the decision-making meetings that I go to are there any African-American males or females in the room. It is absolutely a target and has been for many years that we increase the number of administrators and directors that are people of color, women. (M5)

A long-time female administrator says more emphatically about her own division:

First of all, there's an old boy's network that is well known. There is a culture that has always been visibly, can I say chauvinistic? Can I say exclusionary? Can I say women have their place but primarily as long as they are yes people. I say 'yes' when I feel 'yes', but not if I don't. (F9)

Then in response to a different question, she points to the upper administration:

If you look at who is in the cabinet, you don't need to know much more. [The university] is still very, very heavily male-dominated. If you look at the only female cabinet member other than the president's chief of staff, who is a fabulous woman, but not a power, not a policy setter... [concludes there is no other] There's nobody else in the cabinet who's a female. I don't think, I don't see [a major change] happening in my lifetime – not in my professional lifetime. Maybe in my lifetime but not in my professional lifetime. (F9)

Another long-time female administrator states a similar perception of the University's culture: "Actually, it's still culturally the white man's institution, very much so—not generation Y or Z. It's more closely still a large, traditional, middle-aged, white male, straight, Christian ..." (F7). She notes both the race and gender distinctions that she sees at Eiffel U.

Then on the staff side, it's the same. We still haven't seen very many women rise to the level of assistant vice presidents, associate vice presidents, or vice presidents. I have a handful. It's a handful. I've been here 26 years, and it's a handful. I just think that's very disconcerting. That's just very disconcerting. I don't see that happening in my time here. I just don't—despite our best efforts. (F7)

RESOURCES – HIGH, LOW AND ACCESS

[At my previous institution], the dean of engineering who was an [Eiffel U.] grad said, ‘You know what? When I was a faculty member, I was convinced that my department chair had all of the money and was really not doing what he needed to do to give it to me. Then I became a department chair, and I realized how wrong I was, that it really was the dean that had all the money’ and he said, ‘Now that I am the dean, I realize that this was a much more insidious problem because it is obviously the provost that has all of the money, and I don’t have any of it.’ I don’t think that anybody feels like they have the money to do what they want. (M8)

An overview of an area’s financial budget is not enough to determine objectively if there is adequate funding to meet its needs. What appears significant on paper may not indicate that the department is well resourced. For example, areas such as Physical Plant or Information Technology (IT) require many personnel and types of equipment, maintenance and infrastructure, whereas an office within Development with only a few people and a much smaller budget may be more than adequate to meet the University’s fundraising goals. Instead of utilizing different financial and staffing factors to determine whether a department or division’s budget was high or low, participants were asked to describe their own view of their budget. For the purposes of this study, the level of resources whether “high” or “low” is defined by self-reports of the participants (See Table 5).

Table 5: Resource Level of Participating Administrators’ Areas of Responsibility

Did not compare	Low	Middle/Adequate	High
1 (1M)	9 (4F, 5M)	4 (3F, 1M)	8 (6F, 2M)

*Indicates participant’s self-reported current level of funding with access to additional resources as needed

The administrators in this study represent areas with budgets and resources across the spectrum: low and high resource levels are almost evenly split among the *participants*. However, the resources are not split evenly among the *functions* represented in the study. “Low” resource

levels are noted only by those in student support services and IT. IT is perhaps a little surprisingly for a technologically focused university, though the demands of technology are constantly evolving, expanding and expensive.

Average and high levels of resources are more aligned with staff administrators who work closely with University leadership or who oversee revenue-generating entities. Resources are most available to those who “hold the purse strings” or have access to those who do (as noted in “Who has power?” below). Somewhat unexpectedly, more women administrators than men stated they had “adequate” (3 women, 1 man) to “high” (6 women, 2 men) resources. These differing levels of resources appear to be more reflective of the function of the position than of the gender of the person in the position; however, some of these same women indicate a hesitancy to request more funding, even when they know their request will be approved. Only one of the male administrators (from a low-resource department) may have felt the same, as others pointed out that his division did not receive enough funding and at least two participants perceived that he did not push enough for more resources.

One female administrator comfortable with asking for money says:

Resource-wise we are in great shape. I think that’s because we are a unique program, and we have not been subject to the budget exigencies that everybody else has labored under for the last four years. ... As I said, I hate to count money in front of the poor, but I’ve been lucky. We’ve been taken care of. (F9)

Those most likely to self-report “high” levels of resources are the individuals who have access to additional funding as needed. As noted above, a number of these participants are female administrators who have access to more funds but are conscious to maximize the use of their budgets before requesting additional funding. One who is conscious but also clearly confident says, “When I have said, I need X, Y or Z, I typically don’t get turned down, but I

don't make a lot of Xs either" (F22). Another says that her VP has expressed frustration when he perceives she hasn't requested the resources she needed to get the job done:

There is not money to throw around, but if we had a need and didn't go to [our VP] because we didn't want to bother him, or we didn't want to really look like we were needy, that's the only time I see him get frustrated. He said this is what's before you, these are my expectations of you, this is what you need to deliver in 12 months. Tell me what you need to make it happen, and he repeats that phrase. We take him up on it, though we make smart use of the resources we have first. (F10)

Others note that the upper administration is very conscious of the budget challenges and makes intentional efforts to keep their own offices "lean and mean." "There is no shortage of work. I think, again, we were very intentional to say, if anyone is going to get the resources, we're trying to push that out more to the unit levels rather than getting all the benefits up at the top" (F12).

Several administrators mention that they have the staff they need, but technology may be a different story. One male administrator with easy access to the budget says, "I'd say we're low and that's been by design. ... I'm very conservative about spending money. Now, the technology, everybody is going to have the technology they need. We don't cheat ourselves on that" (M16). Another sees technology as a problem, especially in an area that requires constant upkeep and specializations. That administrator adds, "I think where I have the greatest problem right now is in the technology area where the central support from IT is just absolutely way below what it should be. I think the technology support is the area where I feel very, very vulnerable. ... I think mostly, I have what I need. In the technology area, I feel very unsupported" (F17). An administrator within IT also sees his budget as low as well, especially when compared to the size of the University and the major role IT plays in meeting its mission and strategic goals, and particularly when compared with industry (M18).

Consistent with national trends (Schuh, 2003), each participant from Student Affairs or similar student support services described their resource level as low. This is an ongoing challenge for practitioners and administrators in Student Affairs. “Without an appropriate resource base, student affairs units will be hard-pressed to fulfill their obligations to their campuses and students” (Schuh, 2003, p. 4). Several colleagues outside of Student Affairs also note the division’s lack of resources: “Student Affairs seems to operate on a shoe string” (M8).

One administrator has a strong reaction to the question of resources within her division: “Hell no! No, we don’t have the minimum of what we need to be successful in my department or division. No,” she says. “Many of our offices were added ... and only salaries were funded, not any type of operating budget” (F19). To meet the needs of students being served by these offices, the administrator says, “We have to fight, ask for people to collaborate or to bring their own money” (F19).

Another administrator has similar concerns with setting up offices or programs without the necessary resources: “The administration wants to be able to say we did something, and people like you and I who are used to being on the ground, and understand how these swells happen, we know this is going to cause more damage” (M14). He’s referring to creating a new center for an underserved population: “If you resource this with some token effort, that’s worse than not having anything at all” (M14). “You would never go to [an academic] department and say, “Hey, we want you to start a whole new research area in your department, but there’s no new money” (M14).

One administrator describes the long-term impact of the budget cuts over the last 10 years. She and her team continue to find ways to make it work and get the job done, but with less funding and fewer people. “The campus did not stop growing, and those services continued to

expand as the institute footprint expanded, but my team did not ... I know what [the budget] should be, but the allocation that comes from the state is what it is” (F6).

WORK ROUTINE

I’m burning the candle at three ends, just like everybody else. (F9)

Because my kids are a little bit older, I go home and we have family time, dinner and homework and that kind of thing. When they get to bed, which is about the time I go to bed now because they’re older, I usually will get an hour or so or work in towards the end of the evening. I also get up very early and that’s when I do make up time. (F2)

The administrators in the study represent a range of functional areas across the campus that deal with the “non-academic” components of a university. One participant says, “We’re here to provide a service. I think that’s just a different animal from the academic side of the house” (M5). Much like the literature on “managerial professionals,” the work represented here ranges from addressing student crises to managing data, budgets, fundraising, enrollment, people, and communication. Specifics of the work may be similar to other administrators or vary dramatically; however, work *routines* sound quite familiar across the interviews, and they are all packed with meetings, appointments – email. One administrator says, “Sometimes I need to take a break to go to the bathroom, and that’s hard. Some days are just really, really busy” (F1).

Another administrator with a similar schedule adds, “Email. That is an overwhelming, exhausting task... You’re so afraid that you’re going to miss something important if you start skimming your emails and trying to figure out what is the most urgent” (F19). While there is “no typical day” for any of the administrators interviewed, responding to countless emails plays a prominent role in each person’s day (except one who says that he has let go of keeping up with email. “They’ll call if they need me that badly”) (M8). Individuals describe getting up early and starting the day by checking emails.

In addition, the “work” stretches well beyond office hours for all of the participants, even the two who specifically mention their personal commitment to work-life balance.

Administrators get into the office as early as 7 a.m. or closer to 8 a.m., and most stay until around 6 or 6:30 p.m. One mentions staying late two to four times a week to support student meetings and events. Five administrators mention their children in the context of their schedules. Three women administrators mention leaving “earlier” (4 p.m., 4:30 p.m., or 6 p.m.) to spend time with their children. Two male administrators with younger children share how their work routine has changed with family commitments. One administrator with school-age children describes how his work schedule has shifted:

My normal rhythm is to get going very early, be the first in the office, that’s what I used to do. Since the kids started going to school, we have an arrangement where I drop them off in the morning about 7:15 then I end up at the office about 7:50 or 8:00 in the morning. Typically as a result of that, if I don’t have a lunch meeting, I tend to eat at my desk. It’s probably not the best thing in the world, but it’s an hour of work that I can fit in a day that I normally would have done right out of the gates before everybody else had arrived. (M13)

He mentions working late in the evening and then working again after he gets home. Both moms and dads state that they return to their work at home later that evening, as do the vast majority of their colleagues in the study. Several administrators note coming in on weekends: “I get more done sometimes in four hours on a Sunday than I actually get done in five work days” (M3).

Another administrator describes getting into the office a little early to get ready for the day:

I have a little bit of quiet time to catch up on some emails, then the rest of the day is really consumed with a lot of meetings and interaction with the faculty in a big way. Then when I get to go home, I get to check my email, respond to emails and then do the project activities that I’m required to do before the next day. (M18)

A female administrator reflects:

You know, I think technology makes it too easy to have constant access. I think there is an expectation, and to be honest, I even tell my employees, if [Eiffel U.] is going to pay for your cell phone, I better be able to get you most of the time. There's an expectation if you're going to have those perks. (F11)

The work routines and administrator's comment above reinforce an observation from the literature: "Work never ends in terms of quantity. Its portability is an advantage, making work conditions flexible, but it also means that the expectations of finishing work, whether in or out of the office, are high" (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, p. 245).

The demands of administrative work will be discussed further in the following sections, "Sacrifices" and "Work-Life Balance."

WHO HAS POWER AT THE UNIVERSITY?

Positionally, the executives, the four executives at the institute, clearly have power. I think a lot of that, naturally, is based on position. (F12)

I think that they are guided by a strong moral code. I think that they truly want to do what's best for [the University]. I think that they are willing to listen to various points of view to make a decision, and I think that lends to their success. (F22)

They're white. They're men. They have PhDs. (F19)

Non-faculty administrators have a wide range of viewpoints regarding who has power at the University and how to describe them. Given the level of the administrators interviewed, most have some contact to regular contact with the people they describe in power. Three types of descriptors emerge in the interviews, as demonstrated above: *position*, *demographic*, and *characteristics*. Many participants use at least two of these styles to describe those with power. Within these categories, the stated characteristics and behaviors of those with power have the most divergence, from having "high integrity" to being purposely "non transparent."

Consistent with positional power, the president and provost are seen to have the most power on the campus, and consistently with leadership of research institutions across higher education, most in power are white men. Most of the administrators, both female and male, share observations of the following characteristics. They have Ph.D.s from prestigious institutions. They are experts in the field, have high work ethics, and they're competent. Further observations tell a broader, and perhaps to some, contradictory tale.

Positions of Power

The traditional positions of formal leadership in higher education come up in many descriptions – the president and the provost as well as the “executive” vice presidents (which includes the provost, an EVP of research and an EVP of business and finance). The academic deans also are seen as strong positions of power as well as some individual faculty based on the international renown of their research. (Most of the vice presidents are not specifically mentioned here though individual vice presidents are often referenced within the interviews of administrators who work for them or regularly with them.) Two administrators specifically mention that those in power, i.e., those in leadership roles within the hierarchy, have a strong expectation for others' adherence to the hierarchal structure of the institution. In addition, the Dean of Students and the Executive Director of Budgets are the only non-academic positions referenced.

One male administrator who works frequently with University leadership states: “I think we've got excellent leadership from the president, even the executive leadership team on down. I can't address it as much at the Dean's level and within the units, [but] I think it's a mixed bag” (M3).

Another administrator who works closely with University leadership observed:

I think that some people have power and choose not to see it. I think some of our deans, especially, really leverage the power that they have and do a lot with it. I think others see themselves as powerless and do not see the opportunities that they do have to step up and make things happen. I think that requires a certain amount of risk taking and it also requires kind of taking a stand. (F2)

“A lot of power comes from position,” says another reflecting on who holds power around the campus. “[People in those positions] don’t necessarily build that leadership style, that warm and fuzzy that makes you want to work with them” (F12). Several administrators, female and male, note the prominent role of engineering on the campus and the power held by the dean of engineering, who is “arguably the third most influential person” (M20).

The president, to a number of the administrators interviewed, has a great deal of positional and personal power (Birnbaum, 1988). One administrator describes her perception of the level of the president’s power through a story about attending a recent national conference. She is shocked when other attendees publically discuss and criticize their president.⁵ Her reaction: “It’s not that the president is god, but they’re pretty darn close in the pantheon of the University” (F10). Faculty with academic freedom and shared governance may not have the same god-like perception of the president. It is likely not all staff administrators do either, yet this comment does reflect a notable difference between faculty and staff roles on campus. Indeed, several other administrators reference the potential political cost of speaking up or making a critique. They think about it, but they do it. “I’m candid to my detriment,” says one male administrator with a smile. Still most of the administrators interviewed, both men and women, whether in person, by phone or by email, displayed a calm, level demeanor.

While faculty members may also have positional power within a university structure, this source of power is barely mentioned. However, one administrator, who works frequently with

⁵ An external political hire at a public university

faculty, describes the additional power gained as an acclaimed researcher, probably more noticeable at research institutions. “They use that [acclaim] to exert power and influence over others. Especially up the chain” (F12).

In the non-academic realm of the University, two positions are specifically mentioned, the Dean of Students and the Executive Director of Budgets. The comments regarding the Dean of Students are a blend of both positional and personal power. At Eiffel U., the Dean of Students position has a long history as a strong student advocate. In what Clark (1972) calls the organizational saga of the university, stories abound (and are reinforced with each entering class) of an early dean who was so devoted to helping students get through the college that he did so through his “hip pocket.” Students would come into his office to withdraw from school for financial reasons, and the Dean of Students would pull out his own wallet to cover their crisis. Years ago, the University established an emergency loan program named in reference to this beloved dean.⁶ His reputation and tradition of advocacy remains a legacy with the Dean of Students position.

I think the Dean of Students is a very powerful position, maybe not in leadership of the university or decision making, but in execution of the philosophy/policies of the university. That position is a really fine decision maker and a person who has the ability to execute the policies. You can make all these great policies and you can fund initiatives, but if you don’t have a strong person to execute them in critical areas, you won’t be successful. (F4)

While the Executive Director of Budgets is the only financial position named, at least five administrators indicate “holding the purse strings” as a key factor in having power at the University, whether at the departmental budget level or broader funding sources such as the

⁶ Oral histories of early women to attend the college are not so glowing of this male dean who one alumna vividly remembered. The alumna describes a separate orientation for female students where he stated, “Now, I don’t want you to come running to my office crying” when they could not handle the rigor of the school or the negative response from some of the male students to their presence on campus. (University’s oral history archives)

institute, state, or private money, “having a hand in the budget lends to power” (F4). Another administrator, from within the Business and Finance division, says:

Those who have power I think are those who have connections to upper-level administrators. Again, the folks who hold the purse strings have a lot of power. If you have access to the person that holds the purse strings, then you have more power. I think that’s really where the power is. There is power in facilities as well. (M5)

A colleague who has those “connections to upper-level administrators” expresses her concern over the level of control of other departments or specific positions over funding decisions.

