LIVING THROUGH REORGANIZATION: A MULTISITE CASE STUDY

EXPLORING HOW WOMEN'S CENTERS EXPERIENCE REORGANIZATION

by

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(Under the Direction of Laura Dean)

ABSTRACT

Women's centers play a critical role on college campuses. They provide

education, support, leadership development, and advocacy. This multi-site case study

explored the reorganization of women's centers by answering these three questions 1)

through what process was the women's center reorganized, 2) how did reorganization

impact the women's center, and 3) how did the women's center navigate reorganization?

Using Kathleen Manning's organizational frames as the theoretical framework for this

study the researcher found that 1) on each of the campuses the decision to reorganize was

initially made by one or more upper-level administrators, 2) institutions and divisions use

multiple organizational frames and as a result women's centers had varying amounts of

input or influence into the reorganization process. Women's centers experienced a wide

range of impacts including shifts in physical locations, the merging of centers, changes in

staffing, and changes to budgets. The three women's centers each utilized a feminist

organizing framework and this organizing principle continued as each center responded

to the reorganization emphasizing transparency, open communication, and non-

hierarchical decision-making. Throughout reorganization, the staff members and students

served by the women's center experienced a sense of loss, fear, and fatigue. Women's center staff members spoke about both the importance of intersectionality and of navigating tensions around intersectionality, particularly on the campuses where identity-based centers were merged. Throughout each of the reorganizations, staff members of the women's centers persisted in working towards advancing women on their campuses.

INDEX WORDS: Women's Centers, Reorganization, Organizational Frames, Higher Education, Student Affairs, Identity-Based Centers, Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, Intersectionality

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the many women's center professionals who have endured and persisted throughout the reorganization of the women's center on their campus. Their passion and commitment to "maintain their integrity in the work" throughout such constant change is a testament to their dedication and love, not only of their students and other constituents, but to being a change agent on their campuses.

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Genesis of Study

Many years ago, probably about 2011, I was standing in the hallway of my office

with a co-worker after finding out my department would be reorganized. I

remember telling them that one day when I got my doctorate, this process would

make a fine dissertation topic. I was somewhat joking. Since that time, the

department I direct has been through several additional reorganizations. We

have moved into and between nearly every division on campus (except for

University Advancement). On the plus side, I have had the opportunity to learn

about nearly every division on my campus, their missions and goals, as well as

the people who work in them. On the downside, my department's mission and

goals have shifted or been adapted on average every 2-3 years. For a while, I

thought perhaps the institution where I worked did not know where to put us.

Then I began hearing stories from other women's center directors at the National

Women's Studies Association annual conference. It was not just me. Each year,

when we gathered, more people had stories of reorganizations that had taken

place or reorganizations that were looming on the horizon when they returned

home.

I had no idea nearly ten years ago that one day, I would, in fact, be writing a

dissertation about reorganization, specifically about how reorganizations impact

women's centers. But here I am. Over the course of my doctoral studies, I tried

out several different possible topics, but always, in the back of my mind, this topic

called me. I felt it was not "student affairs" enough, even though women's

centers are often located within the division of student affairs, even though there

was plenty of literature (in my program!) about organizational theory and change

theory. My final semester of coursework, while taking qualitative methods, I

decided to try this topic out. It felt like coming home. This question that had been

there, under the surface, percolating for nearly ten years. It was time to set out

on the process of answering it.

Introduction

Throughout the United States, women have for years been struggling to gain full

equality. This is manifested through inequities such as salary inequities (American

Association of University Women, 2018), violence against women (U.S. Department of

Justice, 2015), lack of representation in government (American Association of University

Women, 2016; Kurtzleben, 2016; Oh & Kliff, 2017), and lack of representation at higher

levels of leadership within the business, industry, and other sectors (American

Association of University Women, 2016; Kurtzleben, 2016). Women experience parallel

struggles on college campuses. College women are three times more likely to experience

sexual violence than women in general (U.S. Department of Justice, 2014). Women

continue to struggle for equal representation in the upper administrations of institutions of

higher education (American Association of University Women, 2016; Johnson, 2016).

Women continue to be underrepresented in disciplines such as science, technology, math,

and engineering (Hill, Corbett, & St. Rose, 2010).

Colleges and universities provide students with opportunities for growth, both academically and out of the classroom (American College Personnel Association, 1996; Bess & Dee, 2007, 2012; National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, 1987). Campus-based women's centers are one piece of the fabric of colleges and universities that provide opportunities for students to foster learning (Davie, 2002). Additionally, women's centers work to interrupt and improve the inequities mentioned above, offering educational programming; leadership opportunities for students; advice, insight, and leadership on campus policies and procedures; and an advocating voice for the women of the institution (Davie, 2002). For this reason, it is essential that women's centers be placed organizationally in a location where they can implement their mission and the full range of programs and services offered through that mission.

However, since the first campus-based women's center was created, women's centers have been organizationally located across a diverse range of administrative divisions (Clevenger, 1987; Goettsch, Holgerson, Morrow, Rose-Mockery, Seasholes, & Vlasnik, 2015; Klinger, 1984; Stineman, 1984). The organizational location of a women's center impacts who it serves and how it goes about serving those populations (Goettsch, Linden, Vanzant, & Waugh, 2012). But how does reorganization impact women's centers? There is a depth of literature related to organizational development and organizational change, and a growing literature base related to women's centers, but to date there is no literature related to organizational development or change and women's centers. This study will examine both the process by which women's centers have been reorganized and how those reorganizations impact the mission, programming, and goals of women's centers.

Change is an inevitable part of organizational life (Kotter, 1996). Change propels us to better things and offers opportunities for correction when we have gotten off track. Change is also hard. Organizational change processes are typically initiated by top level management (Balogun, 2007; McKinley & Scherer, 2000), while women's center directors sit at the middle management level (Clevenger, 1987; Kasper, 2004; Klinger, 1984). By sitting at this mid-level, women's center directors are placed in the position of having to enact the changes upper administration designs through reorganization; this requires a shift in their very way of thinking (Balogun, 2007).

Problem Statement

Campus-based women's centers have existed on college campuses for over 30 years providing education, support, advocacy, and outreach to their campus communities (Goettsch et al., 2015). As college campuses seek to find a structure that works best, many universities have engaged in reorganizations, often involving chief diversity offices and identity-based centers such as women's centers. Reorganizations have included taking what were separate independent offices (such as women's centers, cultural centers, or affirmative action offices) and merging them into one new unit, sometimes called the Office of Institutional Equity and Diversity or similar (Kuk & Banning, 2009). These reorganizations have impacts on the offices shuffled between and in and out of various organizational models.

Purpose of Study

In this study, I explored the process of reorganization for campus-based women's centers including the decision-making process, organizational changes, and finally, the ways in which the people affected by the reorganization experience it. Additionally, I

critically analyzed the effects to determine if power and/or privilege played a role in the campus reorganizations experienced by women's centers. Within this study, I did not seek to provide instruction or value to any one organizational structure over another. Each campus is different, and the organizational structure that works well at one campus may not work as well at another. Instead, through this study, I focused on the process of reorganization and the ways that process impacts centers, their staff, and their programming.

Research Questions

For over ten years I have had the honor of being a director of a campus-based women's center. In that time, our women's center has been through at least five organizational reorganizations, been in every division on campus except for university advancement, and has shifted from being a stand-alone center to part of a large, multi-function unit back to a stand-alone center. In these ten years, I heard similar stories from other women's center directors from across the nation. From this experience, I developed the following research questions.

(1) Through what process was the women's center reorganized? This includes the following sub-questions.

    a. Who made the decision to reorganize?

    b. What was the rationale (or perceived rationale) for the reorganization?

(2) How does reorganization impact centers' missions, programs, and services?

(3) When faced with an external force, how do women's centers navigate reorganization?

Research Paradigm

I situated this study within a critical or transformative worldview. The use of a critical worldview allows the researcher to "consider social issues of privilege and oppression" (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2014, p. 67). Within a transformative framework, social justice is a central tenet (Mertens, 2010). There are four main characteristics of a transformative worldview: 1) centering the lives and experiences of marginalized, 2) analyzing the power inequities within relationships, 3) examining how research on inequality is linked to action, and 4) "us[ing] a transformative theory to develop the program theory and research approach. A program theory is a set of beliefs about the way a program works or why a problem occurs" (Mertens, 2010, p. 21). Using a transformative approach allowed me to consider how gender impacts the reorganization of women's centers. Throughout this study, the ways in which reorganization has impacted women's centers, their work, and their staff will be centered, and participants will have numerous opportunities to be a part of the inquiry process including inquiry about what they hope to learn as well as the ability to provide meaningful feedback throughout the research process.

Axiology, Epistemology, and Ontology

In keeping with this central focus, I rooted the axiology, or nature of ethics (Mertens, 2010), in equity and fairness while centering the voices of the participants of this study. Each of those participants has a unique experience and perspective regarding the experience of reorganization, and throughout this study, I sought to honor those perspectives. Epistemologically, I sought to center the voices of the participants in this study while also giving them the opportunity to share in the journey of knowledge

sharing through opportunities for feedback. Reorganizations have significant impacts on centers (Goettsch et al., 2012) and as such examining the process of center reorganizations, including power dynamics, has the potential of being transformative. Ontology is the study of the nature of reality (Mertens, 2010). Within a transformative worldview, not only are multiple truths accepted as real, but they are then analyzed for how power and/or inequity has influenced those truths (Mertens, 2010).

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

In this study, I used organizational theory as a framework, drawing primarily from Manning's (2013) *Organizational Theory in Higher Education* and feminist organizational theory. Organizational theories provide insight and understanding into the way in which organizations are structured and make decisions as well as what and whom they value (Manning, 2013). Additionally, I used the twelve common criteria, or general standards, from the Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education (CAS) Women and Gender Programs and Services standards as an organizing framework. CAS standards are utilized by student affairs professionals across the United States to assist them in "the development, assessment, and improvement of quality student learning, programs, and services" (CAS, 2015).

Organizational Perspectives

Across the first and second editions of *Organizational Theory in Higher Education* Manning (2013, 2018) identified nine different organizational perspectives, organized anarchy, collegium, political, cultural, bureaucracy, new science, feminist, spiritual, and institutional. These perspectives help to inform the work of higher education institutions including how administrators make decisions, who the stakeholders

are, and why institutions operate the way they do. Institutions may utilize a combination of organizational perspectives as they work with and create their own unique culture and mode of operation. Individual departments may also utilize a different perspective than the institution in their day-to-day interactions. Of Manning's nine identified organizational perspectives, the feminist perspective most closely aligns with the core mission of women's centers. This perspective places a high value on the inclusion of many voices and utilizing networks of connections (Manning, 2013). While women's centers may utilize a more feminist organizational frame, they are situated within institutions that use multiple frames. Using Manning's (2013, 2018) organizational frames as the primary lens through which I examined my research questions allowed for a robust and rich analysis of the varying organizational dynamics within and between institutions, divisions, departments and women's centers.

Feminist Organizational Theory

Campus-based women's centers prioritize a feminist perspective which extends to their organizational structure (Goettsch, et al., 2015). Feminist organizations more often resemble a "web of inclusion" as opposed to the traditional hierarchy of most organizations (Manning, 2013, p. 159). At the same time, campus-based women's centers often exist within layers of hierarchy and bureaucracy. Women's centers often navigate the both/and of organizational reality of operating as a feminist organization within a larger context that may or may not be feminist (Davie, 2002; DeLuz, 2013).

Feminist organizational theory acknowledges that organizations are not gender neutral (Acker, 1990). Women's centers often serve as change-makers on college campuses, working to bring gender equity to the students, faculty, and staff that make up

the community of a college campus. These endeavors are guided by feminist values which often intersect with the organizational life of a college campus.

CAS Standards

CAS standards are widely recognized and are utilized by many women's center professionals (Morrow, Seasholes, Ford-McCartney, Graham, Curry, Rosenthal, & Vlasnik, 2018). In this study, I used the following ten (of twelve) CAS standards as an organizing framework related to the impact reorganization has on women's centers: (1) mission, (2) program, (3) organization and leadership, (4) human resources, (5) ethics, (6) law, policy, and governance, (7) diversity, equity, and access, (8) internal and external relations, (9) financial resources, and (10) facilities and equipment (CAS, 2015). Using the CAS standards as a way to organize my questioning around reorganization helped to keep focused on the ways in which women's centers are impacted by reorganization and communicate to a broad audience the impacts experienced by women's centers within this study.

I used both Manning's frames and feminist organizational theory as the foundation upon which I explored how and why women's centers are reorganized, how they are impacted by reorganization, and how they utilize a feminist framework when responding to reorganization. By using Manning's frames, I was able to explore other organizational frames that exert influence over women's centers during a reorganization process, including the larger institution and the divisions/departments the center is moving between. By using the CAS standards as an organizing framework, I was able to structure data collection in a cohesive and systematic manner.

Researcher Reflexivity

The women's center at my home institution has reported through Student Affairs, Academic Affairs, Administration and Operations, and to the President. It has been a stand-alone department as well as a sub-unit of the Office of Equity and Diversity. In each of these shifts, there has been a change in focus and direction. My experience has been that when the women's center reported through the Office of Equity and Diversity that policy development, compliance, and implementation of federal and state law were the priorities both in time and funding. Conversely, when the women's center reported through Student Affairs, the priority was on creating and sustaining programs and services to meet the needs of the student population, creating learning opportunities, and creating culture change.

I am also cognizant of the role that my identity plays in this research. I identify as a White, cisgender, heterosexual, Christian, solidly middle-class woman. For the majority of my years reporting to a chief diversity officer, I was the only White member of the team, conversely, during my time in student affairs I was one of many White-identified people. As I consider how the leadership of women's centers view institutional support and impacts of reorganizations, it is crucial to also pay attention to the role that identity may play.

Operational Definitions

Organizational theory "comprises a body of knowledge about how and why organizations function" (Bess & Dee, 2012, p. 467).

Reorganization is a process by which an office or unit is administratively moved from one division or unit to another.

Student Affairs is a division on college campuses that is focused on students out of classroom living and learning experiences.

Women's Centers are campus-based units that provide programming and support for women on college campuses. They often primarily offer programming and support to students, but they can also serve faculty and staff. Women's centers often utilize a feminist and/or intersectional framework as a foundation for their programs, services, and operations.

Significance of the Study

Women's centers have been an active part of college campuses for over 30 years (Goettsch, et al., 2015; Goettsch, et al., 2012). In that time, women's centers have often been shifted from one campus division to another. Anytime an organization experiences change it requires additional energy and resources (Balogun, 2007). Campus-based women's centers often have small staffs (Clevenger, 1987; Davie, 2002; Kasper, 2004b; Klinger, 1984), meaning the time and energy spent on a reorganization is often in exchange for time spent delivering programmatic objectives to students. Reorganizations often occur due to decisions made by organizational leaders (Balogun, 2007; McKinley & Scherer, 2000). When a person in a position of authority makes a decision about the organizational structure of a unit, there is a power dynamic at play between the decision maker and the unit affected by the decision. As women's centers often operate using a feminist organizational perspective that deemphasizes power and control, the process of reorganization could potentially pit women's centers and the institutions they are a part of against one another. By examining the process of reorganization - how the decision to reorganize was made, how reorganization impacted centers organizationally, and how

women's centers respond - I have added to the literature related to women's centers as organizations. The knowledge gained from this research will be helpful as directors of campus-based women's centers face future reorganization and to upper-level administrators as they consider implementing reorganizations.

Conclusion

In the decades since women's centers were created on college campuses, institutions have struggled to find the right organizational location for women's centers. In this study, I used Manning's (2013) organizational perspectives coupled with feminist organizational theory to explore why and why women's centers are reorganized, how women's centers are impacted by reorganization, and how women's centers navigate reorganization. Given the frequency with which women's centers are reorganized, the findings from this study will be of use to both institutions considering a reorganization of the women's center on their campus as well as directors of campus-based women's centers.

CHAPTER 2

Review of the Literature

This study focused on how and why campus-based women's centers experience reorganization, how women's centers are impacted by reorganization, and how women's centers utilize a feminist framework to navigate reorganization. As such, this literature review focuses on the administrative structure of higher education; organizational theory, including organizational theory in higher education, feminist organizational theory, and organizational change theory; and a review of literature related to campus-based women's centers.

Organizational Structure in Higher Education

Colleges and universities are complex and dynamic organizations (Bess & Dee, 2007, 2012; Birnbaum, 1988; Manning, 2013). Individual colleges and universities may have unique features, but collectively, there are similarities in structure in both administration and governance.

Colleges and universities typically fall into two broad categories, public or private (Bess & Dee, 2012; Eckel & King, 2004; Kaplin & Lee, 2014). Public institutions are funded, at least in part, through tax-payer dollars and report in some way to the state government (Bess & Dee, 2007, 2012). Private institutions are funded through a combination of tuition and personal gifts and often report directly to a board of trustees (Bess & Dee, 2007, 2012). While all colleges and universities in the United States must follow law, policy, and regulations set by the federal government, private colleges and

universities are often not subject to state law in the same ways public institutions are (Kaplin & Lee, 2014). Colleges and universities can be further broken down into the following categories: four-year institutions, two-year institutions, community colleges, and technical institutions (Bess & Dee, 2007, 2012). Each of these different types of institution has a slightly different mission or way of advancing advanced or higher education within their community. In addition to reporting lines to state oversight agencies or boards of trustees, colleges and universities are often guided by two entities, faculty senates and administrative leadership. At most institutions, faculty senates serve as the internal governance structure, approving policies, procedures, and providing oversight to the institution's curriculum (Bess & Dee, 2007, 2012; Birnbaum, 1988). Administrative leadership at a college or university is comprised of a president, sometimes called a chancellor, and their leadership team, including vice presidents who oversee all of the various administrative and teaching functions of the college (Eckel & King, 2004). The following section describes the divisions of academic affairs, student affairs, and chief diversity officers as these units are most often the organizational locations of women's centers within the hierarchy of an institution (Kasper, 2004b).

Academic Affairs

Academic affairs divisions are typically lead by a vice president or chancellor or provost (Eckel & King, 2004.). The provost is often in charge of all of the internal operations of an institution (Bess & Dee, 2007). The division of academic affairs typically includes all the faculty, academic colleges and deans, the library, and other departments such as technology, advising, enrollment, and research centers. Organizationally, the division of academic affairs is hierarchical, although faculty often

interact with one another as a collegium (Bess & Dee, 2007; Birnbaum, 1988). The units within an academic affairs division are often focused on instruction and enhancing the curriculum of the institution (Bess & Dee, 2007). Women's centers report to the provost of academic affairs approximately 22-35% of the time (Goettsch et al., 2012; Kasper, 2004b). In addition to offering programming and services for students, these centers often also offer programming and services for faculty and staff. Additionally, these centers may also have more of a role in policy development and curricular learning than women's centers located elsewhere within an institution (Goettsch et al., 2012).

Chief Diversity Officers

Over the last two decades, college campuses have created chief diversity officer (CDO) positions to heighten the visibility of diversity efforts on campus and increase the effectiveness of diversity and inclusion efforts on campuses (Leon, 2013; Stanley, 2014; Wilson, 2013). The number of CDOs has grown to number over 600 (Malewski & Jaramillo, 2017). Williams and Wade-Golden (2007) identified three different models employed on campuses to structure CDO offices: collaborative officer model, unit-based model, and portfolio divisional model. Within the *collaborative officer model*, colleges employ a chief diversity officer, who often has a small support staff and who works collaboratively with other departments and divisions on campus to bring about change (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007). CDO's in this structure often find themselves tasked with coordinating the work of diversity on campus without supervising any of the diversity-related offices on campus. Within the *unit-based model*, the CDO has a more robust staff often including program administrators or specialists as well as administrative support who work under the CDO to advance the institutions goals around

diversity (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007). The *portfolio divisional model* is the most hierarchical of the models and includes a CDO who supervises a range of departments and functions such as cultural centers, women's centers, international centers, affirmative action offices, training, and outreach (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007). The CDO in this model has all diversity-related departments reporting through them, which provides opportunities for strength regarding alignment, budgeting, synergy, and consistency. However, the argument can also be made that this model "ghettoizes diversity" and "removes campus responsibility to become involved with diversity work" (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007, p. 42).

Student Affairs Divisions

Student affairs divisions are broad, consisting of many different types of units at all types of institutions (Kuk & Banning, 2009). A vice president of student affairs is ultimately responsible for ensuring student needs are met on campus (such as housing, health and wellness services, and dining) as well as ensuring students have the opportunity for co-curricular learning (Bess & Dee, 2007). Little research explores the how and why of student affairs organizational structures; however, Kuk & Banning (2009) surveyed senior student affairs officers (SSAO) from 90 institutions and found that student affairs divisions are organized hierarchically across functional groupings. They went on to find the percentages of various units located within the student affairs division, discovering that 58% of institutions' student affairs divisions included multicultural student services, and 15% included women's centers and LGBT services. When asked about restructuring, 56% of respondents reported that their division had experienced a reorganization or restructuring within the last ten years (Kuk & Banning,

2009). One of the changes mentioned by respondents was moving multicultural programming to a vice president of institutional diversity. Despite these changes, student affairs divisions have "always played an important role in addressing multicultural issues" on college campuses (Pope, Mueller, & Reynolds, 2009, p. 640). Student affairs researchers have been researching issues of diversity for over 50 years, and this research has led to increased knowledge around such topics as racial and gender identity development and multicultural organizational development (Pope et al., 2009).

Organizational Development Theory

There is a plethora of literature related to organizational development. A cursory search on ERIC (at EbscoHost) yields results from fields such as business, management, public administration, psychology, and education. This section of the literature review will provide a review of organizational theory related to higher education, feminist organizational theory, and finally organizational change theory.

Organizational Theory in Higher Education

A multitude of theorists have attempted to explain organizationally how universities are organized and structured. Some have argued that they are loosely coupled (Weick, 1976). Other theorists have offered concepts such as frames (Bolman & Deal, 2017), or offered metaphors (organizations as "garbage cans"; Cohen, March & Olsen, 1986) as a way to explain how organizations behave. Organizational theory "guides efforts to interpret and analyze individual and group behavior and processes such as resource allocation, policy making, personnel management, leadership, institutional renewal, reorganization of administrative units, and termination of programs" (Kuh, 1987, p. 3). Organizational behavior then is a personified term used to refer to the

relationships between the people within an organization, their attitudes and beliefs, and how the people within the organization go about making decisions, taking actions, or addressing events (Kuh, 1987).

Colleges and universities have often been described as loosely coupled (Birnbaum, 1988; Weick, 1976). The use of this phrase is meant to suggest that institutions are made up of various smaller units, that while separate, rely on and interact with one another. Weick (1976) argued that this system both increases the adaptability and responsiveness of the institution while at the same time protecting the whole institution from one or more individual units who have gotten off track or are floundering. The flip side of this is that as the organization is more responsive, it can sometimes overcorrect; "it could be argued that loosely coupled systems preserve many independent sensing elements and therefore "know" their environments better…the possibility that the system would become increasingly vulnerable to producing faddish responses and interpretations" (Weick, 1976, p. 6).

Organizational frames offer another way of trying to make sense of organizational behavior. Bolman and Deal's (2017) four frames offer lenses through which to view the interworking of organizations. The structural frame focuses on the way in which the organization makes (or doesn't make) rules, policies, structures units, and how they use technology and their environment. The human resource frame focuses on the way the organization treats people, through job descriptions and job performance, as well as the day to day interactions between employees. The political frame focuses on how power is used, conflict is navigated, and decisions are made; it also includes coalition building.

The symbolic frame focuses on the culture of an organization, the traditions and rituals, as well as the meaning/sense making the work brings to employees.

However, "using any one particular metaphor or lens limits our understanding of organizations because we view them in a distinctive yet incomplete and to some extent distorted way" (Woodard, Love, & Komives, 2000, p. 64). Additionally, much of the organizational theory used by higher education is borrowed from other fields (Birnbaum, 1998; Dalton & Gardener, 2002; Woodard et al., 2000) and based on bureaucratic tenets (Weick, 1976). Manning (2013, 2018) offers an alternative, as her nine frames integrate previous bureaucratic based models and frames as well as offer four new perspectives from which to view organizational behavior. Pantel and Yakaboski (2014) noted her "updated analysis is well overdue given the significant changes to higher education, the related adaptations that institutions have made to their organizations and structures, and the subsequent shifts in perspective that practitioners and scholars have needed to make in an attempt to understand and function within their organizations" (p. 340). Manning also departs from previous theorists by utilizing a constructivist worldview rather than positivist/post-positivism, emphasizing not only the organization but also the people within the organization and how they experience it within each of the frames she offers.

Manning's Perspectives. In her 2013 work, *Organizational Theory in Higher Education*, Manning expanded upon the four organizational frames developed by Birnbaum (1988) as well as incorporated feminist theory (Callas & Smirich, 1999; Helgesen, 1990, 1995, 2006; Lipman-Blumen, 1992), quantum or new science theory (Wheatley, 2007, 2010) and spirituality in the workplace (Briskin, 1996; Zohar, 1997). In the second edition of the same text, Manning (2018) included a new perspective,

institutional theory, expanded the feminist frame (to feminist and gendered), and removed the new science perspective although portions of that frame are now incorporated into the spiritual frame. In this review, I will provide an overview of all nine frames.

The nine frames, or perspectives as she called them, are bureaucracy, collegium, cultural, feminist and gendered, institutional theory, new science, organized anarchy, political, and spiritual. These frames give higher education administrators a lens through which to view the inner workings of their institutions, how and why they do what they do. Any one of the frames is not likely to explain the rationale of organizational decision making, but taken together and in concert with one another, administrators can make sense of what otherwise may be a complicated and ever-changing system (Manning, 2013). The interdisciplinary approach that Manning takes lends itself well to the nature of higher education, where otherwise disparate systems intersect and parallel one another (Manning, 2013).

While Manning's frames have not been used a great deal as the theoretical or organizing framework for research, they have informed a number of studies, including developing new strategies for developing a shared vision (Aguire, Balser, Jack, Marley, Miller, Osgood, Pape-Lindstrom, & Romano, 2013), discussing differences between organization structures in the military and higher education (McBain, 2013), and understanding the shared governance structure in Poland (Kwiek, 2015). One study that has used Manning's frames as a piece of the theoretical framework is a dissertation about the mindfulness of one university including its organizational structure and culture (Coutant, 2017). Coutant found that the campus used for her case study primarily utilized

a new science or quantum model as they valued and utilized relationships and collaborations to accomplish work.

I utilized Manning's frames due to their interdisciplinary and multifaceted nature. By having a range of organizational frames through which to view the women's centers, the divisions or offices they were moved between, and their institution, I was able to discern differences in organizational operations and in what ways, if any, those differences played a role in the reorganization process. To provide a greater understanding of Manning's frames, an overview of each frame is provided in the next section. Additionally, Table 1 offers an at-a-glance overview of each of the frames.

Bureaucracy. Bureaucracies are built on a foundation of rationality (Manning, 2013). Bureaucracies value structure, hierarchies, and order; information and decision making are driven from the top down (Manning, 2013). Max Weber is credited with being the "father of bureaucracy" (Manning, 2013, p. 113). Within a bureaucratic structure, the individuals at the top of the hierarchy hold more power than individuals at the bottom of the hierarchy. This authority is granted to the individual seen as most qualified and must be earned. Individuals on the lower end of the hierarchy are expected to follow standard operating procedures to accomplish their work (Manning, 2013). The strength of a bureaucracy includes its ability to take complex tasks and make them routine, and to streamline processes for maximum efficiency. The weakness of a bureaucracy includes demoralization of individuals at the lower end of the hierarchy, as well as an overreliance on standard processes (bureaucratic red tape) that leads to a decrease in productivity. Bureaucracies privilege the people at the top of the hierarchy and leave out those at the bottom.

Collegium.   The metaphor of a circle represents the organizational perspective of collegium. This circle most often includes the members of a faculty who exhibit characteristics such as "collegiality, collaboration, and equality" (Manning, 2013, p. 37) in their interactions with one another. Collegium organizations value many of the characteristics often associated with faculty including faculty rank, consensus decision making, academic freedom, self-governance, and the idea of being "first among equals" (Manning, 2013, p. 40). Collegiums privilege those who hold expertise, including faculty. At times this can leave out staff who may not be seen as experts and often do not hold rank or are as likely to hold a terminal degree. A strength of a collegium is that members of the collegium seek out the voices of other members of the collegium; at times, though this can be a weakness as it can lead to a lack in decision-making efficiency and an over-reliance on group decision making processes.

Cultural.   Relying on anthropology as a foundation, the cultural perspective places a high degree of emphasis on the symbols, rituals, and history of an organization (Manning, 2013). Within the cultural perspective, symbols are not just physical elements (e.g. statues, academic regalia) but also actions (Manning, 2013). Manning (2013) noted that "organizational culture theory can take two different approaches" (p. 91). These approaches in include a corporate culture where "culture can be 'managed'" or egalitarian culture where everyone within an organization plays a role in defining the culture of the organization (Manning, 2013, p. 91). An organization's symbols, history, traditions, and stories communicate messages about the organization; indeed, Manning argued that "culture does not *hold* the organization together so much as it *is* the organization" (Manning, 2013, p. 93). The cultural perspective takes into account the following about

institutions: "values and assumptions; subcultures; history, tradition, and context; priests, storytellers, and cabals; language; organizational saga; symbols; and architecture" (Manning, 2013, p. 94). Strengths of the cultural perspective include that it provides a way for individuals to make meaning of the intangibles within an organization; a weakness of the perspective is that it may seem "frivolous", "unnecessary", or "superficial" (Manning, 2013, p. 100). Within the cultural perspective, the dominant culture is most often privileged, and marginalized populations are often left out.

   Feminist and gendered. The feminist perspective is grounded in both feminist theory and the acceptance that organizations operate through a gendered lens (Manning, 2013). The feminist perspective utilizes a network structure, a "web of inclusion" (Manning, 2013, p. 159) as it operates. The web of the feminist perspective is "adaptable, open, and responsive; inclusive and collaborative processes mark these organizational forms; leadership is collaborative and connected; power is shared; and open communication processes are part of their functioning" (Manning, 2013, p. 162). This web is particularly useful as it allows leadership to ask who should be at the decision-making table. The feminist perspective also creates a method for developing a shared vision. Strengths of the feminist perspective include flexibility, increased participation, and a less demoralizing work environment. Potential weaknesses of the feminist perspective include the need for a strong leader at the center of the web (without which the system may not work), the possibility for some voices to overpower others, and that change can be slow moving (Manning, 2013). Within the feminist perspective, everyone has the possibility of being privileged; at the same time the individuals left out are the ones who do not participate.

Institutional theory. Institutional theory is derived from political theory and offers a way to "explain how colleges and universities come to resemble each other even when the organizations under comparison are notably different" (Manning, 2018, p. 113). Within the context of institutional theory "the word *organization* describes colleges and universities. The word *institution* describes larger entities, external to the organization, that exert influence through policies, rules, and cultural norms" (Manning, 2018, p. 113-114). Institutional theory includes the concept of isomorphism, or the process by which organizations are influenced by institutions (Manning, 2018). Institutional theory has several characteristics including, institutional logics, homogeneity and isomorphism (including coercive isomorphism, mimetic isomorphism, and normative isomorphism), organizational choice, human agency, and deinstitutionalization (Manning, 2018). Some of the strengths of institutional theory is that is provides a way to understand how universities are influenced by outside forces and how people make choices within the organization in response to those forces (Manning, 2018). Conversely, a weakness of institutional theory is that it can overemphasize the power of external institutional influences on an organization (Manning, 2018).

New science. The new science perspective is an organizational framework that requires moving away from the status quo of organizational operations and utilizing an entirely new paradigm, a moving away from the Newtonian paradigm and into the postmodern or post-positivist paradigm in response to growing uncertainty within the higher education landscape (Manning, 2013). Margaret Wheatley (2007, 2010) introduced the new science perspective into the organizational leadership literature. Within the new science perspective, the following characteristics are highlighted,

"interrelatedness, mutual and multiple causality, multiple realities, uncertainty, and control as an illusion (Manning, 2013, p. 138). Strengths of the new science perspective include that it has the ability to account for the uncertainty that besets higher education, that is allows for the participation of multiple voices, and that it encourages cooperation and collaboration between those voices. Weakness of the new science perspective include that it requires "a high level of cognitive complexity to manage the full impact of environmental complexity and uncertainty" (Manning, 2013, p. 147), that it requires a dramatic shift away from the way things have always been done, and that it "can be viewed as irrational and unstructured" (Manning, 2013, p. 147). The new science perspective privileges those who know how to speak the updated language of the new paradigm and leaves out those who do not.

