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Marla P. Peterson, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

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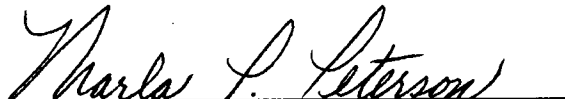
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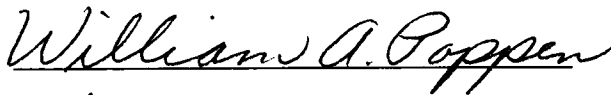
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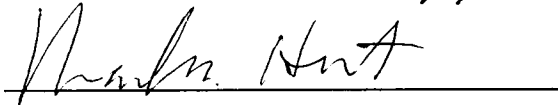
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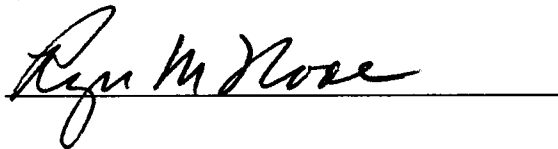

Marla P. Peterson, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:










Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of The Graduate School

**WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION:
A CULTURAL APPROACH**

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Linda DeSanctis Dietz

August, 1997

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of my father, Joseph Manlio DeSanctis, and to my husband, Peter Z. Behuniak, both of whom taught me the joys of knowledge.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to many people who offered their support and assistance during the course of this project. I would like to express my thanks to my doctoral committee, Dr. Mark A. Hector, Dr. Roger M. Nooe, Dr. William A. Poppen and Dr. Marianne Woodside for their encouragement and support. I am especially grateful to Dr. Marla P. Peterson, the chair of my committee, who provided guidance, support and an unequivocal belief in my ability to complete this work.

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I especially appreciate the participants in this study who generously gave of their time and allowed me into their lives, both personal and professional. It is because of their accomplishments and determination that others will find the path easier to travel.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Peter Z. Behuniak, for his invaluable insights and wisdom. I thank him for his numerous sacrifices during my studies and for his constant love.

ABSTRACT

Women entering the traditionally male environs of higher education senior administration may be thought of as sojourners traveling in a foreign land. This qualitative study examines the culture of an elite group of women who are senior administrators.

Ethnographic interviews were conducted with ten women in the positions of academic deans or higher, at public universities, in one southeastern state. Using the grounded theory method, thematic analysis yielded five major themes: (1) the path of advancement, (2) the inevitability of culture, (3) the struggle of adaptation, (4) the process of mentoring and (5) the aftermath of success. An alternative form of data representation was used; thus, the five themes are presented within the metaphor of a journey to a foreign land.

The findings suggest that these women are not granted full membership in the dominant culture and that they work in an often inhospitable atmosphere. The study describes the impact of the *good old boys* network and the exclusionary behaviors which deny the women full participation in the culture. The issues of successful coping and adaptation are also addressed. Suggestions are made regarding improved access to senior administration via traditional and creative mentoring strategies. Recommendations are made for an enlightened organizational

culture which renounces homogeneity in favor of the benefits heterogeneous approaches to management and leadership could provide.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Today, in both scholarly and popular literature, there is an increased interest in the topic of women in management (Leavitt, 1988).

Concomitantly, there has been an increased interest in the presence of women in higher education administration (Grover, 1992; Haring-Hidore, Freeman, Phelps, Spann, and Wooten, Jr., 1990). Naisbitt and Aburdeen (1990) predict that a new era in management will see more women in upper levels of corporations and in higher education.

According to the American Council on Education (1990), there has been an increase in the rate at which women were named to presidencies of colleges and universities. However, in over 3000 accredited institutions, women held only 11% of the presidencies and are more likely to be found at two-year colleges (Warner & DeFleur, 1993). Hersi (1993) reports that in 1984, American colleges and universities employed an average of 1.1 women in senior level administration (defined as dean and above). Women tend to be clustered in the lowest levels of higher education administration with a rapid expansion in the number of positions designated as "assistant" or "associate" vice-president, dean or director (Jones, 1993; Tennessee Board of Regents, 1993). The absence of women in senior administration is

viewed with rising concern (Chamberlain, 1988; Kaplan & Tinsley, 1989) as faculty and students become increasingly dissatisfied with salary and tenure decisions. Expanding the number of women in senior administration would be a start toward solving some of these problems and would also be a support for women on campus (Wahl & Vocate, 1993).

It is necessary to examine the culture of higher education senior administration. As Bergquist (1992) noted, "The culture holds people together and instills in them an individual and collective sense of purpose and continuity" (p. 2). Sekaran (1990) called for applied research in specific contexts such as universities, in order to provide an in-depth understanding of the culture and to reach the ultimate goal of changing the organizational climate of academe.

There has been little research on the methods of effective coping used by successful women who are senior administrators in higher education. To help women succeed once promoted to senior administration and to encourage others reluctant to enter administration, it is necessary to identify and dispel any myths surrounding high level administrative positions and the types of women who hold them (Grondin, 1990). In addition, we do not know whether the experiences of these women differ significantly from the experiences of women in top-level corporate management (Jones, 1993).

The literature indicates a need for research designed to investigate the existing culture of senior-level, higher education administration as perceived

by women who currently hold top positions. The voices of these women may well provide the guidance necessary to increase the numbers of women participating in the administration of the academy. In order to assist those women who will eventually rise to positions of power and influence, it is essential that research be conducted with the small minority of women presently in the senior levels of higher education administration.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study explored the cultural world of some sojourners, women who have entered the culture of higher education administration, with its characteristic norms, beliefs and other distinctive elements. In talking with these women, I hoped to discover what it was like to move from one culture into another and gain some insights relative to their acculturation and assimilation. This study sought to examine the unique world of women in higher education administration, not just their day-to-day experiences, but also their complex relations with themselves, with their environment and with the closed culture which they encounter. This purpose was achieved by holding in-depth qualitative interviews with the women and allowing them to explain it.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The literature reveals a paucity of information regarding the culture of women in senior administration in higher education. It is only by examining

an accurate portrayal of this milieu that institutions will be able to respond to the needs of women in senior administration, thus engendering continued high productivity and career satisfaction. In order to facilitate an increase in the numbers of highly qualified women in higher education senior administration, questions relevant to what currently successful women perceived to have been helpful or aversive will be addressed.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter I presents an introduction to the study including the following: (a) a statement of the study's purpose and (b) a presentation of the problem.

Chapter II presents an overview of the literature related to the topic. This included summaries of significant studies from two bodies of literature: (a) research on women in higher education administration and (b) research related to entering new cultures.

Chapter III describes the research methods used in participant selection, data collection and data analysis. Some discussion is directed toward a justification of the techniques used in this study.

Chapter IV presents the findings of this study. The chapter begins with an explanation of the use of a metaphoric presentation of the findings in qualitative research and proceeds through the metaphorical presentation of the findings.

Chapter V presents the discussion of the findings, the research and analysis processes and the implications of this study.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Two bodies of literature are pertinent to this study: (a) research on women in higher education administration and (b) research related to entering new cultures. As the research in these two areas will reveal, women are like sojourners to another country where, if they are to be successful, they must deal with becoming acculturated to and assimilated into this new culture of higher education administration.