I really think that largely the people who control the money and space have a little bit more power than I would like. I do really feel like [their] role is in service and that comes out, but there are occasionally decisions and actions where I think the academic mission should’ve driven that a little bit more than what might’ve happened. (F2)

A long-term veteran of the University says he learned a valuable message early in his career:

What I learned a long time ago from my first mentor is you judge administrators about where they put their money, period. That’s where your priorities are. Where is the budget? What does the budget say? I don’t care what you say. I don’t care what the strategic plan says. What does the budget say? Some of that may be just my old-school-been-around-here-too-long type mentality, but that’s kind of the world that I see there. With all that I’m still optimistic about education, I’m still optimistic about the power of [this University], and what we can do. (M14)

Demographics of Power

Demographically, all but one of the seven administrators of color interviewed mention race, specifically “white men,” in describing who has power at the University. Nine of the 13 women interviewed noted, at minimum, gender (“male”) as a factor of those in power or those who get ahead. Some of these demographics are verified easily on the organizational chart of the University. A white male administrator says:

How would I describe those in power? I mean I can tell you what the demographics of those people are. You already know, well then you wouldn't be asking the question looking to gratify your hypothesis. They are white men, and I think we have a long way to go to change that. I think the good thing is we have a focus on change. I see our executives placing a high degree and value on diversity. (M8)

Several participants also mention an improvement in the commitment to more diversity by the current leadership and are able to point to a handful of recent hires or promotions in leadership roles to illustrate their point.

In addition to a specific race and gender, having a Ph.D., particularly in science and engineering fields, is perceived by many interviewed as a necessity for those in power. One states that a Ph.D. is expected at a "high-ranking, high tier, research 1A" University, "those things are measured and people care. I'm not saying they matter elsewhere, but they definitely matter here" (M20). Whether internal promotions or external hires, those in power are usually from the tenured faculty ranks. Several administrators also specify that not only are Ph.D.s from certain fields required but they must be from the very top institutions. The possession of a Ph.D. comes up again in discussions with administrators about moving forward in their own careers.

Experiences relating to gender and ethnicity will be explored in another section.

Characteristics of Power

Characteristics of those in power (some of the same leaders listed above), vary dramatically in the responses. Thirteen of 22 (60%) administrators describe characteristics associated with those in power (nine of 13 women and four of 9 men). Eight of the administrators express characteristics they perceive as positive attributes, and the remaining five were negative or neutral. These administrators describe people with a high work ethic, specialized expertise, a problem-solving focus, integrity, respect for others and a passion for

higher education. The president and provost are also called entrepreneurial and visionary, which are often phrases associated with the University. Others have a very different perspective with descriptors such as secretive, siloed, and disconnected.

One long-time administrator at the University describes “people who are very dedicated to advancing higher education.”

One of the reasons I’ve always enjoyed working for a university is because the people who are here are not particularly here to make a whole lot of money. They’re here because they have passion for higher education, and I think the people who rise to the top are people who really, really are driven by that passion. (F4)

Another who frequently interacts with the upper administration adds that they are “guided by a strong moral code.”

I think that they truly want to do what’s best for [the University]. I think that they are willing to listen to various points of view to make a decision, and I think that lends to their success. (F22)

Several participants describe the president’s high-energy, little-sleep work style. “He sends me emails at 3 a.m.” (M3). Others also reference the “24/7” work style of the president and the provost. A female administrator with frequent access to upper administration mentions their high work ethic, expertise and their respect for others. A second female administrator also states expertise as a necessity for power at the research institution.

I would describe them as people with expertise in a certain area. I think those who are broad like me probably don’t have as much power as someone who has a great depth of knowledge in academic affairs or in whatever area. I think if someone is seen as having expertise, then they are viewed as having a certain amount of power. (F11)

Two administrators also state that they are problem-solvers.

Well, you know, power. There’s a lot of perception in power. I think the people that have the most power are the ones that are really trying to solve other people’s

problems because they're the ones that over time get the reputation that that's the person to call, and I think influence is so much more important than authority. (M8)

Others focus on the leadership styles exhibited, especially highlighting those who empower their staff and those who do not.

He works with me as a peer, rather than, you know, 'I'm the boss, do what I say.' If I have a good idea and he uses it, he always provides attribution to where the idea came from. I don't know. He just is such a good leader from that perspective. I think his power is positional. I think because he is so willing to work with people, hear ideas, help build them into the picture, that people easily follow him. I think he not only has power, he has strong leadership capabilities. (F12)

There are at least three prominent types among those in power states one administrator who has served the University for many years. In addition to those who empower, there are those who do not offend but also never have their own identity or give their units any sense of purpose. Then there are the "owners of fiefdoms."

It's very onerous, and they limit the ability of those who are their direct reports to collaborate outside of their units. It's to the detriment of [the University]. I've seen this time and time again, but because of the delegation of authority, leadership here is very hesitant to remove someone in a leadership position in a timely fashion. (M18)

Two administrators somewhat removed from the formal leadership hierarchy express concern that the top-level administrators are "not really connected to the day-to-day experiences" (F1). "I think that they are disconnected from a lot of the things that they are making decisions on" (M14). A third, a high-level female administrator who has experienced a lack of access to upper administration, speaks with frustration:

Secretive. The opposite of transparent, is what I would say... They're enormously egotistical. ... They're very hierarchical. They don't have an open door policy. 'If you've got a problem, take it to your supervisor.' Your supervisor will take it to his supervisor. His supervisor will take it to his supervisor. Then maybe it'll get [back] to me, but not necessarily. (F9)

Another high-level female administrator also sees the hierarchical structure, though she does not indicate any negative connotation to the model. She says from where she sits, she sees the power in action every day.

It does really feel to me like the power here is held largely within the hierarchical structure as it was intended. Now, somebody from outside of this building may point to people, potentially myself, as there's people there who have power that's not necessarily formalized or beyond what's formalized within the structure.
(F11)

Another states:

You can list who's quoted to know who has power. It's just clear. I think it's very clear who has power. How would I describe them? Powerful. No. I don't know that anyone abuses it. There are no tyrants at [at the University] that I interacted with, not at all. (F6)

PEER GROUP

I feel like the more I've risen in the organization, my peer group has become very, very small. (F12)

Administrators, asked to describe their peer group on campus, often point to others at Eiffel U. with similar titles, responsibilities or functions as their peers. Those could be divisional colleagues with similar titles or campus colleagues with similar responsibilities and functions in their own areas. However, for many, especially women administrators, the question is difficult to answer. Veterans note how few professional staff historically had decision-making authority – and how even fewer were (and even now are) women. All of the administrators of color name other high-level administrators who are also people of color, regardless of function.

One senior director with substantial fiscal and decision-making responsibilities describes his peer group as other administrators with similar functions and titles, including those at the next level:

I think most all of the directors reporting to my vice president are senior directors or executive directors, just meaning that they have larger responsibilities or they have a number of directors or senior directors reporting to them. [For example,] Housing is a \$65 million dollar business. It has about one-third of the campus square footage. (M5)

This male administrator sees those senior directors and executive directors as his peers as well as many directors around campus. An executive director in the same division refers to the directors he works with most closely and considers those in similar functional positions across campus as peers also. “Those guys are my peers. I don’t consider the deans my peers. I don’t pretend that I go out and meet with the deans [to do my job]” (M16). Instead he works with his functional counterparts in those colleges to fulfill his campus-wide responsibilities (M16).

Another male administrator indicates that he should be in a higher peer group, also noting he does not have a “lot of need for hierarchy.” (M8)

I have the group that I would *like* to be thought of as my peer group [VPs], but that’s sort of a function of my direct-line-of-reporting envy. But I think, practically speaking, I try and treat everybody like a peer. I try and approach them like a peer. I’m not a guy that has a whole lot of need for hierarchy I guess. (M8)

Both men and women describe their peer groups through similar titles or functions; however, seven (54%) of 13 women go beyond those descriptions in their responses. For some, being in a high-level leadership position limits their peer group. One such administrator says that people see her position as one with “decision-making capacity at a high level” and therefore they are not always themselves around her (F12). Another says she “straddles” two groups of peers because of her direct work with the upper administration. “I probably fit more naturally with that [next] tier,” but adds “it’s very much in my mind that I represent to the rest of campus that I am a member of [the leadership]” (F11). Another administrator, not as high up in the hierarchy, mentions this particular leader as someone she admires and considers somewhat of a mentor. She

feels like she could call on her for advice but describes the relationship as “very professional and issues based” (F1).

A veteran of the University remembers the challenge of finding a non-faculty peer to talk things through or get advice. Now, she observes more staff members “in what I would consider decision-making professional roles that really have an impact on the organization, and I’m pleased to report that a lot more of them are women than used to be the case.” She adds, “I feel like I can pick up the phone and call somebody who is kind of at my level, meaning professional staff member, and we can pound out some solutions together” (F2).

Several women note their difficulty in naming peers. One high-level female administrator comes back to the question at the end of the interview:

When you asked me the question, who are my peers, it’s like, well, as a woman here, I don’t have that many peers, but okay, let’s try to think who that would be. Normally when someone would say to me in any realm of my life, ‘who are your peers?’ I first start thinking of women. I don’t think of the hierarchy. I think of who are people going through the same thing I’m going through. It’s interesting that that was a harder question for me than I ever anticipated. (F4)

A high-level woman of color lists counterparts in her division but adds: “You know, I’ve always had a problem with that. I’m not sure I’ve ever felt like I have a peer group” (F9).

In addition to positional peers, some female administrators also mention individual people on campus that they consider peers. The white female administrator above explains her difficulty in listing peers because she immediately thinks of women and there are so few at her position level on campus. African-American administrators, like the others, list peers with similar titles and functions, but they also name high-level faculty and staff administrators, regardless of function, who are also people of color as their peers. Almost all include a prominent academic dean. They do not specify if these individuals are peers due to their shared ethnicity, but it is a distinction in the responses.

One woman administrator of color does state says she relies more on these campus peers than her own colleagues for support of her work: “I really feel that I’m more valued outside of my department than I am within my department” (F19). She describes a specific example where her departmental colleagues did not respond to her request. “But when you’ve been experiencing that for so long, you just don’t care. You just start ... you start relying on other people. Like, my program wasn’t going to fail because I knew that I would get help from people outside my area” (F19).

THE PROVERBIAL FACULTY-STAFF DIVIDE

For the most part, the faculty have been very collaborative. I’ve not encountered any great barriers. (F9)

...when it comes to faculty, understand it doesn’t matter what issues you have, they’re not going nowhere. (M14)

While some administrators have positive working relationships with faculty, others note that the proverbial faculty-staff divide appears to be alive and well at this Very Research Intensive university. Staff across higher education often acknowledge frustration at the different levels of respect (and autonomy) afforded to faculty members – or more so the lack of respect or dismissive attitudes of faculty that are often experienced by staff. In Student Affairs, administrators utilize scholarly journal articles, organization newsletters and professional conferences (i.e., NASPA and ACPA among others) to discuss, debate, and share best practices to improve or create working relationships with Academic Affairs. Service-learning articles from practitioners address the need for more intentional interactions among faculty and academic courses with service-learning initiatives on campus and in the community. Conference presentations and roundtables address the faculty/staff divide on an annual basis, usually

focusing on ways the staff can reach out to the faculty; the power differentials between faculty and staff may or may not be overtly addressed. Less clear is if this topic is on the radar for faculty members.

Is there a faculty-staff divide at Eiffel U.? Administrators interviewed here are typically in positions of more responsibility and authority than the wider range of staff positions across the University, including those who work within academic units;⁷ however, according to an evaluation report of the University's 2012 diversity symposium, the relationship between faculty and staff came up several times as an important issue that needs to be addressed. One participant commented, "I was most surprised by the bitterness of staff about faculty; not even sure that this is a diversity issue and not an OHR issue, but it was rather shocking" (University report retrieved online 4 May 2014).

In this study, 12 of 22 administrators in these higher-level staff positions also note the distinction. Some recognize its origins. Some accept the attitudes as part of working in higher education. Others find such interactions challenging to their work productivity and personal experience: "At the end of the day you have to have a tough skin as staff member if you want a career here" (M14). Others, based on their functions on campus, have limited interaction with faculty or the academic side in general.

Still others find themselves in the role of a "trusted advisor," particularly when there is a benefit to the faculty, i.e., proposal assistance, funding requests, curriculum changes, or personnel or student issues. One high-level administrator describes her relationships with faculty as "very positive" (F9).

⁷ Staff and administrators within academic units were intentionally not selected for this study in an effort to look at the broader workings of the university beyond Academic Affairs.

There is a certain level of, I guess, barrier, in that I'm not academic faculty, and I don't have a Ph.D. There are times when I wind up being the person who's calling the shots, because I know how a proposal needs to look, or I know who needs to be involved. For the most part, the faculty [members] have been very collaborative. I've not encountered any great barriers. I think for the most part they've been appreciative of the fact that I'm trying to bring money to their table. (F9)

Another administrator notes the change in attitude outside of her realm:

Should it be in a different situation where it's more on par, or equals, their tone might be different. There are some [faculty] where I've had that experience where they're perfectly pleasant with me, very respectful. Then I'll see them in a different setting, and it's a slightly different personality. (F12)

Another high-level administrator has seen a "greater appreciation of staff in professional roles, especially by administrators," but adds:

I rarely spend any time in a school around what I'll call regular faculty, the faculty doing teaching and research, and I do understand and I hear rumblings ever so often that staff feel unappreciated by faculty in that regard. (F2)

Administrators who work more closely with staff members hear those "rumblings" more often, as did the participants of the diversity symposium, which brings together faculty, staff and students to discuss diversity issues and possible solutions. One administrator interviewed discusses the impact of tight economic times "between the faculty and staff side of the house." He points out that there has been a lot of feedback from staff "who did not see the same level of cutbacks happening with faculty, other than perhaps [the academic department's] office budgets were not quite as high as they have been" (M3).

One long-term administrator promoted to a higher-level role reminisces about being director of a department and the differences he's encountered in his new role. "We grew up on this partnership in [our department], we grew up with ... 'we are all equal at the table,' 'all of our opinions count,' that sort of stuff, and we just found that worked for us" (M14).

I did have to realize, once I became Director, that even though that's how we felt [in the department], I do live in a bigger structure that does care about hierarchy and about titles. That's why I always call everybody ... every meeting I'm in, everybody with a Ph.D., I call them doctor, and I do that especially in public, regardless of whether I've known [the person] forever and a day, I still call [him/her] doctor.

I don't want anybody to have a petty reason to not want to work with me, collaborate with me or deal with me, so I'm going to be as respectful as possible in the scenario. Especially for some type of guy that likes to speak his mind, and say what I think, and say what I feel, so I figure, you've got to be as correct as possible in all other realms so that you can get away with some of the things. Right? (M14)

Another administrator upon reflection recognizes that there are additional differences between faculty and staff, even administrators.

You know, I've never thought of it until you asked the question, but I do think it's different. I think faculty have more of a freedom to toot their own horn ... because the success of their research and their programs is a success to the institute, and so I think they have more freedom to go out on that edge a little bit and promote themselves. Where with staff, I think definitely we feel like ... well, I can't speak for everybody, but our success as a whole, as staff, is going to benefit [the University]. (F11)

She adds that she feels she would not gain more respect "unless I had that Ph.D. behind my name ..."