Organized anarchies. Organized anarchies were first discussed as a descriptor of colleges and universities by Cohen, March, and Olsen (1986). Their description of colleges and universities noted their paradoxical nature; as Manning (2013) described they are "familiar yet hard to describe, unpredictable though at times oddly rational, rooted in the past yet optimistically gazing into the future, traditional though educating many to anticipate change" (p. 11). Cohen and March (1986, as cited in Manning, 2013) noted that organized anarchies rely on community and have three main characteristics problematic goals, unclear technology, and fluid participation. A strength of organized anarchies is their flexibility and emphasis on democracy in decision making; weaknesses include ambiguousness and a lack of consistency in decision making (Manning, 2013). Organized anarchies privilege those who participate, which includes leaders as well as employees and tends to be more situational. In contrast, they leave out members of the

organization who tend to be more individualistic and refrain from participation in campus activities.

      Political. The political frame is metaphorically represented by the image of the jungle (Manning, 2013). The political perspective relies on distributions of power, who has power and how it is distributed (Manning, 2013). Additionally, the political perspective seeks to explain the connections of power through networks and alliances. Individuals working within a political organization are wise to pay attention to "attention cues"; these advanced or early cues about internal or external forces at play may give members of the administration or employees a heads up that significant changes are about to take place (Manning, 2013, p. 71). Examples of such attention cues could be changes to federal or state legislation, changes in demographics of the student population, environmental changes within the community, or new trends within higher education. Conflict is viewed as normal within the political perspective; how an organization addresses that conflict reveals "institutional priorities, focuses commitment to the goals, and connects people to goal achievement" (Manning, 2013, p. 69). Strengths of the political perspective include the ability to provide insight into decision and policy making, attention cues, and the exploration of relationship dynamics (Manning, 2013). Some of the weaknesses of the political frame include focusing on immediate problems rather than working towards long-term goals and solutions, the potential length of time to make a decision (from fluid participation and an inability to act), and the potential for decision-making to rest with a small number of individuals who wield a great deal of personal power (Manning, 2013). The political frame privileges those with voice or those who are charismatic; it leaves out those without power or influence.

Spiritual. The spiritual perspective is rooted in psychology and understanding how organizations and individuals shape and impact one another. Within the spiritual framework is an understanding that people often seek out meaning for their life or are answering a call to make the world better throughout their jobs (Manning, 2013). This perspective tends to deemphasize systems such as capitalism and materialism in favor of valuing individuals employed or served by the organization and how the organization brings value to their lives. Within the spiritual perspective, an organization exists to fulfill a higher purpose, for example, "the purposes of higher education encompass the fulfillment of human potential, social justice, and social change" (Manning, 2013, p. 185). Structurally, the spiritual perspective does not have one specific look; rather it is about a shifting in perspective of the reason why the organization exists, and it can be overlaid over numerous types of structures (Manning, 2013). Strengths of the spiritual perspective include its ability to provide hope and to bring in marginalized populations and give them voice; weaknesses include how others perceive it, as perhaps too optimistic or impractical, or it "may be off-putting to people who see spirituality as religion or those who do not believe in a spiritual presence" (Manning, 2013, p. 191).

Table 1
Summary of Organizational Frames

Organizational Elements	Bureaucracy	Collegial	Cultural	Feminist	Institutional Theory
Disciplinary foundation	Modernity	Sociology	Anthropology	Feminist theory	Political Science
Decision-making mode	Rational decision making	Participative decision making	Meaning making	Collaborative	Choice enabled and constrained by institutions
Actions based on	Technical; standard operating procedures	Consensus; discussion	Enactment	Shared purposes	Consideration of embedded institutional logics
Mechanisms for reality construction	"natural"; external;	Shared constructions	Socially constructed	Shared meaning	Assumptions gained from wider social,

	ideal type from nature				cultural, and political institutions
Sources of meaning	Objective rules	Academic disciplines	Rituals, myths, sagas, language, tradition	Collaboration and relationships	Institutional logics
Power	Legitimate	Expert; professional	Symbols, history, tradition	Egalitarian	Regulatory and cultural
Structure	Hierarchical; pyramid	Circular	Varied	Roughly circular; web	Nested
Metaphor	Machine	Circle	Carnival or theater	Web	Concentric circles
Example/archetype	Military; church	Legal process; faculty senate; professional associations	Church; sports; fraternities	Learning organizations	P-12 and post-secondary education
Leadership	Top down; legitimate authority; leadership emanates from office	First among equals	Heroes and heroines; mythical; the stuff of saga	Collaborative; emanates from the center	Defined by prevailing beliefs gained from overall institutional influences
Communication	Top down; written predominates	Protracted; oral based	Explicit and implicit; oral; storytelling	Uni-directional; open	Flows in multiple directions
Scope of influence	Institutional	Faculty	Institutional	Institutional	Internal and external
Reward structure	Merit	Expertise in discipline; peer review	Tradition	Relational	Adherence to the assumptions and values conveyed from larger institutions
Source of structure	Nature	Academic disciplines	Culture	Leader	Rules, laws, regulations, traditions, and assumptions
How you perceive coworkers	Worker bees	Colleagues	Actors and cast	Teammate	Associates
Who is privileged?	Person at the top	Faculty/experts	White- cis men	Everyone	Those who make or interpret regulations
Who gets left out?	Everyone else	Staff	Marginalized populations	Those who do not participate	Those without the ability to exert influence over regulations

Adapted from Manning, 2013, pp. 4-5; Manning, 2018, pp. 8-9.

Table 1 (cont.)
Summary of Organizational Frames

Organizational Elements	New Science	Organized Anarchy	Political	Spiritual
Disciplinary foundation	Philosophy of science	Political philosophy	Sociology	psychology
Decision-making mode	Uncertainty; multiple perspectives	Garbage can model	Compromise; conflict	Cooperative and collaborative
Actions based on	Inter-relationships	Fluid participation	Conflict, loyalties, policy	Intellect and gut feeling; emotions allowed
Mechanisms for reality construction	Multiple realities	Multiple realities	Defined by those in power	Individual interpretation
Sources of meaning	Complexity	Complexity	Conflict	Mind, body, spirit
Power	Diffused throughout organization	Diffused	Charisma; influence	Power emerges from all participants
Structure	Depends on the purpose	Varied	Flat	Varied
Metaphor	Hall of mirrors, hologram, woven fabric, the "world as a great thought"[1]	Anarchy	Jungle	Journey
Example/archetype	Corporations (e.g. dot coms)	Colleges and universities	Legislature; unions; private club	Corporations, colleges
Leadership	No distinction between leaders and followers	Constructed and symbolic	Coalitions; defined by power structures and influence	Rotating; transformational
Communication	All sources	Intermittent	Covert	Power shared through open communication and other networks
Scope of influence	Global	Pockets	Institutional	Global
Reward structure	Personal meaning	Individual	Connections	Compromise between personal and organizational goals
Source of structure	The moment	Chaos	Humans; city-state	Whole; universe
How you perceive coworkers	Depends on the context	Fellow professionals	Adversaries	Fellow journeyers
Who is privileged?	Those educated in the vocabulary	Those who participate	Those with charisma, power, or influence	Everyone on the journey
Who gets left out?	Those without the vocabulary	Those who do not participate	Those without power or influence	Those who are not on the journey

Adapted from Manning, 2013, pp. 4-5; Manning, 2018, pp. 8-9.
[1] Wheatley, M (2010) as cited in Manning, 2013, pp. 4-5.

Feminist Organizational Theory

Feminist organizational theory posits that organizations are not gender neutral and that how organizations operate are gendered and as such have gendered impacts on the people that work within them (Acker, 1990, 1998, 1999; Fishman-Weaver, 2017; Lester, Sallee, & Hart, 2017). Examining organizations through a gendered lens was needed because women's voices had been left out of the literature related to organizational theory (Acker, 1990; Fishman-Weaver, 2017). Examining organizations through a feminist or gendered lens "makes gender bias, discrimination and privilege more visible within organizations" as well as "explores the ways gender impacts all relationships and behavior within organizations" (Fishman-Weaver, 2017, p. 2).

Foundational to feminist organizational theory is Joan Acker's (1990) *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations*. Within it, she identified five ways in which organizations are gendered: 1) the division of labor occurs along gendered lines, 2) organizations construct symbols and images that communicate messages about those divisions, 3) interactions between workers within an organization enact dominance and submission, 4) organizational processes impact workers' gendered sense of identity, and 5) "gender is implicit in the fundamental, ongoing process of creating and conceptualizing social structures" (pp. 146-147). Subsequent authors have built on Acker's work to continue to investigate and explore how organizations are gendered (Lester, Sallee, & Hart, 2017; Manning, 2013).

Other feminist scholars, still building off Acker's work, have examined the intersections of feminism within organizational theory (Fishman-Weaver, 2017). For example, Fishman-Weaver (2017) organized feminist organizational theory into three

feminist typologies: liberal feminist organizational theory, radical feminism, and postmodern feminism. Liberal feminist organizational theory focuses on creating change at legislative and policy levels working within existing structures to bring more women into leadership positions in hopes that they will then create further change for the benefit of all women (Fishman-Weaver, 2017). Radical feminism examines the power dynamics within organizations and how sexism serves as "root oppression" (Fishman-Weaver, 2017, p. 5). To disrupt the inherent power imbalances, the existing structures must be dismantled and new structures, centered around equality, created. Postmodern feminism brings complexity and problematizing to organizations. It calls for the continued questioning of language, constructs, and structures with the aim of resisting and deconstructing accepted "truths, knowledge, and discourses as well as the ways identities are socially constructed" within organizations (Fishman-Weaver, 2017, p. 5).

Colleges and universities are organizations (as discussed above). As such, researchers, scholars, and administrators can use feminist organizational theory to examine and question organizational practices within education (Fishman-Weaver, 2017; Lester, Sallee, & Hart, 2017). Fishman-Weaver (2017) offered that "liberal feminism [can be used] to improve policies from within existing structures, radical feminism to imagine new structures for schools and school leadership, and postmodern feminism to engage in the hope and questioning necessary to operationalize these new solutions and organizations" (p. 7).

Organizational Change Process

Organizations are always in some stage of change (Lumadi & Mampuru, 2010). While the cause and degree of change may vary from organization to organization,

change is a part of organizational life. Sometimes change comes from external forces such as legislative or policy changes, demographic shifts, or some other force that cannot be planned for such as natural disasters (Birnbaum, 1998; Dalton & Gardner, 2002; Kotter, 1995, 1996; Lumadi & Mampuru, 2010). Other times change comes from internal forces; it is intentional and planned, put into place by CEOs, presidents, supervisors, boards, or other leadership entities. There exist many theories and suggestions for working through or implementing organizational change. Many of the theories around organizational change are step- or stage-based models where organizations must complete one stage before moving to the next (Kotter, 1995, 1996; Lumadi & Mampuru, 2010).

Organizational Restructuring. Organizations often initiate a change process to correct or improve some aspect of the organization (Balogun, 2007; Kotter, 1995, 1996; McKinley & Scherer, 2000). Organizational restructuring is "any major reconfiguration of internal administrative structure that is associated with an intentional management change program" (McKinley & Scherer, 2000, p. 736). Reorganization can take many forms such as shifting teams between managers or units, shifting people between teams, or sometimes a reduction in workforce (McKinley & Scherer, 2000; Van Emmerik & Euwema, 2008). While managers nearly always have a goal of organizational improvement, change is hard, sometimes even traumatic, on the individuals who are experiencing that change (Kotter, 1996; McKinley & Scherer, 2000; Van Emmerik & Euwema, 2008).

Numerous studies have found that there are often unintended consequences of organizational restructuring (Lumadi & Mampuru, 2010; McKinley & Scherer, 2000;

Van Emmerik & Euwema, 2008). McKinley and Scherer (2000) noted that reorganization causes a gap in cognitive order between managers and employees as well as a sense of environmental disorder. Cognitive order is defined as "a reduction of uncertainty that results from foreclosing alternative possibilities of meaning or action and embracing a single one" (McKinley & Scherer, 2000, p. 738). The gap in cognitive order is created when managers, who set out to reorganize to address a performance issue, marketplace trend, or some other issue, view the reorganization as a process of bringing the organization back into balance. Employees, on the other hand, experience disorder or confusion in their work lives causing stress as the previous processes and environments they worked in have shifted, and new opportunities have arisen (Balogun, 2007; McKinley & Scherer, 2000). Balogun (2007) called this phenomenon *cognitive reorientation*, and notes that "for the restructuring goals to be achieved and individuals to change how they go about their work appropriately, they have to change the way they *think* of their organization and their identity" ([emphasis in original] p. 86). Employees may also experience a loss of social capital during a reorganization process (Van Emmerik & Euwema, 2008). The "environmental turbulence produced by large-scale organizational restructuring stimulates executive perceptions of environmental turbulence and, thence, additional restructuring" (McKinley & Scherer, 2000, p. 747). Restructuring causes turbulence within a workplace environment, causing managers to seek again to find equilibrium in the environment, often resulting in further reorganization. In this way, reorganization becomes self-perpetuating. McKinley and Scherer (2000) also noted that organizations tend to experience periods of frequent reorganization followed by periods of calm.

To improve the success of reorganizations, communication and obtaining employee buy-in is crucial (Lumadi & Mampuru, 2010; McKinley & Scherer, 2000; Van Emmerik & Euwema, 2008). When employees have a greater sense of buy-in and positive reaction to a potential reorganization, they are less likely to experience the unintended negative consequences of reorganization (Lumadi & Mampuru, 2010; McKinley & Scherer, 2000). Lumadi and Mampuru (2010) argued that the key to improved buy-in and positive experience during reorganization is communication and participation. Fostering communication and participation increases trust and lowers employees' resistance to change (Lumadi & Mampuru, 2010).

CAS Standards

CAS, "a consortium of professional associations in higher education, promotes the use of its professional standards for the development, assessment, and improvement of quality student learning, programs, and services" (CAS, 2015). CAS are used across a number of functional areas within student affairs to provide standards and guidance related to student learning and development, program development, self-study, program evaluation and improvement, as well as promote excellence in educators' professional practice (Arminio & Gochenauer, 2004; CAS, 2015; Dean, 2013; Mable, 2005). The standards are made up of 12 "common criteria, or general standards" (CAS, 2015). These 12 general standards include: mission; program; organization and leadership; human resources; ethics; law, policy, and governance; diversity, equity, and access; internal and external relations; financial resources; technology; facilities and equipment; and assessment (CAS, 2015). Within each standard is guidance around what a functional area *should* or *must* do. The women's center committee of the National Women's

Studies Association (NWSA) is an active member of the CAS consortium. Women's centers utilize CAS standards in a number of ways including, the development of new centers, mission statements, and program evaluations (Morrow, Seasholes, Ford-McCartney, Graham, Curry, Rosenthal, & Vlasnik, 2018).

<div align="center">**Women's Centers**</div>

Women's centers began forming on college campuses in the 1970s and 1980s, although the first women's center opened their doors in 1960 at the University of Minnesota (Goettsch, et al., 2015). The number of women's centers located on college campuses has grown from 378 in 2000 to over 500 as of 2015 (Goettsch et al., 2015; Kasper, 2004b).

Women's Center Structure

Women's centers are located at public and private colleges and universities all across the United States. There are four primary types of campus-based women's centers including community activist/action centers, student services resource centers, synthesis centers, and research centers (Goettsch et al., 2012). The differences between these types of centers include the scope of the center's mission, whether they are primarily student-focused, and whether they focus on activism or research (Goettsch et al., 2012).

Organizationally, women's centers seem most often to report to divisions of student affairs. Forty-two percent of women's centers report through student affairs, 22% through the provost, and 36% through other campus units including 3% through multicultural affairs or diversity (Kasper, 2004b, pp. 493- 494). Goettsch et al. noted that "a center's organizational location helps determine its constituents, mission, and activities, it is important to be strategic about organizational location and reporting line

when centers are being established or when organizational changes are being considered"
(2012, p. 4).

Women's Center Missions

Women's centers, despite their scope, share similarities in mission; they seek to
provide education, advocacy, support, and community for their campuses (Goettsch et al.,
2015, Goettsch et al., 2012; Kasper, 2004a; Marine, 2011; Zaytourn Byrne, 2000).
Women's centers focus on issues of gender equity including access, violence prevention
and response, retention, professional development, work-life balance,
underrepresentation in leadership, intersectionality, activism, and feminist pedagogy
(Goettsch et al., 2015, Goettsch et al., 2012; Kasper, 2004a; Marine, 2011; Zaytourn
Byrne, 2000).

Women's Center Staffing

Much of the literature related to the staffing of women's centers focuses on the
pay rate of center directors and whether they are full-time or part-time (Clevenger, 1987;
Kasper, 2004a, 2004b; Klinger, 1984). However, there is also a common thread woven
throughout much of the literature related to women's centers; women's centers often note
a challenge with funding, including the ability to fund staff positions (Goettsch et al.,
2015; Kasper 2004a, 2004b). From this, it can be inferred that taken as a whole, centers
feel understaffed. Women's centers also rely heavily on student staffing, through
volunteers and interns as well as paid student staff (Clevenger, 1987; Davie, 2002;
Kasper, 2004a, 2004b; Klinger, 1984).

Women's Center Programming

Campus-based women's centers offer a wide range of programming.

Programming is intended to provide opportunities for students, faculty, and staff of

institutions to engage around themes present in a center's mission. Examples of violence

prevention, awareness, and response programming, for example, might include such

events as the Clothesline Project, Take Back the Night, the Vagina Monologues, Walk a

Mile in Her Shoes, the Red Flag Campaign, the White Ribbon Project, bystander

intervention curriculums, healthy masculinity curriculums, and victim-survivor advocacy

programs (Davie, 2002; Goettsch et al., 2015; Graham, Gerrior, & Cook, 2017; Kasper,

2004a, 2004b; Zaytourn Byrne, 2000). Women's centers offer leadership development

programming through internships, peer facilitation opportunities, leadership conferences

or seminars, salary negotiation workshops, and leadership living-learning communities

(Davie, 2002; Goettsch et al., 2015; Kasper, 2004a; Zaytourn Byrne, 2000). Other

educational programs women's centers often offer include sexual health education;

women in science, technology, engineering, and math cohorts (Davie, 2002; Goettsch et

al., 2015; Kasper, 2004a; Zaytourn Byrne, 2000); programs for heritage months including

Women's History Month; civic engagement opportunities; body-image programming;

book clubs; support groups; and opportunities for community building (Davie, 2002;

Goettsch et al., 2015; Kasper, 2004a; Zaytourn Byrne, 2000).

Challenges Faced by Women's Center Leadership

Leaders of campus-based women's centers face consistent challenges (Goettsch et

al., 2012; Marine, 2011). Examples of these challenges include funding, attitudes toward

feminism, apathy, time, visibility, unsupportive administration, poor attendance, and

territorialism (Kasper, 2004a, 2004b). Difficulties in funding stand out as one of the primary challenges that centers face (Goettsch et al., 2012; Kasper, 2004a, 2004b; Marine, 2011). Additionally, this challenge is compounded in that center directors often feel "tension arising from finding themselves in competition for resources with other offices" (Marine, 2011, p. 22), many times those offices being allies in the work of social justice such as multicultural centers or LGBTQ centers.

Summary

In this chapter, I have explored how colleges and universities are administratively structured and examined the roles of three of the units or divisions women's centers often report through. I have also explored organizational development theory in higher education as well as how organizations enact change. As organizations enact change, they sometime go through a reorganization process, which has significant impacts for employees, especially middle managers who are often implementing the organizational changes (Balogun, 2007). Lastly, I explored campus-based women's centers including their missions, staffing, programming, and challenges faced by women's center directors.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

In this case study, I explored (1) how and why women's centers are reorganized, (2) how women's centers are impacted by reorganization, and (3) how women's centers navigate reorganization. In chapter two I reviewed the literature regarding the organizational structure of higher education, organizational theories including Manning's (2013) organizational perspectives, feminist organizational theory, and the process of reorganization. I also reviewed the literature surrounding CAS standards and campus-based women's centers.

I approached this case study from a transformative/critical approach. In addition to constructing new knowledge, a transformative or critical approach seeks to speak to social oppression and power imbalances (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Throughout this process, participants were able to construct new knowledge about their own experiences related to empowerment, inequality, disempowerment, oppression, or other similar social issues related to the reorganization of the women's center on their campus. At the same time, participants were able to question or challenge organizational structures currently in use in their workplace. The process of both constructing new knowledge and critically examining knowledge around existing processes and structures around a specific issue, reorganization, fits within a case study methodology. Case study is an appropriate methodology for the study of organizations because case studies originated in the social

sciences examining "practice-related fields such as urban planning, public administration, public policy, management science, social work, and education" (Yin, 2003, p. xiii).

Methodological Design and Rationale

I used case study as a methodology because it provides for an in-depth examination of the lived experiences around a specific, complex phenomenon at specific sites (Stake, 1995; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 1981a, 1981b, 2003), or within a bounded system. A bounded system is "an individual, a specific program, a process, an institution, or a relationship" and "provides lines around what is to be studied, and what is not and must be clearly explicated" (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2014, pp. 93-94). Case study is most effective when "(a) a how or why question is being asked about (b) a contemporary set of events (c) over which a researcher has little or no control" (Yin, 2018, p. 13). In this study, I utilized a multiple case study design as I sought to understand how reorganizations impact campus-based women's centers. I identified three different institutions whose women's centers have all been through multiple reorganizations; I explored each case as well as compared them for similarities or differences. By using a multiple case study design, I gained more robust information about how and why women's centers are reorganized, as a multiple case study design is most effective when the multiple cases are replications of one another (Yin, 2003). Case study methodology was a good fit for this study because little is known about how women's centers are impacted when they experience reorganizations, or shifts between divisions or departments on campus, and case studies allow an investigator to "understand complex social phenomena" (Yin, 2003, p. 2). This study helps to illuminate how and why women's centers are reorganized, which in turn may help institutions who

are considering reorganizing their women's center reflect on the impact reorganization may have on centers and their ability to effectively offer programs and services. Additionally, by including multiple cases within this study, the external validity and transferability of the findings were increased (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin 2003). Within a case study methodology, it is crucial to select an appropriate unit of analysis (Yin, 2003). Within this study, women's centers as organizations will be the unit of analysis.

This case study contained multiple parts. An overview of the case study is as follows: (1) Recruitment, including a web-based screening, (2) site and participant selection, (3) email participants IRB information and schedule phone interview, (4) phone interview, (5) document analysis, (6) campus visit, and (7) concurrent data analysis. Each step is described in more detail in the following sections. For a flow chart and proposed timeline of the case study process, please see Appendixes A.1 and A.2.

Sites

Consistent with case study, two levels of selection must occur: the selection of the site and the selection of participants within each site (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2003).

First Level Selection

Within this case study, the sites included colleges or universities that have a campus-based women's center that has experienced reorganization two or more times in the last approximately 10 years. After I received approval for the study from my university's Institutional Review Board (see Appendix B.4), I used purposeful sampling (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2003) to recruit sites for this study using an invitation

sent out through the Women's Resource and Action Center listserv (WRAC-L; see Appendixes B.1 and B.2). The WRAC-L listserv, is a listserv maintained by the National Women's Studies Association Women's Center Committee. It is comprised of women's center staff members and other interested parties. Purposeful sampling allows the most information-rich cases to be selected (Jones et al., 2014). This method is appropriate as this study focused on how women's centers as an organization experience reorganization. There are currently over 400 members of this listserv. Included in the recruitment invitation was a short screening questionnaire that directors/coordinators of prospective sites completed (see Appendix C.1). This screening questionnaire included questions about the number of divisional reorganizations as well as an approximate list of organizational movements and dates. Additionally, I used a snowball method (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) and asked for nominations of other campuses who have experienced multiple reorganizations. Sites were selected based upon which centers were best situated to answer my research questions. I used the answers from the screening questionnaire to conduct purposeful sampling (Yin, 2003) to determine my case study sites. Sites needed to have at least one professional staff member who underwent the transition(s) although sites with multiple professionals who experienced the reorganization received preference.

I selected three different universities as the sites for this study. In order to protect the identities of the institutions and the people who work there, I will be describing the institutions in the aggregate. The three institutions are located in three different regions of the United States and the pseudonym for each institution is reflective of their geographic location. Northeast University is located in the Upper Northeastern region, Upper

Midwest University is located in the Upper Midwestern region, and Rocky Mountain University is located in the Rocky Mountain region of the United States. All three institutions are large; two with a total enrollment of over 30,000, one with over 20,000. However, when looking at the main campus enrollment, two of the institutions have between 15,000-20,000 undergraduate students enrolled at the main campus (where the women's centers are located). While all three institutions emphasize research, one is also well known for its focus on liberal arts education. Two of the institutions' main campuses are located in a rural area; one is located in a more urban area. All three institutions are predominately white, with percentages of underrepresented student populations ranging from 24-35%.

Second Level Selection

To more fully understand the dynamics of each organization, I learned from the staff members of the selected organizations through interviews and other data sources such as observation and relevant documents or archival materials. I was able to interview women's center directors, women's center staff members, members of upper administration, colleagues of women's center staff members in other departments or centers, and students.

After I selected sites, I called the women's center director to discuss informed consent procedures, learn of other potential interviewees, schedule my campus visit, and request selected documents. I then followed up with the center director via email; within that email I included the informed consent form so that it can be completed and returned prior to my campus visit or the submission of any documents.

The following table describes the individuals I was able to interview from each

campus.

Table 2
Participants in Multi-Site Case Study by Institution

Name	Position	Approximate Years at Institution
Northeast University		
Catherine	WC Director	Over 20
Anna	WC Staff Member	Over 15
Beverly	Director of one of the Cultural Centers	Over 20
Ally	Interim Chief Diversity Officer	Over 20
Marie	Associate Vice President of Student Affairs	Over 10
Upper Midwest University		
Shelby	WC Director	Over 20
Randy	WC Staff Member	Over 15
Lena	Director of Office of Diversity Affairs	Less than 5
Emma	Associate Director for LGBT Programs	Less than 5
Justin	Assistant Director of the Cultural Center	Less than 5
Robert	Assistant Vice President for Student Affairs	5-10
Susan	Vice President for Student Affairs	Less than 5
Student[1]	Graduate Student	Less than 5
Student[1]	Undergraduate Student	Less than 5
Student[1]	Undergraduate Student	Less than 5
Rocky Mountain University		
Nancy	WC Director	Over 10
Embrya	WC Staff Member	Less than 5
Brielle	Student	Less than 5

[1] The students at Upper Midwest University were very concerned with people being able to identify them, in order to protect their anonymity, quotes from one of the three of them will be attributed to "student."

Data Collection Methods

Case studies utilize a wide array of data collection methods to have an in-depth,

rich description of the phenomenon studied (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin & Heald,

1975; Yin, 2003). In keeping with this approach, this study utilized a variety of data

collection methods including web-based screening questionnaire, phone interviews, in-person interviews, observation, and document analysis (see examples in Appendix C).

Web-based Questionnaires

I used a web-based screening questionnaire as a tool during the recruitment process (see Appendix C.1). This questionnaire asked prospective participants a series of questions related to whether their campus-based women's center had experienced a reorganization and how many times they have experienced a reorganization, as well as provided a text box where they could describe briefly any reorganizations (e.g., in 2009 our women's center moved from our campus diversity office to student affairs). This preliminary information was helpful as I selected which women's centers and campuses to study more in depth. After I selected sites, I emailed the women's center staff members that indicated their willingness to participate in the study (see Appendix B.3). Within this email I included the IRB informed consent form as well as a link to schedule the preliminary phone interview.

Phone Interviews

After sites were selected and participants' informed consent forms were returned electronically, I conducted a phone interview with the director of each center I planned to study. This interview focused on learning more about the women's center on their campus, their institution, and the units the women's center has reported through. The contextual knowledge gained during the phone interview helped me to better understand the organizational perspectives used by the women's center. Additionally, by speaking with the directors of the selected sites before I visited the campus regarding contextual

information about their center and institution, I was able to prepare better interview questions for my campus visit.

I recorded the interviews with participants using an audio recording device. I also asked participants to send in any relevant documents (see section below). During the phone interview, I inquired as to who else I would be able to interview during my campus visit. I also communicated to the women's center directors that my speaking to other individuals on campus, particularly upper level administrators, was not a requirement as I did not want to put the women's center director in a situation where my asking questions could strain their campus relationships or the politics of their campus. I also inquired as to whether the director was planning on attending the National Women's Studies Association conference in November of 2018 and would be available for a member-checking focus group with the other women's center directors included in the study.

Document Analysis

Document analysis involves collecting various types of documents such as emails, photographs, meeting minutes, memos, and newspapers that give additional insight about the issue being studied or that can be used to confirm data collected from other sources (Jones et al., 2014; Yin, 2003). During the phone interview, I asked participants if they had any documents they felt would be beneficial to the study such as organizational charts, mission statements, year-end reports, budgets, relevant emails, job descriptions, and annual goals. In keeping with a case study methodology, this adds another layer of data deepening my understanding of the experiences of the participants.

Campus Visits: Interviews and Observation

I visited each of the three campuses selected to be a part of this study. During the campus visit, I had the opportunity to interview the women's center director as well as any additional staff members of the women's center. I also interviewed other individuals on campus who could give insight into the reorganization, as discussed during the phone interview. These individuals included other women's center employees, colleagues in other related offices, current and former supervisors, student employees, and student users of the space.

Interviews consisted of one in-depth semi-structured open-ended interview with each of the participants (see Appendixes C.3 and B.4). When I arrived on one campus, I learned I would be interviewing three students and one professional staff member at the same time; this session utilized a focus group format, but retained the questions from the individual interview protocol. Interviews lasted between approximately one and two hours in length. While each interview contained a small set of predetermined questions, the interviews were mainly conversational and were driven based on each participants' experience. This openness to an evolving set of questions allowed for nimbleness in the research so that I could learn as much about the experiences related to reorganization as possible. I recorded the interviews with participants using an audio recording device. During the interviews, I asked questions regarding the reorganization, decision making regarding the reorganization, communication about the reorganization, levels of support, reasons for the reorganization, impacts of the reorganization, and challenges faced because of the reorganization. Understanding more about the reorganization process gave me additional insight into the organizational perspectives used by the women's

center, the home institution, and the units the women's center reported through (Manning, 2013). Asking questions related to how the women's center responded to the reorganization shed insight into whether the women's center used a feminist framework to navigate the reorganization (Acker, 1990; Fisherman-Weaver, 2017) or another organizational framework.   At the conclusion of the interviews, I asked participants to share any additional documents they thought would be pertinent or helpful for the research. Additional interviews may be scheduled with participants if needed to clarify answers or if new questions emerge from other interviews or data sources.

While on my campus visit, I engaged in observation (Yin, 2003). Observation allowed me to collect data related to the physical location of the women's center. I also had the ability to observe any previous physical locations where the women's center was located. Additionally, I was able to observe who visits the women's center and how those individuals interact with women's center staff members. During and immediately after my campus visit, I engaged in writing field notes notating my observations. I took photographs, or created sketches of spaces during some of the campus visits, particularly if a women's center changed physical locations or if other physical changes were made to a center as a result of reorganization.

Data Analysis

I had interviews transcribed as I completed them. I utilized a cloud based transcription service. After transcription, I read the interviews several times to familiarize myself with the content. I conducted data analysis concurrently with data collection. Analysis that is concurrent with data collection helps to create better data as it "helps the fieldworker cycle back and forth between thinking about the existing data and generating

strategies for collecting new, often better, data. It can be a healthy corrective for built-in

blind spots" (Miles & Huberman, 2014, p. 70). Additionally, because I analyzed data as

it was gathered, I was able to discern emerging themes and construct additional questions

to ask in subsequent interviews both within and across cases.

     I utilized a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS),

called Dedoose, to assist with organizing and coding data. For each site, I uploaded the

transcripts and copies of documents (photos, emails, memos, newspaper clippings,

strategic plans, annual goals) into Dedoose for analysis. I created a spreadsheet listing

each participant, their role on campus, the length of time at their university, and other

demographic information. I utilized Dedoose as a case study database, creating codes

that mapped to a spreadsheet I created (see Appendix A.3). This spreadsheet will be

structured such that Manning's (2013) frames are in the first column and the CAS (2015)

focus areas are in the first row, thus creating a grid where I planned to input observations,

notes, quotes, and other pieces of data into a synthesized form. Because of the amount of

data I collected, I quickly realized that the use of a spreadsheet would not suffice. It was

at this point that I began using Dedoose as a case study database. By utilizing the

headings from my data grid as codes, I was able to construct a data grid within Dedoose

using the qualitative analysis tools.