WOMEN WITHIN THE HIGHER EDUCATION

ADMINISTRATION CONTEXT

A predominant research theme in the women in management literature concerns the interaction of the individual and the context in which she works. In 1979, the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors (NAWDAC) published Women in Educational Administration: A Book of Readings. The 29 articles therein focused primarily on: barriers to advancement; psychological and social factors influencing advancement; survival dynamics; and patterns of career development. Recent scholarship

shows continued interest in these same areas. North (1991) examined how gender differences might affect women's success in higher education administration. She found that male-female communication differences frequently put women at a disadvantage in organizational meetings. Gender differences related to speaking/listening ratios, language patterns, and inductive as opposed to deductive reasoning seem to hamper women's effective participation in high level administration. North articulates her concern that women administrators may find the male-dominated milieu so inhospitable that they will choose alternative career paths.

Storti (1989), in discussing the difficulties that sojourners experience while trying to establish themselves in a new environment, explains that there is a desire to "feel at home" in the new surroundings. The sojourners experience a longing for the support and comfort of their old friendships. The 50 women administrators in Evans' (1986) study voiced an awareness that they were "rather distant" from others. Evans surmised they were indicating a behavior that they had developed to accommodate the male working environment where they were seen as outsiders or that they were reflecting a sense of isolation. Grover (1992), in noting the difficulties in balancing personal and career demands, reported on the "existential aloneness" experienced by some women administrators who, because of the small numbers of women in senior administration, work in isolation and experience difficulty in maintaining self-esteem. Hersi (1993) also

acknowledges the existence of a special stress due to the lonely positions in upper administrative ranks. The nominal representation of women in higher education administration contributes to more psychological pressures for them than for other women and males in the academy.

Selman (1990), in a report on community college presidents, found that prolonged, job-related stress led to premature resignation as well as to physical and mental health impairments. Moore (1984) and Shakeshaft (1987) suggest that women are likely to enter into administrative career paths in non-academic areas such as student affairs and university development and that these paths often become administrative dead-ends. Durnovo (1990) also found that the moves from student affairs to academic affairs tracks are rare occurrences. Indeed, her survey of community college women administrators showed that over 53 percent entered administration via newly created positions as opposed to an existing position formally held by a man. The research suggests that the most direct route to senior level administration is through academic affairs, and it is from this path that women are effectively blocked.

Johnsrud & Heck (1994) examined the cumulative impact of gender upon administration promotion within a university. By analyzing the promotions of 370 persons, they found that gender directly impacts the initial position and responsibilities held within the organization. Later, the effects are cumulative as promotion is blocked by virtue of the low status

and minimal responsibility in the prior position. In other words, women are hired at low status/low pay positions and given little opportunity to exert skills necessary to develop administrative expertise. How some women manage to defy the odds and progress to the higher ranks of administration is not addressed.

Research relevant to the individual-in-context theme includes the work of Morrison, et al., (1987) who conducted in-depth interviews with 76 women in top management. They found that stereotypical perceptions have led to unrealistic expectations of performance standards by executive women and that these expectations become part of the environment in which the women live and work. Faganson (1990), drawing on the work of Marton, Harrison and Dinitto (1983), found, "behavior in organizations is a continuous interaction of feedback between person characteristics {i.e. gender} situations {i.e. the organizational context} and the social-institutional system in which these interactions occur" (p. 271). Sekaran (1990) asserts that applied research must be conducted in order to gain an in-depth understanding of organization context and to "be more relevant to managers in specific organizational settings such as universities" (p. 254). By limiting the research to a specific context (universities) and group (women in senior administration), the probability is increased that the findings may be used to pave the way for newcomers to the arena.

Prior to conducting this research, it was necessary to examine the role which feminist scholarship has played in recent history. Feminist scholarship has affected the world of academe in numerous ways. Feminism's concern with unequal rights and opportunities for women has resulted in an awareness of inequalities based on gender. Hensel (1991), in her investigation of the status of women in higher education, reported that while women compose more than 50% of undergraduates, they make up only 25% of the faculty and only 10% of all tenured professors. In light of such bleak numbers, Harrow (1993) questions, "Where are the role models for young college and university women today who are tomorrow's leaders" (p. 145)? The feminist perspective in research urges "a cognitive shift" whereby women's experiences are valued without comparison to male norms (Townsend, 1992). The goals of such research should be to contribute to the body of knowledge and to challenge traditional views of women (Riger & Galligan, 1980). Feminist research has been used to examine the treatment and status of women faculty, students and staff (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; North, 1991; Saul, 1992 and Townsend, 1992).

Symons and Page (1984) reported on the status of women who work in universities across Canada. They argued that in our society, universities are important institutions which have the responsibility to show, by example, ". . . some measure of leadership to other institutions through their

research on matters affecting women and by their treatment of women" (p. 204). The current study stemmed from the belief that universities should be the flagship institutions to recognize and improve the status of women in the highest levels of administration.

A CULTURAL APPROACH

The body of literature on intercultural and cross-cultural research has much to offer in terms of providing the theoretical framework for this study. There are numerous definitions of culture. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) reviewed over 150 definitions of culture, after which they concluded that the "following central idea is now formulated by most scientists . . ."

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted through symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached value; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action (p. 180).

Brislin (1993) defined culture as a system of widely shared ideals, values and assumptions which guide specific behaviors. All the definitions "suggest that in any given culture, a large number of everyday behaviors, traits of people, standards and recommended norms for morality are considered good, proper or correct" (Brislin, 1981, p. 5). Schein (1990), in his work on organizational culture, viewed culture to be what a group learned over time as a result of continuous problem solving and which

simultaneously encompasses behavioral, cognitive and emotional processes. This knowledge of culture is passed on to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, feel and behave in various situations. This shared learning provides stability and helps reduce anxiety associated with the inability to understand or predict events happening around the group. "By reducing the potential variability of human behavior, cultures provide some degree and continuity in social life" (Trice and Beyer, 1993, p. 32). In their view of organizational culture, VanMaanan & Barley (1985) see the development of collective understanding as central, "Only when members of a group assign similar meanings to facets of their situation can collectives devise, through interaction, unique responses to problems that later take on trappings of rule, ritual and value" (p. 34).

Subcultures

Much of the literature on organizational culture refers to subcultures (Martin, 1992; Trice, 1993 and Trice & Beyer, 1993). According to Schein (1992), ". . . with time any social unit will produce subunits that will produce subcultures as a normal process of evolution. Some of these subcultures will typically be in conflict with each other . . ." (p. 14). These subcultures ascribe to beliefs and behaviors by which they may be seen as distinctive groups within an organization (Trice, 1993). Sometimes the forces which create the emergence of a subculture stem from the diverse

functional needs within the organization. Thus as Schein (1992) points out, we have diverse professionals such as engineers, accountants and technical specialists employed in a single organization. It is natural that by virtue of common interests and goals, they will cluster into subcultures. According to Trice (1993), subcultures form because their members interact more frequently in person with one another than with other members of the organization. The members share "information, friendship, favors, resources, even enmities - further identifying themselves with one another" (Trice, 1993, p. 143). In light of the above accepted definitions of subculture, senior administration in higher education seems to be something other than a subculture.