I even question with an Ed.D. I've talked about that. I don't have much of an interest in research. It's just not an area of mine, so I'd rather go get an Ed.D. than a Ph.D., but I still wonder if that would be viewed as good enough, and I don't think it would be here. (F11)

A long-time administrator states that by not having a Ph.D., "we're often put in a position of really having to prove ourselves and our value to the organization in order to gain the trust and competence that we need to do our jobs well" (F4). Another female administrator says, "It's more challenging for staff to have respect, no matter how high you're up in the administration" (F19). A male administrator with significant access to the University's budget adds that he

experiences faculty attitudes of “ ‘Well if he doesn’t have a Ph.D., he doesn’t know as much as I know and I don’t have to follow the rules.’ The challenge is often folks don’t feel like that the rules apply to them” (M16). One administrator adds she is sometimes seen as a “bureaucrat, standing in their way, or I’m somebody to be influenced in a certain direction. Not necessarily as an intellectual peer” (F12).

Administrators on the operational side of the University have far less interaction with faculty members. “That’s probably the group I interact with the least, faculty members. There’s some. I would say less than 5% of my interactions are with faculty” (M5). A colleague in a similar role says, “I do, and that’s really more of my intention. I forged a relationship intentionally to make sure that there’s a connection” (F6).

WHO GETS AHEAD AT EIFFEL U.?

We are very productivity oriented. We are also a very professional, sophisticated culture. I think those people who present that level of professionalism, who obviously produce good results, are the ones who get ahead. (M5)

I think that white males are considered competent, period, exclamation point. Everybody else has to prove competence. (F7)

Competence is consistently shared as an attribute to get ahead at Eiffel U., and for half of the administrators, so is gender, as in “male.” The comments here are quite similar to the descriptions of “those in power” except they do not focus so specifically on academic leadership. One administrator adds to her comments about gender and race a “politically correct” answer that captures the broader responses of many participants: “those who work hard, those who operate with integrity, those who are passionate about what they do and those who are committed. You have to have a level of intelligence. You have to know your craft” (F6).

Loyalty to the University and buy-in to the shared vision (vs. individual achievement) are also common characteristics noted of staff administrators who get ahead. A national reputation in one's field is also a plus. Additional participants comment on the need for a Ph.D. to advance, even on the administrative side. Others speak strongly of successful administrators being on board with the mission and not going counter to the University's focus or their "supervisor" or "leader." Gender, noted above, is an attribute pointed out by almost half of all interviewed.

Participants hold mixed views on internal vs. external hires. While some name a handful of internal administrators who have moved up, others are emphatic that external hires are preferred at Eiffel U. Indeed, some of the very participants in the study have been promoted from within. Most often, though, these participants have seen external hires. They note the ones from corporate backgrounds tend to struggle and usually do not last long. One describes a vice president hired from the corporate world who only brought in others from the outside: "The few people he did bring in, all of them are gone. They didn't work out. They didn't work out while he was here, and then ultimately he didn't work out" (M3).

Comparing the characteristics of faculty advancement to those perceived necessary for staff administrators is striking. Faculty characteristics are often described in literature as well as campus discussions as individualistic, competitive, focused on independent research and personal renown, alignment with their discipline not their institution and shared governance in campus decisions (Rhodes & Sporn, 2002). Characteristics for staff advancement, however, are almost the exact opposite. The excerpts below illustrate a dramatically different perspective for staff advancement.

General Attributes of Those Who Get Ahead

A strong consensus emerges among the interviews. Competence. Intelligence. Work ethic. Strategic. Big picture. Team players. Adaptive. There is incongruence, however, in the expectation to be assertive leaders and risk takers, and to have strategic visions for their own departments. One participant's response illustrates the "can do" attitude and work ethic that comes up often:

They tend to be "can do" people. They don't come to "Oh, we can't possibly do that. That will never work." They're "can do" people that want to say, "Let's find the way to make that work," or "Yeah, we may not have a budget or we may not have the resources. What can we do?" I think that's probably a big one to me. I think that's respected here, and I think if you really show that and you show that you're part of the team and part of the bigger vision of the Institute, I've seen people advance. I feel like that's what's happened to me over my career here as well. (F15)

Another administrator, who works closely with the executive team, emphasizes that assertive people – "who are willing to make decisions and stick to it" – get ahead. "You can be collaborative all you want, but at some point, the buck stops here and you have to make a decision" (F11). She adds that the president likes and respects people who are willing to take a risk and also accept responsibility when appropriate, i.e. "You know what? That's on me. I may have screwed that up, but I'll do better next time" (F11). A high-level administrator across the campus has a different perspective.

So within certain spheres, you can fail big. If you have the right idea and you fail that, the fact that you have the right idea carries you through. That doesn't happen now. I think the people that get ahead, there's a competence that I think you have to have, but being out on the edge and being progressive here, I don't get a sense that it's doing a great deal [to help build your reputation]. (M8)

Several administrators mention that those internal to the University who get ahead have been able "to create and recreate their jobs" (M14). One gives a detailed example of a colleague

he's seen advance through the institution and has continued to recreate her position through three different provosts. "[She] has survived that because she has established herself as a go-to person, and a vital, critical person [to the institution]" (M14). "She does not have a Ph.D., so she will never have an opportunity, in our age, to be the Provost at a research one major university. Even though she's probably at the highest possible position she could be in the Provost Office, and probably knows everything the Provost knows almost, but again, that's not something that's ever going to happen to her" (M14).

One long-time administrator in the Business and Finance division says there's a "subculture" of Eiffel U. where he has seen internal candidates promoted because of lifelong relationships, even though the promotion may be detrimental to the best interests of the University. Then again, "I've seen folks come into [Eiffel U.], and they go through the ranks, and it's purely on their talent and their ability to get things done and collaborate" (M18).

Another administrator says, "Nobody I work with gets ahead." In her division, people do not leave, so others do not move up. Then she thinks about colleagues in other divisions. The people who have moved up did so when their supervisor "went out on a limb for them and elevated them" (F19). "In my opinion, there's tons of other people who've worked fully as hard as these people, but it was the supervisor or even someone higher in a higher level, supporting [those who were promoted]. That doesn't happen a whole lot" (F19). Two other participants bring up supervisors and mentors as integral to their advancement. One describes her involvement in a major project with a senior leader on campus: "We had a very influential role, and we learned so much and got to see a side of him. It was better than MBA... It's that learning opportunity that really led to the ability to progress" (F10).

A long-time administrator shares his own story:

It's been nice to see a couple of our internal employees move on into these management positions because they deserved it. ... Over the years [I] moved into a director's role, then the senior director, now I'm assistant vice president, so I can attest to the fact that you do a good job, like what you're doing, it does pay off. Campus wide, I don't see it as much. (M3)

Another administrator with a long track record at the institution notes, "I've also just seen people coming in with external so-called skills. They start off at positions higher, or salaries higher, than I would expect" (F12). She adds, "If I moved into a new position here, I would likely make less than if I leave, then I come back. I could probably command a greater salary" (F12). With no salary increases for five years, these salary differentials between internal promotions and external hires could be even larger.

In addition to competence and other qualities above, almost half of the participants state that to get ahead, you need a Ph.D.: "Ph.D.s seem to be valued. If I had a Ph.D., I might be in a different position, I don't know. That's the simple answer" (M16). He adds, "I think around here, we tend to be a little snooty probably about where you'd go to school." He mentions that he went to Vanderbilt and George Washington – which are "pretty good schools" – but he questions the relevance of "which" schools so many years into his career (M16).

One administrator, close to retirement, says that those coming up will need an advanced degree, "a Ph.D. in something..." (F4). "You can rise through the ranks of [your department] extremely easily when it's just your group ... but if you want to hold a position of being a decision maker in a university, I think you're going to have to have that advanced degree" (F4).

"Who Gets Ahead in This University? Men." And the Company (Wo)men

"How can I answer this for a recording? I will say that men get ahead by virtue of being men in a male-dominated organization. They're more comfortable with each other, less

comfortable with women professionals” (F4). This long-time female administrator mentions that she has been able to build rapport with male leaders and colleagues through her love of sports. She also comments elsewhere that she has seen very little change in the number of women in leadership roles over the more than two decades she has worked for the University.

Another female administrator also responds, “Who gets ahead in this university? Men.”

I think I’m pausing because I want to see if ‘get ahead’ ... so ‘get ahead’ can be a couple of things; who’s successful, right, and what does success look like at the institute and also who moves through? Who moves up? As I try to think about both of those things, let me pause for a second and think through. I think it’s hard for me not to say men because that’s what I see, and I’m going to say white men because I’m not seeing ... [she trails off]. (F6)

As she continues to process the question, she adds that she has a white male peer who works “his butt off who’s not getting ahead because he’s not playing games.” He’s not part of the good-old-boy network, “he’s just hard work” (F6). She adds, “I think in order to get ahead anywhere, you have to know your craft, you know what you do and deliver what you say you deliver. I can only hope that that’s what happens out there” (F6). Two other female administrators point out that they also have witnessed highly competent men not get ahead because they “didn’t fit the mold, were not backslapping locker room, tall, white” (F9). One of these high-level administrators says emphatically:

On the administrative side, you’ve got to be a guy. Or if you’re not ...
No, you’ve got to be a guy. If you’re a female and you think you’re in this inner circle, A) you’re not, you’re support, you’re a token, and you’re a yes person. You’re somebody who never questions the decisions and you can question, and I’m not saying be adversarial in your questioning, but just somebody who doesn’t have that, ‘Oh my goodness that’s so brilliant,’ as part of her automatic response. If you’re not of that ilk, it ain’t going to happen. (F9)

Another administrator adds that though it seems “completely stereotypical,” she has seen men make a bigger deal about things they have accomplished than she would: “Yet, they get recognized for that. That part, that gets under my skin a little bit” (F12).

To those who are long-time veterans of Eiffel U., the current leadership is still early in its tenure. The president has been at the University for about 5 years, but to administrators newer to the institution, the current team has always been in power.

There haven’t been major shake-ups in leadership at the institution since I have been here. ... like I think about president’s cabinet when I think about institutional leadership and who gets ahead. I think about that circle and that there is one woman as part of that circle, and nobody has left so nobody has had the opportunity to move up. (F1)

Yet another female administrator states: “It has nothing to do with gender, race, ethnicity, creed, orientation” (F10).

It has to do with the alignment or the willingness of the person to align themselves with the vision and mission and agenda and priorities of the executive. That’s really it, that’s the secret. If you get somebody who’s willing to execute, you could get great expert in the field, but if all they want to do is pretty much they have an agenda or if they can’t get past their theory, they are not going to go far. Because they spin their wheels and get frustrated or they get devalued because they can’t do the job that’s needed. They can’t help their leader as needed” (F10).

The same high-level administrator describes people who have moved ahead and taken on new areas or responsibilities: “they looked for advice; they looked for ways from their boss and from others. They sought council; they always tried to ensure they had their bosses back” (F10).

Another high-level administrator (who ran her own department previously) says:

They’ll come to me with like, “I’m not getting promoted.” I’ll say, “Well, are you doing these things because they’re of interest to you, or where your passion lies? Or are you doing them because you’ve figured out that these really help move your supervisor’s vision forward?” You know, there has to be that link. Often, what’s occurred is, they’re off in- I don’t want to call it busy work, they’re doing a lot of activity. Their supervisor doesn’t find value in it. As busy as they might be, it’s not a productive busy if their end goal is a promotion and getting ahead. (F12)

This focus on a shared vision and being part of a team might not seem unusual until considered in a higher education context. The “willingness” to align with their executive, “help their leader as needed” or have “your boss’s back” are similar phrases that come up in the interviews of several women administrators who are their supervisor’s right-hand. The theme of collaboration is evident across male and female participants’ interviews. From providing data such as reports, analysis, and recommendations to upper administration for decision-making to serving as “triage” for supervisors, there appears to be a distinct difference between how staff administrators and leaders who come from faculty ranks see their roles in administration.

Faculty, of course, are “raised” and rewarded to do the opposite. For example, the AAUP’s “Statement on the Relationship of Faculty Governance to Academic Freedom” reinforces the faculty’s right to academic freedom. “Central to such freedom is the right of a faculty member, without fear of reprisal or loss of influence, to criticize the administration and the governing board on matters of faculty concern” (O’Neal, p. 91).

One long-term administrator points out that the structure of higher education institutions limits advancement opportunities for staff in ways that are not faced by faculty. While no one disputes the immense pressure and challenge of the tenure process, once faculty gain that distinction, their options for promotion continue to be based on their own individual acclaim. As staff, the quality or renown of one’s work may not be enough to gain a promotion.

Even though you may see a couple spots ahead ... there’s nothing you can do until [that person] leaves. Faculty, guess what? I can be an Assistant Professor, and it doesn’t matter how many other professors come out, I can go get Associate, then I could become a Full ... then I could become Regents. By the way, I can keep getting promotions, and raises, and so on and so forth, so I can be a faculty member and there is no boundary of people and stuff on me. I also have the option to go into administration as a faculty member, and guess what, if I don’t like it, I can quit and go back to the faculty... In fact, I’ve heard faculty admit on many occasions, across the board, that the reason they went into administration is to jump their salary... Staff has none of that ability whatsoever. (M14)

MOVE FORWARD IN CAREER

Speaker 1: What do you think that you'll need to do to move forward in your career at this institution?

Speaker 2: At this point, we could kill off my boss. (laughs)

Speaker 1: Do I need to stop the recording?

Speaker 2: No. I'm very satisfied where I am in my career which maybe that says a lot about me. (M3)

People stick around at Eiffel University. Most of the administrators interviewed have been at the University for at least 15-20 years. The same seems to be true of their supervisors, which makes moving forward at the institution a bit of a challenge. Administrators talk of the longevity of their supervisors in those positions, their own perceived disinterest in the responsibilities at the next level, or the need to have more experience to be ready to advance. Some have hit a ceiling on the staff side, and others note that only certain people seem to be promoted. Still others consider moving into the private sector.

"Oh, man. That question really is the bane of the staff existence" (M14). Several administrators point out that being promoted into their supervisor's role is unlikely. A second veteran administrator mentions his supervisor's demise as the one of the few ways to advance. "I'd have to have a definite desire to one day become my boss," he says. "Again, that's a situation where I would have to wait for him to leave or die, but I could still aspire to move up" (M14).

A female administrator newer to campus sees the same barrier to a promotion at the University. "I think that people can't move up because people aren't leaving" (F1). She says she certainly doesn't foresee her supervisor moving on: "I don't think that there's any way for me to move up the hierarchy here unless I want to leave [this field]. For me that's just not an option

given my professional background and what I'm most passionate about" (F1). She adds, "I'm not looking to leave. It's actually the first job in many, many years where I'm not combing job listings and thinking, 'I have to get out of here' " (F1). Instead, she is finding ways to increase her experience in other areas, such as teaching and leading research studies. Having her Ph.D. may help in this effort as Eiffel U. does not have many staff administrators who serve as principal investigators on research projects.

Others talk about their disinterest in their supervisor's roles. One administrator close to retirement says he would probably have to move elsewhere to move up because "I don't know that my boss's position is a position that I would thrive in," he adds, "I really enjoy producing things... That just doesn't happen at his level" (M5). He's considering moving into industry once he reaches the option to retire from the University. Another administrator says moving to the next level would not be as student-centered, "so I have no interest in that whatsoever" (F6). When asked if she would be interested in moving up in another position or university, she responds:

Absolutely. I just don't know what that looks like currently. I have a passion for teaching; I love it. I absolutely love it so I think I would ... in an ideal world I'd be able to serve in some type of administrative capacity that leverages my strengths and teach a couple of classes related to education or psychology or higher ed. That would be a dream. What that looks like, I don't know. I don't know. (F6)

A high-level administrator could be eligible for the next level now since there is a vacancy, but he says that his vice president needs to hire his own replacement. He does not see himself as that person.

That's the only place I can move is that position right there. The only reason that would make sense for me to take that job is on an interim basis to keep the thing running. I am where I want to be right now. I enjoy what I'm doing. I've been promoted even though I didn't move anywhere. I've had more responsibility. I've had more staff added. This is a much larger staff than I had before. I think I'm

valuable to the institute where I am and I don't have any place where I really want to move nor outside of [the University]. (M16)

One higher-level administrator is also happy with his current work, but not his place in the reporting structure. "I don't envision a different role. I'd like to do it at a different level. I would hope, you know, I, like anybody, hope for title increases, but I really genuinely don't spent a lot of time thinking about that" (M8). He shares this perspective several times during the interview, even in small talk before it officially begins: "If I do a good enough job, they won't be able to help but to notice, so I'm just focused on trying to get the things right, you know? There's plenty to get right for God's sake" (M8).