     Yin (2003) noted that "the analysis of case study evidence is one of the least

developed and most difficult aspects of doing case studies" (p. 109). He highlighted

three strategies for analysis (using theoretical propositions, rival explanations, and/or

developing a case description), several specific techniques, as well as pointed case study

researchers to Miles and Huberman's data analysis text. I used a combination of strategies from Yin (2003) as well as Miles and Huberman (2014).

In this section I will briefly describe how I used Yin's (2003) strategies. A theoretical proposition of this study is that organizational frames have an impact on how women's center's experience reorganization. A rival explanation would be that organizational frames do not impact how women's centers experience reorganization. I did not use Yin's (2003) strategy of developing a case description. One specific data analysis techniques I utilized from Yin (2003) includes the development of a logic model (discussed below).

I used a mix of case-oriented strategies and variable-oriented strategies for analyzing both within and cross cases (Miles & Huberman, 2014). I engaged in coding with interview transcripts, documents, and field notes from my site visit observations. I used first cycle and second cycle coding, so that I could break the data down into smaller chunks and then put it back together again in a meaningful manner (Miles & Huberman, 2014). During the first-cycle coding process, I used a combination of elemental methods (descriptive, in vivo, and process) and affective methods (emotion, values, and evaluation) (Miles & Huberman, 2014). Using this blend of coding allowed me to mix and match codes to be most reflective of the data. After I completed first-cycle coding, I used second-cycle coding to look for patterns within the data. These patterns could include "categories or themes, causes or explanations, relationships between people, and theoretical constructs" (Miles & Huberman, 2014, p. 87). I constructed a master list of all codes generated following both first-cycle and second-cycle coding. Following the coding process, I constructed a within-case matrix for each site that displays and

organizes the data into an "at-a-glance" format (Miles & Huberman, 2014). After I completed all the within-case analyses, I conducted the cross-case syntheses (Yin, 2003), completing a meta-matrix of data from all sites. Examining across cases allowed me to notice the themes that are similar across cases as well as where discrepancies lie within the data.

I then used these matrices of data to form a logic model describing the rationale and impact of reorganization on women's centers. Yin (2003) noted that logic models are useful for explaining "a complex chain of events over time" (p. 127). Yin (2003) highlighted logic models for organizational-level analysis making it a good fit for analysis of data in this case study.

In the original design for this study, I included an in-person focus group with the directors of the women's center (see Appendix C.4) during a national conference. Unfortunately, I was not able to schedule all of my campus visits to occur before the conference. Then, after reviewing all of the data collected (nearly 15 hours of interviews, several hours of observations, and hundreds of pages of documents), I decided that I had sufficient data to conduct the case study without the focus group.

Protection of Subjects

While Yin (2003) advocated for as much transparency as possible when disclosing the subjects of a case study, this case study focused on the reorganization of women's centers, which at times included participants being critical of their institutions, coworkers, or current or former supervisors. Therefore, within this case study I prioritized the confidentiality of subjects, including participants and sites in keeping with qualitative inquiry methodology (Jones et al., 2014). In order to protect the sites and

interview participates involved in this multiple case study, I obtained Institutional Review Board approval from the University of Georgia. I explained the research process and obtained informed consent before I engaged in the collection of any data. All participants signed an informed consent form; they kept one copy and I kept one copy.

I took several steps to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of the selected sites and research participants. Sites were assigned pseudonyms and participants were asked to select a pseudonym. Some participants chose not to select a pseudonym, but in order to be consistent, I selected a pseudonym for these individuals. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by a cloud-based transcription software. Interviews were audio recorded using a portable recorder, uploaded to the cloud-based software as an mp3 file, and sent back to me as a Microsoft Word document. All audio recordings and original transcripts were kept in a password protected file on the primary investigator's computer. All original audio recordings will be destroyed upon completion of this study.

Validity and Reliability

While case study as a methodology has been criticized as being somehow less rigorous than other methodologies, case study methodology, in fact, emphasizes the importance of creating a robust and rigorous research protocol (Yin, 1981a, 2003). While validity and reliability in qualitative studies are often talked about using terms such as *trustworthiness, authenticity*, and *credibility* (Creswell, 2014), I will be utilizing the terminology highlighted by Yin (2018) to be consistent with case study methodology. Yin (2018) highlights the importance of addressing four common tests within social sciences, construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability (p. 24). In order to ensure construct validity, I used multiple sources of evidence and had the

women's center directors review drafts of the case study report (Yin, 2018). I engaged in member-checking with each women's center director directly by sending her a draft of my analysis of the reorganization for her to review for accuracy and to give analytic feedback. I was then able to make any factual corrections as well as take into account any feedback that was offered to me regarding the analysis of the reorganization of the women's center on their campus.

In order to ensure internal validity, I employed the use of logic models during the data analysis phase of this research study (Yin, 2018). Logic models graphically display the chain of events that lead to an occurrence of a phenomenon (Yin, 2018), in this case the logic model displayed, graphically, the rationale for and impact of the reorganization of women's centers through the lens of organizational frames. To ensure external validity, I used replication logic as I selected sites for this multiple-case study (Yin, 2018). Replication logic involves selecting sites that in some way replicate the conditions of a previous case such that it "predicts similar results" (Yin, 2003, p. 47). In order to increase the reliability of this study I also employed the use of a case study protocol, a case study database, and established a documented chain of evidence (data) during the data collection process (Yin, 2018).

It is important for the reader to have a good grasp of who I am and how I approached this research study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Therefore, I have included a statement of researcher reflexivity (see Chapter One). This statement describes my relevant identities, existing relationships with study participants, and my intent in conducting this study. One of my intents is that this study will be useful to other women's center professionals or include transferable information. "Every study, every

case, every situation is theoretically an example of something else. The general lies in the particular; that is, what we learn in a particular situation we can transfer or generalize to similar situations subsequently encountered" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 255). This again makes reference to the importance of utilizing replication logic in the site selection process. Selecting sites that are similar in some ways allows the results of the case study to be more compelling; as Yin (2003) discusses, using even two cases in a multiple-case study, "in under these varied circumstances you still arrive at common conclusions from both cases, they will have immeasurably expanded the external generalizability of your findings" (p. 53).

I sought trustworthiness in the data by using triangulation (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2003). By using multiple data collection methods as well as collecting data from multiple people and sites, I was able to confirm hunches or emerging findings. By analyzing data along the way, I was able to ask questions to confirm or challenge hunches or insights that emerge from earlier interviews. This iterative process allowed me to engage in constant comparison of the data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed at length the case study methodology and why it is a good fit for studying how and why women's centers are reorganized and the impacts of reorganization. I have described how sites will be selected, the use of purposeful sampling, as well as the data collection methods of interviews, campus visits, document analysis, and observation. I have also described several of the methods I employed to ensure validity, reliability, and trustworthiness in this case study such as the use of

multiple data sources, establishing a chain of evidence, logic models, replication logic, and triangulation.

CHAPTER 4

Results and Findings

In this multi-site case study, I set out to answer three questions regarding the reorganization of campus-based women's centers,

1) How and why are women's centers reorganized?

2) How are women's centers impacted by reorganization?

3) How do women's centers navigate reorganization?

In the following sections, I briefly discuss the history and context of each center followed by a discussion around each of the three research questions. Following that, I discuss the multi-case analysis including themes from across the three centers and their multiple reorganizations.

This chapter is structurally organized using the three research questions on which this study is based. In order to answer the first research question, how and why women's centers are reorganized, I examined the decision-maker(s) for each reorganization, the rationale for each reorganization, and the organizational frames of the institution and relevant divisions or departments. In order to answer the second research question, focused on how women's centers are impacted by reorganization, I utilized relevant common criteria from the Council for the Advancement of Standards (CAS, 2015). For each individual case, I examined each of the selected CAS standards; for the cross-case analysis I examined the standards for which multiple campuses shared similar experiences. In order to answer the third question, I explained how women's centers

have navigated the reorganizations experienced on their campuses. This chapter provides an examination of each of the three campuses first, followed by a critical examination for the cross-case analysis. I chose to focus the critical examination within the context of the cross-case analysis because while individually the cases are noteworthy, it is within the cross-case analysis that I was best able to analyze the reorganizations using a power conscious lens.

Northeast University

I spent one full day on the campus of Northeast University. During this day, I was able to interview the director of the women's center, the associate director of the women's center, the director of one of the cultural centers, and the interim Chief Diversity Officer. I was also able to attend a women's center staff meeting. In addition to conducting interviews and observing the staff meeting, the women's center director gave me access to two bankers boxes full of historical documents. These documents included email correspondence, memos, organizational charts, strategic plans, and annual reports. About one week after my visit to campus I was able to conduct a phone interview with the associate vice president of student affairs (they had been away from campus during my campus visit).

Reorganization History and Context

The women's center at Northeast University (NU) was founded in 1972. At Northeast University, there are five different cultural centers of which the women's center is one. Throughout four reorganizations, the cultural centers have all stayed together. The earliest administrative configuration that staff can remember was when the cultural centers, as well as the academic units supporting issues of diversity (e.g., such as

Women's Studies, Black Studies, Latino Studies), were together in one unit. In 2006, all of the cultural centers were moved from separate locations across campus to a new wing of the student union. Each cultural center occupies a separate suite, but all of the centers are located on the same level and share common spaces in the larger hallways. In 2009, the centers shifted to reporting to the Equity and Diversity office; in 2011 they were moved to the Division of Student Affairs. Then in 2016, they were transitioned to reporting to a Chief Diversity Officer (CDO). This configuration is where the centers are currently located, although the staff expressed great uncertainty as there is currently an interim CDO and the university will be searching for a new president in the next few months.

2011
- Reorganized into Student Affairs (under new president)

2006
- Physical move to the Student Union

2009
- Reorganized from OMIA into Diversity and Equity (under new president)

2016
- Reorganized into Office of Diversity and Inclusion (as a result of a task force)
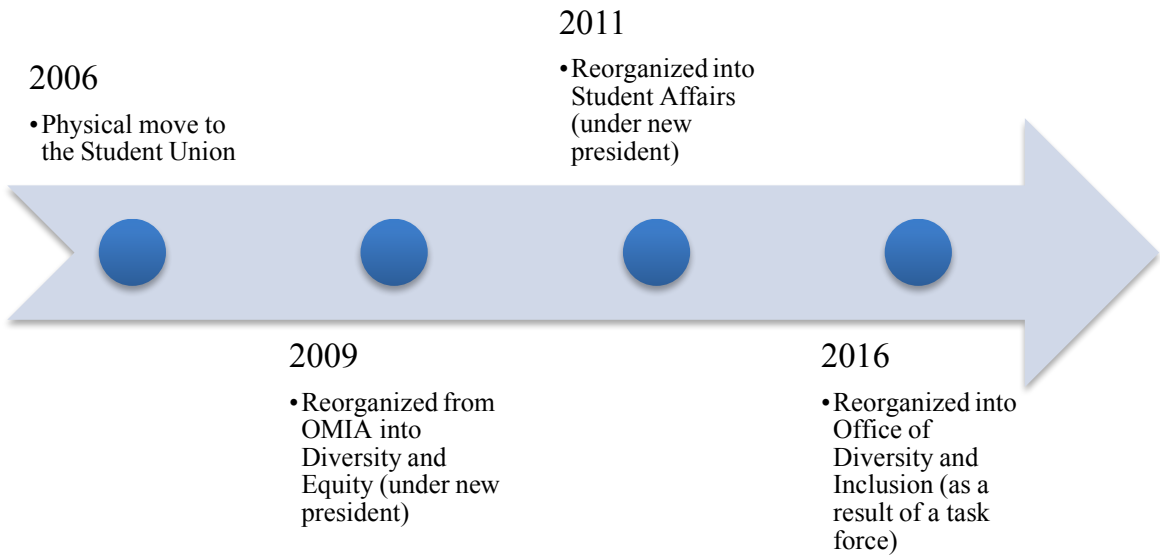
Figure 1
Timeline of Northeast University Reorganizations and Physical Moves

Organizational Frames and the Process of Reorganization

In each of the three reorganizations the women's center has experienced at Northeast University, the initial decision to reorganize seemed to emanate from the

presidential level of leadership. Two of the reorganizations followed the arrival of a new president on campus, and the reorganization was very much a part of the president realigning the institution in a way that made sense for their administration. This top-down decision-making style is indicative of a bureaucratic organizational model (Manning, 2013). Catherine, the director of the women's center, noted that for each of the reorganizations institutional leaders framed the reorganization as a way to "elevate" the work of the cultural centers.

Moving into the Office of Equity and Diversity. One of the first organizational structures that the women's center and all the cultural centers were in was the Office of Multicultural and International Affairs. Within this structure were each of the cultural centers as well as the corresponding academic institutes (e.g., Women's Studies, African American Studies, Latino Studies). This structure offered the women's center both a great deal of autonomy, as they were seen as content matter experts, and a solid relationship with their academic counterparts. Anna, associate director of the women's center, noted, "And so, that felt trusted I think to an extent that we were capable of all of those, of doing the best job that we could."

The first time a top-down reorganization decision was made was when the Office of Multicultural and International Affairs was dismantled, in 2009. Ally, interim Chief Diversity Officer and current supervisor of the cultural centers, remembered this about that shift,

> But, the, the result of that, I guess, when we had another change in the leadership
> at the top, was how can we get the institute to be more, a part of the fabric of the
> academic enterprise. And since most of them were more liberal arts and sciences

based, that was the idea that by putting institutes in the College of Liberal Arts

and Sciences, they would be a better relationship, then. On paper, and in theory,

yes, that's right, but it really didn't change that much with conversations that I've

had with some of the institute directors. So, with the cultural centers, their home

became part of what was the ... I guess at the time it was a vice president for,

diversity and equity, I believe. And, that individual's, the primary part of that

portfolio, was the compliance, Title IX, and search approval, and that sort of

thing. It was more like the cultural center were, an aside.

In addition to being a top-down decision, there was (and continues to be) a growing trend

around creating offices for diversity and equity both at business and institutions of higher

education (Leon, 2013; Stanley, 2014; Wilson, 2013). This process of becoming 'like'

other institutions, of following the current trends and best practices, is called

isomorphism and is indicative of institutional theory (Manning, 2018). The decision was

also political in nature. Catherine noted,

Again, I think there was the public conversation, and then there was sort of the

agenda behind the scenes, because that training piece became really the priority of

the work that we were doing. I think it was partially about making us visible, but

making us visible to be able to then get out in front of the employee population.

The Office of Equity and Diversity operated in a much more bureaucratic model than did

the Office of Multicultural and International Affairs. Catherine noted how directive the

decision-making was while the women's center was in the OED unit,

There were a lot of decisions being made above us, us not being included in those

conversations. Committees where we typically would have been on it, we were

not on it. A lot of needing to funnel requests for communication or that kind of thing up. And again, decisions being made at sort of the AVP, cause that person was, I think, an AVP level. And again, a much more sort of directive kind of approach than we had been experiencing prior to that.

This level of bureaucracy was new and frustrating for the staff of the women's center as they suddenly had to seek prior approval for things like presentations that they had been giving for years. They also struggled with the highly directive nature of the office as the women's center engaged in non-hierarchical, collective decision-making.

Moving into Student Affairs. The reorganization that seemed most salient to everyone I spoke with was when the cultural centers were moved to student affairs. This reorganization was quick, again a top-down directive, indicative of a bureaucratic model. This decision was made in part due to the impending departure of the assistant vice president of the office of institutional equity and the decision that the centers needed to go somewhere, Catherine noted,

> I do think that part of it was because that person that we were reporting to was no longer gonna be here, that they needed to make some change. I think, as folks looked around, again, the, 'Well, you do student work. It makes sense that you'd be in Student Affairs.'

The associate vice president of student affairs, who supervised the cultural centers, said this about the decision to reorganize,

> So, he [the vice president of student affairs] told us that one day, and then he said I have to tell them [the cultural centers]. So, in that case he was directed [by the president], to tell them and it was urgent, that we needed to tell them right away.

So, it was fairly awkward that he reached out to them individually and went to tell

them.

The rushed nature of this decision led to the vice president of student affairs sending out

an email to all the staff members of the cultural centers. Catherine, director of the

women's center, noted about the email,

At the time, we didn't even know that this was happening. So, I literally was on a

family vacation and made the mistake of checking my email and saw an email

that came out from the VP for Student Affairs that said, basically, to the cultural

center directors, basically saying, 'Welcome to the division.'

Both the assistant director of the women's center and the director of one of the other

cultural centers also mentioned the email notification they received about the shift into

student affairs and how off-putting it was. The director of one of the cultural centers

described it like this,

I think the more problematic one was when we were going to student affairs. I

think it was just awkwardly done. All of us had had somewhat of a good

relationship with the vice president for student affairs at the time. He chose to

send us an email.

She continued,

He chose to send us an email, and it was short, sweet. Because I'd had a really

good relationship, this was a vice president who came up through the ranks, first

came in as Dean of Students and then became Vice President. I called him, and I

said, 'I just don't understand why you did it the way you did it. You could have

given us a phone call. You could've asked to meet with us, instead of doing it a cold way of an email.'

This direct, bureaucratic approach was counter to how the cultural centers organized themselves, which primarily utilized a collegial and cultural approach. Throughout each of the reorganizations, the directors of the cultural centers would meet, recognizing the expertise each brought to the table, to discuss current initiatives, to challenge one another, and to support one another. The director of one of the cultural centers said this about the relationship between all of the cultural centers, "all of the cultural centers are very collaborative and cooperative with one another. While we understand that there are uniqueness and nuances to each of the work that we do, but that our missions are basically the same."

The challenges created by the differences in how the cultural centers operated with one another and how student affairs interacted with the cultural centers continued throughout the five years of this reporting structure. The associate vice president of student affairs noted what a difficult transition it was,

> So, I thought, well, we didn't get off to a great start, not that we, my supervisor, had any choice. But to them I thought, well, I have to regroup with them. So, I did individually meet with them to get to know them and try and figure out what was going on and were there problems, or what resources they thought they needed additionally, things like that. Your hopes and dreams conversation… And then I just proceeded to try and integrate them into Student Affairs' system, everything from assessment to meeting structures. They laughed a lot about how often we meet in Student Affairs, like, how do you even get any work done, you

meet all the time. There were culture shock times where our directors' meetings, there's about 20 directors in Student Affairs, they weren't for discussing things, they were really more for updates and talking about things at a high level, very intellectual. And that's not how the Cultural Center meetings were, they had their own meetings where they challenged each other, they argued with each other, and that's not how these directors' meetings went, so there was a culture shock there.

Catherine commented about the continued bureaucracy within student affairs, "I would say definitely still very directive, but in a different way. And I'm not quite sure I could even put my finger on it." She continued,

There was a lot more structure and sort of protocol within Student Affairs. So, things like, you know, in terms of how publicity was gonna go out. You needed to have this process in your office, and it needed to be stamped in this way, and that would prove how you did proofing. And so, there was just a lot more kind of practices and protocols in place than we had had before… I think being in Student Affairs was the place where it felt like we were being controlled the most.

Anna noted this about the time spent in student affairs,

So now we're in Student Affairs with multiple layers of gatekeeping on and the message for me was…I need to make a direct ask of Catherine, who then needs to make a direct ask of the assistant vice president, who then has to have a conversation with the vice president who may or may not have a conversation further up with the President. That was where the gatekeeping really I think became problematic.

Student affairs also exhibited aspects of an organization guided by a political lens (Manning, 2013). One of the other cultural center directors discussed a time when students came to several of the cultural center directors upset about a different reorganization happening on campus. This director decided it would be a good idea to learn more about what was going on and the official stance of the division at a student affairs leadership team meeting, so she asked about it. There was a very short response in the meeting, but word got back to this director later that she should not have asked the questions she did during the meeting,

> that is not a space where we discuss critical issues like that. Those discussions are taking place behind closed doors. That person, luckily, said why are we meeting? [They were] basically told, that is a meeting where you stroke the vice president's ego. I think of myself as relatively political and astute, and I thought, where've I landed?

For this staff member, the lack of transparency was worrisome, especially as it became clear that only certain individuals had access to the decision-making process within the division.

Moving into the Chief Diversity Officer model. The most recent organizational shift, into the Office of Diversity and Inclusion, followed the report of a presidentially appointed task force. This task force included representatives from the cultural centers. One of the recommendations that came out of the report was the creation of a chief diversity officer and a corresponding office. The institution approached this reorganization differently: they held transition discussions with folks within student affairs, they held town hall meetings with students, and they met with the staff of the

cultural centers. This process was more indicative of a collegial approach as it was

rooted in the expertise of the committee members and incorporated the feedback and

reflections from the staff of the offices who would be impacted. At the same time,

portions of the decision to move the cultural centers to this new configuration were also

to make the chief diversity officer position more attractive. Catherine's reflection on the

rationale,

> For the most recent one, as I said, we did have conversation about that. It really
>
> came from, again, this notion of elevating the work of the centers, again, making
>
> clear that our work is about work throughout the institution, not only our work
>
> with students. We did have some ... Again, I think there's the public-facing
>
> conversation. Looking back, I think part of this was to make it an attractive
>
> position to a chief diversity officer. It was a brand-new position, brand new
>
> office, and there really wasn't gonna be anybody even staffing the office. I think
>
> this was a way to make it an attractive position, that, 'Look, you've got these
>
> cultural center folks who have already been doing this work on campus to kind of
>
> help bolster whatever your vision of the work is.'

 Once a Chief Diversity Officer was in place, the staff of the women's center again felt a

more bureaucratic tug,

> We had somebody who was coming from a corporate background, had very
>
> different, I think, understandings of how things work. I've told people, within the
>
> first couple of months, we had to have all of our presentations proofed by this
>
> person and approved, which was something that we never had to do before, so
>
> yeah, there was a lot more, what felt like, micromanaging for these two reorgs.

Recently, the chief diversity officer left the institution, and an interim CDO is leading the division. Additionally, the institution's president recently announced they were leaving at the end of the academic year, meaning that a new CDO will more than likely not be hired until a new president arrives. With so many upcoming changes on the horizon, many staff members are again feeling uncertain as to whether they will endure any additional reorganization.

Rationale of Reorganization

Each organizational shift that occurred at NU was precipitated by a change in upper-level administration, such as a new president. During the first organizational shift, when the cultural centers were moved to the Equity and Diversity Office (and out of the structure shared with academic departments), one administrator shared that the move was in part due to issues related to how the academic institutes were perceived by their peers within the college of arts and sciences. This administrator noted, "when we had another change in the leadership at the top, [the thought] was how can we get the institute to be more, a part of the fabric of the academic enterprise." However, the consistent message that was given for this shift was that the institution needed staff members to handle diversity and sexual harassment trainings for the entire campus.

A change in upper administration precipitated the decision to move the women's center (and all the cultural centers) to student affairs. There was both a new president on campus as well as the impending vacancy of the associate vice president for equity and diversity. The move to student affairs was quick. Catherine noted that it "was just completely out of the blue."   When the women's center and the other cultural centers moved from student affairs to the division of the chief diversity officer, it was based in

part on the recommendation of a presidential task force. One of the key takeaways about the various reorganizations the women's center at Northeast University has been through is how much of an impact new administrative leadership can have.

Impacts of Reorganization

    Mission. One thing that was not impacted throughout the various reorganizations was the mission of the women's center. However, while the mission did not change, there was a considerable amount of time spent during each reorganization trying to explain the work of the center. Catherine noted,

> I do think that there were varying degrees of how people understood our mission, depending on where we were situated. When we were in Student Affairs, for a long time, they just could not understand the work that we were doing with staff and faculty. I don't think they felt that they were in a position to tell us not to do it, but all of this, and I think I've said this before, is with the caveat of all of our centers have been on campus, minimally, 20 years. There's a lot of herstory and longevity. You've got directors that have been in their positions 20-some odd years. I don't know, if we were a new center or a new director, if that might have changed. As I said, our mission didn't change, but I think people didn't ... They picked the parts of the mission that made sense, depending on where we were.

This phenomenon of having new supervisors in new units to "pick the parts of the mission that made sense" was a theme that was discussed during each of the transitions, as each new configuration honed in on a specific aspect of the work the women's center does. The education of administrators proved time-consuming. Anna spoke to this concern in this way,

I think that was an additional impact for sure in terms of where are we spending

our time. And so, if we're spending our time having to defend ourselves or justify

ourselves, rather than doing actual prevention and empowerment work, which is

the way I like to think of, and I think that is the work that we do, then that's not

doing a service to anybody.

Navigating tension, particularly around whom the center serves and how it serves them

was the most powerful impact related to the mission of the women's center.

Programs. Just as the mission of the women's center stayed true, so too did the

core of the programming that takes place at the women's center. They continued to

provide education, support, and advocacy to students, faculty, and staff on campus

throughout each of the reorganizations. One of the areas related to programming and

services that was questioned was around their advocacy work. The associate vice

president of student affairs noted,

I remember having conversations with the director of the Women's Center about,

what does advocacy mean? And, you're supposed to be an educator, what does an

advocate mean? And sometimes those conversations I had were because

somebody was telling me to, sometimes it was just basic supervision.

This questioning occurred during the same time as the heightened awareness of sexual

assault on campus following the 2011 release of the Dear Colleague Letter (U.S.

Department of Education, 2011). Catherine noted the difficulty in teasing apart whether

the questioning was related to the reorganization (having just moved out of the Equity

and Diversity office) or the general climate at colleges and universities around the issue

of advocacy and sexual assault. Regardless, the women's center was able to continue their advocacy work, although they were no longer a confidential location on campus.

Organization and leadership. One of the impacts related to organization and leadership that the staff of the women's center noted was related to tension around advocacy in its various forms and toeing the line of the institution. While the women's center serves faculty, staff, and students, Catherine noted that

> maybe 10, 15 years ago, we made the decision to increase the number of students that we had on staff because we had a lot of students who wanted to be involved in the center and, basically, quite frankly, needed jobs. The other piece, though, is that we were finding that the students were getting more ... like, we know that the community expects we're gonna do Women's History Month and Take Back the Night, but that's not the real transformative kind of stuff. What was really making a difference for the students was their interactions in a more structured and long-term way around diversity and talking about social change and that kind of stuff. So, we treat our students, you know, they have to go to professional development. We do staff meetings every couple of weeks that really are about their skills building but also their critical thinking skills and all of that. And so, I think one of the things that in the last two reporting structures that was confusing for people was actually the way that we interact with the students.

This approach of including and bringing students into the decision-making process of the women's center was an organizational construction that was different from other departments on campus. Catherine continued "We encourage them to be part of the decision-making process. If they don't like something, we'd rather they tell us than not."

While this feminist approach of bringing the students into the fabric of the organization made a great deal of sense to the women center as an organization, it caused a great deal of confusion for both students and administrators at times about the everyone's role. Catherine described it this way, "I think in Student Affairs that got particularly confusing because the work that we did was potentially seen as being not collegial when we supported students who had something to say." Catherine later spoke about some of the tensions around serving all of their constituents, "we serve students, staff, faculty and the community. Moving us into Student Affairs, although those things weren't taken away, I think there was some rub around that that I was not necessarily privy to." The associate vice president of student affairs felt those tensions as well,

> The Women's Center, it wasn't just about students, it was about staff. So, staff would go to them when there were concerns about sexual harassment, so sometimes that would be a staff person's first stop to try ... before they were gonna report it or not… It was really hard. So, for me, it came down to clarifying roles. Like, okay. But it did make me sad that it always seemed to be so dualistic. Why couldn't people be doing both? Why can't ... We're supposed to be helping students realize their dreams and stuff, and I'm like, okay, but only when they're not challenging the university? So, I spent a lot of time ... I think we all spent a lot of time analyzing this, and them trying to find a way to fit without compromising.

The consistent navigation with supervisors about the various pieces of the women's center's mission became a theme throughout the four reorganizations as the women's center worked to stay true to what they saw as their purpose. As they moved through

each of the different divisions they were reorganized into, they had varying levels of success with reaching a point of understanding and support from their supervisors.

Human resources. One of the most significant impacts the women's center at Northeast University has experienced centers around the shift to the Office of Equity and Diversity in 2009. When this shift occurred, there was an expectation that the directors of all the cultural centers would be engaging in leading the statewide mandatory sexual harassment and diversity training. This focus on training took the directors away from their everyday work and caused the women's center to do some internal shuffling of who was going to lead various initiatives. When the women's center shifted to student affairs, they were able to add a graduate assistantship position due to the relationship between the Office of Student Affairs and the Higher Education academic program. Anna also spoke about an interesting phenomenon that occurred while they were in student affairs,

> So, I got pulled for no reason, well, somebody had a reason. So, the dean, the
> Vice President for Student Affairs, when we moved, then the new vice president
> came in, called me directly without talking to Catherine to sit on a bystander
> intervention committee to develop curriculum for doing this for the university.
> Now, my job is not specifically to do the violence against women work, it's all the
> other stuff. Not that obviously, it's not connected but that's not my primary focus.
> That's Rebecca's primary focus.

Anna then spent time on a committee, away from her areas of focus, while the staff member whose focus within the center was on violence prevention was left out of the conversation. Anna was frustrated because of the lack of attention paid to the different roles of staff members within the center by the administration within student affairs. This

instance demonstrated how by not including the director of the center in the conversations, a staff member was assigned to a committee that was not within their assigned responsibilities and took time away from her being able to do the job duties she was assigned to do.

Ethics. There were two ethical concerns raised during my time on campus. One was related to the women's center's ability to continue to be a confidential resource for students who had been impacted by gender-based violence. When the women's center was in the equity and diversity office they lost their ability to be a confidential resource, and there was a significant worry that that decision would be a disservice to the student population on campus. The second ethical concern raised by staff was related to the last two reorganizations (student affairs and the compliance-focused equity and diversity office). During these years, Catherine noted that she thought that

> the degree to which the either mandate and/or assumption was that we were supposed to be focused on students and supporting students and serving students and the advocacy work or the, you know, involvement with staff and faculty was not really either understood and/ or supported as much as I think it was in other reporting structures.

For the staff of the women's center, these were real challenges because they felt so antithetical to the mission of the center. Having their ability to continue as advocates for their various campus constituencies questioned felt like an ethical dilemma between their constituents and the institution.

Law, policy, and governance. Throughout the various reorganizations, the women's center at Northeast University noted two primary impacts related to law, policy,

or governance. When they shifted into the Office of Equity and Diversity, the directors

began having to spend a great deal of time delivering training to employees related to

sexual harassment and diversity. Ally, a senior administrator on campus, noted that,

> And, that individual's [the vice president of equity and diversity], the primary part
>
> of that portfolio, was the compliance, Title IX, and search approval, and that sort
>
> of thing. It was more like the cultural centers were, an aside. And that's when the
>
> cultural center directors got more involved in some of the state-mandated training.
>
> And, that's something that's stayed with them even today.

Another significant shift occurred when the center was in the Office of Equity and

Diversity and continued as they moved into Student Affairs, which also corresponded to

when campuses started paying more attention to issues of gender-based violence

following the release of the 2011 Dear Colleague Letter (U.S. Department of Education,

2011). During this time was when much of the direct victim services and education

began being moved away from the women's center, Catherine noted,

> whereas the women's center used to be sort of the point program on campus for
>
> education and, to some extent, support around this, there's been a shift to the Dean
>
> of Student's office taking a more prominent role around support, the Title IX
>
> office doing a lot more around education and training.

During this time, the women's center lost the ability to be a confidential resource for

victim-survivors on campus. Anna noted how difficult this change was for her both

personally and professionally,

> It made work hard for a while. I can say for myself, I didn't feel a whole lot of
>
> support in any of all that. It felt like I had to be walking on eggshells. And on a

number of occasions, even said, 'how am I supposed to do my job?' Like,

literally, when I first was told that we do not have confidentiality, I cried, and

that's me, right? And then I was mad. There was this whole grieving process.

Like, I've been doing this work almost my entire career and never would I think

that now I have to do this telling. And so, that was really hard. I think that even

still while in Student Affairs after, I mean, so the pendulum swung from nobody's

really having this conversation, something happens, and people call what's the

Women's Center doing. And I'm saying, 'we do this every single day, what are

you doing?' To now everybody is, again, looking to not get sued, not necessarily

to have a centered justice or social justice model of culture change, but a very

liability driven type of change.

For the staff of the women's center, they found themselves struggling when they were in

divisions that placed a priority on compliance and not getting sued rather than on creating

real culture change within the institution.