Senior administration may be viewed as a male-dominated group presumed to have a "strong culture" due to a long, shared history (Schein, 1990, p. 111). Homans (1950) provides a clear, four-part definition which distinguishes a "membership group" from other types of groups. He states that individuals in a membership group have frequent face-to-face interaction; engage in activities of mutually perceived importance; have well-developed feelings toward others and behave according to defined norms. As Brislin (1981) states, group members "look after each other" (p. 110). A person may believe that they are part of a membership group by virtue of their participation in joint activities with group members; however, "if there is no assistance offered by the so-called group members when it is clearly

called for" (p. 110), then the person must be called an "acquaintance" rather than a member (Brislin, 1981).

Sometimes demographic variables such as age, race, ethnicity or gender may coalesce into a demographic group. Martin (1992) refers to "demographic subcultures" which result from gender segregation and which are disparaged by those who are not members. Thus males may refer to the "pink-velvet ghetto" for a job classification occupied by women professionals (Martin, 1992, p. 91) and women may refer to the "good old boys."

The "good old boy" group or network serves a specific function for its members. From her ethnographic study of work settings which were considered nontraditional for women, Epstein (1992) concluded that, "Men also control women by isolating them from the informal camaraderie of the workplace as well as by using bantering sexual innuendo" (p. 242). Childers, Rockin, Secor and Tracy (1981) paraphrase Virginia Woolf's portrayal of the network's benefits: "accumulated resources, shared influence and conferred self-confidence" (p. 117), which assisted men to learn the culture of the academy. A few women in a predominantly male work group may be viewed as a threat by the males, who fear that the outsiders will challenge or change their culture (Kanter, 1977). For decades, academic women have been cognizant of the exclusionary behaviors by groups of academic men. In 1964, Bernard referred to the "stag effect"

which prohibited women from freely participating in the exchange of information which flowed among the men in informal networks. As Simeone (1987) points out, today we refer to those same networks as "old boy networks" (p. 84).

Brislin and Yoshida (1994) state that acceptance into a team or group stems from the belief that the newcomer has something to contribute. They contend that "many women are not accepted 'on the team' because of being viewed as not knowing what teamwork is all about" (p. 63). The "old boy network" serves the powerful function of recommending people for top level positions; thus, by virtue of exclusion, competent women are not considered (Flynn, 1993). One learns the organization only if one is allowed access to the people and the places where the rules are interpreted. Brislin and Yoshida (1994) hold that older men often see it as their role to "coach" younger men who are coming up and to facilitate acceptance. "The 'old boy network' was established and is perpetuated through this process" (p. 64).

Mentoring

The relatively small number of women entering the senior ranks may be expected to face the same difficulties and challenges faced by anyone entering a new culture. Brislin (1993) noted that the dominant culture is infrequently discussed. There are some important implications which stem from that fact. The people making up the dominant culture are often poorly

prepared to discuss it with people wishing to learn from their experience. It becomes very difficult to know which issues are viewed to be controversial or acceptable by the dominant culture. The mentoring process serves as another vehicle by which the culture may be learned.

Mentoring is reported as a common part of most successful administrators' careers (Bower, 1993). Women entering the executive ranks have difficulty tapping into this beneficial, socializing process which aids their male counterparts to achieve success. Trice and Beyer (1993) define the traditional mentoring relationship as "between two males, one perhaps ten to fifteen years younger than the other . . . {where} the mentor acts as teacher, guide and even exemplar for the younger person" (pp. 160-161). Levinson (1978) saw mentoring as a transitional relationship which typically lasted three to five years and facilitated the career aspirations of the younger person.

In her qualitative study comparing career paths of 15 female and 15 male university administrators at public universities in North Carolina, Barrax (1985) found that mentors and role models were mentioned by 75% of the men and 75% of the women. Both groups cited their own professional competence as contributing to their advancement. Women credited their interpersonal skills with being crucial to career advancement. Neither the men nor the women perceived informal networking to be a primary element of their administrative career paths; however, both groups indicated that

formal networks (committees, professional organizations, et cetera) were critical to advancement.

Henning and Jardim (1977) reported that each of the successful women top managers in their study had a male mentor who significantly aided her career. The mentor was in a senior management position and was able to teach, support, advise and critique her. Morrison, White and VanVelsor (1987) in their study of 76 top executive women, reported that 100% of the women had help from above. Noe (1988), in his review of the limited literature on women and mentoring, reports that the number of mentorships available to women has not expanded sufficiently to meet the needs of the increasing number of women in organizations. Perhaps the answer lies in some variation on the traditional mentor theme. Kram and Isabella (1985) and Noe (1988) suggest that peer relationships may be as important to women as mentoring relationships and may be preferable to some women. More likely, a woman would benefit most from an influential male senior executive who could share wisdom with and actively advocate for her as well as from knowledgeable peers who could offer technical and psychological support.

One potential source of mentoring for women is conspicuously scarce in the literature. In both sources which I found, husband-as-mentor was mentioned by participants in the studies as opposed to being part of the investigators' inquiry. White (1992), in her interview study of 11 highly

successful women in corporate America, reported, "but six out of the eight married executive women profiled named their husbands as their number one mentors, not only serving as their cheerleaders but for the most part, agreeing to put their own careers second" (p. 10). Astin and Leland (1991), in their study of 77 women who held leadership positions from the mid-1960's through the mid-1980's, also report that participants volunteered statements crediting their husbands with support and valuable mentoring activities.

Clawson and Kram (1984) identified three characteristics of cross-gender, mentor relationships which were potential sources of anxiety and confusion. They were: the male mentor assuming a stereotypical role which reduced the female manager's competence and effectiveness; both parties' concerns regarding intimacy which led to avoidance behaviors, and both parties' concern with the public image of the relationship. Despite these concerns, cross-gender mentoring is the norm.

The literature is mixed regarding the issue of women mentoring other women. Bower (1993) states, "Women rarely provide a mentor relationship" (p. 93) and discusses the "queen bee" phenomenon which suggests that the successful woman jealously guards her elevated status and refuses to assist other women to advance. More common are those writers who acknowledge that women do mentor other women, but a problem arises from the small numbers of women in positions of real power

who are available to the ever increasing number of women in mid-level management (Harriman, 1996). Jones (1993) makes the argument that it is necessary for both men and women to mentor both male and female protégés in order to break down inaccurate role stereotypes.

Intercultural Difficulties

A direct result of the lack of openness on the part of the dominant culture is the phenomena of well-meaning clashes (Brislin, 1993). The term is used to describe encounters where people behave in a proper and socially acceptable manner according to their own culture. In interactions among people from different cultural backgrounds, well-meaning clashes can occur when behaviors are considered inappropriate, but not intentionally offensive. It is possible to make significant discoveries if the opportunity is taken to explore and analyze these incidents of cultural clash.