More Experience

Several participants (both male and female) speak of the need to acquire more experience before being prepared to move to the next level. One high-level administrator describes that he feels more confident now that he could eventually move up. His current vice president has supported his development by including his AVPs in his decision-making process, budget allocations and interactions with upper administration.

I think I'm probably better prepared for it than I was a couple of years ago when I felt like I was more just mid-level manager, even moving up into the AVP role. I think it's been a good fit, and I'm glad I'm in the position, but at the time I was not ready for a VP role if it had been made available. Who knows? We'll see. (M3).

At least five high-level women administrators speak to the need to acquire more specialized knowledge or deeper knowledge in a particular area instead of the "very broad, shallow pool of knowledge" they have from working on a variety of campus projects from a broad perspective. "I have this internal discussion with myself a lot," says one. In each of these cases, these administrators have high-level interactions with upper administration, academic

leadership, and staff administrators. They have the 30,000-foot view and also understand the history and nuances of the political nature of the University.

That is a question I struggle with often. To be honest, I'm not sure. In my current role, I am kind of a Jack of all trades, a master of none ... The difficulty is, it's almost as if I'm done. I'm like, this is the max. People who don't understand the makeup of an academic institution will say, 'Well, couldn't you have your boss's job eventually?' No. I actually could never have that position, because they want a faculty member in that position, which I absolutely understand. (F12)

Another states that she would need more line management and a broader portfolio. To do so, she would have to get a position that was seen "as a demotion" to get the experience to move up to the next level. "I think that aspect, that combination of the broad knowledge, pretty deep knowledge in a number of areas and real experience in serving faculty and students more directly will be the next big thing I need" (F10).

Several individuals also mention the need to get their doctorates to advance. "I feel that the writing's on the wall. I think that everyone who wants to move up in [our field] is pretty much going to have to have a doctorate of some sort" (F19). A male administrator says he is unsure of his career path forward.

Part of it is, the further up, the further removed from students. Part of it is I think I'm doing my best right now to do a good job; a good job in my job and a good job as a husband and a good job as a father. Adding a Ph.D., one of those, if not all of those, would suffer, and I'm not somebody that's good with good. I kind of like to do great. You only get one shot at this, and I don't think I'll go to my grave saying, 'I hope they put Ph.D. on my gravestone,' but I sure hope my kids come visit me. More life related. (M20)

Don't See Moving Forward Here

Some women who may have the experience and potential for the next level believe they still will not be promoted.

I don't see moving forward in my career at this institution. I think I've gone as high as I can go. I'm amazed that I'm still alive, that I haven't been disposed of.

It's really by luck that I've found a niche that I seem to be uniquely qualified to fill. (F9)

This high-level administrator also notes that she had a challenging time with her supervisor until she received a dual reporting line "which has made all the difference" (F9).

Another woman had similar thoughts: "I think moving to the next level for me—I don't see that in my future at this institution." She adds that the politics – and the leadership – are impediments to advancement.

I think that the higher we go, the more the political issues get. While I'd be willing to play that game, I'd be going to play it authentic. That means I don't think that there are people who would be very comfortable with that. I don't know for sure, but I'm just guessing. That would be my best guess. To forward my career in this organization, I think it would change over in leadership with, let's say, people who don't want to view traditional profiles and traditional versions of what a leader should look like and how would she get paid. It's the people who select certain individuals and give those individuals opportunities. They're still very much [white men]. (F7)

Another woman of color shares a similar perspective for similar reasons: "I made a decision a long time ago that I do not want to move up at this institution" (F19). Within the same division, another administrator says she has been given great opportunities, "but I know that sometimes when I speak too much, I am not welcome ... I think that I have lost opportunities as a result of speaking too much" (F1).

Towards the end of an interview, I commented to another participant that she seemed to have more than enough experience to have become a vice president in her field, especially having served in an interim role several times. "Mm-hmm (affirmative). I think it could have been. I look back on it now and go, well, there's a big part of me that is happy with how things worked out, but I know I could have done the job" (F4).

Retirement

Given that 8 participants have been at Eiffel U. for more than 20 years, not surprisingly, some mention retirement instead of advancement at the University. Several female administrators talk of broadening their roles and experiences at the University during their remaining time instead of moving up to another position. Two male administrators share their plans to go into industry once they retire in a couple years; one notes that he would make double the amount of his supervisor's salary for similar work in industry.

Others whose enjoyment in their work also comes through clearly in their interviews, reinforce their interest in actually retiring. "I'm getting old enough that I'm already having those thoughts about retirement in the next few years instead of 'where am I going to be five years, 10 years from now?' I can tell you, I won't still be working" (M3).

A female administrator shares her pride about retiring from her current position at Eiffel U.: "I really would like to go out on a high note and retiring [from this position at this University] having done some pretty good things while I'm here, I think, is terrific. I'm not looking for a promotion. I intend to retire" (F17).

An executive director adds, "When I finally retire – walk out of this place and feel like I can leave – I'm not going to come back like a lot of people do and work part-time. I don't want to ... I'm going to walk away and we're getting close" (M16).

SACRIFICES

If you want to be an administrator and you want to have a life that's never interrupted by work on weekends, it's not going to happen. I think you sacrifice personal time. (F17)

Time? Yes

Time: the number one sacrifice for non-faculty administrators to get ahead at Eiffel U.

Even male and female administrators who do not directly identify time as a “sacrifice” often do address it indirectly in describing their work routine or other aspects of their career. Participants also note sacrifices they’ve observed of others, usually male leaders who have had heart attacks or problems with their families or marriages. Personal sacrifices include loss of time with their own families, loss of autonomy, authenticity, work friendships, and further education.

Some participants do not seem to interpret “administrators” in this question to be themselves but focus on higher-level leadership, still noting time, including all the national and international travel involved, and the health and family issues noted above. Two of the 22 participants state that they do not sacrifice their personal time, yet one male administrator describes his work routine of early-morning and late-night emails as well as often working on Sundays when no one else is in the office. The other, who is female, shares:

I think that sometimes you sacrifice time, energy, balance... personally, I don't. I leave on time and I come [in] early, but that gives me balance. My energy level, I try to just keep at a normal pace and not get overwhelmed by what I'm trying to do. I think that when I look at other people who are doing emails at nine, ten, midnight, that's not balanced and you are sacrificing your time for something else. (F1)

Another administrator feels that staff members have to sacrifice work-life balance “a lot more than faculty will. Because there is a sense that there is a higher level of, I guess, responsibility” (M18). He represents the many administrators checking emails late at night.

Yes, I'll sacrifice waking up in the morning checking email. If I go to sleep checking email, sometimes I have to tell myself, it's time to take a break. And I would probably say that if I had not done that, then I would not be as successful. I've seen some administrators come and go fairly quickly because they refused to sacrifice that and then their career, it doesn't go anywhere. (M18)

Others describe similar work routines, and one administrator refers to another colleague across campus “who may not talk about it, [but] she works 40 hours during the week and then

she will go home, spend time with her kids and at 11 o' clock is freaking back up to do it again" (F6).

She shares that this work ethic crosses the campus: "It is not uncommon for many people to work, not just in this division but in other divisions, to work nonstop ... I think there's a lack of balance across the institute as a whole" (F6). She gives a few examples within her own unit that include hourly and student workers and then adds, "I think those who are committed to the institute are working like crazy" (F6).

Speaker 1: What do you think drives that lack of balance? Where is that coming from?

Speaker 2: I think it's [the University's] standards. They want to do more, push, make it happen, be the best we can be and I think that's the ... often times the type of people we hire. (F6)

Another long-time female administrator thinks about the question for a minute:

I do think, to get ahead, it's very hard to keep balance in a personal and professional life. To get ahead, you really need to work harder, which also means working longer, and as I say, doing the professional development kind of thing, which means going to conferences and all of those things are usually in addition to your full time job, and so I think it's very difficult for people who are really trying to advance to find that balance, to be able to raise a family. That's another reason why you don't see quite as many women in higher administration ... more men, because men don't particularly have the bulk of the raising family responsibilities, and so I would say that as far as the sacrifice, their sacrifice is the balance. (F4)

Another female administrator who plans to have children makes a similar observation: "I know plenty of women who haven't started families, who have put off starting families, and men who don't spend nearly enough time at home and their kids can speak to that very clearly" (F1).

A high-level female administrator with several children reflects:

There are periods where I knew that I was putting family a little bit second. Of course, if something major happened, I would drop everything, work included, and tend to my family. You know, I can remember periods in my work life here,

where even if I'm at home, my focus is on work. My family used to tease me. I always had a glow about me because I had my laptop with me all the time. You know, I think in order to get where I am now, I had to do that. There was no way for me to just work eight to five with an hour lunch, and expect that I was going to really move ahead. I think it's part of what you have to do, is just sacrifice a little bit of your personal life in order to give a little bit more to work. Honestly, I think it balances out. Eventually. (F12)

Another high-level female administrator acknowledges her concern about the amount of time she spends with her family: "I don't want to look back one day and go they're grown and gone. Like I told you, it's happening so fast as it is. I can't bear giving up a second of that, and I can't figure out a way to work less. I already sleep about as little as I can (F2). Other women note the challenge of "building relationships with a partner because you are working until nine o'clock at night, five days a week. When do you have time for yourself?" (F1). One shares the challenge of having the time to find a partner, much less start a family.

While the University culture seems to reinforce this high level of work ethic, several administrators share that their divisions or departments are a little different because of supportive supervisors who encourage more balance. One administrator states that her organization's leader respects work-life balance so "it's not about who's working the weekend and long hours" to get ahead. "Are we getting results? I think that's the bottom line" (F15).

I'm not saying we don't all sometimes kill ourselves, it all depends on what's happening in the cycle of the business. At times there are expectations that, 'Yes, we've got to work this weekend,' or 'Yes, we've got to work lighter,' whatever the case may be. I think it's more if you work hard, you do your job, you're committed to what the bigger picture goal is, that's really what's the driver. (F15)

The administrator whose family teased her about the "glow" about her from her laptop screen says she now has more flexibility to better balance her work and family responsibilities.

I feel like I've proven myself to a certain extent, especially with my current [supervisor]. You know, if I tell him I need to work from home, he doesn't question why. I think because I put in those hours before, I've built my credibility

bag. I can keep chipping away at that. I'm sure at some point, either I get a new [supervisor] that I'm working with, or I take too much out of my credibility bag, then things might change. I feel like I have a lot of flexibility, again, that autonomy to do what I think - you know, to help balance as much as I can in my home and my workplace lives. (F12)

Administrators also mentioned other personal sacrifices such as losing autonomy, authenticity, friendships and educational opportunities. Several administrators who have moved into higher-level positions miss the autonomy they had as directors of their own units.

Everything I do I have to get permission to do ahead of time. It changes the dynamic for me, so as a result I think it restrains me a little bit... That autonomy and that authority [before], it gave me the ability to be innovative, creative, nimble, dynamic, and we could react in time. (M14)

Another administrator says she's had to sacrifice, like any manager, "being friends with everyone." In her position, "I need to be seen as someone who is willing to make a hard decision and move on and not let personal relationships affect that, and I do think you give up some of the relationship parts of the work world to get ahead" (F11).

Another wants to pursue further education, but how would she make the time between work and family? She describes her husband as an extremely supportive, stay-at-home parent with whom she continues to discuss the idea.

Every time we have this conversation he'll come back with 'I want to support you, I really want you to do what makes you happy but I look around in our lives and I'm wondering what's going to be sacrificed for you to do this. Is it me? Is it the kids? Is it [your job]? Is it your health? Which of these things is going to give?' I can't answer the question because I don't know. (F2)

Several women of color mention their need to speak up and out to be true to themselves; not everyone feels they can.

I think that women or people of color have to sometimes not bring their whole self, their whole selves into the situation. I think sometimes, we have to keep silent about it, about what we think, about what we feel. I think some people are allowed to express opinions and other people aren't. (F19)

Consistent with Turner's study of faculty who are women of color (2002), this sense of marginalization could have a tremendous and cumulative impact on women, and men of color. Marginalization will be discussed more fully in a following section.

Integrity? No.

I don't know about values because that's off the table for me. (F6)

Consistent to the last interview, all 22 administrators state they do not feel pressure to compromise their values, especially integrity. "Values to me are extremely important. My integrity is my cornerstone, and so I don't compromise in my decision-making." She adds that she has not experienced any situations where anyone expected her to compromise her values (F1). Several speak of challenges in previous institutions where they chose to step away from the situation, but not at Eiffel U. Others mention the high values held by their higher-ups. One long-time veteran of the University says:

I don't see that in this culture. Certainly through my chain of command, that would not be accepted. The Executive VP has very, very strong values to do what is right. We sometimes take a lot more time than we need to just to make sure that we're doing what's right and not just doing something ... We need to do it in the right way as well. There is a keen interest in maintaining a high sense of integrity and other values. (M5)

Another administrator adds that they are fortunate at Eiffel U. "I don't know any administrators who I think have compromised their values to get ahead... We're a high quality institution. We get good high quality applicants and we get lots of federal grants. We're very fortunate in how we are, just who we are" (F17).

Several administrators in different offices across campus state they do not feel pressure to compromise their values and then try to think of any situations that might challenge their answer.

They then talk about the university ranking systems⁸ and how there are schools that submit inaccurate (or incomplete) data to try to improve their rankings. These administrators add that Eiffel U. does not and that they have never been pressured otherwise.

Somewhere along the lines, somebody asked someone there to make a choice, and they made the wrong choice. I've never been asked to do that at [Eiffel U.]. I have never been asked to compromise what is right. We've had good leadership here who they wouldn't tolerate that. (F22)

WORK/LIFE BALANCE

You know, I can remember periods in my work life here, where even if I'm at home, my focus is on work. My family used to tease me. I always had a glow about me because I had my laptop with me all the time. (F12)

I love what I do, and a lot of times it's because I'm just involved in something that I don't realize that 12 hours has gone by in the day, and I'm still plugging away at something. A lot of the people who do that, I think, have that same experience. It's not because they're drowning in it. It's because they love it and they got a lot of stuff that they've got to get done. (F22)

I don't do a very good job of balancing. I wouldn't know. I need to do better. I do take the time that I need to go on short visits so that I'm not taking off that whole week, which is what I need to do, one or two weeks in a row. (M16)

As noted above in "Sacrifices," time is the number one sacrifice administrators make to get – or stay – ahead in their careers. The time sacrificed, then, comes from somewhere. Family life? Personal interests? Health? Sleep? Perhaps it is not perceived as a sacrifice at all for administrators who love what they do. Regardless of the hours worked or the commitment to their careers, work-life balance is still desired for the administrators in this study. Several factors emerge around work/life balance at Eiffel U.: the impact of work on family and the impact of family on work, University policies, accessibility of resources, "unwritten" expectations, the impact of individual supervisors, and working nights and weekends as a "personal choice."

⁸ *U.S. News & World Report* is a ranking that many higher education institutions follow, believing that prospective students and their parents look closely at these listings.

In 2001, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) stated, “The lack of a clear boundary in academic lives between work and family has, at least historically, meant that the work has been all pervasive, often to the detriment of the family” (AAUP, p. 2 as cited in Ward, Wolf-Wendel, 2004). While focused on supporting policies to stop the tenure clock for new parents, the AAUP statement could easily describe the work-life balance of the non-faculty administrators in this study as well, parents or not.

As AAUP notes, this ceaseless work does not come without a price, and for some, that price is family (or the decision not to have one). In Ward and Wolf-Wendel’s research on academic motherhood, they reference prior research similar to Acker’s “gendered university” (1999) that recognizes current university structures have been based on “men with stay-at-home wives or women who opted not to have children” (p. 234). “In the academic profession, the ideal worker is married to his or her work, can move at will, and works endlessly to meet the demands of tenure (Williams, 2000a, 2000b)” (cited in Ward, Wolf-Wendel, 2004, p. 237). Most – perhaps all – of the administrators in this study sound like these ideal workers who “work endlessly to meet the demands” of their position. The University, as built upon the ideal male worker and related tenure process, appears to heavily influence the work ethic and self-imposed expectations of these non-faculty members.