Diversity, equity, and access. The women's center at Northeast University has

built intersectionality and the valuing of diversity and equity into the very core of its

mission. Throughout each of the reorganizations, being able to continue to do their work

from a social justice lens was incredibly important. They very much see part of their role

on campus as being a change agent to improve the climate for women and being an active

ally to other underrepresented groups on campus. During the staff meeting, I was able to

observe, the entire professional development segment for the students centered on

intersectionality and counter stories. Students were challenged during the meeting to

consider alternate points of view and to consider how various campus happenings were

impacting different groups of students. At several points throughout my interviews with women's center staff members, they talked about the importance of "interrupting racism" within their programs and activities. When wondering what the women's center would look like if someone else came in as director, Catherine commented that

> I could easily see somebody coming in and saying, 'Just focus on the students,' which is not bad but I think misses the point of the work that we're trying to do. I think that really is the biggest challenge, is people not getting what it is that we're doing. If they get it, I use that term loosely, but I think there's also this frustration about the work that we do. At the end of the day, we certainly wanna highlight and celebrate accomplishments, but our job is sort of to be the folks that are saying, "Look, we need to do better. Here's what the barriers are," and nobody likes that. It's not any fun for us either.

This focus on creating change for the betterment of the entire campus was present throughout the day, and was an aspect of the work at the women's center they fought to keep doing throughout the various reorganizations.

Internal and external relations. One of the phenomena that both Catherine and Anna spoke of as they discussed the different reorganizations of the women's center was how they were expected to interact with their constituents. When speaking of the two most recent reorganizations, Catherine noted,

> So, for the last two sort of iterations of our reporting lines, I think the degree to which the either mandate and/or assumption was that we were supposed to be focused on students and supporting students and serving students and the advocacy work or the, you know, involvement with staff and faculty was not

really either understood and/ or supported as much as I think it was in other reporting structures.

Anna similarly noted,

So, there was a lot more effort that we had to put into making visible the fact that we are here for staff and faculty as well as a resource. And I think that's an extremely important piece of what we do just in terms of community and if, it's not just about doing the work with the students, it's about doing the work with the staff and faculty who are working with the students to ensure that this is, we're going for culture change, right? We're going for people to be able to have consistent impact and consistent knowledge and skill sets.

Catherine also spoke about how the nature of the work that women's centers do has significantly shifted over the last few decades,

doing gender-based violence work twenty years ago on campus versus doing it ten years ago versus doing it now has just changed very dramatically. And so, the degree to which people are scrutinizing that work, or there's a sense of, you know, sort of how we're gonna approach that work ... I think that has certainly changed.

Throughout each organizational shift, the staff had to shift gears slightly to ensure they were still able to address the needs of all of their constituents and at times had to spend a good deal of time explaining why it made sense to serve each of those constituencies.

One of the other trends noticed by the staff members of the various cultural centers was the amount of "gatekeeping" they experienced within student affairs. In each of the other iterations, the directors, as well as other staff members, had more direct access to the president, provost, and vice presidents. One staff member noted,

I used to contact the provost if I had something, a question or whatever. Same

thing with the president's office, if we wanted to invite them to events, we would

do that no problem. And then when we were moved into Student Affairs, there

came down the edict that all of those asks have to go through the VP's office. It

was weird, because the provost office has been funding one of our conferences for

years, and so I'm gonna have to ask you if I can then ask them for the money that

they've been giving us for a decade. This just doesn't make sense.

Another staff member noted the shift when they moved to student affairs, "even though I

thought I had direct access, I was now in a position where I could not bring up anything

that was critical, unless I was invited to bring it up." This was challenging at times as the

gatekeeping was an additional layer of bureaucracy the staff would have to navigate to

implement their programs and services.

Financial. Throughout each of the reorganizations, the women's center's

finances have remained solid or have improved. When they moved to student affairs,

they were able to gain a graduate assistant from the higher education program. In the

most recent transition to the Office of Diversity and Inclusion, the women's center has

found a more significant commitment to professional development. For example,

associate director Anna commented,

And so, one of the first messages that came down was around NWSA [National

Women's Studies Association], which you think after 18 years, somebody might

say, we consider that part of your job. If this is your professional home, then

that's part of your professional, that's part of your job. Now, if you want to go to

NCORE, that's professional development. Right?

Ally, an administrator in the Office of Diversity and Inclusion noted the difference between his office and student affairs, "previously, when they were under Student Affairs, they were very ... Not that I'm a wonderful person, it's just that they were a little, very restrictive about how that money could be used." While the center has fared well fiscally, they still had to navigate different bureaucratic structures within each of the divisions they reported to as priorities would shift with each reorganization.

Facilities and equipment. While the women's center at Northeast University has been administratively shifted several times, their physical location has been consistent. They experienced one physical move in 2006 to the student union, but this move was unrelated to any type of administrative reorganization. When this move happened, all of the cultural centers were moved together, and each center received its own suite. Beverly, director of one of the cultural centers, noted the benefit of being close together, "We could borrow that proverbial cup of sugar, without putting a coat on. We could do some really innovative stuff, so that was the pro." She noted that at first they were all concerned that the students would not come all the way up to the fourth floor of the building, but now she said, "Ten years later, or twelve years later, that we've been in here, it's like, you need to leave. All right? We're closing. You need to go home. Go away! Right?" She noted that the directors of the cultural centers had conversations about making the common spaces welcoming for all of their students. Now the different centers often use the hallway and common areas as a space to do icebreakers with their student groups.

When the women's center shifted into student affairs, they experienced a very different culture of working that trickled down all the way to their technology. The

associate vice president of student affairs noted that "Even their computers had to change. So, we don't use Macs in Student Affairs, and we have our own IT department to manage Student Affairs, so they had to change over all their computers." While a seemingly small change, by reading over emails about this shift, this change took considerable time, effort, and cost to transition all of the computers within the center to a different operating system.

Women's Center Navigation

At Northeast, the women's center utilized several strategies as they navigated the various reorganizations. They utilized their networks and institutional knowledge and stayed consistent in their work. The women's center at Northeast University has an advisory board, and during one of the reorganizations, staff from the women's center started to be left off of institutional committees. Anna noted that, "I can think of one particular occasion where there was a person who was a former advisory board member who was sitting on one of these committees saying, why is the Women's Center not at this table?" Another cultural center director noted, "And I think that's where our longevity helped us. We have had, we have built relationships all over campus, including the president's office." The staff of the women's center also relied on their relationships with the other cultural center directors and staff; Anna noted, "we have three very consistent strong leaders of centers who are all committed to sticking together in this because, again, we're all in this together." A senior staff member in student affairs noted that when the cultural centers reported through student affairs, the cultural center directors continued to meet as a group without anyone from student affairs there. She noted, "I think they turned to each other to cope too."

There was also very much a sense of 'the work must continue,' despite whatever is going on around it. Catherine noted, "I mean, we've really sort of managed to do what we're gonna do, in spite of all of this stuff." She later noted,

I think we were consistent about the work that we were doing. I think people are impressed by the work that we're doing. We do make a difference for students, staff, and faculty. We've heard that. We weren't gonna compromise the commitment, as much as possible, to talk about feminism and talk about anti-racist work. We didn't always do the best that we could, and there were certainly times that were really stressful, but I can't even count how many times I recall saying, 'We just need to maintain our integrity in the work.' I think that's kind of how.

The director of one of the other cultural centers had a similar sentiment, "I do think we've been pretty good about rolling with the punches. And making it work. Because, ultimately, whoever we're reporting to, we've still have this whole cadre of people that we're supporting, right?" For the women's center at Northeast University, by staying true to their mission and consistent in their work, they have successfully navigated four reorganizations.

Upper Midwest University

I was able to spend one full day on the campus of Upper Midwest University. During this day, I was able to interview the director of the women's center, the administrative assistant of the women's center, the assistant vice president of student affairs, the vice president of student affairs, the associate director of LGBTQ programs, the director of the Office of Diversity Affairs, and had a lunch interview with several

students as well as the assistant director of the cultural center. During my day on

campus, I was able to observe a meeting regarding space and relocation as well as an

informal meeting between all of the staff members in the diversity area and the assistant

vice president of student affairs. Before my arrival on campus, I was sent several

supporting documents including, email correspondence, excerpts from the student

newspaper, and timelines.

Reorganization History and Context

The women's center at Upper Midwest University (UMU) was founded in 1977.

It stayed open until 1982 when it was closed due to budget cuts. One staff position was

salvaged and continued to do programming for women until the late 1980s when student

activism led to the restart of the center. It reopened its doors in 1991. Since that time the

center has been through three reorganizations. When the center was reopened, it had a

unique administrative reporting structure; a non-hierarchical governing board governed it

with representatives from each of the university's divisions. It operated under this

structure until 2001. At this point, the center shifted administratively to Academic

Affairs where it stayed until 2009. From there the women's center transitioned to

Student Affairs. Under each of these structures, the women's center stayed within two

organizational levels from the president and reported either directly to the vice

president/provost or an assistant or associate vice president/provost. Since 2001, the

director of the women's center has had eight different supervisors. Finally, over the same

number of years the women's center physically changed locations at least four times.

This brings us to the most current and in the words of the women's center director "most

salient" reorganization. The ongoing reorganization is the focus of this analysis.

1977
• Women's Center Founded
• Reports through Student Affairs

1991
• Women's Center reopens.
• Reports through non-hierarchical Policy & Management Council

2009
• Women's Center shifts to Student Affairs
• WC director reports to 3 different supervisors during these years

1982
• Women's Center closed due to budget cuts

2001
• Women's Center shifts to Academic Affairs.
• WC director reports to 4 different supervisors during these years

2016 and ongoing
• While still in student affairs, WC shifts to be part of a new merged center.
• WC director now reports to the director of the new department

Figure 2

Timeline of Reorganization at Upper Midwest University

Organizational Frames and the Process of Reorganization

The organizational culture at Upper Midwest within the division of student affairs I observed was a blend of collegium and bureaucracy. A reoccurring theme related to the communication style of the institution was that it was collaborative, from the president to the individual departments. Shelby, director of the women's center, noted this about the vice president of student affairs,

I think this current division, now student life, we're really trying hard, the senior leadership is trying hard to be collaborative and transparent. We have a vice president who is about as transparent as you'd want, and she's, and that's great. I

think it's in that vein of transparency, collaboration, sometimes hard decisions

have to be made, but let's try to talk through them together and not disempower

people when we don't have to.

As staff members began to talk through the reorganization process, staff member after

staff member talked about having discussions and valuing the thoughts and opinions of

the folks who are the experts in their areas. This is, perhaps, one of the reasons the

reorganization has been a three-year process. Again, Shelby, "I'm glad it was the way it

was because it was an ongoing conversation, and I got to have a voice into some degree

how it could unfold and the timing of it and all of that." Emma, associate director for

LGBT programs also noted the collaborative nature of the department throughout the

reorganization,

So, I think as a department, I feel like it's a collaborative, both top down and

bottom up sort of decision-making process. So, we collaborate a lot; we do a lot

of idea sharing. Again, because we are three functional areas, we are kind of in

charge of our own data, right, that like feeds into the whole department. So, I

think, in terms of decision-making, we all have somewhat of a voice and the

ability to make decisions. Like in some ways I feel like I report back to my

supervisor, but I don't have a lot of oversight. So, I kind of function as a separate

unit even though I'm within this department. So, a lot of it is more just sharing

what I am doing as opposed to actually being directed to do something.

The continued valuing of each functional area leader as a content area expert is also

indicative of a collegial organization (Manning, 2013). The strength found in

collaborative decision-making processes and the valuing of content experts is what also

can be a weakness, as there are several decisions that the team struggled to make. The assistant vice president for student affairs noted this about the selection of a new name for the merged office, "Three years later, we still haven't settled on a name. What is the umbrella name?"

As the reorganization was being discussed, the administration did not just bring the opportunity to contribute to the professional staff members; they also sought out feedback from students. They held several open forums with students, the assistant vice president of student affairs shared, "For students, we did several open forums that just come in, we're going to talk about what we have planned and why. Let's get your feedback. What do you think about names?" As the division and newly formed department prepare to move into a new space during the summer of 2019, they are again holding meetings with students to gain their feedback. I was able to observe one of these meetings during my time on the campus. Staff from the newly merged department were there, as were students from each functional area, the assistant vice president, and the campus architect. During this meeting, the attendees were shown two different options for the space where the student organization offices and lounge space would be. An interesting phenomenon occurred though during this meeting. While there were options present and students were being asked for their input, it became apparent that a decision had already been made regarding which floor plan would be selected (the cheaper of the two options). It seemed the opportunity for student feedback was in some ways simply for show, to be able to say their input was sought. It also became painfully clear during this meeting that both the professional staff and students had concerns about the professional staff being on one floor and the affiliated student space being on a different

floor. This continued to be a significant point of contention both between the students and the administration and between the professional staff and the assistant vice president.

This disconnect highlights the intersection between collegium and bureaucracy. In this case, it seemed as though a handful of people were making decisions based on a set of bureaucratic values (efficiency, cost-savings, shorter-time frame) rather than relying on the experts who would be occupying the space and who are the front-line staff to working with the students in question. Some of the newer staff members picked up on this difference in approach. One newer staff member noted,

> Even though you tell people ahead of time I think that's how it's going to roll from like theory or research, you've gotta understand that there's one higher education where it's education in theory and there's another part where it's business administration. So, when you try to incorporate both professions, in a sense, under one roof of higher education you get that, I don't want to say conflict, but you get those different viewpoints.

Another staff member felt the impact of bureaucratic decision-making regarding the naming process for the newly formed office,

> I'm still in a holding pattern waiting to hear back for the final say. Because we did benchmarking, we looked at our peer institutions, and even those surrounding us, this is what a lot of schools are moving to who have very similar models like we do. But again, it goes back to the thing of, if you don't have the right people who understand truly the areas that they're supervising, it's hard for them to know how to effectively advocate.

The overarching rationale for the reorganization was also indicative of a more bureaucracy-based decision-making process as it was rooted in creating efficiencies within the division. Over time the university will experience cost savings based on the likely downgrading of the women's center director position as well as having fewer staff members overall within the areas of the cultural center, women's center, and LGBTQ+ programs.

While some of the newer staff members picked up on some the bureaucracy-based influences in the decision-making on campus, the students were keyed into more of the political forces, particularly as it relates to the upcoming physical move. One student named the power-dynamics at play throughout the reorganization, "So there's power in radically merging three spaces, because it allows students to meet each other at their privilege and oppression based on their identity, but a lot of times that's not enough." She continued,

> It's very telling to me when people who have the sort of literal capital to shape this institution are, not only not interested in furthering the well-being of students who don't look and act exactly like them, but they are actively opposed to it. I think that says a lot about the institution as a whole, and it says a lot about why we've been unable to sort of grow in the direction that I know a lot of the professional staff would like us to grow, at the rate we'd like to grow.

Hearing how the students homed in on the power-imbalances of not only the reorganization, but the institution as a whole, was especially poignant considering how one upper-level administrator talked about a piece of the impetus for the upcoming physical move,

Next summer looking to bring them [the professional staff] into one space, which

will cut down on the student lounge area. So, looking at creating new lounge

space on the third floor that could be shared by all groups. Part of that is driven

by a list of demands we got from our Black and African American students last

spring. But what we said was we are not creating ... Their term was black space.

We want Black space. I was like, we're not creating Black space and Latina space

and women's space and LGBT space. You need to think about how this becomes

a welcoming environment for everybody.

In many ways, this quote exemplifies the disconnect between the different stakeholders

and their priorities. The administration is seeking a way to say they are meeting the

needs of students in an efficient manner; the students want to feel heard and that they

matter, and the professional staff are stuck at the nexus of the various organizational

dynamics trying to meet the needs of both the administration and the students.

Rationale of Reorganization

At Upper Midwest University, the most current reorganization, there seemed to be

a clear understanding as to how the reorganization came about; soon after the vice

president for student affairs arrived on campus, she learned that several staff members

from the cultural center would be retiring and that several other staff members within the

division were considering retirement. Upon learning this, she began to think about how

to address the upcoming vacancies within the division. At the same time, there was a

desire to create efficiencies within the division.

It's been three years since, it's probably been four years since we started having a

conversation, three years since we started doing it. Part of it was we started

having the conversations when some staff members started talking about

retirement. I think part of it was with some key retirements coming, it was, what

do we want the office or offices to look like? Part of it was driven well, from that,

that we wouldn't have to eliminate or change any individual's job while they were

still here, and quite honestly trying to figure out how we serve our students with, I

hate to say limited resources because we have resources. So, sometimes it feels

when you say limited resources, but I think when we look at the Women's Center,

we look at LGBTQ, when we look at ODA, serving similar students with similar

interests.

This began the start of a multi-year process of reorganization whereby the women's

center, LGBT Services, and Office of Diversity Affairs would be merged into one unit.

They began talking individually to the staff about the merger,

Okay, so let me lay out who the staff was, and you'll see. There was Diversity

Affairs,

there was the director, retired. The associate director, retired. The LGBT person

left after a year and a half, so that summer, and the assistant director, she left to be

a director somewhere else. That entire office left in a six-month period.

This left the staff of the women's center as the only remaining staff from the three areas.

At this point, the strategy became to hire new people into the new model. In addition to

talking individually with staff, the vice president and assistant vice president did a series

of town halls with the students on campus with the aim of being transparent and getting the students' feedback.

The next phase of the reorganization consisted of a series of physical moves, which is still ongoing, to bring everyone into the same space. One of the first steps was to co-locate LGBT programming within the women's center. So, the associate director for LGBT programs reported to the new director of the Office of Diversity Affairs but was located alongside the women's center. During this period the two areas began working more closely together. Currently, all three areas are scheduled to move into a new suite over this upcoming summer.

Figure 3
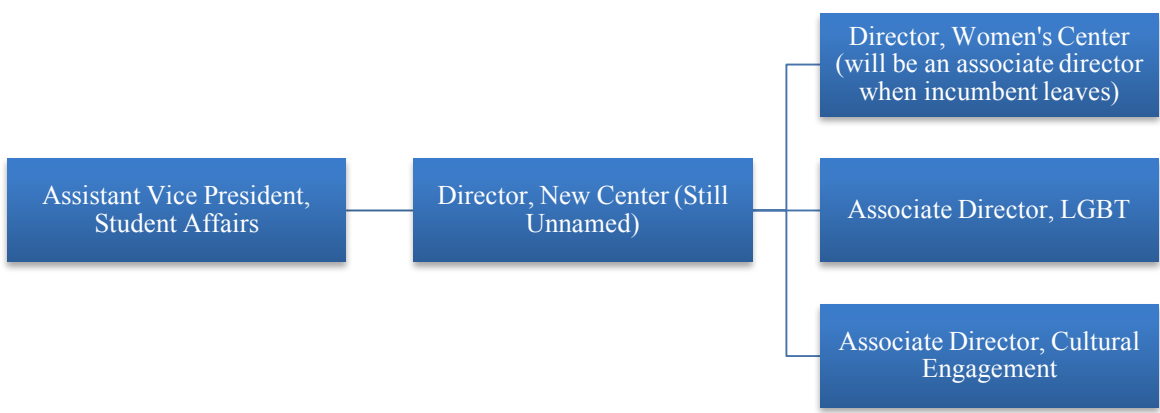*Upper Midwest University Before Current Reorganization*

Figure 4
Upper Midwest University After Current Reorganization

Impacts of Reorganization

      Mission. Throughout the various reorganizations the Upper Midwest women's center has been through, its mission has stayed consistent. Even now, as part of a combined center, the mission of the women's center remained focused on serving women-identified students, faculty, and staff at the institution. However, the percentages of time focused on the various constituents shifted as the organizational location changed. For example, when the women's center moved from academic affairs to student affairs, there was an expectation that the majority of their work would be student facing.

      Program. While much of the women's center's programming has remained consistent, there was a shift when LGBTQ programs moved into the women's center's space. The vice president noted,

> Well, I really think that their partnership with Emma as LGBTQ stuff has grown.
>
> They've gotten much more into the broader gender and sexuality conversation
>
> than I think they had been in before. That started before that move, but I think it's
>
> certainly accelerated it.

Emma echoed this sentiment, "I do think it has allowed for more intersectional work in terms of queer identities and more trans inclusion because, again the students I work with in particular, have been really starved for this support." This expansion in programming has allowed the center to engage in more intersectional work, particularly around issues of gender and gender identity. One of the results of this has been an increase in the number of queer and gender-nonconforming students employed by the women's center.

      Organization and leadership. One of the most significant impacts of this reorganization will be the eventual demotion of the women's center director position to

an associate director level position. As the three functional areas have been merged into one department, each of the areas has been pushed down a layer within the hierarchy of the institution. This demotion both reduces the visibility of the functional area and the identities it serves as well as decreases the leader's access to decision-makers at the institution.

Another significant impact within the area of leadership pertains not as much to the women's center as it does to the relationship between the students and the administration. The students at Upper Midwestern University believed strongly that the administration had little to no understanding of the identities of the constituents of any of the three centers that were being merged. One student offered the following observation,

I think a lot of people would like to think that they are equity-minded administrators, but the first step in being an equity-minded administrator means you have to develop your funds of knowledge. And when your students are saying things like 'we don't feel cared for, we think this is irresponsible,' that's a difficult thing to hear, but our students ... I applaud them because they're not here to insulate administrators from the harsh truths and feelings that they are having to go through. I think our students are trying to tell us something and we need to listen to them. I think reorganization can be successful at the intersections, but they need leadership that can effectively manage what the dynamics are when people meet each other at their shared oppressions and their shared privileges. Often times, that requires that people are equity-minded leaders or equity-oriented leaders to do the work of developing that knowledge. Your greatest resource is always going to be your students. So yes, it's about money being allocated in

equitable ways, it's about being effective in a multicultural organization, but you can't do that if you don't even understand the dynamics of conflict. The dynamics of the emotional management that needs to take place. That's why what I think what I've observed is turnover, I've observed emotional burnout.

The students were incredibly savvy regarding the dynamics of the institution, the division of student affairs, and the newly merged center. The students also named the role that privilege plays within the decision-making process of the administration. One student offered this observation about upper-level administrators and their privilege,

There are students and people here that are privileged. That means dealing with administrative discomfort with the notion of having privilege and not just saying I know I have it, but that's a good first step. But I've never heard that. I've never seen a top-level administrator walk into any one of the meetings or any one of the spaces and be able to say, 'Hey look, I'm sitting here with these privileges before you, telling you what to do.' Or only coming and showing up when there's conflict, when there is activism in very visible ways. I mean that just sends a message like, I know you only think I'm important when we're disruptive, but you need to show me that I'm important when you are thinking strategically. So be more intentional when you come, and my colleagues, how you come for me, how you come for my students. And please don't bring your tears, that you don't like hearing this, this breaks your heart. Oh, my God, toughen up.

One of the things the students wanted more than anything was to truly feel heard by the administrators who were making decisions about the spaces on campus where they as students felt the safest and the most able to be themselves.

Human resources. One of the most significant impacts the women's center will experience is the downgrading of the director position when the current director retires. Another impact is that currently a director is reporting to another director, which has caused some tension. One administrator noted, "So, it has also led to some tension between the director of the office who is Shelby's supervisor, but they both have director titles. So, when Shelby does retire, that'll be replaced with an associate director." Shelby went on to note, "when I retire then it will be, assuming integration remains and all of that, my title will most likely become associate director for consistency sake and of course also save some money." The thread of efficiency again is picked up as Shelby noted that the downgrading of her position will result in monetary savings for the university.   Whenever this downgrading occurs, the women's center associate director will then be in the same position that the LGBT center associate director is currently in: both will be leading their own functional area, but from an associate director level position. In plain terms, they will be doing director level work at associate director pay.

Ethics. The only impact that members of the Upper Midwest University community mentioned related to ethics was related to the pain that students who are members of underrepresented populations endure during their years on campus. One of the students commented, "I think people need to hear that there is a lot of pain when we talk about students' success. Especially when it comes to race and gender sexuality, we are constantly dealing with the pain of that." For this student, the merger of the centers was a painful process due in part to the way they experienced the climate of their institution overall. This student wanted to urge the university to consider the trauma

students of underrepresented and marginalized groups have experienced on campus as they make decisions.

Law, policy, and governance. During my day on campus, the topics of law, policy, and/or governance did not arise with the staff of the women's center or any of the other areas I spoke with on campus. This does not necessarily mean that there were no impacts related to law, policies, or governance from the reorganization, merely that they were not salient enough for the staff members to discuss with me.

Diversity, equity, and access. As the women's center, cultural center, and LGBT programs offices work to integrate into one department, they have encountered some challenges. One of those challenges centers on the tension around each center's identities. Shelby talked about this challenge in this way,

> When we move downstairs to basically all one space then how are we gonna think about our names and spaces? Because we've tried with this earlier first few years of the integration to try to both be one department and retain our identities. That's a real challenge, and I think it's hard in some ways for all of us, perhaps hardest for the director of the department who really has been given the mandate, create one department. And that one department is still most closely tied in everybody's minds, I think, with what physically is called the Cultural Center, that set of student identifies.

Some of her fears center around whether or not all of the student groups they currently serve will feel comfortable in the new shared space. The students I spoke with took this tension one step further as one of them commented, "what I'm seeing right now is people with various different types of identities, maybe feeling like they have to play oppression

Olympics in order to get the equitable resource." While some staff members and students were concerned about how these tensions would play out as they moved into a shared space, the director of the new integrated department noted some changes she has noticed in staff members' thinking, "I think we have staff who are starting to think more critically what types of things they have been doing in the past that might need to be change, especially moving forward."

One of the other frustrations that students and staff felt was related to perceptions around the institution's commitment to diversity. One student noted,

> I saw the majority of the campus not looking like me, not acting like me, not feeling like me, and that was really, really scary. I think that's why these spaces that we have, these physical spaces that we have in the Office of Diversity Affairs is so important. I spend all of my time that the [women's] center is open, regardless of whether I'm working or not... Sometimes I'm up there when I'm supposed to be in class because I'd rather be there than dealing with white boys in my anthropology class talking about how my people are exotic. So, when you move the spaces and when you shift who is allowed in them and who is comfortable in them, you unnecessarily change things that may or may not need to be or want to be changed.

While talking with one staff member, they expressed their frustration with how the institution does or does not show a commitment to diversity,

> …but the lack [of support] of upper administration within the university, even though they're going, 'diversity inclusion, diversity inclusion, diversity inclusion,' not a lot of leadership, like saying, 'here is what we need to do.' It's always, 'let's

create a committee, and let's talk this out. Let's get stuff in committees,' and then

somehow, somebody does a report, and unfortunately, it goes in somebody's file

in somebody's office. That's happened in my time here over, and over, and over

again… Upper administration within the university have never really had a really

clear idea of how to move [Upper Midwest] forward within diversity inclusion.

Another staff member talked about the tensions between what they, as professional staff

members, see as needs and what administrators see as needs,

I do think, again without that kind of understanding of diversity and the scope of

our work, can be really difficult because then again we are already limited in

staffing and resources and then asked to do lots of anything that has diversity on

it, that we're supposed to be involved. So, I think that makes it a challenge for

sure.

As the three separate units come together to create one new cohesive department, they

will need to continue to wrestle with issues of diversity and how they serve students in

the best way possible.

Internal and external relations. Throughout the most recent multi-year

organization one of the groups that has been greatly impacted is the students who are the

primary users of the women's center. Students have been pleased with the addition of

LGBTQ+ programs and services into the women's center space. However, students have

been more resistant about the upcoming physical move as well as the next stage of the

merger in general. One student noted,

It's both about the personal and about the work that we do, and I think that the

Women's Center, in particular, is very, very good at the way that we use our own

experiences and our own passions to sort of expound upon that and help the student body. I worry that if in combining the spaces, we lose not only quantity of interns, but the kind of space and time we have to put our own passions into the student body, because we know that we're passionate about it because it's something that we see is a problem on campus that we need to fix.

Many of the staff acknowledged the fears of the students and at times shared them. However, one of the senior administrators pondered, "So, it has been a very long process, that we're not done with yet. But we keep chipping away at it. And I keep wondering when this group of seniors graduates, will things feel different?"

Another impact that several individuals on campus spoke about was the loss of autonomy and voice of the women's center director at decision-making tables. One co-worker of the women's center director commented, "her voice, being somewhat removed from the conversation, being asked to not be at the table, is hurtful. It would be hurtful. It has to be hurtful." Another co-worker put it this way,

I think also a loss of autonomy, right? And a loss of a seat at the table for just the Women's Center because now we are asked to do things as a department as opposed to the Women's Center was its own department before. So, I do think that that, because whereas yes one of us can go and represent all three functional areas, it's not necessarily our content expertise. So, I think that loss of voice perhaps.

The women's center director herself talked about the challenges in losing a layer of access,

I think we've already talked about challenges of losing sort of a layer of, I'm not

saying it well, but the idea of the further down you fall in the hierarchy the more

chance you lose access to decision makers and ability to influence them. Clearly

you can see I haven't had any of these conversations with our associate or our

assistant V.P. And you know, not that, and I'm not saying that I would have, just

cause I had, if I had been in the room that anything would be different, or I

could've changed things. But, yeah, you lose that direct [access].

This loss of voice within the hierarchy of the institution certainly diminishes the role of

the director of the women's center and limits her ability to challenge and question the

various decision-making processes.

Financial. Fiscally, one of the impacts the women's center is facing is the

pooling of their budget into the new center. Shelby, the women's center director, noted,

"Well, okay, we're one department now so should we collapse or combine our budgets?

We've only begun that conversation because that takes some figuring out." Shelby noted

that currently, they plan to combine budget lines such as telecommunications, student

workers, travel, and professional development. They would then keep separate

programming dollars. This is one area where they are still figuring out what the various

budgets will look like once the three centers have consolidated into one space.

Facilities. The women's center is no stranger to moving physical locations

throughout the years, as the assistant vice president noted that in their eight years on

campus, "they will be in their fourth location this summer. There's a lot of disruption that

just go with the flow, but yeah it is kind of they're kind of saying, where do we fit in?"

Randy, the women's center's administrative assistant, noted that often the moves were to move to a better or nicer location,

> in the 16 years that I've been here, when we're going to move again next summer, that will be the seventh time the Women's Center has moved in 16 years. About every two and a half years, we got displaced. Most of the time, it was for our benefit. Places were being remodeled, renovated. Moving out of one place so we could move into another. It's never been that we're not valued. It's always been an attempt to bring better services, better resources, better space utilization to the Women's Center, but when you do that, it seems like every class that we've had, we've moved. The stability of having a constant location has been something that our Women's Center has dealt with.

The impact of physically moving has undoubtedly led to feelings of displacement, of not belonging, and of feeling unstable.

Shelby echoed these sentiments in our conversations, but just as this reorganization felt the most salient, so too does the upcoming physical move. This upcoming summer, the women's and LGBTQ centers (who currently share space) and the Office of Diversity Affairs will move into one combined space a floor below the current location of the women's and LGBTQ center. There is a lot of trepidation about the upcoming move as it will place all of the professional staff in one location and the students who often use the existing centers will have less designated community space in the new office suite. There are currently plans to create additional student space on the level where the women's center is currently located. Shelby noted,

Number one, we lose this space certainly, this office suite, where we have in essence three community spaces for students so students can really pick and choose on any given day where they want to be, in any given hour, any given minute. We're gonna lose those opportunities for students to sort of choose their physical spaces… So, students are gonna lose space itself, square footage itself, and they're going to lose opportunities to sort of choose where they want to place themselves. I think they're concerned about that.

One of the students voiced this concern,

If we're going to spending half of our time away from our population, what that does is ... to me what that says is, 'if you want to be paid for your labor, if you want to be paid as an activist on this campus, this is one of the only spaces to do it. But to do that, we are going to be removing you from the community you're serving and putting you downstairs in an administrative office instead of with your community, doing your community work.' To me, that thought is very uncomfortable. Like I'm uncomfortable with the notion that I might be working in an office space and not being in community and dialog with my queer students.

Another staff member noted that "wherever we go the students are gonna go. That's just what it is. So, if we have a separate student space where we have the office space, students are gonna come down to the office space."

At the same time, there is concern and worry about if and how students will feel like they can engage with the space and staff in the new center, there is also a level of excitement. Shelby commented,

So, yeah, the space I think will help. The new space will help. The collaboration is harder because again, as I've said, we are still sort of in our little lanes with our programming. Of course, one gets attached to one's programming, and you somehow think if you're not doing all this programming then you're not doing work.