Strong emotional reactions may be expressed when cultural values are ignored or behaviors violated, even unintentionally. Additionally, people set up expectancies of how things will be (Brislin & Yoshida, 1994). The term "disconfirmed expectancies" (Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie & Yong, 1986) is used to describe the situation wherein reality does not match expectancy. According to Brislin, et al., persons react to disconfirmed expectancies with strong negative feelings which are often followed by frustration.

Women from a wide variety of backgrounds in higher education often describe themselves as "not fitting in" (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988, p. 8). Cross-cultural literature includes the term of "sojourners" which refers to "people who spend a significant length of time in another country" (Brislin, 1981, p. 8). The women in senior administration may be viewed as immigrants to a new land as they try to merge into the business culture (Hood & Koberg, 1994).

One reason that intercultural interactions often are stressful is that as differences between cultures become apparent, sojourners do not have clear guidelines regarding their behavior (Brislin & Yoshida, 1994). According to Brislin (1981), "inability to cope with situations using familiar methods leads to the internalized feelings collectively called culture shock" (p. 137). Repeated attempts to cope with the unfamiliar may lead the sojourner to question her own competence. Self-doubt is the primary symptom of culture shock (Brislin, 1981). Additionally, Toffler (1970) states that, "Culture shock is the effect that immersion in a strange culture has on the unprepared visitor" (p. 10).

Additional symptoms of culture shock include disorientation, communication difficulties, misreading reality and frustration (Toffler, 1970). Lundstedt (1963) acknowledged that cross-cultural travelers might react to initial unsuccessful attempts to adjust to their new culture with "a subjective

feeling of loss and a sense of isolation and loneliness" (p. 3). According to Casse (1980) "Culture shock is everywhere," and he continues:

There is no need to move to an esoteric, strange culture to experience it. It occurs each time that a contradiction or confrontation between various values, beliefs, and assumptions is experienced. It can be superficial and unnoticed. Sometimes it is drastic and leads to some kind of psychological trauma. It can be caused by the change of the value system of an organization as well as by the discovery of one's own real self (p. xiii).

Since culture shock may be "experienced by individuals who have face-to-face contact with out-group members within their own country" (Brislin, 1981, p. 155), it would be appropriate to expect that women in non-traditional careers would experience it.

One researcher, Adler (1975), asserted that the feelings which stem from culture shock could serve as an impetus for growth. He proposed the following seven ways in which culture shock could enhance personal growth:

1. The new situations which sojourners must face may provide opportunities for new learning.
2. Culture shock can be analyzed as an individualized phenomenon which allows people to enjoy feeling unique.
3. It can increase introspection and self-analysis of feelings.
4. Culture shock increases anxiety which, as long as it is not too high, serves to motivate the person to do whatever is necessary to decrease the anxiety.

5. In dealing with hosts, the sojourner has many opportunities to learn. Additionally, as an outsider, the sojourner has an opportunity to perceive ideas which may be taken for granted by the host.

6. Sojourners may experiment with new behaviors and learn a great deal. They experience elation after discovering appropriate behaviors.

7. Motivated by culture shock, sojourners may take their new learning and ideas and relate them to the functioning of other cultures as well as their own culture.

There are certain predictable problems which sojourners can be expected to face while pursuing their goals. According to Brislin (1981), these include such issues as differing standards to rate effectiveness; understanding the power structure and how to get tasks accomplished; acquiring needed information and overcoming stereotypes in order to be successful.

Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) presented the "U-curve hypothesis of cultural adjustment" to illustrate the stages that sojourners often go through. According to their hypothesis, there is an initial "honeymoon" period prior to the onset of the sojourn and which may continue over an extended period of time. This is followed by a period of disillusionment wherein the sojourner recognizes that things are different from her home culture. These feelings intensify until the sojourner hits bottom {low point on the u-curve}. In the fourth stage, the sojourner begins to realistically view her circumstances

and notices the positive aspects of her new culture. There tends to be a decrease in stress and anxiety and an increase in satisfaction with her current place. The Gullahorn and Gullahorn model continues with the sojourner's reentry to her own culture and continued adjustments.

Successful sojourners engage in adaptive processes which reduce stress and increase identification with the new culture.

Organizational Culture and Adaptation

Organizations are comprised of multiple cultures made up from various working groups. At upper levels, one would expect to find a pervasive managerial subculture (Schein, 1990). White males have almost always dominated American work organizations. The situation in higher education administration mirrors the national management trends. Flynn (1993) interviewed 15 female chief executive officers from public universities in the United States and documented their perception of an academy "reserved for white men". She also notes that boards of regents and trustees are dominated by white males who often pass over qualified women candidates in favor of white men. Kanter (1977) uses the term reproduction "in kind" (p. 68) to refer to the actions by which top male managers reproduce themselves through social and cultural processes. Harrow (1993) concurs that the situation for women in top-level administration in higher education is "bleak." She notes that, "Even with the changes in the status of women

these past few decades, there remains insufficient leadership diversity in higher education" (p. 145). This fact alone has had a great influence in the establishment of managerial ideology.

Kanter (1977) describes the situation women face as "tokens" or minorities in a predominantly male work group. By virtue of gender alone, the women are perceived as different and seen as demonstrating stereotypical characteristics of females. These perceptions heighten each woman's isolation and increase pressure on her to perform. Since managerial effectiveness has been defined by male values and standards (Kanter, 1977), the pressures can be enormous. Kanter goes on to state that the low numbers of women is important because only one or two minority members cannot provide enough support for each other. They are isolated and likely to be treated as "tokens." She also suggests that some women try to deal with their token status by trying to avoid stereotypically feminine characteristics. In time, many women learn to develop comfortable ways of coping with the pressures of being in a token situation.

Acculturation and Assimilation

With the increasing number of women entering high level management, cultural difficulties can be expected, and adaptation becomes critical to their success. Adaptation can be subdivided into acculturation and assimilation. Acculturation refers to the behaviors of the person from

the non-dominant group, while assimilation refers to the behavior of the dominant group (Teske & Nelson, 1974). If we use the example of a woman entering the highest level of administration, acculturation would change the woman's behavior. She would be required to learn and take on the culture of the predominantly male group of senior administrators. According to Brislin (1990), individual acculturation involves changes in behavior, identity, values and attitudes. Sometimes the sojourner experiences "pull factors" (Brislin, 1990, p. 235) or something positive about the new culture which enhances the decision to migrate. For women seeking senior administration, those "pull factors" might be power, status, challenge or economic reward. Upon entering the host culture, the individual faced with cultural differences may choose to accept, interpret or deny them (Brislin & Yoshida, 1994). If the acculturating person sees that aspects of the host culture have potential to meet specific needs or improve the quality of life, those aspects will be adopted with a concurrent change of behavior (Brislin, 1990).

Brislin (1990) holds that successful acculturation is dependent upon a congruency of the sojourner's expectations and the actualities she encounters. A discrepancy between the two could lead to poor acculturation. Stonequest (as cited in Brislin, 1981) referred to "marginalization" as the situation where the sojourner is out of touch with both the host and home cultures. Brislin (1990) states the term

"marginalization" is now used "generically to refer to the situation of being on the margin of two cultures, being accepted or supported by neither one" (p. 245).