Family

Almost half (6 of 13) women specifically discuss the impact of work on families. Two of nine men discuss the impact of families on work. Two women who do not have children offer observations about the challenges facing mothers when getting ahead means working harder and longer hours, traveling for professional development, and fulfilling additional responsibilities as a member of the university community.

I think it's very difficult for people who are really trying to advance to find that balance, to be able to raise a family. That's another reason why you don't see quite as many women in higher administration ... more men, because men don't particularly have the bulk of the raising family responsibilities. (F4)

Four women directly mention arranging their schedules to take care of their children, several of whom are quoted in the previous section. In addition, two to three of the women administrators interviewed may have spouses who are stay-at-home dads or work from home and take on the major caregiving tasks. Only one, however, specified this arrangement in her interview. Several administrators mention staff members who need flexibility for daycare drop off and pick up. Two of the nine men in the study make reference to their own daily structured involvement with their children's schedules.

One male administrator describes taking some time off immediately after the birth of his children and then a day a week for a couple of months: "It was a no brainer to just be home and take the time you need" (M5). More recently, though, he has experienced a family situation where he has been far more responsible for the family (and children's schedules) than usual. He has been self-conscious about the number of hours he has been out of the office but also recognizes it was the right decision.

During that time my family really needed me ... and it was again, kind of 'whatever you need.' I was pretty much the last one in and the first one out of the office for the last year. It was hard on me psychologically, not that I'm an hour counter, but I had no other choice and believe that it was the right thing to do. There were no questions asked, and it was supported above and below me. (M20)

This statement demonstrates the administrator's focus on his family over work though it was difficult for him to be comfortable with the arrangement. His schedule was accommodated, and should have been, though men face dichotomous scenarios when incorporating their families into the work sphere. They may be heralded for being involved fathers or they may be

considered, as women are, to be less committed to their careers. In the cases of these administrators, female and male, they have received support for alternate work schedules.

The other male administrator with school-age children also mentions how his work schedule has shifted:

My normal rhythm is to get going very early, be the first in the office, that's what I used to do. Since the kids started going to school, we have an arrangement where I drop them off in the morning about 7:15 then I end up at the office about 7:50 or 8:00 in the morning. Typically as a result of that, if I don't have a lunch meeting, I tend to eat at my desk. It's probably not the best thing in the world, but it's an hour of work that I can fit in a day that I normally would have done right out of the gates before everybody else had arrived. (M13)

He adds that he is likely to work 8:00 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. "Then I do fall back in many nights after the kids go to sleep at say 8:30 and maybe work, if it's a night that something is pressing, urgent I may work until 10:00, 11:00 at night. Other days I leave it for the next morning" (M13). His wife has a part-time business and a full-time volunteer commitment. He may rely on her for the primary caregiving role.

Policies

I just saw the results of the climate assessment survey, and there's gender inequities that we've seen for 20 years still there, and most of it is around women being able to juggle career and home. I do see that the University is doing more to try and recognize that, be more flexible with hours, but I still think it is probably a number one issue for women administrators and women faculty. (F4)

The gender inequities from 20 years ago were recorded in the University's 1998 Status of Women report: "The lack of attention to family-friendly policies, specifically in the areas of maternity leave and on-site day-care, have a significant impact on all faculty who aspire to balance family and career" (p. 4). The Task Force recommended that the University "amend its policies to acknowledge the importance of balance in the lives of its employees" (p. 5).

While the University has made some progress with the addition of two new day care centers, the policy remains that women use “sick leave” for maternity leave.⁹ One long-time administrator says, previously, “I had a lot of people reporting to me who were having babies left and right. I was stunned to find that we had no maternity benefits. People had to use their sick time for maternity. I think that’s a little better now” (F9). As noted above, the policy has not changed. Another administrator points out that she can’t even utilize sick leave to take leave for a new child because she wants to adopt.

My husband and I have talked about fostering and adopting. There’s no policy here that I could take leave for that. I would have to use my own vacation time to be able to take leave with an adopted child or a foster care child to integrate them into my family. (F1)

The Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA) allows up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for adoption or birth. The University policy allows sick leave to be used for maternity leave, but not adoption. Clearly, both issues impact women and men, but in the study, only women discussed these concerns.

At least seven administrators, almost a third of the participants, mention a 2012 Task Force on Family-Friendly Policies and its newly released report. In the overview, the lack of raises is addressed directly: the University is a “state entity and therefore had to contend with the state directive to withhold pay increases.” It adds, “While research shows that compensation is not the primary driver of employee engagement, it is also clear that lack of fair compensation

⁹ The report also describes the potential inequity faced by women faculty who use their sick leave for maternity leave, especially given the system policy that allows accrued sick leave to count toward retirement (University’s Status of Women report, 1998, p. 32). For staff, this use of sick leave has been even more debated with the perception, or perhaps reality, of faculty members who do not claim their sick leave since their schedules are so flexible. If so, then faculty, in general, have an advantage over staff whose schedules are more structured and visible, and thus more “countable.”

most certainly erodes the sense that [Eiffel U.] is a great place to work” (Task Force report retrieved 18 May 2014, p. 6).

One of the charges of the Task Force was “to enhance the family-friendly culture of the [University] while working within the context of limited resources,” and the 15 recommendations did just that. They focused on what could be done without additional resources, including three recommendations related to this study: 1) clarifying expectations of supervisors (including faculty); 2) standardizing existing leave policies and practices across colleges and units to address maternity, paternity, adoption, bereavement, and other family care roles and responsibilities, and 3) expanding benefits coverage to include domestic and same-sex partners. The potential costs associated with adding these domestic and same-sex benefits were not addressed in the Task Force report; however, the rationale is consistent with comments from the University’s 2012 Diversity Symposium. “Compared to our peers, the [state system’s] view of family is not progressive and may compromise our ability to remain competitive against other top-tier universities.”

The Task Force report addresses childcare as part of family care: “Our child-care programs address only a single aspect of child-care needs and consequently we lack a comprehensive set of programs for family care.” This statement does not capture the common theme within these administrators’ responses. Administrators refer to the limited number of spaces available to parents, and more critically their concern over the cost of the childcare, making it unaffordable to many staff and students. In fact, the newest daycare center is located within the student family housing complex. Still the students living there cannot afford to use it.

The common complaint I’m hearing from the staff side is that it’s still too expensive for many of them. I’ve got an employee who just had a kid, and she’s ‘I can’t even put my kid in [the University day care].’ It’s great that we have now two, and we got all these little rooms where people can go do nursing and all that

stuff, but guess what, I can't afford to bring my kid to campus, because I can't afford to put them in [the University's] day care. (M14)

Another administrator gives a similar example of her staff members, frontline staff in lower paying positions, who need flexible hours even more so because they cannot afford the on-campus option:

They tend to do daycare in other areas because it's so expensive here. It may be convenient at [Eiffel U.] daycare, but then there's a waiting list and it's expensive. It's a real challenge, but what I do encourage people to do is come in, work as hard as you can and go home. I don't want people in here working after 5 o'clock. I don't want them in here on weekends. (F17)

Supervisors

Flexibility, however, comes at the mercy of the supervisor at Eiffel U. And, as noted in the recent Task Force report, those supervisors could use more training.

I think that higher ed especially, compared to what I see people I know with that work in corporate environments, I feel like we have a lot of flexible arrangements. I do think that we do occasionally have supervisors who are not as willing to allow their employees to have that flexibility and I wish that weren't the case. The policies and the practices do exist so that that flexibility can be afforded. (F2)

Those who perceive a positive experience with work-life balance often have a common denominator: a supportive supervisor. Five (4 women, 1 man) specifically describe the impact their supervisor's support has meant to them. In addition, nine of the 22 administrators within the study may be, themselves, supportive supervisors. One administrator says:

For me here just running this small shop that I have, I'm always of the occasion that, if you're not happy with what's going on out there, you're not going to be happy here and you're not going to be productive. So whatever I can do to facilitate. I have never turned somebody down for needing annual leave. I have never turned somebody down needing for extended sick leave because to me that's how you make your people happy and they're happy, they're going to work. You're going to get the best work you can out of them. (F22)

I've heard stories from other departments where that's not the norm and to me, I'm shocked by that because I'm like, "Why?" It's so easy. It's so easy to say yes to something like that. (F22)

One female administrator shares the culture she's creating in her departments, both for herself and for the staff members who work with her. This administrator has worked to shift the culture to one where staff members feel supported to balance their work with their personal life. Several of the staff members have recently had children or are currently pregnant. "Balance is important [especially] as a mom" (F6). She consciously role models her expectation of balance and shares this publicly with the staff: "'There are times that I'm going to miss this meeting because my son has a performance, so it's important for me to be present there. I'm sharing that with all of you, so that you understand that this is a value and priority for me, and it's an expectation for you. You have to have balance' " (F6).

Two administrators who also want their staff members to have work-life balance describe the behavior they do not want:

[X] is a intense worker. He's always... he's a good case study of what I do not want. He feels like when he's not around, the institute's going to close down. I don't want that kind of employee. I want him, when he takes off to go enjoy his family. 'We'll take care of it... If we have an emergency, we know how to find you.' (M16)

The person will work, work, work, work, work, work, work the whole time they're here at whatever time that is, but they're making a choice. No one's making them be here the whole time. I think that's always the message that I want to send my staff and I think that [our supervisor] really sends us. He wants that work life balance. He wants healthier employees who aren't burned out and want to stay and value that. (F15)

Another describes the importance of flexibility for her staff and the challenge to do so with her specific department:

It's very hard because I have an office here that can't shut down. I have people that have kids who have to drop off at daycare and use flexible work schedules

like one of the managers who comes in at 10 o'clock on Wednesday because he needs to drop this little girl off (and they're going to have another baby). So I have people who've had small children including babies, and both parents work so you've got to get the kids to school. You got to pick them up. You got to drop them to daycare. You got to pick them up. We do the best we can with flexible work schedules. (F17)

Two male administrators also emphasize working around staff members' maternity leave:

Families first as far as our office goes and we've had ... I can't count the number of babies that our staff have had and we've managed just fine. We plan way ahead, and I do not want those mothers having to do work while they're gone. (M16)

We've recently had so many babies born in our office, so many weddings, so many of these big life things that people want time for and I've never had to report up on how I handle providing that. Again, I can't say that from a structural, program, tier-down kind of deal we are good or bad at that at this institution. Having the autonomy is an indication that it is possible, and there are not things in place that keep it from being feasible. (M20)

DIFFERENCES BASED ON ETHNICITY

[Eiffel U.] is a very Caucasian-dominated culture with upper administrators... Probably only about 20% of the decision-making meetings that I go to are there any African-American male or females in the room. (M5)

We have more minorities, but they're in lower-level positions. Versus on the faculty side we have now two minority deans, a number of minority chairs and faculty. That says, "hey, we did it" and they're making their environment very diverse; whereas on the administrative side, it's exactly the opposite case. (M18)

The dearth of minorities in campus leadership roles is quite apparent, whether looking around decision-making tables or at the University's organizational chart. In fact, so few people of color hold these types of positions at Eiffel U., identifying them specifically by ethnicity would point to only a handful of individuals. Still there are white administrators who also recognize that different challenges are faced by their peers. A white female administrator is the

first among participants to point out “how very few underrepresented minorities are in the administration of any university,” especially at Eiffel U. (F4).

Another white female administrator says, “I don’t have any concrete examples ... but again you think about where are the women administrators on campus, and I think there’s still too few of them, and then you think about the women of color. They’re still very low in numbers. ... That’s a concern” (F17). A male administrator says: “It is absolutely a target, and has been for many years, that we increase the number of administrators and directors that are people of color, women” (M5). While he points out that he sees only a few in “decision-making meetings,” he lists several leadership roles within his division where they have made some progress. These white administrators (who notice) may be ones, as Chan (2010) recommends, who could serve as “collective allies to address the dominant culture of the university” (p. 16).

Several administrators of color have personal examples of differences that immediately come to mind. One African-American administrator gives three examples of how she has been treated differently at the University. First, when she was interviewing for her leadership position, one that is in a more male-dominated field, she had team members who went throughout the entire day’s interview and still didn’t believe she was being seriously considered for the position. In that case, she says it could have been her race, her gender, or more likely both. Once in the position, she’s experienced other instances where people continue to make assumptions based on her race or gender.

There’s a member of the ... team who didn’t know me, didn’t know my role and treated me as if I was a custodian based on the color of my skin. Just said, ‘Well could you get that ... could you clean that up for me?’ and I said, ‘Sure,’ and I did it. Then when she realized who I was, it’s five years later, and she’s still trying to recover from it, but that was her natural tendency, so absolutely. Absolutely. (F6)

In another example, she had a candidate arrive for an interview while she was in the front office, and he was very rude to her. “It’s important to me that they interact with the admin staff always because the way you treat students and admin staff speaks volumes to me” (F6).

When it came time for him to meet me, he was falling all over himself apologizing, and I said, ‘Let’s talk about why you will not have this job. I will not offer it to you because I don’t know if it was my race or my gender or what you perceived as my position. ... Either way sir, we can wrap this interview here because this is not an opportunity for you.’ (F6)

She says it can be an “uphill battle because of gender and culture” (F6). Turner (2002) calls these experiences “manifestations of interlocking race and gender bias.” While Turner’s work focuses on faculty women of color who are silenced and marginalized, her findings also apply to these staff administrators’ experiences. A number of these women administrators of color share stories similar to Turner’s findings of “challenges with the academic old boy networks,” “feeling isolated and under-respected,” the “salience of race over gender,” and “being torn between family, community and career” (2002). Two of these women administrators in this study also describe their need to be authentic.

I think that women or people of color have to sometimes not bring their whole selves into the situation. I think sometimes we have to keep silent about it. We are [silent] about what we think, about what we feel. I think some people are allowed to express opinions and other people aren’t. (F19)

These women administrators, like their faculty counterparts, also provide additional service to the University – and to students of color – by mentoring students and other women, serving on diversity-related committees, and advising diverse student clubs. Three women of color specifically mention “feeling isolated and under-respected,” mostly within their own work spheres by supervisors or colleagues. All three also mention strong support from campus colleagues and allies who make efforts to minimize their marginalization. One shares how much

a mentoring relationship with a higher-level administrator helped: “She was tough but without [her], I would not be here today. I would have left a long time ago, years ago” (F6).

A male administrator of color in the same division says of any differences based on ethnicity, “I would say yes, for sure” (M18). He observes when new staff members start at the reception desk, male or female. When they are white, he says a lot of folks come up to show them the ropes. When they are a minority, the person gets a hello but not the extra “this is how you access this, this is how you access that.” He says he’s actually told the rest of the leadership team that they have to make a more concerted effort to treat all new employees well. “There is a difference here, and I think it comes down to the willingness to find ways to deal with it without necessarily being confrontational because that’s a losing proposition here” (M18). When asked, “Have you personally experienced similar situations?” He responds: “Yes, I have. Again, you find a way to work around this.” He adds that it’s important to him that “along the way I’ve been able to help other folks... I’ve empowered them and given them opportunities ... We need more of that” (M18).

Another male administrator of color has a slightly different take. He says he was always taught, “Guess what? Life is not fair. You’re in a position where there are unfair things that are going to be done to you for unfair reasons, and you just have to understand that you have to be the best you can be. You have to run faster, you have to jump higher, and that’s just the reality” (M14). “My best motivator was to tell me I couldn’t do something, and I was going to do everything in my power to prove you wrong, and that’s [also] part of the energy of a staff person” (M14).

He points out his realization that “we often get rewarded for being the gatekeeper when we get to certain levels or positions.” He describes a situation where he was asked to lead a

minority staff group on campus and then received a side comment: “We knew that you’d be the type of guy that can keep them in check.”