Lena, the director of the Office of Diversity Affairs, was optimistic about the move,

I do believe that once we're all in one location together, we'll enhance our ability to be a more cohesive team because right now, honestly we can literally go the entire week, and just go to staff meetings, and not see each other any other time.

In discussing the upcoming move, the staff was more excited about the opportunities to be closer to one another, while still greatly concerned for the students. As the new space will have less area for lounge/community space, there is a significant amount of worry that students may disengage and feel like they have lost a space that felt like home on a campus where often they do not feel at home.

Women's Center Navigation

One of the ways the women's center had navigated the most recent reorganization is to be onboard with the reorganization. This was noticed by both the assistant vice president and vice president. The vice president noted, "I will say of any of them, Shelby has weathered this better than I think anybody else in her peer group would have." She went on to say that, "Shelby continues to be a divisional leader. She is the first to volunteer for anything, any kind of divisional committee. She's very invested in the work of student life as a whole, as well as her own office." Shelby herself highlighted the importance of being onboard,

It absolutely won't work if we're not on board publicly. Cause then we'll just sabotage it and I don't think that's an appropriate approach. It seems to me. I don't want to sabotage him. I don't want to sabotage the vice president…And if we're given the directive to make it work, okay, how can we authentically structure our work so that we are helping students be successful in this new model. That's miss positive me, and often people will almost be critical of that. Oh, you're too nice, you acquiesce, you compromise. And yeah, I guess that's just me. And part of it is trying to see the bigger picture.

Additionally, the women's center has stayed consistent through each prior reorganization. They've kept doing the work. The assistant vice president noted, "They're doing what they're doing, before any of this reorg," later he commented, "I don't know that the Women's Center really feels different to me today than it did in 2013." While they have stayed true to their mission through the years, the consolidation into one unit and the move into a shared space will be a new challenge especially as they are asked to think about their work in new and different ways.

Rocky Mountain University

I was able to spend one day on the campus of Rocky Mountain University. During this day, I was able to interview the (former) director of the women's center (now director of a program area in the merged center), (former) associate director of the women's center (now associate director of a program area in the merged center), and one student. I was able to tour both the new center space, the affinity group spaces, and the location of the former women's center. In addition to interviews and observations, I was given several Powerpoint presentations that were used to explain the reorganization to

various internal and external stakeholders. Because I was not able to speak with professional staff members from other areas such as the cultural center, the LGBTQ center, or administration, I want to acknowledge that the information obtained about this reorganization is predominately through the lens of two of the staff members of the women's center.

Reorganization History and Context

The Women's Center at Rocky Mountain university has been in existence since 1994. Before the reorganization, the center's staff included a director, an associate director, a program assistant, and student staff. Over the last several years, the director of the center had had a new supervisor on average about every year.

Organizational Frames and the Process of Reorganization

In the fall of 2017, a new associate vice president was hired into the division of student affairs at Rocky Mountain University. This person was the supervisor of the women's center, LGBTQ center, and cultural center. Early during her tenure, she began having conversations with the directors of the women's and LGBTQ center and the remaining coordinator of the cultural center. As Nancy recalled they talked about,

> Things that we felt were going well, things that we felt were struggles. Some of
> those things that were felt as struggles among our group were, each were small
> centers with small staffs. Ours had three permanent staff members, another had
> two, another had two or three. The reality of thinking about what can get done
> with a three, two, five even person team was definitely there.

Their conversations continued as they discussed the multiple roles each staff member was playing within their office, the institution's commitment to innovation, differences in

Generation Z students, a desire to be more intentionally intersectional, the struggles the cultural center had been through over the past few years, and the fact that none of the individual centers would be seeing any increases in funding any time soon. Nancy recalled,

> like it or don't like it, but it was nice to be told a very, in a truthful way, it's [the budget] probably not getting added to as it is. Because it's not being seen as super innovative. Okay. Really then discussions look like, 'So what else could we do?' In what ways could we really think out of the box, be creative, do different things."

Embrya, who was hired in January of 2018, told the story of the initial conversation with the associate vice president slightly differently,

> And out of those conversations emerged, it originally started off as conversations of how do we restore the [cultural center]? And then everybody was like, 'Well, actually, there might be something different, better, that we can do.' And then together, the program directors and [the associate vice president] came up with this idea.

The directors of the functional areas and the associate vice president then began the process of dreaming up something new and innovative.

Nancy noted that "the desire of the institution to do something different was plain." But Nancy strongly believes that there was not an end goal of a merger in mind when they began conversations in the fall of 2017. She said, "There was some desire for a meaningful change. I don't think ... I don't believe it was a fixed outcome." From her

perspective, it was only through the collaborative decision-making process that they concluded merging the three centers onto one would be the best path forward.

One of the interesting things about the reorganization process at Rocky Mountain University is that while the initial request for something new came from a more upper-level administration, indicative of a more bureaucratic decision-making process, both that administrator and the directors of the staff engaged in a more collaborative process as they envisioned a new way forward, which would be indicative of more feminist or cultural decision-making process (Manning, 2018). However, I do not know if the rationale for the reorganization would be seen in a similar way from an administrator's perspective. It is also interesting that while the associate vice president and directors engaged in a collaborative process as they envisioned the new center, they did not extend that collaboration to the other staff members of their centers. This prioritizing the inclusion of 'experts' indicates a process more collegial in nature (Manning, 2018).

Nancy noted that during the reorganization process she greatly appreciated having her voice heard,

> I felt like I had a lot of voice in that and had lots of opportunities to put many years of professional knowledge into it. Both in women centers, but and also serving students of color. And being on the same campus for many years to be able to have an opportunity to be able to share some history of the campus as well, as I said, new supervisor. Very talented, very skilled, but knows lots of things but did not know this campus. They're new here. And so, it felt like the opportunity was there to bring forward skills, expertise, and knowledge in a way that made me feel invested in the process.

She also acknowledged that the other staff may have a different take on the

reorganization process,

> I was at the table early and earlier than other people were at the table. Maybe
>
> other people in different positionalities felt less autonomy, I can say, not just
>
> maybe probably. And I think that, that is our reality. But I still think there has ...I
>
> have also then experienced autonomy and I feel like people have the opportunity
>
> to see it as autonomy in the building of the new program. Yes. Certain decisions
>
> were made. But I feel like decisions were made more about the skeleton and then
>
> the filling in feels like it's still happening and evolving to me.

She spoke more about the opportunity for the staff of the center to be involved in the

process,

> I think the way that we went about sort of doing kind of like a talking road show,
>
> had the intention of like saying 'Hey here's a framework, holler back.' But it
>
> didn't plan for that people just needed more time than we gave them to have
>
> feelings about the framework. And they weren't ready to like fill in gaps yet.
>
> And it didn't take into consideration what had happened, not enough, in that, not
>
> like it was ignored, but I think it, the piece that came from our [cultural] center
>
> already going through some recent change.

Embrya agreed,

> And I think part of it is that they were like, 'Fine, we're gonna change it all,' at
>
> one time. I don't know if the human cost of that was factored in, but that was the
>
> reasoning, that it would combine our superpowers, it would minimize the excess

work that we were all doing in triplicate. It would certainly go a long way to
restaffing this space and services towards those students.

As I was unable to interview any other staff who were present during the dreaming of the
new center, I do not know if others felt excluded from the decision-making process in the
ways that Embrya described.

From the fall of 2017 through the spring of 2018 the associate vice president and
center directors engaged in collaborative planning as they put together what the new
center would be. During March of 2018, they shared the plans for merging the centers
with the rest of the staff members of the offices. Embrya noted that they were all in the
middle of spring programming,

> We all got called into a conference type situation. 'We've been working on this
> for a while, we're now ready to share our decision to move forward, and the plan
> has been approved to share with you all in this way, and now we're going to start
> talking timelines.' That was kind of the first conversation.

Embrya noted that the staff members immediate concern was the student staff of the
centers,

> The very first question that was asked after it all settled in is, will we be able to
> bring all of our student staff with us? And that was actually the first point we
> negotiated. Yeah. So, people were really concerned about students and their
> wellness, their sustainability through this process.

They noted that otherwise

> No one really even had a chance to process on my level. If you've been building,
> of course you have a different take. I did not have a chance to even begin to

process what this all meant until after graduations were over. It was just like, 'I

hear you, now there's work to be done.'

Over the summer the staff began the process of moving. The staff members from the

women's center took it upon themselves to make sure that all the files and historical

information form the three centers were scanned and archived before the move to ensure

that that information would not be lost in the reorganization and moving process.

When the 2018-2019 academic year started, they started it as a newly combined

center. Then in late September-early October, the staff learned they would be

transitioning from student affairs to the division of equity and diversity. Embrya

described learning about the shift this way,

We had just painted the walls. We had just painted the walls! And it was like,

'Oh yeah, you're moving to this whole new division, so.' That's cool. Really. It

was like Friday afternoon thing. Like one of those scary meetings where he's like,

'You got a minute? You got a minute?'… Our AVC was told that we were

moving… [and that decision was from] Oh, top, top, top, top, top. Yeah. Way on

top of the tower. We were told.

They continued, "And it was on a half sheet of paper, like read the statement. 'Do you

have any questions?' Oh, no, we do not have any questions. 'Okay, now go on.' And

then everybody goes home and freaks out." The subsequent move from student affairs to

the division of equity and diversity seemed, from the perspective of the two staff

members I spoke with, to be a decision directly from the president of the institution.

However, without talking with someone from a higher level of administration, there is no

way to know what the rationale of this decision was. Regardless of the reasoning, the

administration delivered the decision in a highly impersonal, bureaucratic manner with seemingly little regard to the massive reorganization the staff had just been through and was still implementing.
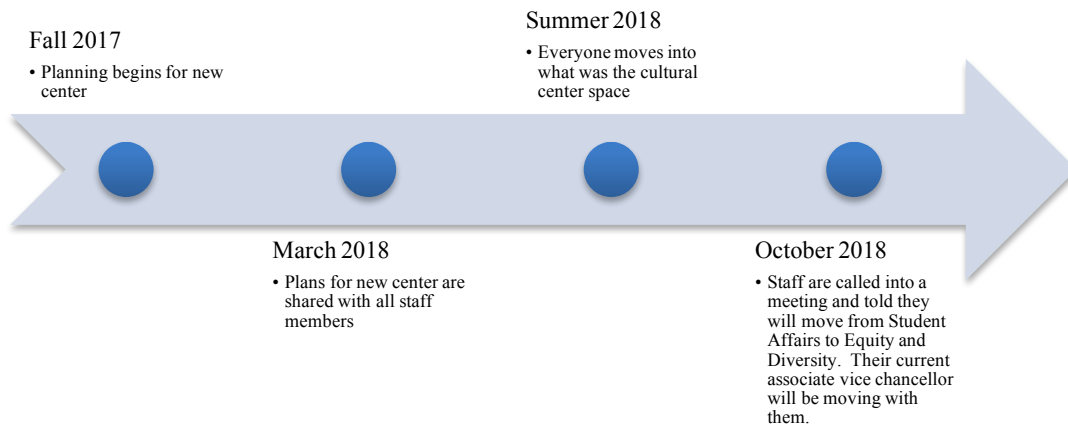
Figure 5
Timeline of Reorganization at Rocky Mountain University
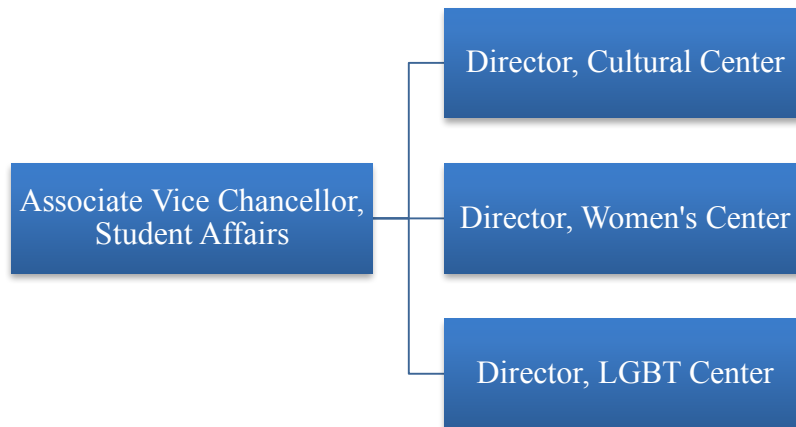
Figure 6
Rocky Mountain University Before Reorganization

Director, Cultural
Engagement

Director, Education

Associate Vice
Chancellor, Equity and
Diversity

Director for Center for
Inclusion

Director, Intersectional
Identity Development

Director, Service
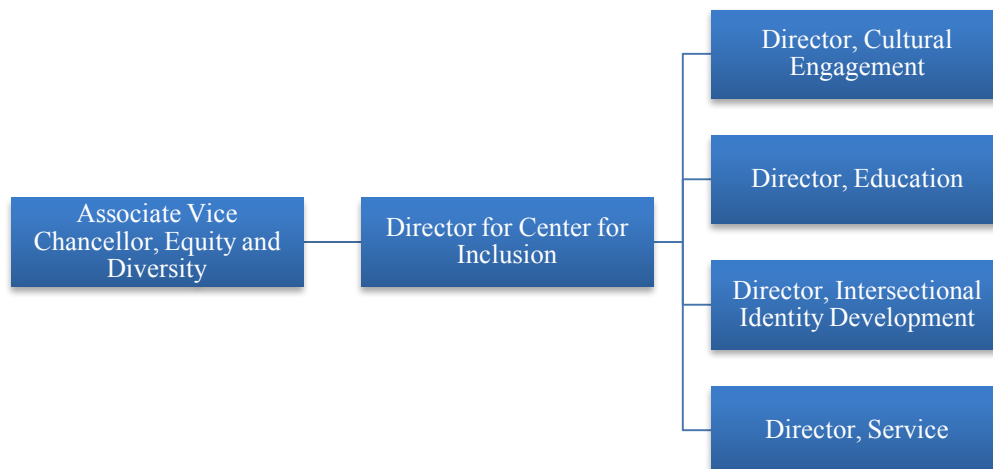
Figure 7
Rocky Mountain University After Reorganization

Rationale of Reorganization

Over the last few years, the staff of the cultural center dwindled from around

twelve to one full-time staff member. Staff members from the women's center shared

that some resigned, while others were fired or laid off. I did not get an opportunity to talk

with anyone from the cultural center as part of my campus visit, so I am unsure of the

rationale for the mass exodus. Where the staff of the women's center's narrative picked

up was when there began to be conversations about the need to do things differently.

While the administration communicated that something needed to change, there was

ambiguity and openness about what that something was or could be. The directors of the

women's center, LGBT center, volunteer resource center, and the lone staff person from

the cultural center began meeting to dream up what was next. They envisioned a

combined unit, but a unit that did away with the traditional functional areas in lieu of a

new model. Within an academic year, those plans were put into action. While the

volunteer resource center did not make the transition to the new unit, in part due to

differences in budget sources, the women's and LGBT centers moved into the cultural

center space during the summer of 2018. A few short months later the staff of the combined center received word one Friday afternoon that they would shift from student affairs to the Equity and Diversity unit. They along with the vice chancellor they reported to immediately made that divisional move.

Impacts of Reorganization

The most dramatic impact of the reorganization at Rocky Mountain University is that there is no longer a distinct women's center. As a result, all of the impacts discussed will be related to the reorganization into the newly merged center.

Mission. The mission of the new center is broader in that includes the student populations that focused on by the cultural center, LGBT center, and women's center. Nancy discussed the mission, and the continued inclusion of women in the mission in this way,

> Certainly, I believe that the mission has been impacted. Although women are specifically named in the mission of the new center. And that the mission matters, but what happens in the center also matters. There was an impact there, but I don't feel ... I feel like a concern that had come up from some campus constituents is that it would ... Like there would no longer be any names. And so yes, the name is not on the door, but the name 'women' is in the mission statement.

The staff was intentional in their discussions that the new center would include the same areas of focus as the three centers did independently, but this did not stop people, particularly students, from being fearful that they would be left out of the new center, especially when they did not see themselves in the name.

One of the other shifts in mission in the new center appears to be a shift in how the professional staff sees their work. One staff member Embrya, spoke about how they see their mission as doing more institutional change work now rather than being solely about student programming, "Move the social climate needle, is our goal." Embrya later spoke again about this shift, this time more specifically to working with women identified students, "We keep thinking about feminism differently, we keep thinking about making this a campus where women can thrive, rather than serving women directly. Because they don't wanna be served."

Program. As the staff members have moved into the new center, there has been a lag in programming as they work on getting the organizational aspects of the center off the ground. Staff members are trying to figure out the new configuration of their job and what it means. Everyone is trying to figure out what type of programming will they be doing. Embrya noted this, "Leaving behind the true questions, which Nancy and I are asking ourselves is, "Who are we serving?" Really? And what will they come to? What will they show up for? I have no clue. We're still figuring it out." Embrya strongly feels that they will need to give themselves at least a year to get back into regular programming. This lack of programming is felt by the students though,

> We're just like now getting to all the program that we used to do in the WRC, so like Kitchen Table, Interrupting Sexism, we're just now getting into those programs. And it's been like a whole entire semester, and it's like the end of the semester. So, that was a little bit rocky on like, oh now we're finally getting to the programs that we used to do.

Brielle noted that they hope what comes next is more programming so that their peers will know about the new center and that they are still there with programs and resources for the community.

Both Nancy and Embrya noted that many of the programs previously coordinated through the women's center are continuing within the new center. Nancy stated that

> many things have been carried over. For example, we had a sexism training that is, gosh, about five or six years old, I guess, really, on my dates. But it's not new, it's not 20 years old. It's five or six years old. That program has been lifted from Women's Resource Center and put into the new center.

She also noted that similarly, many of the programs from the LGBTQ and Cultural centers have carried over as well. One difference, though, is in who is coordinating the programs now that they are not divided up via functional area. Nancy noted this example, "Women's Herstory Month programming will be happening out of the cultural engagement and enrichment area, so that is coming over."

Both Nancy and Brielle noted that many of the services and resources offered by the women's center would be continuing in the new center, "Women's Resource Center had free menstrual products, free pregnancy tests, free sexual health, like condoms - internal/external, lube, resources, free printing, and a gathering space. All of that is all present in our new center." Some of these resources had previously been present in all three centers, so there was no pushback to continuing to offer these resources within the new center.

One type of programming that will not be continuing within the new center is the student-led and initiated programming. Nancy noted that

> Frankly, they haven't been that successful in the past few years. We came from a point that they were pretty successful, and they had just sort of had diminishing returns. Students are not very happy, who work in the center, about that. But the reality is they really weren't helping us accomplish our mission.

Embrya added,

> We had been doing the same stuff for a long time. There hadn't been a lot of real big shifts. And so even if we hadn't moved, with the new assistant director and Nancy as a director, I really think that our programs would have changed pretty significantly regardless, once I got my hands on them.

She also noted that many students think the reason they are no longer doing student-led programming is because of the reorganization, but Nancy acknowledged that this shift is really due to larger shifts within the culture of students on campus. Both staff members acknowledged that this could create a loss of learning opportunities for students, but that they are actively working to identify new ways of bringing students back into the active portion of program planning. Embrya noted that they have been talking with the students about how, now, in the new center, rather than focusing on creating educational programs for their peers, they can focus on creating programming for themselves. She told them,

> So, you organize your student group for yourself now. Organize your student group around support, and not just fighting racism. If you wanna be activists still, go be activists; be activists without the burden of having to carry all of this messaging to the campus.

Organization and leadership. One of the most significant impacts related to the organization and leadership of the new center is that the staff are no longer organized by

functional areas. By creating an entirely new structure, the center was able to redistribute the existing staff members throughout the new organizational arms. Nancy explained the new construction in this way,

> The idea that was created was the combined center serving those three constituencies and then thinking about ways that we could divided up the work differently. There is an arm that does education and training; there's an arm that addresses more identity-based affinity space, that type of work. And then there is an arm, and so that identity affinity space is my space. And we took in several programs, existing programs from the current centers or from the old centers, and then built out a new identity-based cohort program within that. To really think about better serving, sort of an internal to the center population. Education division is really addressing students on campus external to the center but internal to campus. And then a third group of cultural enrichment and engagement to really think about some of that baseline and foundational education. Thinking about programming for Heritage Months. Again, for the campus but for all members of campus despite identity in that to sort of rising tide on cultural education. Including Black History Month at all, but also Women's History Month, and the LGBTQ History Month as well, so taking in all of those. And then also that section of the new center is also serving the first-generation students. So, they have sort of a dual focus.

The fourth area of the new center focuses on service-learning. When the new "diamond-approach" some staff shifted to new supervisors. For example, Nancy and Embrya both work in the identity development area along with a staff member who was a part of the

LGBTQ Center. This shift is allowing the staff to work in new and creative ways as they

both hone in on a specific type of program and spread their wings as they work to provide

programming and education, including work around identities that they are more

unfamiliar with or do not hold.

Human resources. As the three centers merged into one, no professional staff

members lost their jobs. Nancy noted

> that it did not have to be that way. I think that my supervisor was really like, 'I
>
> want to do that in that way to have a group process and to bring people in.'
>
> Because it didn't feel like punishing us for whatever. But felt like, how could we
>
> be innovative, how can we reinvent ourselves, how could have then we also ...
>
> Each of us has different skills and talents, so there did seem ... There felt like to
>
> me there was a part of our process where we're really able to explore like, 'What
>
> would I like to do in the new iteration?' That part felt good as a supervisor of two
>
> permanent staff folks, and then lots of students.

As the staff shifted away from being organized by functional area, there were shifts in

titles. Perhaps the most impactful over the long term is that the former directors of the

three centers are now program directors as the new center will have one overall director,

which is currently a vacant position. Nancy made these observations about the changes

in staffing,

> I was a director, I am a program director, I have a boss that's now in my office,
>
> that changed… In other staffing changes, we did divide. I had two permanent
>
> staff employees; one stayed with me. They were a newer hire to the university in
>
> the assistant director role, and they basically have stayed in that role. I had a

program assistant that is now one of the assistant directors in the other, in one of

the other lines of the center. Everybody kept a job, but some roles shifted… It

was two before; it's two now. It shifted but sort of not shifted at the same time.

Embrya noted the stress that came with the transition related to not having job titles for a

while, "I will say, paychecks arrived on the same day, in the same amount, so that went a

long way to making certain things okay. No job title, but the check showed up in the

account." Embrya also had concerns about the future and the transferability of their job

title,

> Career trajectory-wise, I'm like, 'Yeah, there's ...' everybody understands what an
>
> Assistant Director of a Women's Center is, and what comes next. Well, what the
>
> hell is an Assistant Director of Intersectional Identity Development? So, those
>
> little things pop up, you're like, 'Do I actually have a future?' Because if this shit
>
> tanks.

Embrya noted that other staff members had similar fears,

> They're like, 'Do I need to update my resume?' Right? Is this gonna work? Are
>
> we all gonna be looking for a job next year? Are we gonna burn our cultural
>
> capital on this campus, and have to go somewhere else? Will we be able to go
>
> somewhere else? No, really. Again, will anybody understand what we were
>
> working on?

The student staff of the centers also had a difficult transition. Professional staff

members asked the student staff members if they would be returning the next year and

some students didn't respond, which resulted in the new center not allocating enough

dollars for all of the staff who wound up wanting to return. Additionally, the vice-

chancellor had come from an institution where there were completely new student workers each year as opposed to at Rocky Mountain University where students would stay with the same office on campus for multiple years. The office has addressed this by limiting the number of hours that some of the students work. Nancy also noted that

> And some of them frankly, were not on board with moving forward in the new configuration. And unhappiness was expressed. There were lots of different ways they just weren't happy about it. Which is totally fair and I have tons of space for it. You don't have to like change, but at a certain point, you have to decide if it fits your values enough or you decide you can't work there anymore. And so, we've lost some to just general student attrition, and some just decided they couldn't go forward in the new setting. And so, that has eased some of it. But it's been difficult because in a student facing student serving unit ... Like we care deeply about them, we have relationships with them, we want them to be successful.

Brielle noted that for them one of the positives of the merger is that now the staff members of the former women's center are educating the staff members of the other centers,

> where it's like, 'Hey, let's look at it in this different perspective. Hey, let's go about it differently like this.' They're all very strong where it's like, let's have a more intersectional and feminist approach to this, instead of just going at it head-on, so I feel all three of those, woman and fems in our space have kind of brought us together closer, cause they're kind of the kingpins where it's like, we're gonna

do this, and we're gonna do it this way, because it has worked in the past and if you don't like it, let's sit down and have a talk about it.

Ethics. One of the things that staff member Embrya brought up was that with this reorganization the students of color again felt like they were impacted more than others. They also spoke about how some of the students within one identity group are hurtful to students within another identity group. They commented,

> Once again, students of color keep getting messed over. They're mad because there's so many rainbows in the space. There's no culture; it's only rainbows. Well, first of all, most of the people who were using the CUE were queer students of color. You just won't let them be. So, that's happening. They have moments where, when they do engage in some solidarity projects, it's the most abusive properties amongst each group. It's great. It's great. But some of that is actually providing us with an intersectional way to talk about some of these tough nuts to crack. Like consent, like what it means to be in the intersections. 'Y'all have been mis-gendering your so-called friend for three years.'

Within the new space, the staff is having to navigate student populations that do not always understand or empathize with how other identity groups have been marginalized. While Embrya notes that this gives the staff lots of opportunities for education, it also creates an additional place on campus where harm is done to students in marginalized groups, that perhaps was not taking place to the same degree within the single identity space.

Law, policy, and governance. One of the impacts that Nancy spoke about is around how now that the staff are not divided up by functional area, students may come

see someone for whom the issue they need to talk about is not in the field of expertise of that staff member. For example,

> When we have trans students coming in I'm like, I think we have a policy for that. Or I know we have a policy, but I don't know ... the first step is, the second step is, the third step is. I'm very lucky that my second assistant director has been able to, he really knows that. So, I've been able to learn that. I think conversely, other members of the staff, there's some kind of Women's Resource Center realm things that might need to be polished up a little bit. Because that hadn't been their core responsibility before.

As Nancy mentioned, this new reality is one they can address by ensuring that all the staff members of the new center are cross-trained on the various policies that guide services or support for multiple groups of students on campus.

Diversity, equity, and access. As the new center shifted into the Division of Equity and Diversity, Nancy felt they were better positioned to do their work there than they had been in Student Affairs. She also noted how being part of a merged office helped her feel more supported in her work,

> Honestly, I think we're probably better positioned to do that work in the new division. And an element of coming from very small offices to a larger office feels like better positioning, and an element of being able to bring some of those equity concerns forward in a more, with a more intersectional lens actually feels really positive to me. It sometimes felt like I was the person standing on the rock in the middle of the ocean. Like, hey, hey, hey. And I say that as a person who works really hard to build a good network, to build a good reputation. I don't

think that it was because I was lacking those things, but as a director of a center of

three, I felt like in some ways people don't always have to pay me much mind.

And I know that all diversity work can be marginalizing, so I don't think there's

going to be a magic panacea, but I think just being a representative of a larger

office actually helps. And a location within our diversity and equity line perhaps.

I haven't seen that that's a strong positive, it certainly hasn't been a negative, but I

feel like it's going to be an asset as we develop the whole team with us as part of it

going forward.

Embrya also noted that their new placement within the Division of Equity and Diversity

felt like it gave them some protection and additional support, "Yeah, but I think now that

we're in [the Division of Equity and Diversity], and not in a student affairs framework, I

think we are too big to fail." Embrya also shared that the Division of Equity and

Diversity is in the process of creating a new diversity strategic plan and that they are

curious to see what their role in the plan will be. They speculated that they might have

new responsibilities added to the work of the center around working with faculty and

staff.

Internal and external relations. While the staff at Rocky Mountain University

have certainly had some significant shifts in their portfolio of responsibilities as the new

center was created, the students who use and work at the center have also been

significantly impacted. Brielle shared how disappointed they were that they felt like

folks could not clearly communicate why the merger was taking place,

Honestly, it looked like our VC, Vice Chancellor, coming in and talking to us

about what was going to happen before summer break. They had meetings with

both the students and the faculty, just talking about like, why we're doing this,

why it's gonna happen. And then their higher-ups just kind of like not really in

the conversation at all. So, were just kind of like, okay, so why is this happening,

like in fully? And like they couldn't answer because their higher-ups were like,

'Don't say anything.'

Brielle also shared that many students were resistant to the change and that they were
fearful about what was going to happen. They noted,

We had our center retreat during the summer, and so like everyone was there.

And honestly, a lot of people from all the centers just didn't want it to happen.

But from the Women's Resource Center, there were like a lot of strong voices that

were like, the Women's Resource Center was fine by their selves. We had

funding; now we don't have funding. We were having programs and supporting

people, and now we're not. So, it was just like, we're taking this resource away

for a lot of people on campus, and merging it into one so that people don't know

what we're doing on campus, is what I'm thinking. That some of the workers have

that mindset that we're not helping everyone because now we're all merged

together.

Embrya echoed Brielle's thoughts about the students,

The students didn't want the change. We shouldn't have been surprised because

it's not for them. It's for three years from now students. The students didn't want

the change because it wasn't explained to them well. The students didn't want the

change because the students had been experiencing a lot of change, none of which

they had any input on.

Brielle, was able to see some good in the merger, as it would bring all the centers together in one place. Brielle also noted that "the Women's Resource Center, when it was separate, had all of those intersecting identities like coming in. So, it wasn't really much of a change. Especially for me, 'cause I'm non-binary, and also black."

Brielle has noticed that not as many people are coming in to use the space; one reason they noted might be because of the location of the new center as it is "out of the way of their schedule. Most people have their classes over near the [student center], and so they would need a space just to like sit down." Brielle also noted that many students are still identifying the center as the home of one of the centers rather than the newly merged center, "But also I think it's still pretty fresh in their mind that like, oh, it's still the [Cultural Center], and it's not the WRC." Brielle noted that the students who are coming by the new center are being exposed to students of a wide variety of backgrounds and identities,

> I would say the same folks who are coming to maybe the new center are maybe international students. Just for printing either their resumes or their work and stuff, but I feel even with that population, they're being exposed to people who are queer, or people who are trans, or people who are woman-identified, because most of the internationals who do come in are male-identified, so maybe they're being exposed to different identities… They also look at our brochures and our fliers before they leave, so it's always really good when they look at things, and they're like, huh, okay. Also, I'd say for maybe queer and trans students, being around race students, which is not very likely a lot, cause our [LGBT Center] was all very white populated. Our [Cultural Center] and women's resource center

were all very much so diverse in their identities, so I feel that those two big

populations are being exposed to a lot.

Brielle observed that many of the students who used to frequent the individual centers,

but are not coming to the new center, are frequenting the affinity spaces set up for each

identity. They noted,

we have affinity spaces for cultural identities, women and femmes and queer and

trans. We have those three affinity spaces in this building, and they're small little

alcove rooms. We went ahead and decorated them with couches and different

things that we'd think those identities would want. A lot of people from the

[Cultural Center] or the [LGBTQ Center] won't even come into the center they'll

just go into the affinity spaces instead, just to hold onto that safe space that they

have. I think it's more of a comfortability type of thing, where it's like, oh, I really

don't wanna be in the center right now, where everyone is there, I just kinda want

to be by myself or be with other people who identify the same as me. That's

something I see a lot with the [LGBTQ Center] folks, who just go to the queer

and trans space, and they stay in there for a really long time, and I'm like no - but

I can't stop anyone.

Brielle very much saw the possibilities that came with merging the centers, but also

seemed to truly understand why their peers may be struggling with the new configuration.

They articulated both the sense of hope that they felt related to the new center as well as a

sense of loss over the ending of the three separate centers, particularly the women's

center.

Nancy echoed many of the observations Brielle made about the students; she also spoke about how the transition has been for some of their faculty and staff partners. While some of their partners were supportive, others were not,

> Some of that I honestly feel like has, could have been easier if we had other colleagues on campus, I wanna say this in the nicest possible way, like kinda get in line, sometimes it's our professional duty to get on board. Because it doesn't actually serve students to not get on board. Like if that's your hill to die on, you wanna quit, then quit. Register your protest, be part of the process, but if it is like are you actually helping students by diminishing another place on campus? And suddenly I think with there's been some of that, but it's been some faculty and stuff that just can't get on board. It's one thing to be philosophically not aligned there's lots of things, surprise, surprise, that I'm not philosophically aligned with but I don't have to talk negatively about them in front of students.