By virtue of the entry of sojourners into the dominant group, the dominant group changes (Teske & Nelson, 1974). Assimilation occurs if the dominant group fully accepts the sojourner (Hurh, 1980). Assimilation often results in the recruitment of minority workers into the dominant culture (Hood & Koberg, 1994).

Acculturation and assimilation can be seen as interactive processes which facilitate the integration of new members into a culture. It is possible for a person to achieve acculturation without being assimilated into the dominant culture (Brislin, 1981). It is also possible for the dominant culture to assimilate someone who has not acculturated, if such assimilation would benefit the dominant culture (Hood & Koberg, 1994).

The acceptance of the qualitative paradigm and the broad range of methods associated with it have made investigations into complex concepts, such as culture, possible. A description of some of the methods commonly used in qualitative research and their application to the question in this study are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The chapter which follows begins with an explanation of relevant concepts and procedures used in this research. Specifics of the current study will be described in detail.

Since the goal of this research was to gain an understanding of the professional lives and personal experiences of women in higher education administration, I viewed it to be an examination of culture. The research question revolves around how these women see themselves and others in their specific milieu. Since qualitative research ". . . is concerned with meanings as they appear to, or are achieved by, persons in lived social situations." (Greene, 1988), it appeared that the use of a qualitative method would best serve the needs of this research. Sherman, Webb and Andrews (1984) reviewed criteria essential to qualitative research. These included a clear focus on context, "lived" experiences, patterns of experiences and judging or appraising. According to Shimahara (1988), a culture is understood in terms of the "cultural actor's" explanation of events. The researcher must focus on "how they define their reality" (p. 81).

Qualitative research embraces many different methodologies. I chose to use the grounded theory method developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm

Strauss (Strauss, A. & Corbin, J., 1990). Grounded theory studies evolve from the researcher's questions about people in specific contexts.

Commonly shared experiences make up the basis of grounded theory research.

The basic elements of grounded theory are concepts, categories and propositions. Since it is from conceptualization of data, and not the actual data per se, concepts are the basic units of analysis from which theory is developed. According to Corbin and Strauss (1990):

Theories can't be built with actual incidents or activities as observed or reported; that is, from "raw data." The incidents, events, happenings are taken as, or analyzed as, potential indicators of phenomena, which are thereby given conceptual labels. If a respondent says to the researcher, "Each day I spread my activities over the morning, resting between shaving and bathing," then the researcher might label this phenomenon as "pacing." As the researcher encounters other incidents, and when after comparison to the first, they appear to resemble the same phenomena, then these too, can be labeled as "pacing." Only by comparing incidents and naming like phenomena with the same term can the theorist accumulate the basic units for theory (p. 7).

The second element of grounded theory, categories, are defined by Corbin and Strauss (1990) as:

Categories are higher in level and more abstract than the concepts they represent. They are generated through the same analytic process of making comparisons to highlight similarities and differences that is used to produce lower level concepts. Categories are the "cornerstones" of developing theory. They provide the means by which the theory can be integrated. We can show how the groupings of concepts forms categories by continuing with the example presented above. In addition to the concept of "pacing," the analyst might generate the concepts of "self-medicating," "resting," and "watching one's diet." While coding, the analyst may note that, although these concepts are different in form, they seem to represent

activities toward a similar process: keeping an illness under control. They could be grouped under a more abstract heading, the category: "Self Strategies for Controlling Illness" (p. 7).

The third element of grounded theory are propositions which indicate generalized relationships between a category and its concepts and between discrete categories. The development of concepts, categories and propositions is an iterative process. It is:

. . . inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory should stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 23).

After having decided to use a qualitative paradigm and grounded theory approach, the specific design remained to be designated. I concluded that in light of the nature of my research topic and the availability of the participants, in-depth interviewing would provide the most useable data in an efficient manner.

It is generally accepted that ethnographic or in-depth interviews allow the participants to tell their stories in their own voices (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986; Goetz & Lecompte, 1984; Spradley, 1979 and Taylor & Bogden, 1984). Schatzman and Strauss (1973) assert that the primary objective of the interview is to allow participants to reveal how they conceive their world and how they experience it. Lofland and Lofland (1984) state that the interview can be seen as "a guided conversation

whose goal is to elicit from the interviewee rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis" (p. 12). Such interviews afford the researcher an opportunity to explain the unique culture of the participants and to understand their complex beliefs and behaviors (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

Recognizing the contributions prior scholars have made using in-depth ethnographic interviewing, I used the same methodology. This study examines the unique world of women in higher education senior administration, not just their day-to-day experiences, but also their complex relations with themselves, with their environment and with the new culture which they encounter. It seemed the best way to discover relationships in this closed culture was to interview these women and let them explain it. "Every social scientific study is improved by a clearer understanding of the beliefs and experiences of the actors in question" (McCracken, 1988, p. 9).

DATA COLLECTION

This study began with the recognition that my interest in the research topic stemmed from my own personal and professional experiences in higher education. In order to minimize the effect of personal bias during data collection and analysis, I participated in a bracketing interview conducted by an experienced qualitative researcher.

According to Sherman and Webb (1984), "bracketing" refers to an awareness of personal values and preconceptions and is vital in qualitative research. They also hold that this self-awareness must be coupled with transcendence in order for the researcher to see situations with a new perspective. Berger and Kellner (1981) explain:

If such bracketing is not done, the scientific enterprise collapses, and what the sociologist then believes to perceive is nothing but a mirror of his own hopes and fears, wishes, resentments or other psychic needs; what he will then not perceive is anything that can reasonably be called social reality (p. 52).

Participating in the bracketing interview allowed me to become aware of my biases and preconceptions regarding my research topic (Janesick, 1994; Hycner, 1985). During the bracketing interview, I discussed my perception of the administrative environment and the personal traits of the people who seem to excel in that environment. I acknowledged that I was not drawn to an environment which I believed to be somewhat lonely and superficial and lacking in basic trust.

As did Henderson (1992), I found bracketing to be a continual process throughout analysis. During meetings with the outside readers, I was challenged to support my categorizations from the data and was questioned whether personal bias was influencing my analysis.

PARTICIPANTS

hall

The participants in this study were ten women who were senior administrators in public universities in one southern state. At the time of the ~~interview~~, two of the women were vice presidents, seven were deans and one was an associate vice president for academic affairs. All of the participants had line authority. The participants had served in senior administration an average of four years with no one serving less than two years or more than nine years. Eight of the participants held the doctorate while two held what was the terminal degree for their discipline at the time they entered administration. Nine of the women hold tenure at their present institution.

The participants ranged in age from 48 to 57 years old. Nine of the participants were married (two for the second time). Six of the women had two or more children. Two had one child and one participant was married with no children.