I said, ‘If that’s really [what] you expect my role to be, you might ... you must not be familiar with my background and my history.’ Do you know what I mean? I said, ‘If people have an issue, we have to be able to at least know ... make sure they know what is the right way to go about that issue and address the issue,’ I said, ‘Most people’s problems are not ... is not the problem itself, it’s the fact that they don’t think [there’s] the vehicle to voice it, or they don’t think anybody cares, or they don’t think anybody is doing anything about it.’ (M14)

The hiring of a new vice president focused on diversity is mentioned by a number of participants (of all ethnicities) as a positive step. These administrators also note that a campus climate assessment has been conducted out of the new office, but each also points out that the findings have not been released.

Other administrators do not see a racial bias on campus. A white female administrator, who feels she has not been treated differently as a woman, says:

I would like to think it’s not because of ethnicity, but I don’t see as many African-American women who are in leadership roles. I don’t see as many Hispanic women who are in the leadership roles. The women who tend to lead at [Eiffel U.] tend to be white women. I don’t know if that necessarily means that there is a bias. It’s just how things have evolved. (F22)

As the discussion in her interview continues, she begins relating the different stories and experiences she’s heard of other staff members about the challenges they face on campus. She says in response to others’ questions about why we would need the different centers and services we have on campus, she responds “because women were not treated equally, because women have issues being in this male dominated culture” (F22).

Two women of color are more focused in their interviews on their experiences as women, than as minorities. A high-level woman of color says: “No. I would hate to think that’s yet one more layer in the mess. I’m going to say that there are so few of us, that if that’s the case, then

we're more screwed up than I thought" (F9). Another administrator who is biracial says, "I'm probably [quicker] to see a gender issue than I am any racial issues." She says her dad was so focused on education: "He's like if you're smart, if you're well-educated, that's all you need. Growing up, I never felt like I was denied anything because of the color of my skin. I may have been. That's not what I attributed anything to" (F12).

DIFFERENCES BASED ON LGBTQIA¹⁰ IDENTITIES

We don't have anyone that has to live in the shadows and feel like they have to hide their personal life. (M3)

Times may be changing for some at Eiffel U. One administrator describes how his department has been impacted since the current president hired two campus leaders who are openly gay. His vice president is one of those leaders, and among their 50 staff members, seven or eight are openly gay or lesbian. He describes the small and important ways the department has changed. He says people now feel comfortable listing their partner on their internal staff directory with spouses, phone numbers, etc. He also mentions that the president and first lady recently hosted the campus gay/lesbian organization for an afternoon reception at their residence. "It's just a very welcoming environment" (M3).

He says, under the previous administration, "it wasn't unwelcoming, just not acknowledged." You just kept it to yourself: "you knew that you were never going to go any further because of it, but they now, I mean, I'm not sure I see any limit on what can be achieved around here based on your sexual orientation" (M3). Four other participants mention the LGBTQIA community, in reference to working on improving benefits for partners or the

¹⁰ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Questioning, Intersexed and Ally/Asexual. "Ally" is not considered part of the identity for the purposes of this section; however, as seen above there were several participants in the study and in the Diversity Symposium who may identify with and/or be allies for the LGBTQIA community.

establishment of a new LGBTQIA center on campus. No one in the study directly states that they identify as LGBTQIA.

The comments in the study sound much more optimistic than those reflected in the 2012 Diversity Symposium at the University. Perhaps those in the study know more details about what's happening behind the scenes, or perhaps more is happening a year after the symposium. In addition, there is the recommendation to offer domestic and same-sex partner benefits in the Task Force for Family-Friendly Policies. Either way the comments below, excerpted from the symposium's evaluation results, add more insight into this aspect of the University environment.

At least 11 of 81 respondents emphasized LGBTQ issues, particularly a LGBTQ Center and full-partner benefits, as most important to address moving forward:

Creating a climate in which gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender people are granted full respect and feel equally valued and welcome.

As a gay male, if I become partnered and have to look elsewhere to find a job that offers full domestic partner benefits, I will do so. I think to attract and maintain the top talent we must offer this.

I feel that it is essential that we put in place support services for LGBTQ students; it is not unusual for LGBTQ students to be in even greater need than many others, and yet we have nothing in place dedicated to them.

I, personally, was very thankful that the LGBT and female communities were brought up. I think these two communities are highly unacknowledged in the University System at large and that both really struggle in the realm of schools like [Eiffel U.]. Overall, I feel acknowledging that there is room for improvement, addressing these two groups in particular, and recommending methods for improvement were the most important issues discussed.

DIFFERENCES BASED ON CLASS IDENTITIES

As the literature review discussed, class background intertwined with any identity (gender, race/ethnicity and/or sexual orientation, etc.) can have a major impact on an individual's experiences in higher education, especially for those who come from a lower income or

“working class” background. Some may be taught that education (and higher education) is a “way out” (Gardner, 1993, p. 50). Higher education may even seem the ideal environment with its focus on meritocracy versus other identifiers (Gardner, 1993, p. 51).

These individuals may make efforts to “pass” as middle-class by altering their dress, speech, food choices, and so on, consciously or not. They may remain quiet when others discuss middle-class childhoods, family vacations and trips abroad, in ways somewhat similar to those “closeted” about sexual orientation may not share details of their personal lives. Interview questions covered experiences based on gender, race/ethnicity and sexual orientation; however, the interviewer did not specifically ask about class. Upon analysis of the transcripts, class distinctions or similarities were unable to be distinguished.

GENDERED LEADERSHIP STYLES

The women I’ve seen be most successful, I felt like they had more male attributes than female attributes, more masculine attributes than feminine attributes. It’s really odd because, I say this because, I have been with one administrator in her home when they’re only women, she’s a very different person in that environment than she is in the office. I don’t think she lost those [feminine] attributes. I think she just adapted in the work environment. (F19)

She goes on to describe the “masculine” style of the highest-ranking woman on campus at that time. The administrator says that when she first arrived on campus, she asked this woman to be her mentor because she could see that she needed help navigating the culture. But her style, while successful, was off-putting to others (F19). Another administrator also received mentoring from this administrator. This mentor helped her think through strategies for managing men who did not want to work for a woman, though she has a much different style than her mentor. She says that her mentoring is the reason she’s still at the University (and why she was promoted).

Women in leadership roles – and those who want to be – may struggle with finding the style that fits them – and their male work environment.

You got to find your backbone, I think, to make it anywhere up the ladder. For women that can be difficult. You got to find your backbone and your comfort at how much you're going to force the point in your agenda and how comfortable you are living with the consequences of that style. If you're going to be angry or loud or pushy or aggressive or assertive or quiet and dominated, you got to find what works for you and then live with the consequences. I had [two prominent male leaders] for mentorship, but they probably get a little more, in my opinion, they typically get more leeway to act in your face than women do without repercussion. Well, nobody should get in your face in my opinion, but they do it and get away with it multiple times. There we are. (F10)

Another states, "Sometimes I think men can be more direct and it be taken well, whereas a women being more direct, it might be taken as, "Oh they're being very assertive, aren't they?" instead of we're doing the same thing, but it just comes across differently" (F15).

I think people put up with a lot more with men. I think women have just as much likelihood of success as long as they understand how they're perceived and operate within that. Not within it, not being docile but you have to approach things ... I don't try and act like a man to get ahead. I don't try and be timid and submissive, but I will opt not to take the anger route because that will be held against me a lot than if I'm just a matter-of-fact, logical, straight-forward, dogged, unflappable. (F10)

She explains, "It's rare to see an angry woman who is described by others ... I have never heard the same adjectives used. It's not "angry." It's something else. I think that's just part of our culture, not [the University's] but Americans maybe" (F10).

Instead of displaying anger, women have other expectations in the workplace. "We are expected to be better at support roles, to gravitate toward more of the compassion- and empathy-focused roles, and I think we did quite a bit as opposed to the leadership roles. If you look at our captain, if you look at even our vice presidents, we don't have many women" (F10).

The previous administrator shares a similar perspective about women's "traits." She says: "I think that probably generally women are in my opinion, listen more, are more open, are more compassionate. I think a lot of that just comes from being women, but I've seen the compassionate side in some of the men here, too." She adds that she sees leadership/working styles to be very individualized. "I work with a lot of different men with a lot of different styles and the same for women" (F15).

One male administrator describes a significant distinction he sees between female and male administrators at the University:

I find that women in upper level administrative roles tend to not have as much of an ego as the men in similar roles. ... If you look at almost any department on campus, you would expect that the person who's leading that department is one of the top people in that field. Ego sometimes drives process, sometimes drives decisions. I think it sometimes turns off women and even people of color, because they are just not into how to deal with male ego and how to be a part of a decision when there is just a strong sense of ego coming out of certain individuals in the room. (M5)

He adds that sometimes, "you just want to walk away from certain conversations because you think there's nothing of value in what people are saying and they're saying it purely for political motive or just to position or just to one-up someone else. I don't see that from women. Women tend to be much more focused on getting things done and doing the things that are appropriate and doing things correctly" (M5).

One of those women, who is frequently the only woman in top decision-making meetings, says, "You know, I think it's never bothered me to be the only woman in a room full of men. What was important to me and is important to me is that I'm an equal member. I'm not just there to be a woman ... but that I have a voice and that I have equal standing with the other people around me" (F11).

She is one of several leaders who share that their supervisors are intentional about giving them opportunities to be visible as a leader. In her case, “he asks me my opinion in front of all the others and makes sure that I am an equal partner in there” (F11). Another administrator who’s moved up the ranks talks about working behind-the-scenes with her supervisor on major planning initiatives. She says she learned more than she could have through an MBA. Several supervisors have promoted these leaders, and many are treated as “trusted advisors” to their supervisors and/or other leaders on campus.

Another aspect of “gendered” leadership relates to some of these perceived “feminine” traits as described above. Hazel (2012) found that the female mid-level administrators were “clustered in feminine fields.” The statistics for Eiffel U. could support that finding as well (See Appendix C); however, the leadership of such areas as Student Affairs, Human Resources, and Communications are composed of white men. Instead, in this study of mid-level and senior level administrators, almost half (6 of 13) of women are “clustered” in feminine *roles*. To use Hazel’s definition for “feminine fields” to describe these *roles*, they “are expected to serve the agenda of others and are responsible for managing the relational aspects of that agenda” (p. 190). These administrators do not have “little professional autonomy,” however given the titles and status of their positions one would expect far more autonomy than they have.

One administrator’s description of her major responsibilities includes “taking a few arrows for [my supervisor] and trying to keep things off of his desk.” She also manages situations to “protect his vision, his strategy, his reputation and so on” (F2). Five other female administrators share similar descriptions of managing their supervisor’s vision and time by taking care of many issues and concerns that arise. However, there are distinctions in how the

administrators feel about their roles. One says, “I have the good sense to recognize [my role] is a role that supports [my supervisor’s] line, and so I align a lot of my activities with his day” (F10).

Another interviewee notes that she feels she’s seen as a “sidekick” and that image creates a struggle for her own voice to be heard in certain discussions. Yet another shares the challenge of being promoted from director of her own unit to a higher-level leadership role: “I was the one who was responsible for coming up with what the mission and vision was. Now, I help inform it....I’m always pushing forward the ideas of my [supervisor]. It’s different” (F12). Not surprisingly, perhaps, other participants in the study mention some of these administrators by name, saying they are often seen as “executive assistants” on campus instead of by the titles they actually have. Two of these women question how the role would be perceived if a man held the position.

I always wonder would that be the same if I were a man. If I were a man and I had my title and [my boss] said I’m going to let you talk to my chief of staff about that, I always have sensed that would be received differently by some recipients than it is today. It’s hard for me to articulate exactly what that is, but it is a sense that I get. (F2)

My sense, based on my experience, if a male were to take on my position, there are things that he would not have to do. You know, I don’t know if it’s just my personality, if we have visitors coming, I’m there to welcome them. You know, a male may say, ‘I need an assistant to take care of that kind of detail.’ I just think that this role would be viewed differently if a male were in it. (F12)

FEW WOMEN IN SENIOR POSITIONS

It’s so low that it probably impacts and hurts our ability to make sound decisions. (M5)

When you look at who’s the highest-ranking female on campus, you have to dig into the organization to see that ... Who are the highest ranking African American females on campus? Right now we do have a new dean which is great, but there’s not many and the fact that you can count them is a challenge. (F6)

I wish I could answer that. I think they're missing the boat. I think as usual the dinosaurs are worried about their grazing turf. I don't know. (F9)

Most of the participants, both men and women, are aware of the few women in leadership roles (whether faculty or administrator) on campus. But why is a much more difficult question: one that some participants have pondered for years.

We hear it from faculty women a lot in any kind of survey that's ever done, and I know you've heard this before, where the women faculty talk about how they're not accepted in research groups or for grant proposals and things like that, or not included with male peers or they feel like they're not completely a part of the team, and that kind of thing, and I sense that there is a hesitancy or discomfort or something with a lot of men who work with women at a high level like that. People just tend to be with people that they're comfortable with. (F4)

She doesn't say this with acceptance. She says it with two decades of experience at Eiffel U. and two interim rounds at the executive table.

The added component of being at a STEM university is also a factor to several women, including the female administrator quoted above.

I think you get this group of men who have come up through engineering and sciences and computing and they get to this point of leadership in their lives, and so they pick people who are like them, who speak their language, who aren't going to be dealing with emotional things, and whatever. I just think that it's a cycle that has created in this particular industry that you would not see in maybe more liberal arts universities. (F4)

Another veteran adds those who don't fit the mold leave: "I've known many very competent women who are no longer there [and] actually, some men who didn't fit the mold, who were not backslapping locker room, tall, white, could tell jokes that have subtle second meaning. All of that good stuff that we know about" (F9). Another woman adds that searches, and hiring decisions, need to be a little more deliberate:

I'd take somebody as 90% right for the job to add a little diversity in any dimension. I don't think there's ever a perfect candidate. You have two or three alternatives in most searches and you go with, in my mind you have to balance going with one that seems the sure bet or taking a little bit more of a risk on somebody who may bring a different perspective on whatever line to the organization. That's just me. (F10)

She mentions that she's been involved with the searches of many high-level positions, and the diversity isn't there in the pool or the finalists.

I don't think it's a glass ceiling. I don't know, but you're right there's a certain level at the org chart that it's a frustration that we're still having this discussion in 2013. I don't think anybody is actively trying to create, I don't think there's active resistance or bias, I just don't know what the secret is to getting in that level. (F10)

Several other – female – administrators also bring up the ways they believe women hold themselves back, not speaking up in meetings, qualifying their statements instead of stating them, not addressing salary issues when they know they exist, even not applying for the promotion because they aren't experts in *all* the areas they would supervise. Three female administrators even demonstrate this behavior in responses to interview questions about “moving forward.” One administrator explains:

I do think sometimes we, as women, throw up certain barriers for ourselves. Other times, I feel like, I don't know if this is my own perception, or my own kind of feeling when I'm in meetings, I do feel like the way that men will make a statement, or comment, sounds authoritative. Women tend to do, 'well, I think.' Instead, men say, 'The sky is blue.' Women say, 'I think the sky is blue.' There's less of that confidence. That's what I see it as. You know, I think it's okay to say, 'I think.' I do feel like it's as important to just make a statement and not have to qualify it. That interaction impacts some of the dynamics in meetings, [more than the] dynamics of who's in what positions. (F12)

Another female administrator speaks about women's place at the table, literally and figuratively. If she and other women are invited into a meeting in the president's conference room, she will never sit on those outside chairs.

It's putting myself there first and saying I'm going to be at the table with the rest of you. I think it makes a difference in how people perceive you and how you're perceived as your confidence in your role. I used to hang back and see if there was a seat for me. [Now] I take the seat, and, if need be, I will forfeit my seat at the appropriate time, but it nearly never happens that you have to. (F2)

As these women can see, by taking a seat at the table, they become part of the decision-making discussions.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

While it is important and valuable to discuss the circle of weighty issues that surround diversity, we must also take actions. Otherwise, the frustrations that are evident will, understandably, harden and sadden treasured members of the [Eiffel U.] family. (Participant, 2012 Diversity Symposium)

There's nothing new in [the recent Campus Climate Survey] I mean really, truly, there is nothing new in it, but the fact that some of those same issues have just shown up and shown up, so we have to finally do something about them. (F4)

Too often, women sit to the sidelines or, if at the table, move to allow others (usually men) to sit. This strategy can benefit individual women; however, such strategies are unlikely to bring the level of change needed at the institutional level. Sandberg's popular women's leadership book, *Lean In*, has been critiqued by feminist scholars for its focus on individual women to "lean in" (Ward & Eddy, 2013), while the lack of institutional initiatives, such as paid maternity leave, "often places undue responsibility on [women] to navigate interpersonal dynamics when negotiating institutional and personal responsibilities" (University's Status of Women Report, 1998, p. 32). Ward and Eddy (2013) emphasize, "Merely leaning in to traditional male systems fails to question the assumptions behind a culture of overwork and lack of work-family integration" (Ward & Eddy, para. 14).