Nancy talked about how the transition was already challenging for many students, and when their fellow faculty and staff were resistant in front of students, it did not help the transition. But, she noted that other faculty and staff have been on board,

> even if it's not their philosophical joy to be like, 'I love it' have really tried to be, really strong colleagues, really help communicate to students, really help make it as easy as possible you know, to sort of share their credibility that they've earned with individual students to be like 'Actually, I know x they work there. You know they're doing these great things, give it a shot.'

Nancy noted that more faculty and staff have been on board than resistant and that the staff members of the merged center have appreciated the support, it "has been a balm to

some of those difficulties and challenges." She acknowledged that while there have been some struggles, "there's also been a great deal of collegiality and support too." Nancy noted that many of their supportive partners have been willing to help with panels and programs as the new center finds its footing.

Financial. As the three centers merged into one, there were no reductions in professional staff or reductions in salaries. The new center spent much of the fall semester uncertain of how much money was going to be allocated to it, which made planning and implementing programs and events difficult during the fall semester. Nancy was confident both that the institution would give them the funding necessary to operate and that the reorganization was not about creating financial efficiencies,

> The budget I submitted to carry forward, the new and old work that is in my area, was approved for all the dollars that I asked, and I asked for enhanced dollars. That leads me to think I have evidence that supports, it's not about losing funding. The multicultural center had a totally different budget stream. I don't know about that, but from my knowledge base, I don't think it was about that. I think that we will end up having the dollars that we need, and it will be sufficient to carry out the projects in a good way, and have appropriate staffing for the center.

While Nancy was confident that the institution would provide the funding necessary for the new center to operate, students seemed to have uncertainties. Brielle noted the stress many of the students felt around the ability for the center to provide programming, "So that's a big thing that's causing us to freak out a little bit. Like how are we going to do our programming? How are we gonna get resources? What is our quota? What is our budget for funding?" In the midst of all the change surrounding the

reorganization, stress around whether or not they would be able to do any programming seemed to weigh heavily on Brielle, and as they expressed, many of the other students.

Facilities. When the three centers merged, they all moved into the space that had been occupied by the cultural center. Both the cultural center and LGBT center had been in the same building prior to the merger, but the women's center's space had been in a different building on campus, the student center. The reason the newly merged center moved into the cultural center space was that it was the only space large enough to fit everyone's offices of the three centers. While the space has been large enough to accommodate everyone, it also has several drawbacks. Brielle noted that the building where the new center is located is perceived as being far away from main campus, "Most people have their classes over near the [Student Center]." Nancy echoed this,

> Before we were in the student union. I have felt some sense of loss of ... not
> necessarily the unique space, but I wish we were in the student union. I feel like
> it's just ... I feel like people perceive this building on campus to be far away from
> central campus. In fact, it is really not, but perception is everything with
> students…the student center is in the central. The center of all things. So, if
> you're not there, I feel like you kind of lose out a little bit on that.

Embrya noted both that the cultural and LGBT centers were originally moved out of the student center, "they were both put over here, it was considered political, and a way to bury those identities in a little bit less of a visible space." Embrya also very succinctly named one of the reasons why the new space has been challenging, particularly with the students, "We moved to a place where students don't traditionally gather, and linger, and make community, at exactly the time where we needed to be exposed in that way."

A second drawback of the space is the physical layout of the office suite. Nancy noted how corporate both the office suite and the building the center is located in feel,

> I think our office has an element of a doctor's office, where there's a main room, but then there's a clear barrier and back offices. I don't particularly love that. But there's not much I can do about that in this moment. That is not how the old center was set up, so I feel like, for some of our students, it's not so much that there's been resistance to change, but they feel, and I feel like this is true as sort of a de facto truth, not by the law, but just in practice, they feel more separated from us. They feel like there's some sort of barrier, whereas I'm like, well, my door is still open. I still come out into the main space. But there is sort of that intervening hallway that I think makes them feel like that. I think that that is a legitimate concern. I share that. I think that that is something that we'll need to continue to strategize around. Maybe we can have some renovations in the space and maybe we just need to renovate our minds to be able to be like, there's no real barrier here, just come back to the back.

While all of the staff members from the three centers have office space within the new suite, and there is one large common area, there is no space for multiple community/lounge spaces. Nancy noted that she does not

> feel like we went to insufficient space, but I also moved in, so I know that there are some students who feel like they have been invaded... In addition to the main center, we have three affinity spaces, representing the three old centers. They're single rooms, but they're single rooms set up by the students within those identity groups to be sort of smaller, additional spaces.

These affinity spaces are down the hall from the main center, one for students of color, one for LGBTQ students, and one for women and femmes. These rooms are each approximately 200-250 square feet (about 15' by 15') and are decorated to be comfortable hang-out spaces for the students. Brielle noted that many students are choosing to go to the affinity spaces rather than the main center, "just to hold onto that safe space that they have." They continued,

> I think it's more of a comfortability type of thing, where it's like, 'oh, I really don't wanna be in the center right now, where everyone is there, I just kinda want to be by myself or be with other people who identify the same as me.'

Another dynamic that may be contributing to this phenomenon is that within the combined center is the associate vice chancellor's office. As a result of this Embrya notes,

> They [upper-level staff and administrators] walk into the space in suits, they don't talk. Granted, our student workers are not in a talking space right now. They don't greet either, it's a mess. But it's really interesting detente to see all these people in suits come in, we are not even a suit campus, for the most part…We've had to professionalize a lot of it. I'm like, 'Your shenanigans have to be limited.'

The professionalization of the space will be a point of navigation as the new center figures out balancing both the professional demands of the institution with the needs of community and connection amongst the students.

One positive of everyone being in one office suite is that it is easier to communicate with each other. Nancy mentioned how difficult it would be to see colleagues from the cultural or LGBTQ center previously,

I used to have to make an appointment with my colleagues at the [LGBTQ]

center, or the [cultural] center, because it was a different building and I wasn't just

going to cruise on over half a mile and be like, I'm going to take my chances. I'd

make an appointment if I wanted to see them. Now we're all in the same space

together. It's like walking down the hall. If they're not there, they're not there,

and you might still have to make an appointment, but you might catch them in

their office.

Brielle echoed this sentiment related to the students while also realizing how separate the

students still are,

I don't think a lot of people have a lot of comfortability with interacting with

different people from them on this campus. I think we're very siloed into our

different groups, that we haven't had the chance to branch out and be like, 'hmm

you seem interesting, I want to know you.' A lot of people are very scared to

branch out and meet together. Which is why I think the center is really good

cause everyone is together, so sooner or later you're gonna have to come in and

grab something, and you'll see someone that you might wanna talk to.

Women's Center Navigation

At Rocky Mountain University, the staff of the women's center navigated the

reorganization by being on board with the change. The director of the center, Nancy, was

a part of the team of staff members that helped to craft what the new center was going to

be, so she had a high level of ownership in the new configuration. Nancy noted that

while the conversations and dreaming up of the new center were taking place that at

times it was difficult to know when and how much to share with the staff members in her office. As we discussed talking with staff about the merger she said,

> So, that felt difficult sometimes, because there was an element to the process that felt kind of iterative like, and still had ambiguity into it so something that I felt like was a little bit of a struggle was like what to tell people when, in terms of like, this is like not that it's not true but so that it is perceived that I did not tell you something that was not true if it later changes. Like it's set enough that I feel like I can be, I can really tell you something that's solid.

Nancy worked at perspective taking as she navigated when and what to tell her staff members,

> I think part of the struggle for me is I don't like to receive information that then shifts under my feet, I prefer someone to say, like the truest thing, and you know say there is still some ambiguity, and we still haven't settled on anything and what are your thoughts, and so that's how I try to do that. Of course, people have different communication styles and needs I work with a couple of really high context people, and I'm kind of not a high context person, so I tried to train myself to be better about so that. So, was the part that felt difficult like I always felt like I wanted to be ethical about it, and then I felt like I was able to be ethical about it, but the piece that felt difficult was like what is decided.

Embrya noted that when the directors told all of the staff members that the merger was going to happen, it was mid-spring semester and folks were in the middle of programming, "There's no time to be shocked, truthfully. So yeah, okay, but it was still not really real. There was too much other stuff to do to get to the end of the semester."

Embrya noted that many of the staff members just keep the current semester and students the priority and did not think too much of the impending reorganization, they gave it a "collective Kanye shrug."

From Brielle's perspective, the staff members who were initially from the women's center are very much the leaders within the new center, both in terms of making the physical move as well as leadership in moving forward,

I feel like the women's resource center definitely took the reorganization in their own hands, where we're gonna archive everything, make sure you scan everything. They took it upon themselves to scan the [cultural center] archives and the [LGBT center] archives so that they could have everything. Nancy and Embrya kind of picked out the couches, and Nancy picked out the colors, so it's mainly just like Nancy, Embrya and Rachel, leading everything and people are like, okay you're right, that does sound good.

When the staff members of the new center were told they would be moving to a new division, it was a sudden, unexpected change, following a pretty significant change in the merging of the centers. Embrya made this observation during the divisional shift,

So again, you can either be surprised, or you can realize that's where you work, and you work there for a reason, and that the students are the most important thing, and so do what you can with what you've got, for them. And I think that's where all of us are right now.

As the newly merged center has shifted to the new division, they have kept their focus on figuring out how the new center is going to work and how they can continue to best serve their students.

Summary

As each of the three campuses experienced the reorganization of the women's center, multiple organizational frames were used by upper-administration as well as staff members from the women's center. Staff members and students spoke about a variety of impacts ranging from shifts in physical locations, changes in staffing and budgets, and even the how one women's center ceased to exist due to the merging of three identity-based centers into one new office. Throughout each reorganization, women's center staff members discussed the different ways they have and continue to utilize a feminist organizational framework.

Cross-Case Analysis

The following section will focus on the cross-case analysis. Within this section, I will critically examine and discuss similarities and differences across the three campuses and their reorganization processes.   Within the impact section, I have not necessarily addressed each potential impact as I did during the individual case studies as I will be focusing on the impacts where there were either vast discrepancies or synergies across the campuses. Additionally, one theme, the emotional cost of reorganization, emerged from the interviews and site visits that is not directly related to the rationale or impacts of reorganization. This theme is discussed at the end of the section focused on impacts.

Rationale of Reorganization

Across all three institutions, the initial impetus for reorganization came from an administrator at a vice president or presidential level. There is a general feeling among the staff members I spoke with that the administrator made the decision for the perceived betterment of the campus and the center(s). Generally, once that decision was made it

was discussed with women's center staff in a collegial way, offering folks an opportunity for discussion, to ask questions, and to have a minimal level of input into the reorganization process.

One theme that emerged on the two campuses where mergers are taking place is a sense of creating efficiencies, especially with staff positions. Individuals on both campuses spoke about how taking small offices of two to three people and combining them into a center with six to nine people would lead to an increase in reach and output. For example, one administrator noted, "But suddenly having a staff of eight people that could support each other and collaborate to do programs really extended the reach of the Women's Center as well." This same phenomenon was noted related to the budget. Emma, an associate director of LGBTQ programs, noted that in the new center they would have "more people doing this work and more people jumping in and being supportive and more resources, technically in terms of more funds, if you look at our combined budget." The interesting thing about this supposition of "more" staff is that, in actuality, it is the same number of people. On one campus those people are doing the same work, while on the other campus, much of the work came into the new structure, and it was just divided up by type of work (e.g., external education, internal education, outreach) as opposed to functional area. In this way, it seems to be only the illusion of more staff.

A second theme that emerged around the reasons for reorganization was one of alignment. Across all three campuses and each reorganization, at least a part of the basis of the reorganization was to try to better position the work of the center or centers to maximize their impact on the campus. At Northeast University, this was discussed as the

notion of "elevating the work of the center." At Northeast University, the administration focused on institutional alignment as the campus moved into and away from embracing a centralized office focused on issues of diversity, compliance, and inclusion. Conversely, at both Rocky Mountain University and Upper Midwest University, the reorganizations were focused more on aligning the centers with the perceived changing demographics of campus as a new generation of students started in enrolling. Interestingly, on both campuses staff members acknowledged that perhaps the timing of the reorganizations was off. At Rocky Mountain University, Embrya noted that on their campus "The students didn't want the change. We shouldn't have been surprised because it's not for them. It's for three years from now students." At Upper Midwest University, the associate vice president noted

> To be honest with you, that was three years ago. Three years later, the climate's changed to a point where we revisit that, but now we're going down that road because it was the student, the temperament, the wishes, the demands, the needs of the students are way different in 2018 than they were in 2015.

Embrya also noted that "if alignment was the true intention of the institution" then perhaps the reorganization would have looked somewhat different, "we would have taken three years to do this, very slowly. The build-out would have been pre-funded, and we would have taken over the top floor of our [student center]." As they were talking about this ideal, they noted that perhaps, some political reasons went into the reorganization as well. Embrya's comment that a three-year roll-out would have possibly been a better process is especially interesting given that Upper Midwest University has engaged in a

three-year roll-out and they are still experiencing uncertainty about whether or not the reorganization was the right choice.

Organizational Frames and the Process of Reorganization

Across each of the campuses and reorganizations that took place, there were many similarities in the process of reorganization. On each campus, and for each reorganization, an upper-level administrator made the initial decision to change. Administrators made these decisions through a process where both the espoused goals of the reorganization as well as the internal and external factors that were present for their specific campus at that particular moment in time were considered.

As the process of reorganization began for each reorganization and campus, the amount of input the women's center (or other relevant centers) was able to exert on the process was dependent on the organizational frames of the division the administrator was a part of as well as the institution. The women's centers responded to the reorganization based on their organizational frame(s). As the process continued, the impacts experienced by the women's center was dependent on the organizational frames of the women's center and their new division. The following logic model visually describes the process by which reorganization occurred and how organizational frames played a role in the process.

Pre-Reorganization

Espoused Goals

Internal and
External Factors

Decision Maker

*Level of participation influenced
by institutional and/or divisional
organizational frame.*

Reorganization

Women's Center
Staff

Reorganization Process

Decision Maker

*Response influenced by women's
center organizational frame.*

Post- Reorganization

Organizational Frames

Organizational Impacts

Mission | Programs and Services | Organization and Leadership | Human Resources |
Ethics | Law, Policy, and Governance | Diversity, Equity, and Access | Internal and
External Relations | Financial | Facilities and Technology

Figure 8
Logic Model Based on the Reorganization Process of Campus-Based Women's Centers.

Institutional and divisional organizational frames. It is interesting to note that

Manning's (2018) second edition names institutional theory as a potential way of viewing

decision-making and communication at institutions. Perhaps before any other

organizational frame, each of the three institutions I visited operates within the bounds of

institutional theory. Each is molded and shaped by the outside forces of state legislatures,

boards of regents or trustees, and national trends. Each of the institutions operates using

a blend of organizational frames, a multi-modal approach (Manning, 2018). One

example of the application of institutional theory is found at Rocky Mountain University

as Embrya talked about how their campus went through a process of de-gendering

programs due to fears of impending changes within the state legislature

> Women's facing programs on this particular campus had been declining probably
>
> since 2008. Legislatively, there was some stuff up for vote that would take away
>
> affirmative action…There were some preparations with the expectation that that
>
> legislation would pass, that voters would approve that measure. And so, lots of
>
> things were renamed and relabeled in an attempt to get in front of what was
>
> perceived by leadership as being the wave of the future and it didn't pass. So, that
>
> was a first wave of women's facing programs changing. So, there were lots of
>
> women in engineering and women in communication and all of those programs
>
> were renamed, some were rehoused.

When the legislation did not pass, the institution did not go back and undo the changes it

had made regarding gendered programs, they simply stopped having an emphasis on

woman-centered programming across campus.

At each of the institutions, I observed no less than three organizational frames in

use and often a multi-layered, multi-model application of organizational theories. The

organizational frames most often observed at these three institutions include bureaucracy,

collegium, and political. The blending of organizational frames offers flexibility both to

the institution and to the women's center as it navigates the organizational frames of its

current division and the institution as a whole.

The organizational frames of both the institution as a whole and the department or

division immediately above the women's center within the organization's hierarchy

played a significant role in the degree to which staff members from the women's center

(and/or other centers) were able to participate in the decision-making process of the

reorganization. When the division was organized more bureaucratically, there was little

to no ability for women's center staff members to influence the reorganization process.

Conversely, when divisions utilized a more collegial style, there was a greater openness

to the inclusion of the staff members who would be impacted by the reorganization.

Divisions who used a cultural or feminist frame exhibited the highest level of

involvement at the decision-making table. However, staff members at all the institutions

spoke about the tensions that existed when those organizational frames collided. I had

the opportunity to observe such a collision on one campus during an impromptu staff

meeting following a scheduled meeting around space. There were several points where

the director of the newly merged center turned to her staff to seek their input on various

topics of discussion. Conversely, her supervisor (an associate vice president) took a

different approach as he expressed that the decisions around space had been settled and

that he needed the staff members to get on board, especially in front of the students.

When the associate vice president left, there was such a feeling of defeat amongst the

staff, and they expressed how unheard they felt. They expressed frustration over their

years of experience and of feeling like their expertise was not valued when it came to

decisions about space because, in the end, their informed opinions did not match the

desires of the administration.

Interestingly, both reorganizations that include the merging of women's centers,

cultural centers, and LGBTQ+ centers are taking place on campuses where the cultural

centers were recently gutted, either through the resignation, retiring, or firing of various

cultural center staff members. It is interesting that rather than replenish the staff of the

offices focused on racial and ethnic diversity, institutions chose instead to merge,
certainly creating opportunities for efficiencies and the streamlining of staff, indicative of
a bureaucratic organization, but also political as there is increased scrutiny within higher
education on offices providing programs and services to underrepresented students
(Hennie, 2018).

 Organizational frames of the women's centers. Even within each institution,
there is a difference in the organizational frames of the various offices. For example,
each of the women's centers used a feminist organizational model as a part of their
operating schema.   Each women's center exhibited at least one additional organizational
frame that contributed to how the center interacted with its internal constituents, the
division within which it was located, and the institution itself.

 At Northeast University, the women's center utilized its advisory board by
leveraging the relationships and reach of the members during each reorganization,
reminiscent of the political frame's reliance on networks and connections. This
networking enabled them to have a reach greater than their staff and additional
individuals on the campus who were invested in the success of the center and who would
advocate for the center's success during challenging times. The director of the women's
center also relied on the collegial relationships she had developed with the other directors
of the cultural centers as they navigated reorganizations. Their trust in one another
allowed them to band together as needed and defend one another and their processes.

 At both Northeast University and Upper Midwest University the women's centers
utilized the collegial frame as they relied on the relationships they had built with their co-
workers. One difference was that at Northeast University, all of the cultural center

directors had been at the university for a long time and as such banded together supporting one another and defending one another as each went through trying times. At Upper Midwest University, the staff of the new center was still building trust with one another as several members of the team were new. Additionally, at Northeast University there seemed to be less implied competition for resources between the centers, whereas, at Upper Midwest University, each subunit of the new center was unsure of their overall level of support and funding moving forward.

Impacts of Reorganization

This section will focus on impacts where the campuses experienced some shared or similar experiences rather than reiterating the impacts of each campus singularly. As such, if a potential impact area did not have synergistic experiences across campuses, it will not be discussed in this section.

Mission. On the two campuses where mergers are taking place there either have been or will be substantial shifts in the mission as the women's center ceases to exist as an independent unit. However, even on the two campuses where mergers are taking place, women will still be in the mission.

Organization and leadership. Across all three institutions, I spoke with individuals who felt like the administration did not understand the area in which they were reorganizing. At Northeast University, Catherine often talked about how the administration, mainly while they were in student affairs, struggled to understand the women's center's role as both an educator and an advocate. She said,

> I don't think anybody has really gotten the work that we do. I don't wanna speak
> for all the other center directors, but I really approach the work from the

perspective of, 'This is about institutional change,' that there are things that we do, but at the end of the day we're trying to change the fabric of this place so it reflects different practices, different understandings of identity, and how power and privilege play itself out. That's what we're doing. I don't think people get that.

On both of the campuses where mergers are taking place, the students expressed a great deal of frustration about the perceived level of understanding coming from the administration. At one university, a student described the administration's understanding this way, "they put our spaces into one because they view it at the same work." For this student, they did not think that the administration was able to see the nuance between the type of work done in a cultural center, women's center, and LGBTQ center. Another student on that campus said this about the reorganization,

How I feel about the reorganization is it's very engineered at this moment. This needs to be something that's going to require work; it's going to require the kind of leadership that can allocate resources in an equitable way, with an equity-minded awareness. I think a lot of people would like to think that they are equity-minded administrators, but the first step in being an equity-minded administrator means you have to develop your funds of knowledge. And when your students are saying things like 'we don't feel cared for, we think this is irresponsible,' that's a difficult thing to hear, but our students ... I applaud them because they're not here to insulate administrators from the harsh truths and feelings that they are having to go through. I think our students are trying to tell us something and we need to listen to them. I think reorganization can be successful at the

intersections, but they need leadership that can effectively manage what the dynamics are when people meet each other at their shared oppressions and their shared privileges. Often times, that requires that people are equity-minded leaders or equity-oriented leaders to do the work of developing that knowledge. Your greatest resource is always going to be your students. So yes, it's about money being allocated in equitable ways, it's about being effective in a multicultural organization, but you can't do that if you don't even understand the dynamics of conflict. The dynamics of the emotional management that needs to take place. That's why what I think what I've observed is turnover, I've observed emotional burnout.

Later the same student added this,

I also think that there's a great big disconnect between how this is being managed. I think that if there are experts who are tasked with institutional diversity and strategic planning, then that also needs to be very strongly linked with spaces that are tasked with creating community for students who are marginalized. Perhaps it's just a matter of restructuring management, as well. Who the reports are going to, who is best qualified to be able to manage the emotional work that staff uniquely in this position are tasked would do. Because racial battle fatigue is a thing. White fragility is a thing. If we don't even have people that understand the language of the challenges, and again maybe that's my assumption. It could very well be my assumption. I think sometimes even when we understand the language, it's hard to put into practice. So, I admire the people that are taking on this task. This is not a criticism of them, it's just our students shouldn't be having

to guess what the intentions are. The intentions need to be made very clear. This is not something that the staff that's brought together. It should not be their burden. If this is an institutional leadership initiative to strategically organize the offices in this way, it shouldn't be up to the people that are then radically merged to come up with a reasoning behind that. This should have been thought out well in advance, so [staff member] like you were saying, it's all gonna come back around that this doesn't need to be done, because there's literature out there that tells us what to anticipate. There's literature out there and research that shows what's successful, what fails, when it comes to organizational development. I just don't think, I just think it's not being heard, and if it is, it's not being internalized in very productive ways.

This student had researched theory around higher education, diversity, and organizational development and for them, there were glaring missteps in the process of reorganization, particularly around the emotional labor the staff and student staff were left to conduct while the administration disengaged. Embrya talked about the discrepancy between the students on their campus's lived experiences and how the administration views the merger,

I think they're upstairs like, 'Nailed it!' Yeah, yeah. I really do. I think they're like, 'No, this is the thing, this is the good thing, right?' Again, I think they underestimate the human cost, particularly because they're so distant from students. They don't see them on a daily basis, or if they do see them, it's in a disciplinary function. And so, I just don't think they get who our people are, and what they're dealing with.

Across all three campuses, the students and staff wanted administrators who better understood the realities of the work the centers were engaging in. Each campus, in its own way, had students or staff members who felt like they had to put a tremendous amount of time and effort into teaching the administration about the work of the centers and the students and identity groups they are tasked with serving.

Diversity, equity, and access. Across all three institutions and nearly everyone I spoke with, the topic of intersectionality arose. Additionally, one of the reasons given for the two mergers was related to intersectionality. Kimberle Crenshaw developed the idea of intersectionality in the 1980s as a response to the failure of feminism and anti-racist strategies in "consider[ing] the intersections of racism and patriarchy" (Williams, 1994, p. 94). She defined it as "intersectionality is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects" (Crenshaw, 2017, para. 5). For each of the women's center staff members, it was a foundational piece of how they viewed the work of the center; Anna explained it this way, "we take responsibility and very seriously our ongoing learning, particularly around race and intersectional, like doing our work in a truly intersectional way." For each of the centers, the way they engaged in programming, in staffing practices, in decision-making was rooted in an intersectional approach to dismantling sexism, racism, homophobia, and transphobia.

For the two centers that experienced a merger, an increase in intersectionality was one of the reasons given for the reorganization. With this in mind, it was interesting to hear how the students on these campuses discussed intersectionality as part of the reorganization. On both campuses, students were disappointed in how the institution was

engaging with diversity and intersectionality overall. A student on one campus explained

their feelings when they learned of the reorganization this way

> when I first heard it from our VC, I was like, oh, we're just trying to play the
>
> intersectionality game where we have all the colors of the rainbow in the room,
>
> and that's it. That's kind of what the school does, it claims that we're diverse and
>
> we're intersectional, but then we're not really diverse and intersectional, we just
>
> like to say it… When I heard that I was like, oh so now we're trying to do this
>
> with our resource centers. I was like, hmm...this doesn't seem right. I went with
>
> it cause all the people in the centers that I know, and I'm like okay, I trust them, I
>
> don't trust the school. I trust them to work with the center, I dunno what the
>
> schools gonna do.

A student on a different campus shared this,

> I feel that a lot of time university administrators try to socially engineer their
>
> vision for what they think diversity is. Intersectionality is becoming very quickly
>
> a buzz word, and I don't even know if administrators even know how to define it.
>
> I don't know if they look at it as something that is identity work. I don't know if
>
> they understand it as a multicultural organization development framework.

She continued,

> This intersection I walked into it, of the Women's Center, the Cultural Center, the
>
> LGBTQ Center, when I walked into it my first year, I thought it was natural. I
>
> didn't know it was socially engineered. I thought this was something that
>
> happened over time. I did not know the history or the context of the displacement
>
> of the center from different buildings, from their niche on campus from the people

that they were already connected to in different spaces. I think that that shows actions speak louder than words. I think it shows where we are on the ladder when it comes to our emotionality. The things that our center does is based in emotion, capital. We do the emotional management of people to survive in racially hostile, gender-based hostile, sexuality hostile environments… There's something very utopian about the desire the administrators' have, but it's not utopian if it's engineered. It's just that, it's engineered.

To her, this lack of understanding was one of the reasons that she felt harm was being done to underrepresented students during the merger of the three centers.

Across both campuses, students felt that the administration's desire for intersectionality was not authentic and that the administration did not have the knowledge about the specific communities about which they were making decisions. Interestingly, on both campuses students spoke of the potential harm that could come from sharing space. A student on one campus noted, "These spaces might do harm. They might be doing more harm, but we don't know. Again, we don't know, we don't know, but we imagine just as there is a utopian quality to this, that there's also a dystopian." This student noted that students need to be able to be in identity-specific spaces,

our students of color need spaces where they can take their armor off and just be themselves. Our students of color also need to be able to understand what it even means to be a student of color. Because a lot of students of color are also coming into their own racial consciousness as a function of being with their peers, and finding their voice.

Another student, who occupies intersecting identities, said this about the tension between having separate spaces or one shared space,

> I feel like having separate spaces is not conducive to recognizing intersectionality in the way that some people would have to choose which space becomes theirs, but also if you combine the space then you get black students with white kids in their space ... I am a non-black person of color and I'm also very queer, but sometimes having queer white people in my space is a bit much and I just want to be around brown people. The same goes for like, sometimes I don't want straight people in my space. It's very complicated and I feel like the university has not been listening when we tell them that.

While the students recognized the potential harm that could come from sharing spaces with other identity groups, they also saw the potential benefits. A student at a different campus discussed how separate the various identity groups felt on their campus,

> I don't think a lot of people have a lot of comfortability with interacting with different people from them on this campus. I think we're very siloed into our different groups, that we haven't had the chance to branch out and be like, hmm you seem interesting, I want to know you. A lot of people are very scared to branch out and meet together. Which is why I think the center is really good cause everyone is together, so sooner or later you're gonna have to come in and grab something and you'll see someone that you might wanna talk to.

It was apparent through my conversations with the students on both campuses that what they wanted and needed was to live at the both/and. The students wanted a space where they could engage in intersectional discussion and work, AND they wanted single

identity spaces where they could dive deeper into learning about themselves and the

identities they hold. All of the students I spoke with were occupying an intersectional

identity, and each mentioned the importance of this idea of a both/and when it came not

only to the physical spaces the centers occupy, but also their access to staff representative

of those identities. They wanted and needed staff members who could help them

navigate learning about their individual identities and learning how to work across

identities both within themselves and with their peers.

This desire for the both/and was something that the professional staff members of

the center recognized as a need. Shelby noted a concern she had moving forward into a

shared space was that part of "the reason that we have these separate spaces is because

even within our marginalized populations there is racism, sexism, homophobia." This

tension was a reality that the staff at Rocky Mountain University had already observed as

they moved into shared space. Nancy noted how some of the students had been surprised

to find that there is "not a whole lot of solidarity between those groups [of students]."

Embrya shared this about student programming, "You can talk about polyamory, but still

be on some colorism?" and this about how the students interact with one another at times,

"what they do is they police their identities, and then they test each other." They noted

that one of the things the professional staff is doing when they observe such moments is

to engage in "laser coaching," they explained, "There's a lot of laser coaching, there's a

lot of using moments that we catch to educate and model the desired behavior." One of

the ways that the staff at Rocky Mountain University is attempting to create space for the

both/and is by creating a tiered cohort program that allows students to spend time

learning and in community with different singular identities as well as developing the three separate affinity spaces down the hall from the new center.

When institutions name intersectionality as a rationale for a reorganization of identity-based spaces, students pay attention. Often the students who are utilizing these centers are themselves students who are living at the intersections. Some of the students use each of the separate centers in different ways; others tend to identify more with and use one specific center. Across all the ways that students utilize women's centers and other identity-based centers is a desire to understand themselves more deeply and to have a space on campus where people "get it" about their life on campus as a student who occupies an underrepresented or marginalized identity.

Internal and external relations. Central to the work of the centers across all three campuses was student development. Each university and center went about the work of student development slightly differently, but each recognized that within student development work is where the "transformational" work takes place. Much of the student development work within the centers focused on identity-based work (see above section on intersectionality). Each of the centers also provided students with opportunities to take on leadership positions as student staff members. These student staff members would assist with program planning, program implementation, and providing education and training to their peers on campus on a variety of topics. The staff members would often help students find their voice in these positions as they asked challenging questions such as "Is this really the approach you want to be taking?" Nancy noted that following the reorganization on their campus some students were not on board with the merger. She said,

I think part of our job sometimes is helping them quit something that's not

working for them. Because they actually ... We found out lots of people don't

know how to quit. They're afraid, 'If I quit can I come back?' Of course, you can

come back! If you've abused someone, you can't come back, but you haven't. It's

not working for you, it doesn't work, whatever. This is how you can leave an

organization gracefully and have no hard feelings on either side. And if it's not

working for you, it's not working for you. There's been some moments where

we've gotten to experience that firsthand.

She talked about how important this process was for these students in finding their voice

and being able to advocate for themselves.

Several of the staff members I talked with spoke about how students view time

differently than they do as professional staff members. Again, Nancy,

I love students, they're just baby adults though, and their forever is very, very

short. Right, so I once had a student say to me like 'Oh we've done it this way

forever.' I'm like 'This is the second year.' But it was her forever.

This difference in perspective between the students and staff showed up as staff spoke

with me about student-led programming, writing letters to the editor, and even on waiting

out students during these points of transition during the reorganization process. Nancy

noted how "waiting for things to blow over is sort of a tried and true strategy that can be

kind of oppressive" but that they as a staff needed to "wait, build, work, and let people

who are like, 'I just can't live with this in the way that it is,' let them move on."

Each center incorporated student development into the work of the centers both

before and after reorganization. While it looked different in some ways, such as less

student-led programming, each center maintained a commitment to developing students'

knowledge of their own identities, of systems of oppression, and of the leadership skills

necessary to transition to life after college.

Facilities. The two campuses that were actively going through reorganizations

resulting in a merger were also experiencing a move in physical location. At Rocky

Mountain University, all three of the centers moved into what had been the physical

location of the cultural center. At Upper Midwest University, the three centers will be

moving into a new space during the summer of 2019. Both of these spaces place a

priority on providing office space for professional staff and eliminate some of the

community/lounge space that the women's centers had when they were stand-alone

offices. Both the staff and students felt a great sense of loss around both the physical

move and the ability to have students in community within the same location as the

professional staff. On both of these campuses, the students who frequented the centers

incorporated the physical location and the space provided in the women's center into a

part of their identity on campus. The women's center and its space had become their

space. One student put it this way as they were walking in the building the women's

center was previously in and realized the center was no longer there, "We're not there

anymore." As the students grapple with the change in physical locations, they feel a sense

of loss not only of the space, but it seems, that they lost a bit of themselves.