Because of the private nature of the research, I believed it was necessary to approach prospective participants through personal contact by using referrals from acquaintances. The literature supports this use of acquaintance referral:

It seems quite typical for outside researchers to gain access to settings or persons through contacts they have already established. They cast about among their friends, acquaintances, colleagues, and the like for someone who is already favorably regarded by the person or persons with access control. In short, wherever possible you

should try to use "pre-existing relations of trust" to remove barriers to entrance (Lofland and Lofland, 1984, p. 25).

Since the list of referrals was developed over a two year period prior to the actual interview, anonymity of participants was enhanced. All whom I contacted immediately agreed to participate and without hesitation reserved a two-hour block of time for the interview. The ten interviews took place over a period of two and one-half months.

PROCEDURE

All participants chose to be interviewed in their offices. I opened each interview with a brief introduction of myself and my background. I specifically mentioned my own career in higher education.

Participants were asked to review and sign an Informed Consent Form (Appendix A) and were assured of confidentiality. I discussed my concerns with confidentiality in my prior career as a paralegal and currently as a licensed counselor. I informed all participants that I had obtained licensure as a psychological examiner solely to acquire privilege. These disclosures were made purposefully to reassure the participants that there would be more than typical regard for maintaining their anonymity. Each participant was informed that I would be the only person to listen to the tapes. Additionally, I assured them that I would do all transcription and would edit out any identifying data.

Each interview lasted from one and one-half to two hours and was tape recorded. The actual interview began with my asking the participant the following broad descriptive question: There is little information available which reveals the inside story of what life is like for a woman in higher education senior administration. Could you describe how you experience your professional life? This open-ended interview format allowed the participants to provide both answers and culturally relevant questions. I made every effort to follow McCracken's (1988) advice:

Once respondents have been brought within sight of the topic, they must be allowed to "go" wherever they wish. It is impossible to tell, in advance of careful analysis, whether (and how) what they are saying bears on the topic. The objective here is to generate enough testimony about these key terms that there will be sufficient data for later analysis (p. 40).

I encouraged the participants to tell their stories with minimal interruptions. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) and Patton (1980) recommend probes for clarification, explanation and elaboration. I asked questions primarily for those reasons. During the interviews, I made handwritten notes regarding nonverbal expressions (e.g. facial expressions, gestures etc.) which seemed relevant to the discussion. As the interview progressed, I would write down probes generated by the participant's comments, which could be used at an appropriate time in the course of the interview.

At the close of the interview, participants were asked to select their own pseudonym for this study. All but one woman (Grace) provided a

pseudonym. Following the interview, participants were requested to complete a brief demographic survey (Appendix B).

DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis begins with the framing of the research question and the design of the study. Huberman and Miles (1994) state that these initial decisions serve the function of data reduction. Spradley (1979) discusses the interdependence of collection and analysis of data. By immersing myself in the data through repeatedly listening to the tapes, the transcription process and the transcript analysis, I was able to apply the grounded theory method of analysis.

After an interview was completed, I listened to the tapes two times before I began the transcription process. At this point, I was concerned only with hearing the dialogue. Using a Panasonic RR830 transcriber, I completed all transcription. The entire transcription process became an exercise in protecting the anonymity of the participants. Since there are so few women in the public universities of this particular state who are in senior administration, the women tend to know one another or have common acquaintances. All of the participants in this study told of specific incidents and named names to illustrate their points. A considerable amount of editing was necessary to ensure confidentiality. Lofland and Lofland (1984) state that it is not necessary to transcribe every word that occurs in

an interview: "Indeed, there may be entire answers or descriptions given by the interviewee that you will feel need only to be summarized or recorded as *having occurred*. You do not necessarily need a verbatim transcription of everything the interviewee said . . ." (p. 62).

Editing in this study consisted of disguising such things as the participants' references to their disciplines, their co-workers, their institutions and their personal data (e.g. specific references to their children, hometowns, anecdotes and childhood). Some incidents which were related with specificity were deleted completely while others were edited. Extreme care was used not to distort the facts or the tone of the participants' stories. I made every effort to assure that the end product contained the true voice of the participant and not mine.

During the transcription process, I jotted down questions to myself. I noted quotes that stood out for me and made notes about potential categories or specific content. With interviewing and transcription overlapping, I found myself critiquing my own interviewing style and making notes suggesting alternate probes to be used in later interviews. Lofland and Lofland (1984) confirm that this approach is appropriate and adds to the quality of later interviews. McCracken (1988) refers to a "tiered" pattern of interviews wherein the researcher conducts interviews in successive groups. After the first group is analyzed, questions are refined to narrow objectives.

I found that the level of analysis done during transcription was enough to provoke new insights for me and thus influence subsequent interviews.

The completed transcripts were kept in a large binder along with blank pages for notes, questions and diagrams. At this point in the study, I began the process of open coding to generate concepts. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), coding ". . . represents the operation by which data are broken down, conceptualized and put back together in new ways" (p. 57). Initially, I read through an entire transcript, highlighting that which caught my attention. During the second reading, I would identify concepts and write them in the margin of the transcript. I would then proceed to the next transcript and repeat the process of reading and highlighting and then re-reading and coding. Marginal notes included questions to myself. Simultaneously, I kept a list of each concept assigned. Thus, as I continued through the transcripts, I could be consistent if the data was referring to an identical concept. After this process was complete, I had a list of 67 concepts (see Appendix C).

According to Goetz & Le Compte (1984) the best way to ensure internal reliability in ethnographic studies is the presence of multiple researchers. With that in mind, I assembled a research team to verify my analysis of the protocols. The team consisted of four women, three of whom are in my peer group and have current working knowledge of higher education. The fourth member is an experienced qualitative researcher.

The members of the research team were given a complete set of transcripts and the bracketing interview. They were asked to read and highlight and to make marginal notes. The group met three times during the course of analysis. Initially, we met after I had completed coding the first five protocols. I did not share my coding with the group. We went through three transcripts during the first four hour session. There was much questioning and discussion about what we were seeing in the data. We worked at roughing out loose categories for some of the concepts identified. I made every effort to encourage their free discussion in order to ascertain the validity of my own conceptualizations. We discussed particularly troublesome bits of data that seemed to lend themselves to multiple conceptualizations. I noted on my own transcripts where there seemed to be multiple naming of a concept. These were later reduced to an agreed upon single term via more questioning, comparing and discussion.

After the concepts were established, I made small (1" x 2") cards with each concept. I worked with the cards to form various groupings and to challenge the viability of each group. During this process, it became apparent that some of the concepts could be excluded from further analysis. If a concept was mentioned by only one participant, it was excluded. Additionally, there were a few concepts which seemed totally unrelated to the bulk of the data and, therefore, they were also excluded. The inductive analysis continued as I grouped the concepts into categories and then looked

for connections between categories and developed sub-categories. The categories functioned to reduce the volume of data and to produce patterns or trends. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship among some of the grounded theory elements as represented in this study.