While Acker (1990, 1992b) and others describe the gender-neutral image of the organization as obscuring the actual gendered culture, i.e. masculine-based culture, in this study, many participants are acutely aware of the gendered structure that is visible and the gender infrastructure as well. Almost 15 years after the Status of Women report, not only is the gendered research university still well entrenched, but in at least some settings like this one, based on my

interviews with mid- and senior non-faculty administrators, the Emperor indeed wears no clothes. Gender *does* still matter.

Almost all of the male and female participants in this study notice the predominance of men in roles of leadership and some offer observations about why that might be. For almost all of the female administrators interviewed, the absence or limited number of women is perceived to be related to the predominantly male culture of the University. In addition, two-thirds of the male administrators also recognize that different dynamics exist for women and minorities and that they have a different experience than white men, lack advancement opportunities, and have different needs (i.e., maternity leave), given the predominantly male culture of the campus.

Observations or rationales vary, with most noting that they really don't know why there are so few women in senior roles. A number of the women and men, however, can give immediate examples of the women who have served in key leadership roles. And eight of the 13 female administrators in this study express frustration at the lack of progress over the decades they have worked at the institution, especially those who have worked to address challenges on campus.

The University *is* gendered, and that underlying structure is quite visible to most of the non-faculty administrators interviewed for this study as noted in detail in the section on "Who has power?" Unlike Hazel's (2012) findings of mid-level administrators at a research university, these administrators do see distinctions based on gender and intertwining identities. Women and men of color note challenges they have faced due to their gender, ethnicity or both. The women in this study are not always "clustered in feminine fields" but in feminine *roles* where they "serve the agenda of others and are responsible for managing the relational aspects of that agenda" (p.190). Women in these feminine roles are more likely to describe one of their major

responsibilities as running interference or handling crises for their supervisors so that the University leadership could focus on the vision and mission of the University. This discovery speaks to questions of influence and position – the roles and methods of influence still connect with traditional gender expectations.

Influence

Most of the non-faculty administrators, male and female, speak more of their impact on campus decisions through their role as influencers than direct decision-makers. In fact, those male and female administrators at the director level who have a larger staff, typically express the most power over their own areas; however, the amount of perceived influence over decisions at the institutional level varied. Again, those “holding the purse’s strings” (irony noted) are more likely to acknowledge power, and those who do are often male.

Power

Administrators overall see those in power to be engineers or scientists with Ph.D.s from prestigious universities. They also describe these people in power as competent, having a strong work ethic, competitive in the academic fields, and focused on the University. Those perceived to get ahead have similar qualities, and most are also white men and faculty. More broadly, they are perceived to be competent, collaborative and loyal to the University, as well as motivated to improve constantly. Women and men administrators who get ahead internally often are the ones to “recreate their jobs” (i.e., take on new responsibilities and eventually a higher title while still in the same “job”) as incumbent administrators rarely leave and therefore, leadership positions do not become available.

Peers

Administrators, asked to describe their peer group on campus, often point to others at Eiffel U. with similar titles, responsibilities or functions as their peers. Those peers could be divisional colleagues with similar titles or campus colleagues with similar responsibilities and functions in their own areas. However, for many, especially women administrators, the question is difficult to answer. Veterans note how few professional staff historically had decision-making authority – and how even fewer were (and even now are) women. All of the administrators of color name other high-level administrators who are also people of color, regardless of function.

Resources

Resources available to participants vary in contrast to patterns suggested by the literature. Women are not grouped in the “low” resource areas; however, Student Affairs and IT are considered “low.” Interviews suggest that institutional resources are distributed in terms of levels of prestige, and those who feel they are sufficiently funded are those with direct access to University’s budget or a direct connection to those with access.

Differences between Faculty and Staff Administrators

Administrators do perceive different work experiences than faculty, most notably in terms of the opportunities for power, leadership roles, and promotion available to faculty but not staff. Staff members also do not have the benefit of the stability and academic freedom (or perceived freedom to speak up) tenure can bring to the faculty. One administrator notes that faculty can continue to be promoted (Assistant to Associate to Full to Regents Professor) regardless of the number of other faculty in those roles. Competent non-faculty administrators must wait until a higher-level position is vacant, a challenging prospect given the length of

service of many administrators at Eiffel U. Some administrators note that faculty members may be less respectful to staff administrators and especially to staff members in lower ranking positions.

A few see opportunities such as the ability to switch types of work or functions at the University, work on campus-wide projects, and perhaps more opportunities for innovation within their work. One administrator states he spends less than 5% of his time interacting with faculty. The administrators with the strongest relationships with faculty usually had functions that were of direct benefit to faculty such as access to funding, University leadership, or assistance with student/personnel issues.

Sacrifices

Unlike Currie, et al.'s findings that university faculty and staff were highly frustrated by the number of hours they were expected to work, especially as their universities were corporatized, the participants in this study do not. Some are attempting to improve their work-life balance, but most see this as what they do, not something required. Across the interviews, a pattern emerges of administrators – and the culture in general – that shows their high expectations and a high work ethic. Whether required or not (and I might argue that it is), the overwhelming negative response Currie, et al. observed is not consistent with these findings.

Work-Life Balance

Work-life balance is an important value – and/or goal – for the administrators in the study. As noted in previous research, family commitments may impact men and women differently. Women are often the care-givers in our U.S. culture, and Williams (2000) argues that the university is based on an “ideal worker” model where the individual faculty member focuses

solely on work (cited in Ward, Wolf-Wendel, 2004, p. 237). This model may also be applied to the expectation of staff administrators as well. The ideal worker is most effective when one has no children or has a partner who is the primary caregiver.

At Eiffel U., family commitments may impact men and women differently. Of the participants in the study, six of 13 women mention that they have children. Five of these mothers note a work schedule that allows them to leave “early” after working 7 a.m. to 4/4:30 p.m. or 8 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. They spend time with their children before taking their work up again later in the evening. Two of nine male administrators speak directly about their children in relation to their work schedules, and one dad notes that he would like to get a Ph.D. but his family comes first. In their responses, the fathers indicate a level of connection and involvement that may be different from some of the administrators later in their careers, both men and women with older children and grandchildren and women without children.

All but one (21 of 22) administrator indicates working nights and weekends, and 10 of 22 express accommodating staff members who need flexible work hours due to childcare (including travel to/from their daycare providers, given they cannot afford the daycare available on campus). Two of the 13 women administrators note that they currently have flexible hours themselves to provide care for their children. One of these administrators is a single mom. Five (four women, 1 man) indicate that they have been fortunate to have supportive supervisors.

Supportive supervisors are definitely a major factor for these administrators who need flexibility; however, it reinforces that the policies and their use are not consistent across the University. Concern about maternity leave, sick leave and flexible schedules come up in discussions of both supervisors and those who have needed the accommodations. Participants express that these policies – and the opportunity to utilize them without perceived or real penalty

– must be improved to support women and men on campus who have priorities beyond the workplace.

Gender-Neutral University?

As anticipated, non-faculty administrators, at least those in this purposeful sample, in the setting of a predominantly male campus environment *do* recognize the “gendered” culture of their University. Nine of 13 women comment on the gendered culture of the University and 56% of the men do as well. Currie, et al. found in 2002 “male practices are taken as the norm and, in this way, they become invisible and difficult to alter” (p. 8). Their findings indicated that faculty and staff see the problems and solutions as specific to an individual woman instead of the university. However, in this study, most of the female participants at least recognize that women – and the University – need to make changes to improve the number of women in higher-level positions and to improve the environment for women.

STRATEGIES FOR A “GENDER-FRIENDLY” UNIVERSITY

In 1998, Eiffel U. released a Status of Women report noting the University’s “chilly climate” and recommendations for improvements in policy, practices and support resources. Some of the recommendations were implemented, and the percentages of women faculty, students and staff have increased; however, movement has been much slower at the top. While women have been part of the University for more than 50 years, women in key leadership roles on campus remains in the single digits.

In keeping with feminist research that “cannot solely seek to inform and raise awareness of gender oppression; it must also be proactive in suggesting remedies for inequity” (Hart, 2006, p. 45), I offer strategies for Eiffel U. to address some of the challenges shared by the participants

in the study. Some of these strategies are commonly recommended across the research (Turner, 2002; Currie, Thiele, & Harris, 2002; Ward & Eddy, 2013).

- Intentional recruiting of qualified women and people of color
- Training for search committees on unbiased searches and hiring decisions, much like training programs that have been created to reduce bias in Tenure and Promotion.
- Training for supervisors (at all levels)
- Leadership development programs
- Flexible schedules, family-friendly policies and supervisory/peer support to use them
- Supportive communities and mentors

Based on the study's findings, I propose that these strategies could make a major – *positive* – impact on improving the experiences of women and all non-faculty administrators at Eiffel U. through a supportive, enriching environment for all.

For some reason we feel like it's important to conduct a national search for every position that we fill when we have some really great number two people who we can move into that top role. Especially when there are people of color and women who are maybe in that number two position, I see no reason to do a national search. If we don't have diversity already on the campus, I think it's important to do a national search and let's try to find the best qualified person, but most definitively recruiting women and people of color. (M5)

I think it starts at the point of the interview and not settling for a less than diverse end of the pool. (F6)

When contemplating why there may be so few women in senior positions, job searches and hiring decisions come up for several administrators. As noted above, one male administrator points out that he doesn't see the need for the research University to *always* conduct a national search, especially when there are well-qualified people of color and women in those number two positions. Yet two women of color have seen a number of white men promoted internally without even a search process. Another woman adds:

Understanding that there's true value in diversity and diverse opinions and perspectives I think is half the battle. The being intentional about seeking it and so I think often times it's easy to hire someone who looks like you, who behaves like you because it's easy, but pushing that envelope and saying, 'No, we're not going

to do that. We're absolutely going to make sure that this workforce is diverse because there is value added for us.' (F6)

Another adds that she sees the issue, but she does not know what to do about it. "I don't have any immediate strategies, but I certainly think that there are plenty of papers and what all out there that could be tapped into" (F4).

She's right. There are a number of research studies looking at women faculty and women in the corporate world, although there are few studies of women staff administrators in higher education. However, the studies about faculty work and the corporate world could be considered and potentially implemented here. The following strategies apply directly to the findings of this study; however, they have also been recommended in previous research (Turner, 2002; Currie, Thiele, & Harris, 2002; Ward & Eddy, 2013). A few of these strategies reflect recommendations from the University's 2012 Taskforce for Family-Friendly Policies. Many of these strategies support the development and advancement of women but also of the broader community at the University.

Intentional Recruiting of Qualified Women and People of Color

The pipeline for women faculty may be "leaking" (Mangan, 2013, October 29) or perceived to be too small by those at Eiffel U.; however, the non-faculty administrative positions at Eiffel U. have a large pool of staff members with the potential for promotions there or elsewhere. (See Appendix C.) Many of these non-faculty positions require specialized knowledge and leadership and management skills to lead a program, department or division. With the number of the positions across the nation, there should be quality candidates of women and people of color for any of these pools. If Eiffel U. continues to find this a challenge, they

could consider the solution to “grow their own” as one of their peer institutions has described as their strategy to increase the number of women faculty in STEM fields at their institution.

In addition, Turner (2008) notes “Even today, faculty women of color describe the situation on their campuses as alienating, isolating and discouraging...There is a perception that once search committees have made attempts to diversify the applicant pool, no further efforts are required to hire and retain diverse faculty” (p. 239). Responses from all but one of the women administrators of color in this study reflected Turner’s research though Turner focuses more specifically on women faculty. They describe experiences of being alienated through intentional and seemingly unintentional ways on campus and perceive limited (if any) opportunities for advancement, which may be even more limited than for non-faculty administrators in general.

Training for Search Committees on Unbiased Searches and Hiring Decisions

Tools and trainings to address bias in promotion and tenure exist at Eiffel U. and elsewhere. Virginia Valian (1998) spoke a number of years ago at a retreat of academic leadership, deans, department chairs, faculty – and junior faculty – at Eiffel U. She described how everyone, men and women, are socialized through schemas and everyone then has internal biased ways of looking at the world. Her presentation was calm and effective without being confrontational and appeared to be well received by the attendees. Similar trainings to address potential bias in hiring for non-faculty administrators could at least raise awareness of the biases that could subconsciously impact the possibility of qualified candidates being considered fairly for openings and promotions. Turner (2008) noted, “In a sense, the presence of faculty women of color can be viewed as an indicator of higher education’s commitment and receptivity to the multiple voices that comprise their diverse constituency” (p. 246).

Training for Supervisors at All Levels

As noted in the study, participants acknowledge supportive supervisors for their flexibility in helping them address work-life needs, whether maternity leave or flexible schedules to care for their children after school. As one administrator notes he works with female staff members to prepare the office for their maternity leave and has “all sorts of flex schedules in our office.” He also notes that he’s “old-fashioned as far as teleworking or telesleeping” (M16). Another mentions the challenges of an office that must always be open – but still finding ways to support her staff who need flexible schedules. One administrator adds: “I’ve been very lucky that I’ve always had a supervisor who’s really just been generous. When my kids were little, I had every flexibility that could be afforded to a full time employee, and I was extremely appreciative of that” (F2). These supervisors make the difference in employees’ lives.

One administrator suggests a mandatory training for anyone who supervises, “especially the higher ups.” She explains, “They’re not required to go to anything, so many of these people who supervise at the higher up level, they haven’t had any training in years, or if they’ve even had it at all” (F19). She recommends “training on how to supervise, how to mentor, how to develop strength in people, [and] how to understand how gender and race and other issues play out in the work place” (F19).

Leadership Development Programs

Colleges should create leadership-development programs that include discussions about gender, work, and family. Selection for these programs must be inclusive, because it places the participants on the first rung of the leadership ladder. (Ward & Eddy, 2013)

Ward and Eddy (2013) emphasize the importance of including both men and women in these discussions about “mentorship, gender, leadership and development” and the inclusion of

“gender, work, and family,” which may not be a common component in such trainings and certainly not ones offered for men and women. Whether internal programs are offered or external programs are supported, there are models specific to women’s leadership that could be utilized at universities such as Eiffel U. The HERS Institute, “advancing women leaders and advocating gender equity” for the past 40 years, is probably one of the best known leadership institutes within higher education (Retrieved from <http://hersnet.org/about/> 25 May 2014). Simmons College also offers Strategic Leadership for Women focusing on “transformational leadership development for midcareer and senior women” and the Women’s Leadership Certificate Program which offers “skill-building workshops for emerging women leaders” (Retrieved from <http://www.simmons.edu/leadership/> 25 May 2014). While not specific to higher education leadership, Simmons has strong gender components to support women’s leadership development.

Eiffel U. did have a leadership-development program specifically for staff administrators. The year-long program prepared these staff members for the next level of leadership with skill-based trainings, insider roundtables with University leaders, and campus-wide projects that offered visibility to other campus departments and upper administration. As the participants in this study have noted one of their challenges with advancement is that there is often nowhere to go (to advance at the University). Hence, administrators, with their supervisor’s support, devoted many hours to the program, learned these skills and then, for the most part, remained in the exact same roles on campus. Why the program is not longer offered is not clear; however, the limited advancement opportunities could have been a factor in the decision.

Flexible Schedules, Family-Friendly Policies and Supervisory/Peer Support to Use Them

As seen throughout the findings, the option for flexibility has made a tremendous impact on many of the administrators interviewed. One states that having flexibility is crucial “to help

balance as much as I can in my home and my workplace lives” (F12). Another administrator who supports flexibility in her own shop is shocked when other departments do not offer the same flexibility when they can. “Why? It’s so easy. It’s so easy to say yes to something like that” (F22).