Emotional Costs of Reorganization. While not an impact related to CAS, on

every campus staff members discussed the emotional impact of reorganization. Aside

from the departure of Diversity Office/Cultural Center staff, several campuses noted that

the reorganizations were precipitated by some change in leadership/administration at the

presidential or vice presidential level. On these three campuses, with each change in upper-level leadership, there was a shift in the vision around promoting diversity on campus. While new leaders are certainly within their purview to cast a new vision and implement that vision, indeed that new vision may be part of the very reason they were hired, there are still impacts that any organizational change brings. On each of the campuses, women's center staff members and students spoke about the emotional cost of reorganization: the sense of loss felt by the community, fear for the future, and change fatigue.

On the two campuses where mergers were taking place, many students and staff members had experienced feelings of loss and fear centered around changing physical spaces. There was loss around losing the existing space the women's center occupied, and there was fear about whether or not the new space was going to feel like a place where members of the different identity center communities would belong. A student at Rocky Mountain University talked about some of the comments they heard from their peers, "No, we don't want this to happen. This is terrible. How dare you take our Women's Resource Center away. And it's still kind of an open wound a little bit for some people." They continued,

> then I get a little bit sad that that resource was taken away, especially over there where that environment is. 'Cause like a lot of people go to the [student center] for food, or events, or anything. And they might just be dealing with something, and they wanted to go upstairs and talk to someone.

Students at Upper Midwest University were equally explicit,

>I feel like what I'm hearing from the people at the table and what I myself feel is like there's this underlying fear that when we merge, will we have our spaces even? Because this is so new, will there be a Women's Center or will it just be a Cultural Center, or will it just be an LGBTQ Center?

It was challenging for students to envision how they would feel comfortable in the new spaces, primarily as there was a perception that the new space would not feel as safe or comfortable as the existing women's center space. A student who identified as a queer person of color commented, "maybe there's times where they don't want to be around people from their own community because it's like, you know, there's stuff within your cultural community." For this student, the women's center offered a space to be a queer femme without experiencing the homophobia they sometimes experience within other spaces on campus, including at times the cultural center.

Staff members across all three campuses who have experienced reorganization spoke of the fatigue they have experienced due to the constant organizational shifting. Anna commented, "I just think reorganizations in and of themselves are a challenge because it's a whole new management and most of these have very different expectations." She continued "navigating started just to feel like this is part of the way this goes. I can't think of any other places that have been moved around in the same way into such significantly different structures as we have." The director of one of the cultural centers at Northeast University noted how all of the reorganizations made her feel, "It was kind of this, we always felt like, okay, we're the stepchildren of all of these departments, right?"

The administrators and divisional leaders I spoke with were cognizant of the fatigue experienced by women's center staff members due to the continuous reorganizations. At Upper Midwest University, Lena acknowledged how much change the staff of the women's center on her campus had experienced before her arrival,

I think because they had been moved I think maybe seven times in the last ten years I think is what they said. You start to feel unappreciated in essence, I think. So, that's my perception. Just trying to figure out what's next? What's next? So even when we started having the conversation of okay, now we gotta look to do one more move and it was a thing of like, you mean to move from a space we literally just moved into a year ago?

At Northeast University, Marie, one of the former supervisors of the women's center discussed the ways in which she saw the staff of the women's center experience fatigue, "everything about their daily work, their goals, and everything, has existed in several different contexts, and things have changed a lot around them." She continued, "When I look at it from the outside, from an organizational development point of view, I can't even imagine how hard that's been." Despite, as one administrator put it, the "change exhaustion" the staff members of the women's centers have experienced they have consistently worked to be change agents on their campuses, providing education and support to their constituents to the best of their ability.

Collectively, the three women's centers experienced eight reorganizations; physically moved locations no less than eight times, and reported through no less than fifteen different supervisors. Staff members and students were exhausted by what

seemed to be continuous change related to the organization and physical location of the women's center on campus.

Women's Center Navigation

As predicted, each of the three women's centers placed a high value on operating using a feminist organizational model. When talking about the unique operating structure of the women's center Catherine stated, "we talk a lot about we're in an interesting space trying to operate from a feminist practice perspective in a hierarchical institution." Each of the women's centers espoused a feminist approach to their internal operational model. They each discussed an emphasis on a non-hierarchical decision-making process, or a "shared decision-making process" as Shelby put it, which often included the student staff of the center. At both Upper Midwest University and Northeast University, the women's center directors discussed the importance of including all staff members in the decision-making process of the center, even student staff; Shelby noted "It doesn't always make sense to ask for our student's input on decisions that are more related to university structure, although when it's appropriate, we certainly do and can." Catherine shared a similar sentiment, "So we try to, in those [staff] meetings, sort of bring forth whatever it is that we need to make decisions around. If they have sort of collective impact or are, again, sort of external-facing kinds of things." The staff of the centers felt it was important to model a different, feminist, style of decision-making than the students may see in other offices on campus.

The staff of the centers on all three campuses discussed working not only to provide programs and services for the students, faculty, and staffs of their institutions but

also the importance of doing the work to change the very nature of the institution. Anna explained it this way,

> In order to make change, we have to challenge the status quo and the powers that be, the structure that we're in still is firmly a white male patriarchal system. As much as we try to flatten that hierarchy in here, we still have to walk out and deal with that as well.

Catherine shared a similar view of the work the women's center does on their campus,

> I really approach the work from the perspective of, 'This is about institutional change,' that there are things that we do, but at the end of the day we're trying to change the fabric of this place so it reflects different practices, different understandings of identity, and how power and privilege play itself out. That's what we're doing. I don't think people get that.

Embrya spoke about how they are working to change Rocky Mountain University,

> I think now the question is becoming, for me at least, not what is our responsibility to advocate for women, but what is our responsibility to inculcate feminism and intersectional feminism as an ethic in the institution.

The emphasis on creating change at the institutional level was seen as a mechanism for improving the climate for women, femmes, gender-conforming, and students of underrepresented racial identities on campus. Anna shared her views related to changing how the institution views what is typically compliance type work,

> So, we still haven't gotten to, my hope is always that we would actually get to a place of centering social justice like what we do, but that the university as a whole

would come at this from a social justice perspective, not the liability checkbox
type of thing.

By centering social justice and using an intersectional feminist ethic, the staff of the
women's centers at all three campuses worked to create institutional level change.
Throughout each reorganization, the staff of each women's center continued to place a
priority on "inculcating" feminism into the "fabric" of the institution regardless of where
the center was organizationally situated in order to improve the climate for all women on
campus. As Anna put it, "we're persistent so we're still here." As reorganization shifts
how women's centers are organized, they have not taken away the core purpose of the
centers, to create change at an institutional level for the betterment of the entire campus.

Conclusion

Reorganization is a challenging time for an organization. Each of the three
institutions approached reorganization in different ways although there were
commonalities across all three campuses. On each campus, the decision to reorganize
originated from one or more upper level administrators, which highlights the power
imbalances present in the decision-making process. Institutions used a blend of
organizational frames, such as institutional theory, political, bureaucracy, or collegium, to
enact the reorganizations. These frames offered staff members of the centers varying
levels of involvement and influence in the process of reorganization. Women's centers
experienced a wide range of impacts including changes in budgets, staffing, physical
locations, disruptions in internal and external relationships, and one center ceased to exist
as it was merged into a new conglomerate unit. Throughout each reorganization,
women's center staff members prioritized non-hierarchical decision-making,

transparency in communication, and utilized their webs of influence. While utilizing the

feminist frame was of benefit to women's center staff members and students both during

reorganizations and day-to-day operations, it at times created tensions between women's

center staff members and upper level administrators.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the following research questions:

(1) Through what process was the women's center reorganized? This includes

the following sub-questions.

a.   Who made the decision to reorganize?

b.   What was the rationale (or perceived rationale) for the reorganization?

(2) How does reorganization impact centers' missions, programs, and services?

(3) When faced with an external force, how do women's centers navigate

reorganization. This chapter includes a discussion of the findings related to the

reorganization of campus-based women's centers. The findings represent the

reorganizations of women's centers on three different campuses, located in the Northeast,

the Upper Midwest, and the Rocky Mountain region of the United States. For each

campus, I conducted a site visit that included interviews with women's center staff

members, past and current supervisors of women's centers, co-workers of women's

center professionals, and students who work in or utilize women's centers. During site

visits, I was also able to make observations about interactions, view physical spaces, and

review documents relevant to the women's center and reorganization. This section

includes a summary of findings, interpretation of findings, implications for practice, and

finally recommendations for future research.

Summary of Findings

This multisite case study focused on three women's centers that have each experienced one or more reorganizations. In total, the three centers have collectively been through eight reorganizations; the center directors have reported to no less than fifteen supervisors during the various reorganizations. Using Manning's (2018) organizational frames as the theoretical framework for this study, I found that on each of the campuses the decision to reorganize was initially made by one or more upper-level administrators. Staff members across all three campuses indicated that the decision to reorganize stemmed from upper-level administration seeking ways to "elevate" the work of the centers, create efficacies, and/or better align various units on campus. Each campus utilized multiple organizational frames and as a result the women's centers had varying amounts of input or influence into the reorganization process. Women's centers experienced a wide range of impacts including shifts in physical locations, the merging of centers, changes in staffing, and changes to budgets. Throughout reorganization, the staff members and students served by the women's center experienced a sense of loss, fear, and fatigue. The three women's centers each utilized a feminist organizational framework and this guided each center as it responded to the reorganization emphasizing transparency, open communication, and non-hierarchical decision-making.

Interpretation of Findings

Within this section, I discuss the reorganization process using Manning's organizational frames (2018) as a guiding structure. Rather than discuss all of Manning's frames, I have focused on the organizational frames most commonly utilized by the institutions included in this study, bureaucracy, political, institutional, and collegium as

well as the organizational frame observed within the women's centers, the feminist frame.

Colleges and universities are complex and dynamic organizations (Bess & Dee, 2007, 2012; Birnbaum, 1988) and often change is a constant (Lumadi & Mampuru, 2010). The three campuses utilized multiple organizational frames as they engaged in reorganization. Across all three institutions, the women's centers operated using a feminist frame. The divisions they reported through (e.g., Student Affairs, Equity & Diversity) operated using a variety of organizational frames, but most often bureaucracy. On each of the campuses there was an intermediate level, at Upper Midwest and Rocky Mountain Universities, the newly merged department (of which the women's center, or former women's center, was a part) and at Northeast University the cultural centers, while not organizationally linked together, operated as a collective. The figure below provides a visual representation of the relationships between the women's center, the intermediate unit (the newly merged departments and cultural center collective), and the division and/or institution as a whole.
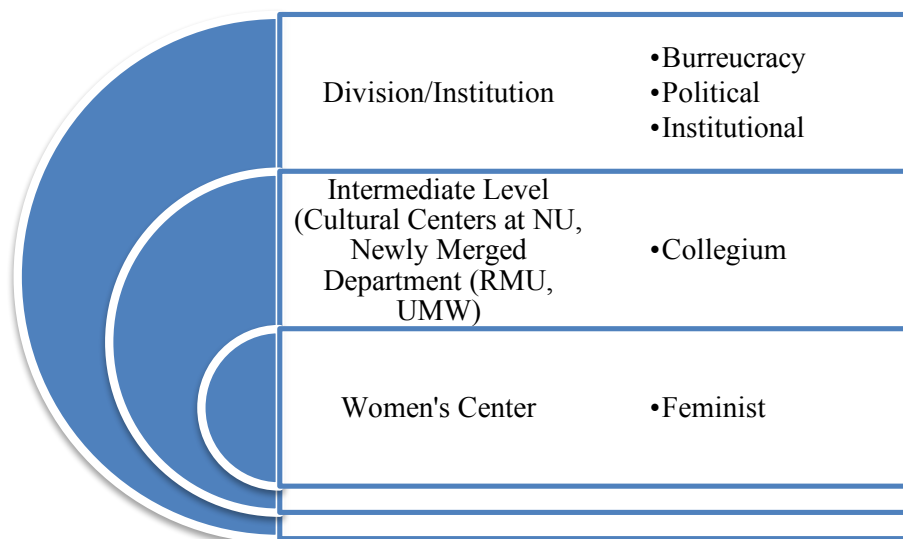
Figure 9
Diagram of Relationships Between the Women's Center, Intermediate Unit, Division and Institution

Women's Center: Feminist Organizational Frame

The feminist organizational frame has been described as a web, "a pattern and a process" (Manning, 2013, p. 162). It has characteristics such as being "adaptable, open and responsive," and valuing an "inclusive and collaborative process," "shared power," and "open communication" (Manning, 2013, p. 162). Each of the women's centers I visited exhibited characteristics that align with the feminist organizational frame as described by Manning. For example, directors of the women's centers talked about the importance of a non-hierarchical and collective or shared decision-making process. Engaging in decision-making through a shared process where other staff members, and even student workers, can be active participants exemplifies the aspects of both shared power and inclusive processes. For example, at Northeast University, during the staff meeting I observed, everyone participated in discussing and deciding how to respond to a recent student newspaper article that the student staff felt was problematic due to the way in which race was discussed. Collectively, the student staff talked through writing a letter

to the editor and what it should include, who should take lead in writing it, and who would review it before submission.

Collective, collaborative leadership is another characteristic of a feminist organizational structure and one that was exemplified by two of the institutions I visited. At Northeast University, Catherine discussed how the student staff is empowered to "have a lot of autonomy for things that are sort of within their own purview." By empowering the student staff to take ownership of the programs and events they manage, "distinctions between management and workers, leaders and followers are blurred because everyone is encouraged to accept responsibility for the conceptualization and execution of organizational practices" (Manning, 2013, p. 165). At Upper Midwest University, Shelby, as well as some of the student staff, spoke about not wanting the different functional areas to compete with one another, but instead wanted to find solutions that would be to everyone's benefit.

All three centers spoke in some way about how the work of their center was rooted in a social justice ethic, which is consistent with a feminist organizational framework. Anna explicitly named the "centering [of] social justice" that the women's center on her campus engages in. Embrya, while not as explicit in the use of the phrase social justice, still spoke of the importance of "inculcat[ing] feminism and intersectional feminism as an ethic in the institution." By "inculcating" feminism into the fabric of their campuses the women's centers were taking steps to bring about change at their institutions. The women's centers' work is consistent with Fishman-Weaver's (2017) three feminist organizational typologies: liberal feminist organizational theory, radical feminism, and postmodern feminism. The change the women's centers were working

towards took shape in a number of ways as they sought to do programming to bring more women into leadership positions through leadership conferences and student staff positions (liberal feminist organizational theory), interrupt power imbalances through advocacy work at both the personal and institutional levels through work on policy changes and around gender-based violence (radical feminism), and questioning and dismantling existing structures to build new ones (post-modern feminism; Fishman-Weaver, 2017).

During the reorganizations that each center experienced, the staff of the women's centers consistently spoke of bringing people to the decision-making table and the value they placed on either having a voice in the decision-making process or including others in the decision-making process. Nancy noted how much it meant to her to be at the decision-making table early for the reorganization on her campus while acknowledging that others may feel differently because they were not a part of the early decisions about the merging of the centers. While not a women's center director, Lena, the director of the new Office of Diversity Affairs at Upper Midwest University, talked about how important it was to her to be inclusive during the decision-making process, "I like to include my staff from the student interns, student doc associates, all the way up to our professional staff, because we're the ones that gotta live in it."

As the three women's centers navigated reorganization, they valued open communication and collaborative decision-making process. Both before and after the reorganizations, women's centers continued to utilize feminist organizational theories that influenced not only how they interacted with one another within the department, but also how the staff members of the women's center interacted with others at the

university. Finally, women's centers continued to engage in the work of social justice on their campuses, seeking out opportunities to make their institutions more feminist in the process.

Intermediate Level: Collegium Organizational Frame

While the collegium frame is "most often associated with faculty" (Manning, 2013, p. 35), the three institutions and women's centers often utilized aspects of the collegium organizational frame in their interactions. The two aspects of a collegium exhibited by the campus centers were around "circular communication and consensus decision making" and "leadership as first among equals" (Manning, 2013, pp. 41-42). The organizational structure directly encompassing the women's centers, including the cultural centers at Northeast University and the newly merged departments at both Upper Midwest University and Rocky Mountain University, all utilized these aspects of a collegium. Both Shelby and Nancy noted that throughout the merging of the centers, they were invited to be a part of the decision-making process as the new units sought to find consensus in how the units would operate moving forward. They were recognized as experts within their functional areas, emblematic of the recognition of expert knowledge and power that is evident within a collegial structure. Emma described the decision-making of the newly merged department in this way, "I feel like it's a collaborative, both top down and bottom up sort of decision-making process… I think, in terms of decision making, we all have somewhat of a voice and the ability to make decisions." At Northeast University, throughout each of the reorganizations, the cultural centers have formed a collective, relying on one another, building consensus for decisions, and recognizing the expert knowledge that each brings to the table.

The organizational frame of collegium often provided a buffer between the women's center and the broader organizational dynamics of the division or institution. The leaders of the newly merged departments would seek consensus based decision making as it related to the unit for impacts such as budgets, student staffing, and sharing space. For example, at Rocky Mountain University, the merging of the centers into one new department impacted the student staff positions that were available. But through consensus decision-making the leadership of the new department was able to come to a solution that valued the expertise of the staff members. Additionally, at Upper Midwest University, the staff members shared that they were having conversations about how the budget would look in the future. This consensus–building process allowed the voices of the various centers and staff members to feel heard and to participate to some degree in the change process.

Collegium organizational frames value decision-making by consensus as well as the expertise of content experts (Manning, 2013, 2018). Within the cultural centers at Northeast University and the newly merged departments at Upper Midwest and Rocky Mountain Universities the women's centers were able to share their knowledge and voice concerns regarding potential impacts stemming from reorganization.

Divisional and Institutional Level

The following sections describe the how the organizational frames were utilized at the divisional and/or institutional level.

Bureaucratic Organizational Frame. The most common organizational frame utilized on the three campuses I visited was the bureaucratic fame. There were 55 excerpts from documents or interviews coded as bureaucracy. For example, references to

"gatekeeping", directive decision-making, standardization of technology, and the streamlining of marketing and communication practices were all coded as bureaucracy. The bureaucratic organizational frame emphasizes rationality, efficiency, and standardization (Manning, 2013). Bureaucracies consolidate power and decision-making into a hierarchical structure where the positions at the top have more power and authority than do the positions at the bottom (Manning, 2013). This method of top-down decision-making was present on all three campuses. Each decision to reorganize was initially a top-down decision. Brielle described how the students learned about the reorganization, "honestly, it looked like our VC, Vice Chancellor, coming in and talking to us about what was going to happen before summer break." Additionally, within many of the student affairs divisions, staff members of the women's centers noted the continued hierarchical, or "very directive" decision-making process. Catherine noted, "the reality was that there were often conversations at the central office level that then sort of came down to the cultural centers as opposed to them being collaborative conversations." This exemplifies the intersection of both the top-down decision-making process and the verticality of communication discussed below.

One of the most common examples cited on the three campuses related to bureaucracy was around how communication flowed between the women's center and the division it reported through. Manning (2013) highlighted the vertical nature of communication within bureaucracies, which was often experienced by the staff members at the women's centers. At Northeast University, when the women's center shifted to Student Affairs, they suddenly had to route all communications with members of the upper-administration through the proper chain of command. Anna noted that when this

shift occurred, she felt like "we just got demoted to like lower middle management because there were multiple layers that were now added over us." Anna felt she was unable to continue many of the relationships she had made with administrators on campus during this time because she did not feel free to communicate openly across divisional lines anymore.

Bureaucracies utilize standard operating procedures to guide the "ways they are to function" (Manning, 2013, p. 119). This characteristic was apparent at Northeast University when the staff of the women's center had to transition from using Apple brand computers to Dell because that was the standard for the student affairs division. At Rocky Mountain University, Nancy spoke of how all of the marketing efforts within Student Affairs were centralized and standardized.

> I would say it is more bureaucratic, but in some ways, it's also ... that change gives small units more access to professional staff… So, I'm not really against that idea of the centralization, because big units on campus already had that service. I think it really was intended as a way to kind of spread out and be able to help serve the smaller units in sort of a positive socialism, if you will.

Catherine discussed how many more processes existed within the division of student affairs.

> …there was a lot more structure and sort of protocol within Student Affairs. So, things like, you know, in terms of how publicity was gonna go out. You needed to have this process in your office, and it needed to be stamped in this way, and that would prove how you did proofing. And so, there was just a lot more kind of practices and protocols in place than we had had before.

While each reorganization was difficult, for Northeast University, the shift to the more bureaucratic organizational practices of student affairs was a "culture shock" as one administrator put it. It is not surprising to find bureaucracy within colleges and universities; as complex organizations (Bess & Dee, 2007; 2012 & Birbaum, 1988), bureaucracy offers a way to organize and create efficiencies (Manning, 2013). While the sudden plethora of operating procedures and gatekeeping practices was a definite shift, it was especially jarring to the staff members of the women centers due to their non-hierarchical and collaborative processes.

  Political Organizational Frame. When describing the political frame Manning (2013) noted that "at its basic level, the political perspective is about relationships" (p. 68). The thread of relationships and how they were or were not leveraged is apparent on all three campuses.

  Manning (2013) defined power as the "context-specific, relationship-oriented resource used to achieve goals and realize relationships" (p. 72). Power, when coupled with authority, the status stemming from someone's position within an organization, creates a fascinating dynamic within institutions of higher education. At Upper Midwest University, the students called out the decision-making authority, and power, of the upper-administration around decisions about space on campus.

> …the power of who gets to make decisions and what kind of spaces. The fact that we have to advocate for ourselves instead of feeling like people with power ... like we have to advocate on behalf of ourselves because other people won't, right?

The students were frustrated by what they felt was the lack of care given to the needs of underrepresented students on campus. Another student offered this:

It's very telling to me when people who have the sort of literal capital to shape

this institution are, not only not interested in furthering the well-being of students

who don't look and act exactly like them, but they are actively opposed to it.

The students were experiencing power imbalances as decisions were made that directly

impacted them without feeling like they had a role in the decision-making process. The

students tried to gain power, by forming coalitions and making demands about the space

allocated to underrepresented students on campus. As the students were expressing

frustration and taking steps to advocate for themselves, the administration was frustrated

that the students were forming coalitions and making demands for more space and

separate spaces for the various identity groups during a time when the administration had

decided to merge the identity-based centers into one department.

Another intersection of power and authority was present as Upper Midwest

University worked to create a name for the newly merged department. Lena was

frustrated because of the wall she hit with the upper administration around the naming of

the new office. The staff members of the newly merged department had settled on the

name "the Department of Student Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion." However, she was

receiving pushback from upper level administrators because of the word *equity*. She

shared

people in leadership see equity, they're looking at the legalistic term of it… But

for us, we were looking at it more as a, from our stance we're trying our best to

aspire to provide equitable spaces for our students to feel welcomed and loved.

There is power in naming, but there is also power exerted by law and legalities on campuses. Lena and the other staff members' embrace of the word equity pitted their more social justice focused use of the word against the more legalistic use of the word.

Interest groups play a vital role in the political frame. The three institutions utilized interest groups and coalitions as they navigated the change occurring on their campuses. At Northeast University, the women's center along with the other cultural centers formed a strong coalition. Through their years of working together and building trust, they developed a bloc that allowed them to support one another and act as a unified coalition during times of transition. The women's center at Northeast University also leveraged the relationships they had built with members of their advisory board when they found themselves being left off of institutional committees and out of the decision-making processes. At Rocky Mountain University, Embrya noted the strength that came with forming a coalition within the newly merged center,

> And to the extent that everything is political, it is much harder to get rid of a solid unit with a broad coalition base than it is to lop off the heads of three small offices or one of those offices or whatever that is.

The interplay of power, authority, and who has it, is especially important within a critical paradigm. Two of the aspects of a critical paradigm, centering the lives of the marginalized and examining power inequities (Mertens, 2010), can be seen within the political frame. The underrepresented students at Upper Midwest University felt powerless as decisions were being made about what they perceived as their space, and they tried to gain power by forming coalitions and making demands. At all three

institutions, staff members were cognizant of the role that coalitions can play and the political power that can be gained from them.

Within the political frame, the three institutions experienced both the positive and negative aspects of the frame. They leveraged relationships to build coalitions and advocate for one another; they also experienced the interrelationship between power and authority as upper-level administrators exerted influence over conflicts around spaces and naming.

Institutional Theory Organizational Frame. Across all three campuses, the influence of institutional factors was at play in the reorganizational process. Institutional theory explains "the ways that broader cultural, political, social, and environmental factors shaped organizations" (Manning, 2018, p. 114). As outside factors influence organizations, they may experience isomorphism, a norming process by which organizations begin to "resemble one another" (Manning, 2018, p. 114). One example of isomorphism is that both Rocky Mountain University and Upper Midwest University turned to a reorganization that included merging the identity-based centers on their campuses. These institutions are located in vastly different parts of the county and have different structures, missions, and demographics, and yet still they are beginning to resemble one another. Nancy noted, "I actually feel like we might be on a leading edge of a trend." She feels like other institutions may begin merging the identity-based centers on their campuses in the future as a way of addressing the external influences higher education administrators face. The merging of identity-based centers could be seen as part of the rise of diversity efforts on campuses over the last few decades (Leon, 2013; Stanley, 2014; Wilson, 2013). As institutions grapple with what diversity efforts should

look like, they have employed different models ranging from a small office focused on diversity efforts to portfolio models where a division, led by a chief diversity officer, is created pulling all diversity related offices or centers together into one division (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007), as occurred during the most recent reorganization at Northeast University.

State legislatures have had an increasing impact on colleges and universities in the past few years (Bauer-Wolf, 2019; Hennie, 2018; Judd, Doyle, & Marshauer, 2019). An example of the power of external forces, such as state legislatures, can be found at both Rocky Mountain University and Northeast University, where staff members at both institutions referred to the influence of the state legislature. Catherine noted, "state residents are very interested in what happens here." She continued,

> there is an interesting way in which the state seems to be very invested in this institution. So, the degree to which the legislators are a constituency group that we are often responding to or feel like have some say in sort of the day to day operations here may or may not be unique from other institutions.

At Rocky Mountain University, Embrya noted how the state legislature had influenced things on their campus.

> …women's facing programs on this particular campus had been declining probably since 2008. Legislatively, there was some stuff up for vote that would take away affirmative action. There were some preparations with the expectation that that legislation would pass, that voters would approve that measure. And so, lots of things were renamed and relabeled in an attempt to get in front of what was perceived by leadership as being the wave of the future and it didn't pass. So, that

was a first wave of women's facing programs changing. So, there were lots of

women in engineering and women in communication, and all of those programs

were renamed, some were rehoused.

However, when the proposed legislation did not pass, the university did not undo any of

the changes it had made, which significantly reduced the visibility of programming and

initiatives for women on the campus.

At Northeast University, the women's center had been the home of violence

prevention education, sexual harassment training, and victim support and response for

decades. However, when the 2011 Dear Colleague Letter (U.S. Department of

Education, 2011) came out, they began to experience an erosion of influence in how the

university addressed issues of sexual misconduct. The former supervisor of the women's

center noted,

> I remember talking with the director here about ... be careful what you wish for.
>
> She had wished for years that people would pay attention to some of these issues,
>
> the sexual violence, and all these other things, and then they did, but they took it
>
> out of their hands. And the same thing about bias work. We have a bias response
>
> protocol now, but they were the ones who responded to students who were
>
> victims of bias for years. So, I've watched this happen to them. They've been in
>
> four different units in the 12 years I've been here and had more than four different
>
> supervisors over those years. And watched there be a new attention to their work
>
> that now exists in multiple places at the university, work that they had done.

As the institution began to respond to the issue of sexual misconduct, they looked to what

other institutions were doing and reorganized the work such that it began to look like

other places. In doing so though, they excluded the experts on their campus who had over twenty years of experience in working to prevent and respond to incidents of sexual misconduct.

Institutional theory provides a way to view and understand the process of change within an institution of higher education. Institutions have a norming effect on one another as they respond to federal and state laws and trends within other institutions of higher education. The three campuses in this study were each impacted by the influence of institutional theory through isomorphism and the influence of outside forces such as state legislatures or federal regulations.

Organizational frames provide a robust mechanism for examining the process of reorganization, the impacts of reorganization, and how women's centers navigate reorganization. The Institutions and divisions in this study tended to utilize institutional, political, and bureaucracy as organizing frames, guiding how decisions were made and setting the tone for how organizational units lower in the hierarchy were impacted or responded to reorganization. Intermediate level units, such as the merged departments, tended to utilize the collegium organizational frame as they valued the voices of the various centers and staff members and the expertise that each functional area brought with them to the organization. Finally, across all three campuses in this study, the women's centers utilized a feminist organizational frame both as their primary organizing framework and as a mechanism to navigate reorganization.

Implications for Practice

This study focused on how and why campus women's centers are reorganized, how women's centers are impacted by reorganization, and how women's centers navigate

reorganization. On each of the three campuses, numerous reorganizations had taken

place, not only affecting the women's center, but the institution as a whole. McKinley

and Scherer (2000) noted that reorganizations cause imbalance that organizations then

seek to remedy, causing further reorganization, and in many ways become self-

perpetuating. At the same time, colleges and universities must respond to the changing

dynamics around them. Change is hard, and can lead to burnout or fatigue as

experienced by several staff members and students within this study. Within the

implications for practice section I offer recommendations to two questions:

1) How should organizations go about the process of reorganization of campus-
   based women's centers, especially in a manner that does not inflict additional
   harm?

2) Where should women's centers be placed on college campuses?

What Should the Process of Reorganization Look Like?

Based on both the literature and the findings from this study, I recommend that

reorganizations of women's centers (and I would venture any identity based center)

include four components: 1) include the affected staff members in the decision making

process, 2) include the affected student staff members and users in the decision making

process and any changes in physical location, 3) upper level administrators who seek to

reorganize a women's center (or any identity-based center) should ensure they have a

solid understanding of identity development theory and intersectionality, and 4) the

decision making process should be intentional and transparent, offering opportunities for

the impacted communities to share concerns and offer feedback. The suggestions offered

within organizational change theory, open communication and the getting the buy-in of

impacted staff members (Lumadi & Mampuru, 2010; McKinley & Scherer, 2000; Van Emmerik & Euwema, 2008), are echoed within the feminist organizational frame (Manning, 2013, 2018). Additionally, this process of reorganization allows for the centering of the experiences of staff members and students who face one, if not multiple, forms of oppression on campus. By centering the experiences of the people for whom the women's center (or other identity-based center) is missioned to serve, administrators can decrease the likelihood that reorganization causes harm, trauma, or further oppression.

By including the staff members affected by the reorganization in the reorganization process, administrators can accomplish two things: leveraging the knowledge and experience of the staff and obtaining buy-in at the staff level which may help gain buy-in with students. Across the three campuses, the staff members of the women's centers had approximately 100 years of experience working with women on college campuses. This is a tremendous amount of knowledge and experience. By including these staff members in the conceptualization of reorganizations, that experience could help to identify potential pitfalls or could offer new ideas based on their years of experience with what works and what has not worked. As several participants across the campuses I visited noted, it is the staff members, not upper-level administration, who spend time and build relationships with the students served by the women's center. For this reason, these staff members are especially attuned to the needs, challenges, and fears felt by the students as reorganization occurs.

Students often play multiple roles within women's centers and other identity-based centers. They are not only constituents served by the centers, but also members of the staff team. As evidenced by the women's centers in this study, such centers utilize a

feminist organizational frame, including a non-hierarchical decision-making process, and so, as reflected in the comments of the students interviewed, the student staff within a women's center may have a greater sense of ownership and investment into the day-to-day operations of the center than student staff members in other parts of the institution. For this reason, administrators should seek out student involvement in any conversations about the reorganization of a women's center, particularly if a portion of the rationale of the reorganization is based on perceived student need or desires.