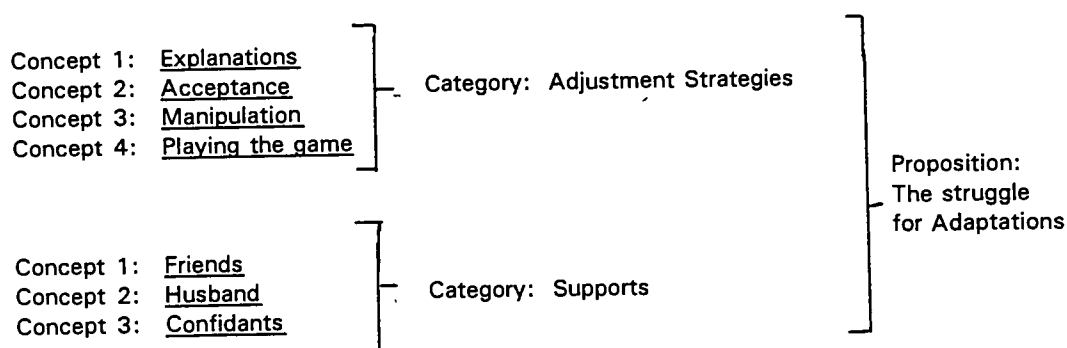


Figure 1: The Analytic Process

While I was working on categorization, I was also extracting the raw data which supported each concept. Using color coded 5" x 7" index cards, I noted line and page numbers in each transcript which corresponded to each concept. The end result was hundreds of cards, each of which indicated a participant and quotes pertaining to the concept. By constantly questioning the categorizations and referring back to the transcripts repeatedly, the propositions began to emerge.

I initially developed five broad themes with distinct categories within each theme. Reviewers recommended collapsing and re-assigning

categories but recommended retention of the five broad themes which are listed in Figure 2:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. The Path of Advancement | -- Talent and Motivation |
| 2. The Inevitability of Culture | -- Traditions and Natives |
| 3. The Struggle of Adaptation | -- Compromise and Acquiescence |
| 4. The Process of Mentoring | -- Guides and Learners |
| 5. The Aftermath of Success | -- Reflection and Growth |

Figure 2. The Five Broad Themes of the Study.

In accordance with the recommendations made in the in-process document which delineates the APA guidelines for publication of qualitative research (Elliott, Fischer, & Rennie, 1994). I have endeavored to include sufficient examples in order to allow the reader to reach independent judgment regarding my conclusions. In some cases, where I felt it was necessary for better comprehension or for understanding the full context in which the participant's remarks were made, I included dialogue of both participant and interviewer. Frequently in the course of responding, participants more fully developed their answers after hearing a brief probe or encouragement from me. It was at this point that I returned to the original research proposal to remind myself what it was that I had set out to investigate.

After re-reading my prospectus, it suddenly became clear to me that the themes should be presented within the metaphor of a journey to a foreign land. I returned to the literature and found support for the metaphoric presentation of the themes of this study which follows in the next chapter. In Chapter IV, the themes that emerged are set within a metaphoric cultural journey.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

As stated above, I initially had reduced the data to five major themes. After weeks of reviewing and introspection, I concluded that thematic presentation would not do sufficient justice to my findings. After re-reading my prospectus, it suddenly became clear that the themes should be presented within the metaphor of a journey to a foreign land. Eisner (1991) lends support for this decision when he discusses metaphor:

What is ironic is that in the professional socialization of educational researchers, the use of metaphor is regarded as a sign of imprecision; yet, for making public the ineffable, nothing is more precise than the artistic use of language. Metaphoric precision is the central vehicle for revealing the qualitative aspects of life (p. 227).

Goetz and LeCompte (1984) also view the use of metaphor as a powerful way "to create linkages between seemingly unrelated topics" (p 203).

Consequently, I invite the reader to embrace this metaphor of a journey to a foreign land.

THEME 1: THE PATH OF ADVANCEMENT

In this time of multinational corporations, it is common for those rising through executive ranks to face extended tours of duty in foreign lands. Indeed, these sojourns are often viewed as pre-requisites to reach the

highest echelons of corporate management. For the women who rise to the ranks of senior administration in higher education, the sojourn into a male dominated culture holds similar challenges and rewards similar to any extended placement in a foreign country.

As with most foreign travel, preparation must begin long before the actual departure date. These women, like their corporate counterparts, must first be selected for the journey, and that selection often stems from their own attitudes, professional preparation and expertise. The women in this study readily acknowledge their own competence, independence and risk-taking behaviors. Regarding competence, statements such as the following from Grace and Caroline were common:

Grace: I have to say I want to be wherever I am, doing the very best that I can do and that is going to lead me to the next thing where I am going to do the very best thing that I can do.

My motivation is: that whatever it is that I am doing or am responsible for, that I do it well; that, basically, that I am in education mode and that I am here to serve the students; and that I try my best, whatever it is.

Caroline: And if I am doing the job, then I am doing the job the best I can, equal to what everybody else is doing.

You just have got to do your job the best you can do and believe that you are going to get rewarded for doing the right thing and doing it the best way you can.

Trudy and Holly typify the group's attitude regarding independence:

Trudy: I will do what I think is right, regardless whether you are my friend or whether you are my enemy or whether you are my spouse or whatever you are. I am very democratic on what

needs to happen but when democracy doesn't work in a reasonable time, I make the decision.

I am so independent and so self-contained; independence is very important to me.

I don't sell out. I think that the buck stops here.

Holly: I like to make decisions, perhaps with less information than other people feel comfortable making decisions with.

Along with competence and independence, risk-taking behavior was also viewed as an important trait. Holly, a 57 year old woman, commented on risk-taking in a way that may reflect her generation's reluctance to engage in such behavior:

What I find is socialized . . . even in the people that are in administrative roles . . . women are not risk-takers. But I do think that we socialize women to tamp it down--whatever risk-taking instincts that they may have. I would encourage them to try and stand back and rid themselves, a little, of that socialization. I think risk-taking is a critical part of leadership. I think it does limit women if they are not willing to take some risks, personally and professionally.

On the other hand, Merrily, age 50, projects a strong willingness to take the necessary risks:

I am saying it is a combination of talent, of being in the right place at the right time, of having opportunities open up and being willing to take the risk of doing them. If I had not taken them all, I don't know where I would be today. I learned to take risks and I learned what it takes to run a cost effective organization. And in academia, that is not always the first thing that you think of.

After being selected for foreign travel, transportation tickets must be purchased. Some sort of payment must be made. For the women sojourners in this study, "paying their dues" was seen as a vital part of entree to their new culture.

Grace: Well, I think I sort of had paid my dues on this campus. I started as a faculty member and I had served in department, been tenured and ranked. There were two or three campus-wide major projects that I volunteered to either chair or institute. . . . so, you know I guess I sort of paid my dues and been through the trenches.

Ferris: I have been a faculty member in higher ed for over twenty years. I have been in an administrative role for about ten of those years. So I spent a long time as a faculty member and I have been everything that you can be. I have been part-time adjunct professor. I have been an instructor, assistant professor, associate professor, full professor, department head, assistant dean and dean. I have not skipped anything. And in a funny kind of way, that is probably one of the strongest assets that I possess.

Amelia: I was a department head for years before becoming the dean and so I have seen administration at those two different levels.