The administrators interviewed in this study are likely considered among the best of the staff on campus. From their comments, having flexibility themselves implies their own ability to advance as well as have some balance of a personal life. These administrators had supervisors who supported that option. As one male administrator noted, when he needed flexibility to attend to family needs, he received “support from above and below” (M20). That level of support, along with policies that make this flexibility available more broadly, is needed throughout the University to encourage work-life balance.

Supportive Communities and Mentors

As one administrator proposes that if men in positions of power and influence are helping to develop and mentor women and if women already in these positions help mentor other women, then we may see a change at the institutional level. “If we don’t help to shape that direction as an institution, then I think we’ll continue to see the lack of [women and people of color] of power and influence at the higher levels” (F12). Turner encourages women of color to maintain their own identities, which bring new perspectives and insights into higher education, and bring visibility to the contributions of women of color.

By breaking through the glass ceilings and supporting colleagues, we can define ourselves in and challenge those assumptions that erected barriers in the first place and that created workplace environments of dissonance and contradiction for women of color. We can work toward the creation of inclusive campus climates based on discourses that address our realities, affirm our intellectual contributions and make us visible. (Turner, 2008, p. 242).

Mentoring is a fine skill of ongoing communication and mutual respect between mentor and mentee; however, when these relationships work through formal or informal networks, the outcome can be very powerful. Seven of the 22 participants directly mention being mentored and how that mentoring supported promotions – or kept them at Eiffel U. One administrator says, “Without her [mentor], I would have left a long time ago, years ago” (F6). These mentors can provide advice and career tips but also recognize – and acknowledge – there are multiple ways to be successful.

Current leaders serving as mentors can promote the accomplishments of women on campus and provide career guidance and tips for advancing women into positions of leadership. Mentors can also provide encouragement to young faculty members and show them that there is no single path to or model for successful leadership (Ward & Eddy, 2013, para. 15).

CONCLUSION

As Ward and Eddy (2013) propose that if universities truly want to change and promote women’s leadership in the academe, they need “to do more than simply encourage women to lean in to their careers. *Institutions need to lean forward also*” (emphasis added).

If something is so critically important to our culture, our advancement and our future, how do we move institutions of higher education from “gender neutral”/ “gendered” to “gender-friendly?” How do we transition from “greedy institutions” to places of learning where women and men are valued as students, faculty and staff and the structure supports high achievement – and time for personal interests and commitments? Where we look beyond traditional male systems that “fail to question the assumptions behind a culture of overwork and lack of work-family integration” (Ward and Eddy, 2013)?

Higher-level staff administrators and mentors need to speak up – with and for – women and other underrepresented groups on campus to fully support an inclusive community. Building

allies of male colleagues for broader support also helps create a more supportive and empowering environment, an environment that can continue to be competitive and high-achieving and remarkable in its work. An environment that recognizes that competition does not have to be with each other, but externally focused with collaborative, high-achieving staff administrators working together to create this vision.

It's time for institutions of higher education to really look at what a *gender-friendly* campus could be and how much it could improve the campus environment for all.

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APPENDIX A

RECRUITMENT MATERIALS

September 13, 2013

Dear Colleague:

I am a doctoral student in Higher Education at the University of Georgia. I am writing to request your participation in my research study entitled, "Experiences of Mid-Level and Senior Administrators at a Research University." The purpose of this study is to expand scholarly research in the field of higher education that explores the experiences of administrators and professional staff in universities.

Although administrators and professional staff members now outnumber faculty members on campuses across the country, this group of professionals is underrepresented in higher education research. To learn more about these professionals, I am interested in interviewing you about your professional background and experiences in your current institution as well as your perspective on areas of influence, opportunities and barriers to success, and gender dynamics at the university.

Your participation would consist of a one-hour interview. Your participation would be voluntary, and there are no expected risks to your involvement. I will ask your permission to record the interview; however, you may choose not to be recorded and still participate in the study.

I understand that your responsibilities are quite demanding; therefore, I would especially appreciate your time and insights.

If you agree to participate, please respond to this email (yupton@uga.edu) or call me at [phone number] to set up a place to meet (i.e. your office, another location on campus, or even a Skype interview) at a date and time of your convenience.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Yvette Upton
Ed.D. Candidate
Institute of Higher Education
The University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602

Please note: The University of Georgia Institutional Review Board has reviewed and approved this study. Your institution has also given permission for this study to take place. [Name, email address] can confirm this approval.

Experiences of Mid-Level and Senior Administrators at a Research University: Comparisons by Area of Responsibility and Gender

Purpose of the Study

Administrators and non-faculty professionals have been part of a growing career field in higher education for the past several decades, and one that is currently 60 percent female. For researchers and practitioners invested in gender equity, understanding the experiences of these professionals – as a field and comparatively by gender – is important to assessing equity at universities. The purpose of this study is to expand scholarly research on the experiences of administrators and professional staff in universities. The research will focus on mid-level and senior administrators' professional backgrounds and experiences in their current institution as well as areas of influence, opportunities and barriers to success, and gender dynamics at the university.

Research Interest

To explore the experiences of middle and senior (non-faculty) administrators at a research university where few women are in key leadership roles.

Research Questions

1. How do women administrators' experiences compare with male colleagues in similar positions?
2. Are there differences in experiences based on the resource level of the individual's department?
3. What challenges and opportunities do non-faculty administrators see as unique and/or significant to their distinct position in the university?

Methods and Data

This study will utilize a case study design using one public research university. For this case study, 12-16 administrators in mid-level and senior positions at a public research university will be interviewed about their experiences. Participants will include female and male administrators, who are not tenure-track faculty members, from different academic, administrative and support units across the campus (i.e. Auxiliary Services, Communications, Development, Enrollment Services, Human Resources, Research, Student Affairs, and an academic unit or college). These participants will be selected for their mid- to upper-level positions at the university as well as their significant interaction with the administration and other departments on campus. Documents such as position descriptions, salary reports, departmental budgets (as available), CUPA-HR data, and employment policies will provide valuable supplemental information to the data collected through interviews with administrators.

When Will the Study Take Place?

Between now and December 2013, I plan to conduct interviews and meet with university administrators. Follow-up interviews will be conducted as needed during this timeframe as well.

Approvals

The approval for this research study has been granted by my faculty dissertation committee in the Institute of Higher Education at the University of Georgia and the University of Georgia Institutional Review Board. Your institution has also given permission for this study to take place. can be reached at [email address] to confirm this approval.

Informed Consent Form

I agree to take part in a research study titled, “Experiences of Mid-Level and Senior Administrators at a Research University,” which is being conducted by Yvette Upton from the Institute of Higher Education at the University of Georgia (contact #), under the direction of Dr. Sheila Slaughter from the Institute of Higher Education at the University of Georgia (contact # 706-542-0571). My participation is voluntary; I can refuse to participate or stop taking part at any time without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I can ask to have information related to me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The purpose of this study is to expand scholarly research on the experiences of administrators and professional staff in universities. The research will focus on mid-level and senior administrators’ professional backgrounds and experiences in their current institution as well as areas of influence, opportunities and barriers to success, and gender dynamics at the university.

I understand that I will not benefit directly from my participation in this research. However, I may benefit from the research findings in terms of the institution’s informed managerial or policy decision-making.

If I agree to take part in this study, I will participate in a semi-structured interview for a one-hour session in a time and place that we agree upon (my office or another location on campus). I understand that I will be asked a number of questions about my work and professional experiences. A few questions relating to my professional background will be sent in advance of the interview for completion. If we agree that we need to continue the conversation, we may choose to meet for one more session. I may also be contacted by phone or email for clarification or follow-up questions. The researcher will ask my permission to record my interview. I may choose not to be recorded and still participate. In the event of schedule conflicts, a phone interview or videoconference may be substituted for an on-site interview with my approval. Also, as an employee of a public institution, I understand that my salary and departmental budget information is publicly available and the researcher plans to request this information from the institution and link it to the research files; however, this information will not be published in an individually identifiable manner.

The findings from this project will provide information about a group of professionals on research university campuses whose work is not well understood in the scholarly literature, or by higher education decision makers. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research. There are no expected risks to my involvement.

I understand that I will have the opportunity to see the transcription of the interview(s) before any written report is completed. The recordings will be stored on the researcher’s personal computer with access only by the researcher and the supervising professor. The recordings are for researcher use only and will be destroyed after the transcriptions are completed.

I understand that my involvement in the study is voluntary, and I may choose not to participate or stop at any time. My name and identifying information will be kept confidential; findings from the interviews will be presented in summary form. The results of the research study may be published, but my name will never be used. My identity will not be associated with my responses in any published form but may be identified by pseudonym or general job responsibility. Also, the university will not be identified by name or by its most recognizable characteristics in the research. Also, if I participate in an online videoconference for my interview, I understand that internet communications are insecure and there is a limit to the confidentiality that can be guaranteed due to the technology itself. However once the materials are received by the researcher, standard confidentiality procedures will be employed.

The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at [phone number].

Additional questions or problems regarding my rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 629 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602; Telephone: (706) 542- 3199; E-Mail Address: IRB@uga.edu

My signature below indicates that the researcher has answered all of my questions to my satisfaction, and that I consent to volunteer for this study. I have been given a copy of this form.



Yvette Upton

Name of Researcher

Telephone: [phone number]

Email: yupton@uga.edu

11-2-12

Signature Date

Name of Participant

Signature Date

Please sign both copies. Keep one and return one to the researcher.

APPENDIX B

THE INTERVIEWS

Interview Questions

Interview questions are based directly upon previous work by Currie, Thiele and Harris (2002) as well as Hazel (2012). In some cases, the questions were slightly reworded, and the questions were reordered to flow more smoothly by topic. A few specific questions were added to directly address the current research questions as noted below.

Interview Process

Participants will meet with the interviewer for one 60-minute interview. Participants may be contacted afterwards to clarify responses. Participants will also have the opportunity to review their transcripts prior to the final dissertation.

Consent Process

The interviewer will explain the interview process and answer questions about the research study. The interviewer will request verbal permission to record the conversation. Participants will sign two copies of the consent form.

Prior to Interview

Upon agreement for the interview, participants will be sent a request for the additional information below. If not completed in advance, the questions may be addressed in the interview itself.

Common Questions

1. What academic degrees have you earned?
2. Are you currently working toward a degree or other form of certification?
3. How many years have you been employed in higher education?
4. How many years have you been employed at this institution?
5. How many years have you been employed in professional work outside of higher education?
6. Do you currently work full-time or part-time?
7. Do you currently hold other paid positions outside this institution?

Semi-Structured Interview Questions:

Individual/Personal:

1. Tell me a little about your job (what do you do in a typical week/year?)
2. Who do you work with on a regular basis? What are those working relationships like?
 - a. Prompt: Who do you see as your peer group on campus?
 - b. Do you interact with faculty members in your daily work or on any projects? (If so, please discuss.)
3. How influential are you in helping to shape decision-making:
 - a. At the departmental or unit level?
 - b. At the institutional level?
 - c. How much discretion/autonomy do you have?
4. [Note: my addition] What challenges – and opportunities – do you see as distinct or unique to your position as a non-faculty administrator at this institution?
5. What do you think you'll need to do to move forward in your career at this institution?
[Follow-up: Do you want to move up to the next level?]

General Observations:

6. Who gets ahead in the university? What attributes do they have?
7. What are the characteristics of those who don't get ahead?
8. Do staff have to sacrifice certain things to get ahead? Or compromise certain values and interests? If so, what are the things that get sacrificed?
9. How would you describe those who have power at the university? What attributes do they have?
 - a. Prompt: What sort of power and influence do you have?
10. To what extent does your institution support family life or a work/life balance?
11. [Note: my addition] Thinking about your department/division in comparison to others on campus, do you have the resources (funding, staffing, equipment, etc.) required to meet your area's needs and goals? What factors contribute to the resource level of your department?

Gender-Specific Questions:

12. Do you perceive any differences in experiences for men and women in professional staff positions on this campus? Does gender matter?
13. What do you think of the number and position of women in administrative and leadership roles on campus?
 - a. Prompt: [If concern], are there strategies you would recommend for the university to address your concerns?
14. Why do you think there are few women in senior positions?
15. In your experience, do men and women have different styles of working? If so, what differences have you observed?
1. [Note: my addition] Given the research topic – experiences of mid-level and senior administrators at a research-extensive university where few women hold key leadership roles – is there anything else you would like to share or add to our discussion today?
2. [Note: my addition] As noted prior to the interview, neither your identity nor the institution will be disclosed in the study and you may choose your own pseudonym. Are you comfortable with your division or department – or position title - being connected to your comments if deemed relevant in the analysis of the data? Would you like to select your own pseudonym?

Thank you for your time. I will send you a copy of the transcript of this interview for your review. May I contact you if I have any follow-up questions?

APPENDIX C

TABLES OF JOB CLASSIFICATIONS

Executive Management 2013

Job Category	Male	Percent Male	Female	Percent Female	Total
Assistant Deans	3	100%	0	0%	3
Assistant Vice Pres-Vice Provost	3	75%	1	25%	4
Assoc. VP & Assoc. Vice Provosts	13	76%	4	24%	17
Associate Chairs	26	87%	4	13%	30
Associate Deans	11	73%	4	27%	15
Chairs	24	86%	4	14%	28
Deans	6	75%	2	25%	8
Executive Directors	6	75%	2	25%	8
President	1	100%	0	0%	1
Provost/Executive Vice President	3	100%	0	0%	3
Vice Provosts & Vice Presidents	9	82%	2	18%	11
Executive Management Total	105	82%	23	18%	128
Institution Total	3,979	61%	2,597	39%	6,576

Percentages derived from information provided by the University's Institutional Research office 25 March 2014

Instruction Faculty and Staff 2013

Job Category	Male	Percent Male	Female	Percent Female	Total
Adjunct & Visiting Teaching Staff	23	85%	4	15%	27
Assistant Professor	149	70%	65	30%	214
Associate Professor	202	74%	70	26%	272
Instructor	18	36%	32	64%	50
Lecturers	24	42%	33	58%	57
Professors	379	86%	63	14%	442
Temp. Instructors	2	18%	9	82%	11
Instruction Total	797	74%	276	26%	1,073
Institution Total	3,979	61%	2,597	39%	6,576

Percentages derived from information provided by the University's Institutional Research office 25 March 2014

Managerial/Professional Fall 2013

Job Category	Male	Percent Male	Female	Percent Female	Total
Academic Professionals	54	36%	94	64%	148
Assistant Directors	44	46%	52	54%	96
Associate Directors	34	51%	33	49%	67
Directors*	159	56%	126	44%	285
Managers	169	38%	280	62%	449
Professional Support/Service	1	50%	1	50%	2
Total	461	44%	586	56%	1,047
Institution Total	3,979	61%	2,597	39%	6,576

Percentages derived from information provided by the University's
Institutional Research office 25 March 2014

Support Staff 2013

Job Category	Male	Percent Male	Female	Percent Female	Total
Clerical/Secretarial	38	11%	308	89%	346
Maintenance/Skilled Craft	548	70%	239	30%	787
Professional Support/Service	658	45%	795	55%	1,453
Support Total	1,244	48%	1,342	52%	2,586
Institution Total	3,979	61%	2,597	39%	6,576

Percentages derived from information provided by the University's Institutional Research office 25 March 2014

Research Faculty and Staff 2013

Job Category	Male	Percent Male	Female	Percent Female	Total
Adjunct & Visiting Research Staff	3	43%	4	57%	7
Post-Docs	227	75%	77	25%	304
Princ. Research Scientists/Engineers/Technologists/Assoc.	166	87%	24	13%	190
Research Scientists/Engineers/Technologists/Assoc.	686	76%	211	24%	897
Senior Research Scientists/Engineers/Technologists/Assoc.	290	84%	54	16%	344
Research Total	1,372	79%	370	21%	1,742
Institution Total	3,979	61%	2,597	39%	6,576

Percentages derived from information provided by the University's Institutional Research office 25 March 2014