The students I interviewed in this study felt strongly that upper-level administrators did not have a clear understanding of intersectionality or identity-related theory. For people to feel included in a reorganization process they need to feel valued and heard. Therefore, it is essential for university administrators to seek to understand intersectionality and the theory that drives the work of identity-based centers, including women's centers, before they engage in reorganization, because as a student commented, "it's not safe sometimes to be your whole self, all the time." While there are certainly similarities between different identity-based centers, there are also significant differences. Lena noted, "but again, it goes back to the thing of, if you don't have the right people who understand truly the areas that they're supervising, it's hard for them to know how to effectively advocate." There are existing theories and models that can help administrators better understand the needs of these students, such as identity development theories (Cross, 1971; D'Augelli, 1994; Downing & Roush, 1985; Helms, 1990; Wijeyesinghe & Jackson, 2012), the Reconceptualized Model of Multidimensional Identity (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007), or the Framework of Individual Diversity Development (Chávez, Guido-DiBrito, & Mallory, 2003). By understanding how

students develop both their own sense of identity and how they grow in understanding others' identities, administrators can make more fully informed decisions. This is yet another reason to include the staff of women's centers in decisions that will directly impact their work: these staff members are already content matter experts.

The staff members of the women's centers experienced "change exhaustion" as their centers had been either reorganized or physically moved on campus so many times. This level of fatigue should not come as a surprise. As discussed in Chapter 2, the literature states that change is hard, sometimes even traumatic (Kotter, 1996; McKinley & Scherer, 2000; Van Emmerik & Euwema, 2008). For some of the upper-level administrators I was able to speak with there was frustration that the process of reorganizing was taking longer than they had hoped it would, or that some decisions were still left unmade. However, when viewing this through the lens of organizational change theory, what was likely occurring was a gap in cognitive order (McKinley & Scherer, 2000). The administrators had a vision of what they wanted or needed to see from the reorganization, whereas the staff members on the ground were experiencing disruption, confusion, and stress as they began adapting to their new work environment. For the women's centers who had experienced multiple reorganizations, they were thrust through this process every few years. With each new reorganization, employees must go through the process of cognitive reorientation, where they change how they think not only about their work, but also their identity in the work (Balogun, 2007). This is another area where open communication and including employees in the change process can mitigate negative impacts (Lumadi & Mampuru, 2010; McKinley & Scherer, 2000; Van Emmerik & Euwema, 2008).

Finally, when faced with a reorganization, the staff members of the women's centers utilized a feminist organizational frame which prioritizes shared decision-making and open communication (Manning, 2013, 2018). These practices are also the recommendations from organizational change theorists (Lumadi & Mampuru, 2010; McKinley & Scherer, 2000; Van Emmerik & Euwema, 2008). By participating in the process of reorganization, the women's center staff members increased both their ability to impact the reorganization, but also increased their feelings of ownership in the process. When women's center staff members' efforts to be included in the decision-making were met with resistance, such as when the staff members of the merged Diversity Affairs Office at Upper Midwest University were discussing the new office suite they would be moving to during the summer, they felt defeated and powerless in a process that would be directly impacting them. Conversely, when women's center staff were included in the process they felt a sense of ownership, something both Nancy and Shelby discussed as the merging of identity-based centers were being planned on their respective campuses.

Where Should Women's Centers Be Located?

Having a clearer understanding of intersectionality and identity-based development will also help to answer the question of where should women's centers be places on college campuses. The students in this study named a tension in wanting both intersectional spaces and single-identity spaces. As they discussed the types of spaces and centers they wanted the students at times contradicted themselves, which is indicative of the complexity and nuance of intersectionality work in general. Intersectionality is about experiencing multiple and intersecting oppressions. It is about living at and navigating the both/ands of identity. Therefore, to most effectively address both the

needs of the institution and the needs of the students, I recommend that institutions identify both/and solutions. A both/and solution is one in which there is shared space, where students, faculty, and staff can meet at the intersections of both identity and oppression as well as identity-specific space where students, faculty, and staff can receive education, advocacy, and support for a single, salient identity. The structure of the cultural centers at Northeast University offers a both/and solution as there are separate identity-based centers all co-located on one floor together where there is also shared space and a sense of community between the different cultural centers. The newly merged department at Rocky Mountain University also offers a both/and solution as it has created a shared, intersectional office as well as single-identity affiliate spaces, although the single-identity spaces are separate from the primary office space. While enacted in different ways, both campuses have worked to provide a both/and solution to addressing the needs of single-identity development and intersectionality. Throughout this study, students spoke about the value they placed on being in the same space as the professional staff members who support them. As such, it would be my recommendation that institutions create both/and solutions where the community space for students, both single-identity and intersectional, are located in the same space as professional staff.

Reorganizations are going to take place on college campuses. Open communication and obtaining buy-in from those who will be impacted by reorganization are two steps that can be taken to mitigate the potential negative impacts of reorganization. As Lumadi and Mampuru (2010) noted communication and participating in the reorganization process increases trust and lowers individuals' resistance to change.

By engaging in open communication and shared-decision making, people on all sides of a reorganization can feel a greater sense of ownership and trust in the process.

Recommendations for Future Research

This case study focused on the reorganizations of three campus-based women's centers and provided insight into how those centers are organizationally framed, how they were impacted by reorganization, and how they navigated reorganization. While I was able to learn a great deal about the three women's centers in this study, they are certainly not the only women's centers or identity-based centers who have been impacted by reorganization.

Future research should be conducted regarding the future of women's centers. Included in the original design of this study was a focus group of women's center directors who had experienced reorganization; focus groups provide an opportunity for participants to construct knowledge together, validate similar shared experiences, and refine their own opinions about the issue(s) being discussed (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Conducting one or more focus groups with women's center and other identity-based center directors across the United States would give additional insight into the process, rationale, and impacts of reorganization. Such research could confirm (or problematize) the findings of this study or uncover new information expanding our understanding of the reorganization process of identity-based centers on college campuses. This line of research could also give insight into the ways that college and university administrators view the work of women's centers and their continued relevance on campuses.

Additionally, this research brought to light questions about the relationship between identity-based centers, including women's centers, and institutional diversity

initiatives. Future research could examine the different organizational structures of campus diversity initiatives and how identity-based centers fit into those models. There are three different models for chief diversity offices (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007); are there differences in effectiveness between the models? How does the work of identity-based centers fit into the different chief diversity office models? As campuses seek to align diversity initiatives, how do they prioritize students' development within chief diversity offices, especially as the organizational structure of a chief diversity office was borrowed from a corporate culture (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007) that does not include student development. Are there differences related to the diversity of student enrollment, minoritized students' sense of belonging, or the levels of bias incidents between institutions that utilize a centralized diversity office as opposed to separate offices; what about between campuses who have chosen to keep their identity-based centers separate versus campuses who have merged identity-based centers into one larger department?

Finally, this study discussed two campuses whose women's centers experienced a merger. Future research should seek out campuses where mergers of identity-based centers have occurred to elicit if the new models are having the desired effect on the student population, especially as one of the reasons given for the mergers was related to the arrival of Generation Z. If the new model of merged identity-based centers is effective, are there particularities related to their organizational structure that make them more likely to succeed? There were also differences in the diversity of the student staff members across all three campuses, additional research on campuses who have experienced mergers and campuses who have not could give insight into if there are in

fact significant differences in the diversity of student workers and why those differences exist.

Conclusion

The three women's centers I spent time with during this study have dealt with a tremendous amount of change, and through it all have stayed true to their missions continuing to provide education, support, and advocacy to students, faculty, and staff in a variety of ways. It is an interesting time to ponder the future of women's centers; we are at a point in history where there has been significant progress made by women in fields like politics, and there has been increasing attention to the issue of sexual assault and harassment through movements such as #MeToo and #TimesUp (Kamark, 2018; Langone, 2018). At the same time, there is still work to be done. Sexism and patriarchy still permeate the culture of the United States, including institutions of higher education. There is still work for women's centers to do. Randy, a women's center staff member who feared that the center she worked in would cease to exist once the merger of identity-based centers took place, offered this "don't silence the women. Don't take away their voice by taking away women's centers, because you will do that. You will silence them in a heartbeat." Women's centers play a unique role on college campuses. They provide educational programs, support for folks who have experienced harm, and work to be a catalyst for change within their institutions.

In this multi-site case study, I visited three campus-based women's centers to explore

(1) Through what process was the women's center reorganized? This includes the following sub-questions.

      a. Who made the decision to reorganize?

      b. What was the rationale (or perceived rationale) for the reorganization?

(2) How does reorganization impact centers' missions, programs, and services?

(3) When faced with an external force, how do women's centers respond to reorganization?

I found that the decision to reorganize often originated with upper-level administration, that reorganization took place in an attempt to align institutional goals and/or to create efficiencies. Women's center staff members had varying degrees of involvement within the reorganization process. Each reorganization brought about its own set of impacts such as changes in physical locations, staffing, and budgets, as well as impacts around the emotional cost of reorganization. With each reorganization, women's center staff members utilized feminist organizational practices to navigate change, always keeping their mission of education, support, and social change through advocacy central to their efforts.

As institutions of higher education change to be responsive to shifts in leadership, student demands, federal and state politics, and budgetary concerns, they should seek the voices of the experts within women's centers on their own campuses as they envision new ways forward. While women's centers engage in the work of challenging the institution to be better, they do so for just that reason, because they believe that the institution can be better. When talking about the impact supervising the women's center had on her, one administrator noted, "so having worked with her in that Women's Center has helped me be a better professional." This is what women's centers do, they work to

improve the lives of faculty, staff, and students at their institutions. And throughout

reorganization, they persist.

Researcher Reflection

On each campus I visited, I was welcomed by women's center professionals who

were delighted to share their stories of reorganization. The willingness of the individuals

on these three campuses to let me in, to share their stories of joy, heartache, fear, and

trepidation, becomes even more meaningful as I too have directed a women's center that

has experienced reorganization. I was amazed and humbled by the trust placed in me by

all of the individuals on these campuses, and equally astounded with the level of candor

in my conversations with center directors and staff, university administrators, and

students.

However, on each campus, I was both angered and saddened by the level of pain

and heartache the women's center staff members as well as students had experienced.

On each campus, I talked with professional staff members who cared deeply about the

students they worked with, the faculty and staff they worked with, and about creating

lasting social change. For each of the centers, it often felt as if they had moved two steps

forward only to have the proverbial rug pulled out from under them causing them to

move several steps back. I found myself heartbroken for them. Heartbroken to see their

passion, knowledge, experiences, and commitment devalued or trivialized. Heartbroken

to see the pain and trauma inflicted upon the students by the very institutions the students

were committed to working to improve for future cohorts of students. Heartbroken to see

the work of social change and social justice cast aside in order to protect the bottom line.

Heartbroken to see the fear that the women's center might cease to exist. I was angered

to hear some administrators consider that women's centers may not be needed, that their usefulness may be diminishing. Women's centers ARE needed. For as long as our society and institutions of higher education are rooted in patriarchy, women's centers and other identity-based centers will be needed.

On each of the campuses I visited, the staff members were under no illusion that there didn't need to be growth, change, and forward movement both on their campuses and in their centers. What I wish I saw on each campus was a synergistic process that valued both the goals of the institution as well as the knowledge and expertise of the staff and students leading the centers. Reorganization is inevitable, but that doesn't mean it needs to cause trauma to the staff or students impacted by it. I want to challenge organizational leaders to find ways to include the staff and students potentially impacted by organizational reorganization. Involve them. Include them. Listen to them. They have a tremendous amount of knowledge and expertise. These individuals care deeply about the people they work with and very often the institution itself. Let them be a part of the progress.

As I reflect on the time I have spent researching the reorganization of women's centers, in many ways, I feel as though my experience of reorganization has come full circle as I have heard stories similar to my own and have seen first-hand how the staff members at these women's centers have persisted.

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Appendix A

Planning Materials

A.1 Flow Chart of Case Study Process

Step 1	• Recruitment Flyer sent to WRAC-L listserv/Facebook
Step 2	• Prospective participants complete screening questionnaire
Step 3	• Select participants based on screening questionnaire feedback (looking for Women's Centers who've been through multiple reorganizations)
Step 4	• Send and receive IRB Consent Forms • Conduct Phone Interview • Schedule interviews and campus visits with participants • Request documents for analysis
Step 5	• Receive documents
Step 6	• Travel to campuses • Conduct interviews with particpants • Observe locations and campus interactions
Step 7	• Transcribe interviews
Step 8	• Code interviews and analyze documents (as received)
Step 9	• Integrate data from all sources using a study database • Write individual case reports • Engage in member-checking • Write collective case report,continuously looking for themes and points of convergence.

Appendix B

Recruitment Materials

B.1 Recruitment Graphic for Social Media and Email

EXPLORING HOW WOMEN'S CENTERS ARE IMPACTED BY REORGANIZATION

SEEKING PARTICIPANTS WHO:
WORK IN A CAMPUS BASED WOMEN'S CENTER
HAVE EXPERIENCED TWO OR MORE ORGANIZATIONAL RESTRUCTURES OR REORGANIZATIONS

A 45-60 MINUTE PHONE INTERVIEW
A 90-120 MINUTE IN-PERSON INTERVIEW DURING A CAMPUS VISIT
SUBMITTING DOCUMENTS
A FOCUS GROUP

IF INTERESTED, VISIT THIS LINK TO COMPLETE THE INTEREST FORM: INSERT LINK HERE.
FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT JENNIFER GRAHAM, DOCTORAL CANDIDATE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA AT ▇▇▇▇▇ OR JLG20442@UGA.EDU

B.2 Recruitment Email and Social Media Post

Greetings!

My name is Jennifer Graham and I am both the director of the Women's Center at

Georgia College and a doctoral student at the University of Georgia. For my

dissertation, I will be exploring how women's centers are impacted by

reorganization through a multi-site case study. I am seeking case study participants

who:

- Work in a campus-based women's center

- Where the women's center has experienced two or more organizational

  restructures/reorganizations (by reorganization I mean that the women's center

  has been administratively moved from one division or unit to another).

For each site selected, I plan to

- Hold one 45-60 minute phone interview with the women's center

  director/coordinator

- Collect documents related to the reorganization (correspondence, organizational

  charts, etc.)

- Visit the campus and

  - Conduct an in-person interview with the women's center

    director/coordinator

  - Interview others on campus with knowledge and experience related to the

    women's center's reorganization

- Conduct a focus group with women's center directors/coordinators (at

  NWSA/through video conferencing)

This study has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Georgia. If you are interested in participating, please visit this link to complete the interest form <insert link here>.

B.3 Email to Selected Participants

Thank you again for your interest in this case study related to how women's centers are impacted by reorganization. I am excited to learn from you. I am including in this email the IRB consent form (as approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Georgia) and a request for any documents you think will be helpful to me as I seek to understand how and why your women's center was reorganized. Please send back a signed copy of the IRB Form by DATE electronically (scanned and emailed or faxed).

My request for documents will allow me to review any documentation that you think will help me to better understand the reorganization(s) your center experienced. Examples of documents include emails, annual work plans, year-end reports, mission statements, job descriptions, etc. Please send back any documents and web-based questionnaire responses by DATE.

Additionally, please complete this doodle <insert link> to let me know a time that would work best for me to call you for a phone interview. During this phone call, I will ask some questions to learn more about the context of your institution, the women's center on your campus, and any divisions/departments the women's center on your campus has reported through. Also, during this phone call I will work with you to schedule a time when I can come visit your campus. During my campus visit, I will conduct in-person interviews as well as engage in observation of the women's center.

Again, thank you so much for your willingness to take part in this study. I look forward to learning from and with you. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or concerns.

Appendix C

Data Collection Instruments

C.1 Initial Interest/Screening Questionnaire

Women's Center Reorganization Case Study Initial Interest/Screening

Questionnaire

Thank you for your interest in participating in this case study. Please answer the following questions to help me assess potential sites for the case study. Three to four women's centers will be selected. All information obtained through this initial questionnaire will be kept confidential. For questions or concerns please contact Jennifer Graham at <phone number> or <email address>.

Has the women's center on your campus experienced a reorganization?
Yes

No

How many reorganizations has the women's center on your campus been through in the

last ten years?
1

2

3

4

5

6 or more

Please select all the divisions or departments the women's enter on your campus has

reported through.
Student Affairs

Academic Affairs

Institutional Equity and Diversity (or similar named)

Office of the President

Other

In what years (approximately) did the women's center on your campus experience
reorganization?
Your answer

Would you say the women's center on your campus utilizes a feminist organizational

approach?

Yes

No

Unsure

Three to four sites will be selected to participate in the case study. This case study will
involve the following: a phone interview, the researcher visiting the women's center on
your campus to conduct in-person interviews, document analysis, and a focus group.
Please indicate your name if you are willing to be a participant in this research study.
Your answer

What is your email address?
Your answer

What institution are you from?
Your answer

What is your role on campus?
Your answer

C.2 Preliminary Phone Interview

Women's Center Reorganization Case Study Preliminary Phone Interview

Topic: How women's centers experience reorganization

Time of Interview: TBD

Date: TBD

Participants: Women's center directors

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

These interviews will be centered on learning contextual information about the women's center, institution, and units the women's center has reported through at selected sites. I will interview women's center directors about the women's center they direct as well as larger contextual information about each of their campuses. During the interview, I will ask participants a series of questions and allow the participants ample time to respond. I will be the facilitator for the interview. Prior to completing the phone interview, I will have obtained a signed consent form back from the women's center directors.

SCRIPT

INTRODUCTION (10 minutes)

- **Thank you** - Thank you for your participation in this interview.

- **Introduce Interviewer**- My name is Jennifer Graham and I am the director of the Women's Center at Georgia College & State University as well as a doctoral student at the University of Georgia.

- **Purpose** – The purpose of today's interview is to learn more about the women's center on your campus and your institution.

- **Data Collection Procedure** – I will ask you a series of questions, please feel free to respond to those questions or to add any additional information. I will be audio recording this interview to aid in the transcription of our conversation. The audio recording will be destroyed after it is transcribed and verified for accuracy and the transcription will use a pseudonym of your choice in place of your name as well as a pseudonym for your home institution.

- **Key Points** - Before we begin, there are a few key points of interest we will discuss.

- **Informed Consent** – This is a reminder of and oral confirmation of the informed consent you have given to be a participant of this research.

  - The purpose of this study is to explore how and why women's centers are reorganized and how that impacts the work of the women's center.

  - Your identity will not be linked to your responses. Pseudonyms will be assigned to each participant and only I will have access to the key code that contains the pseudonym/name match of all participants. This will protect your anonymity.

  - As mentioned in your signed informed consent form, your participation in this interview is voluntary and you have the right to discontinue at any time. During this interview, you can choose to stop or not answer any questions asked about how the women's center at your institution has experienced reorganization should you feel uncomfortable at any time during our interview.

- o Your signed informed consent form also mentioned your interview sessions will be audio-recorded. After our interview is complete, the audio-recordings will be transcribed using a cloud-based software tool. No identifiable information like your name or personal characteristics will appear in the transcript for this interview or the findings of this research study. Only your pseudonym will be used in the transcript. Once I verify the transcript is accurate, I will delete the audio recordings.

- **Pause:** Do you have any questions about informed consent?

- **Verbal verification:** If you have no questions about your informed consent, please confirm that you have read your informed consent form, forwarded your signed form and have received a copy for your records on _____ (date of interview), and give permission to proceed with this audio-recorded interview.

  - o Upon verification, have the participant select a pseudonym.

- **Interview Guidelines**

  - o You are being interviewed because you have something of value to discuss about the experiences of women's centers who have experienced reorganization.

  - o Your perspective is valued.

  - o There are no correct or incorrect responses so feel free to discuss your perspective as you see fit.

  - o Be open and honest.

  - o Please stop me if you need me to clarify a question or if you need to pause.

        o   Please use position names rather than a person's given name. This will help me to better understand how the person fits into the organizational dynamics of your campus.

- **Please inform me if you need any accommodations.**

- **Do you have any questions at this time?**

- **OK, let's get started!**

INTERVIEW (45 minutes)

- **General Questions**:

- Tell me about the women's center on your campus. (Mission, programming, structure, other current (baseline info))

  o   How are decisions typically made in the women's center

- Tell me about your institution

  o   How are decisions usually made on your campus?

- You noted the women's center on your campus has been in organizationally located in _____ and _____. Will you tell me about _____ unit? (for this question - repeat series of questions for as many reporting units as the WC has been in)

  o   What are the priorities of _____?

  o   How does _____ approach student engagement and student learning?

  o   How are decisions typically made in _____?

  o   How does communication typically happen in _____?

WRAP-UP (5 MINUTES)

- For the next phase of this study, I will be visiting campuses to see campuses and

engage in in-person interviews. Could we discuss when would be a good time for me to visit your campus for one day?

- The final phase of this study will consist of a focus group with other women's center directors during the National Women's Studies Association Conference in November. Are you planning on attending that conference? If so, would you be open to participating in an approximately one hour focus group at some point during the conference? If you are not traveling to the conference, would you be open to using a video conference software to participate in the focus group?

- Remember everything you discussed during this interview will be protected as mentioned during the beginning of this interview.

- If you have any questions or concerns, my phone number is <phone number>and e-mail address is <email address>.

- The next step in your participation will be to review the transcript from your interview session by reading over all of the dialogue to determine if there are any errors that need to be corrected. This will ensure the data collected is accurate. I will forward the transcript to you within 1-2 weeks after your interview. Please forward any notes or corrections with the transcript within 1 week of initial receipt.

- If you would like more information about how this information will be used, please contact me at <email address>. Please note, feedback will not be immediately available. Information from this interview will be used as part a research study leading to a dissertation (and perhaps published articles) about how women's centers experience reorganization.

- Do you have any questions or anything you would like to add?

- Thank you for participating in this interview.

POST INTERVIEW

After the completion of the interview I will write a quick summary discussing moments that stood out to me, the general emotions of the interview, and any other thoughts I have. I will upload the recordings to be transcribed and will then analyze my notes from the interview, my written summary, and the transcription. I will code the themes and will then group themes into larger themes. I will also utilize interview data to inform future interviews and the focus group.

C.3 In-person Interview Protocol

Topic: How Women's centers experience reorganization

Time of Interview: TBD

Date: TBD

Participants: Women's center staff members

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

These interviews will be centered on how women's centers experience reorganization. I will interview women's center professional staff or other affiliated staff members about how and why the women's center was reorganized, and how the women's center was impacted by the reorganization. During the interview, I will ask participants a series of questions and allow the participants ample time to respond. I will be the facilitator for the interview.

SCRIPT

INTRODUCTION (10 minutes)

- **Thank you** - Thank you for your participation in this interview.

- **Introduce Interviewer**- My name is Jennifer Graham and I am the director of the Women's Center at Georgia College & State University as well as a doctoral student at the University of Georgia.

- **Purpose** – The purpose of today's interview is to discuss how women's centers experience reorganization.

- **Data Collection Procedure** – I will ask you a series of questions, please feel free to respond to those questions or to add any additional information. I will be audio recording this interview to aid in the transcription of our conversation. The audio

recording will be destroyed upon the completion of transcription and the

transcription will use a pseudonym of your choice in place of your name.

- **Key Points** - Before we begin, there are a few key points of interest we will

  discuss.

- **Informed Consent** – This is a reminder of and oral confirmation of the informed

  consent you have given to be a participant of this research.

  - o The purpose of this study is to explore how and why women's centers are

    reorganized and how that impacts the work of the women's center.

  - o Your identity will not be linked to your responses. Pseudonyms will be

    assigned to each participant and only I will have access to the key code

    that contains the pseudonym/name match of all participants. This will

    protect your anonymity.

  - o As mentioned in your signed informed consent form, your participation in

    this interview is voluntary and you have the right to discontinue at any

    time. During this interview, you can choose to leave or not answer any

    questions asked about how the women's center at your institution has

    experienced reorganization should you feel uncomfortable at any time

    during our interview.

  - o Your signed informed consent form also mentioned your interview

    sessions will be audio-recorded. After our interview is complete, the

    audio-recordings will be transcribed using a cloud-based software tool.

    No identifiable information like your name or personal characteristics will

    appear in the transcript for this interview or the findings of this research

study. Only your pseudonym will be used in the transcript. Once I verify

the transcript is accurate, I will delete the audio recordings.

- **Pause:** Do you have any questions about informed consent?

- **Verbal verification:** If you have no questions about your informed consent,

please confirm that you have read your informed consent form, forwarded your

signed form and have received a copy for your records on _____ (date

of interview), and give permission to proceed with this audio-recorded interview.

- **Interview Guidelines**

    o   You are being interviewed because you have something of value to

        discuss about the experiences of women's centers who have experienced

        reorganization.

    o   Your perspective is valued.

    o   There are no correct or incorrect responses so feel free to discuss your

        perspective as you see fit.

    o   Be open and honest.

    o   Please stop me if you need me to clarify a question or if you need to

        pause.

    o   Please use position names rather than a person's given name. This will

        help me to better understand how the person fits into the organizational

        dynamics of your campus.

- **Please inform me if you need any accommodations.**

- **Do you have any questions at this time?**

- **OK, let's get started!**

INTERVIEW (75-105 minutes)

- **General Questions**:

- Tell me about the reorganization(s) the women's center on your campus went through.

- What reasons were you given for the reorganization?

- How did you learn about the reorganization? or How was the decision to reorganize communicated to you?

- Were you involved in the decision making process? Who was involved?

- What did the process of reorganization look like?

- How did the reorganization impact the women's center on your campus?

  o Mission?

  o Programs and Services?

    ▪ Who you serve?

  o Student Learning and Development?

  o Access, Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion?

  o Leadership, Management, and Supervision?

  o Human Resources (Staffing)?

  o Collaboration and Communication?

  o Ethics, Law and Policy?

  o Financial Resources (Budget)?

  o Facilities and Infrastructure?

  o The women's center's proximity to the president?

  o Other impacts?

- What challenges, if any, did the women's center face as a result of the
  reorganization/?

- In what area do you think the women's center is most supported?

  o In what ways?

- Tell me about how the women's center on your campus navigated the
  reorganization?

  o For director - how did you inform your staff? Your primary audience?

- Is there any other information you think would be helpful to me in this study? Or
  anything I didn't ask that you thought I would?

WRAP-UP (5 MINUTES)

- Remember everything you discussed during this interview will be protected as
  mentioned during the beginning of this interview.

- If you have any questions or concerns, my phone number is <phone number>and e-
  mail address is <email address>.

- The next step in your participation will be to review the transcript from your
  interview session by reading over all of the dialogue to determine if there are any
  errors that need to be corrected. This will ensure the data collected is accurate. I will
  forward the transcript to you within 1-2 weeks after your interview. Please forward
  any notes or corrections with the transcript within 1 week of initial receipt.

- If you would like more information about how this information will be used, please
  contact me at <email address>. Please note, feedback will not be immediately
  available. Information from this interview will be used as part a research study
  leading to a dissertation (and perhaps published articles) about how women's centers

experience reorganization.

- Do you have any questions or anything you would like to add?

- Thank you for participating in this interview.

POST INTERVIEW

After the completion of the interview I will write a quick summary discussing moments that stood out to me, the general emotions of the interview, and any other thoughts I have. I will upload the recordings to be transcribed and will then analyze my notes from the interview, my written summary, and the transcription. I will code the themes and will then group themes into larger themes. I will also utilize interview data to inform future interviews and the focus group.

C.4 Focus Group Interview Protocol

Topic: How Women's centers experience reorganization

Time of Interview: TBD

Proposed Date: Sometime during the National Women's Studies Association annual

conference (November 2018)

Focus Group Participants: Study participants attending the conference

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This focus group will be centered on how women's centers experience reorganization. I

will hold a focus group during the annual conference of the National Women's Studies

Association as this is a time when many women's center professional staff (including

case study participants) will be together. During the focus group, I will ask participants a

series of questions and allow the participants ample time to respond, both to my questions

and to any of the responses from their fellow peers. I will be the facilitator for the focus

group.

SCRIPT

INTRODUCTION (10 minutes)

- **Thank you** - Thank you for your participation in this focus group.

- **Introduce Interviewer**- My name is Jennifer Graham and I am the director of the

  Women's Center at Georgia College & State University as well as a doctoral

  student at the University of Georgia.

- **Introduce Participants** - Have participants introduce themselves.

- **Purpose** – The purpose of today's interview is to discuss how women's centers experience reorganization.

- **Data Collection Procedure** – I will ask you a series of questions, please feel free to respond to those questions or to the responses of your peers. I will be audio recording this focus group to aid in the transcription of our conversation. The audio recording will be destroyed upon the completion of transcription and the transcription will use a pseudonym of your choice in place of your name.

- **Key Points** - Before we begin, there are a few key points of interest we will discuss.

- **Informed Consent** – This is a reminder of and oral confirmation of the informed consent you have given to be a participant of this focus group.

  o The purpose of this focus group is to explore how women's centers experience reorganization.

  o Your identity will not be linked to your responses. Pseudonyms will be assigned to each participant and only I will have access to the key code that contains the pseudonym/name match of all participants. This will protect your anonymity.

  o As mentioned in your signed informed consent form, your participation in this focus group is voluntary and you have the right to discontinue at any time. During this interview, you can choose to leave or not answer any questions asked about how the women's center at your institution has experienced reorganization should you feel uncomfortable at any time during our interview.

- o Your signed informed consent form also mentioned your interview sessions will be audio-recorded. After our focus group is complete, the audio-recordings will be transcribed using a cloud-based software tool. No identifiable information like your name or personal characteristics will appear in the transcript for this interview or the findings of this focus group. Only your pseudonym will be used in the transcript. Once I verify the transcript is accurate, I will delete the audio recordings.

- **Pause:** Do you have any questions about informed consent?

- **Verbal verification:** If you have no questions about your informed consent, please confirm that you have read your informed consent form, forwarded your signed form and have received a copy for your records on _____ (date of focus group), and give permission to proceed with this audio-recorded interview.

- **Focus Group Guidelines**

  - o You are being interviewed because you have something of value to discuss about the experiences of women's centers who have experienced reorganization.

  - o Your perspective is valued.

  - o There are no correct or incorrect responses so feel free to discuss your perspective as you see fit.

  - o Be open and honest.

  - o Please stop me if you need me to clarify a question or if you need to pause.

- **Please inform me if you need any accommodations.**

- **Do you have any questions at this time?**

- **OK, let's get started!**

INTERVIEW (45-60 minutes)

- **General Questions**:

    o How did you feel the first time you learned you would be reorganized?

    o What differences, if any, have you felt in levels of support throughout reorganizations?

    o What would you have wanted to know before the Center on your campus was reorganized?

    o What advice would you give to someone whose Center is facing a reorganization?

    o Women's centers, collectively, identify as feminist organizations. In what ways, if any, did this feminist identify play into the reorganization of the women's center?

    o Did the reorganization occur in a manner you would characterize as feminist? Why or why not?

    o Insert other questions as generated from the individual site visits and interviews

    o Insert questions related to emerging themes from the preliminary analysis.

    o Engage in member checking around preliminary analysis.

- **One Last Question**

o   Is there any other information you think would be helpful to me in this study? Or anything I didn't ask that you thought I would?

WRAP-UP (5 MINUTES)

- Remember everything you discussed during this interview will be protected as mentioned during the beginning of this interview.

- If you have any questions or concerns, my phone number is <phone number> and e-mail address is <email address>.

- The next step in your participation will be to review the transcript from your interview session by reading over all of the dialogue to determine if there are any errors that need to be corrected. This will ensure the data collected is accurate. I will forward the transcript to you within 1-2 weeks after your interview. Please forward any notes or corrections with the transcript within 1 week of initial receipt.

- If you would like more information about how this information will be used, please contact me at <email address>. Please note, feedback will not be immediately available. Information from this focus group will be used as part of a research study leading to a dissertation (and perhaps published articles) about how women's centers experience reorganization.

- Do you have any questions or anything you would like to add?

- Thank you for participating in this interview.

POST FOCUS GROUP

After the completion of the focus group I will write a quick summary discussing moments that stood out to me, the general emotions of the focus group, and any other thoughts I have. I will upload the recordings to be transcribed and will then analyze my

notes from the focus group, my written summary, and the transcription. I will code the

themes and will then group themes into larger themes.

Appendix D

Data Analysis Materials

D.1 Data Grid

Women's Center Reorganization Data Grid

Manning's Frames	Research Question 1 (Answered using org theory)			Research Question 2 (Answered using selected CAS Standards AND Org Theory) How did reorganization impact the women's center on your campus? 1) Did reorganization change your …? 2) If so, how did it change your …?									Research Question 3 (Answered using Feminist Org Theory)
	Through what process (how) was the women's center reorganized?	Who made the decision?	What was the rationale (or perceived) rationale for the reorganization?	Mission	Program	Organization and Leadership	Human Resources	Ethics	Law, Policy, and Governance	Diversity, Equity, and Access	Internal and External Relations	Financial Resources	Facilities and Equipment	How did the women's center navigate reorganization?
Organized Anarchy														
Collegium														
Political														
Bureaucracy														
Cultural														
New Science														
Feminist														
Spiritual														