Holly: I was the department chair. I was the chair of a department that was all men but me. Boy, was I a firebrand. I somehow thought that I had to be John Wayne and always out there pushing everything.

To underscore the importance of "dues," a number of the women talked about the perils of not having "paid one's dues."

Trudy: I also think there is a piece of it that sometimes as females, we try to overextend where our next steps are. Instead of looking at, you go from faculty to associate dean to walk along the ladder, I find that women think well . . ." I can go from faculty to dean." And you still have an experiential process that you have to work through. A realistic process that you have to work through.

Amelia: I think probably the mistake that people make is getting into it too soon; getting into administrative positions because they are being promoted and they don't have the background. They don't have the experience. They are afraid to step out. You have to be yourself. You can't be yourself if you don't know who you are.

Ferris: My experience with some women administrators has been that if they fast tracked, if they wound up in a dean's role without ever having been the department head or if they wound up leading faculty and they had come up through the staff side, there were blind spots that they didn't even know they had.

She was one that skipped some places and boy, it really showed up. She couldn't be what she was supposed to be for wanting to play at dean or department head. She didn't have it clear in her mind whose purview was what. So she was always kind of working back down in there and that is just so destructive. But she certainly was smart and she had her heart in the right place. And I think she had a vision of sorts but it was worth nothing because she didn't understand what her job was.

In a university environment, the primary role . . . the group that is supposed to run the university, is faculty. So anytime that you do not have credibility to speak as a faculty member or there is something about your background that signals to faculty that you don't understand the world that they live in . . . you have big trouble because faculty cannot be bossed or managed. They can only be led.

Alas, having been selected for foreign travel, and having obtained transportation is not enough. Before the journey can be taken, the traveler must learn about and comply with the intricacies of entry regulations, passports and visas. For our distaff travelers, the impact of gender weaves itself in, out and through, not only the entry regulations, but also (as we shall see later) engaging the culture once she arrives at the foreign destination. Eight out of the ten participants in this study commented on the role of gender in the selection of women for this trip to the top. Only Cricket stated that the call came as a direct result of Equal Employment Opportunity initiatives. She tells us:

This position became available. He, at that point, wanted a woman. He asked a group of senior administrators to think of women on campus who could be considered for this position and it would be a one year interim, because there was not time to search before the close of the academic year.

The other participants were quite adamant that gender should not have influence in the selection of women for administrative positions. Indeed, some women felt that programs like those from the EEOC have hurt the cause of women who want top leadership roles.

Trudy: I think that women can't be put in administrative positions because they are women. They are put there because of their qualities, their capabilities. There were people here who told me after a while, "We didn't think they would hire a woman for this position and that is why we thought the other guy would get it." I didn't even think about that kind of stuff when I was interviewing for the job. I didn't think, they are going to hire a woman or they are not going to hire a woman. In the psychology of it, maybe I should have.

Caroline: But I think part of being a successful woman administrator in a predominantly male culture is being able to interact on a level playing field basis with the men. That they don't see you as a "woman" in the role but they see you as a competent individual in the role.

Cesaria: I really find that everything that I have done here I don't think has been impeded by or singled out because of my sex.

Interviewer: And that is probably why you were able to survive . . .

Cesaria: And not even know that I was surviving. I never recognized . . . it wasn't until I got to the large university, by which time I was already forty-something, that I actually thought about my role as a woman in this role.

Murphy: We are judged by what other women do which is unfortunate.

Interviewer: Except if they do a good job . . .

Murphy: Well, if they do a good job . . . but you don't want to hope that they do a good job. You would hope that people would look at you and judge you on your own merit like they do men, but we are not there yet. They still look and say, "Well, you had a woman in here before and look at what she did." Or, "You had a woman and she was great so, get another one." So you are just at the mercy. That still happens. That's not good. I think we are getting away from that psychology. It is far from Utopia. I don't think any of us will ever see that just because it obviously takes a long time for an entire culture to change totally. So I think it is evolving.

THEME 2: THE INEVITABILITY OF CULTURE-TRADITIONS AND NATIVES

Just as it behooves those who plan an extended stay abroad to understand and to learn about the foreign land and its culture, into which they are moving, so the women in this study had to learn about their new cultural environment. Sojourners must deal with cultural differences which include language, communication and local customs foreign to the traveler. A sense of alienation often assails those who must struggle to adapt to a new country and customs as they simultaneously must adapt to the responsibilities of the new job which brought them to this place. The women in this study described the culture in which they work and how they set about the task of learning what was expected of them in their leadership role. They talked about the people who inhabit this elite culture, the communication differences, the unspoken rules and the emotional and psychological responses to being in a strange place. Half of the women in this study gave descriptions of a harsh atmosphere, glossed over with a

veneer of superficiality. They expressed frustration with a system which hampers progress.

Amelia: I believe there is still some natural bias on the part of participants at the table, even though there is a lot of trying to avoid *overtly* being biased. And I have seen that over the many years that I have been here. There is more of a consciousness to try and avoid the *good ole boys* network or to try and be inclusive, but it still just feels like it is surface. It is not beyond the surface. So there is always that something going on that you don't know whether or not it is being done because people are trying for inclusion. When they are not as . . .
because they know it is the right thing to do.

Trudy: I don't know. It is a facade. And I guess I feel that . . . well, I don't know. I have not been a dean at other places. I have not been around those tables. But I don't like what I feel around the table because there is not a one of them that I think, if it came down to something that didn't affect them directly, like coming to the defense or aid or rescue of another, I don't know how that would happen. While we do function as a team, and I think we are a relatively friendly team, I don't know how deep that friendship runs.

Interviewer: Or if it is friendship as opposed to friendly acquaintances who happen to work on the same project.

Trudy: Exactly, exactly. And I define that very loosely. It is just superficial friendship.

Caroline: Yes, it is a thinking environment. I think if there is something where you feel absolutely passionate about, and you show your emotion that way, that is okay. But they don't want to see hurt feelings and they don't want to see . . . they would much rather see you come back with a smart remark, than see you whimper away because if you whimper away, you are not playing with them. I think Deborah Tannen talked about how when men have conflict, they hit head on and they keep going. They keep playing until they work it out. When women have conflict, they pick up their dolls and they go home. Well you can't pick up your dolls and go home. You have got to stay there and keep hitting head to head. Now,

my tendency, many times, would be to pick up my dolls and go home. There have been many times when I felt like saying, "Just forget it. If that is the way you want to do it, go ahead and do it that way. It is not worth it to me." But you can't do that. We are dealing with curriculum issues now. My tendency was to say, "We will go and work on it ourselves and we will bring our part to the system." Well, that doesn't work because I still have a dean out there expecting me to deal head on with it. So I tried the detour route and it didn't work. So now I am back to meeting him head on. All I have done is lost months of time in getting these changes approved. Where if I had gone ahead and stayed and played . . . so I think that is a male cultural thing that women have to learn.

So even as I feel okay in my role, I still know that there is an expectation or a way that people interact with men that is different from women. The way our president interacts with women deans is different than he interacts with the men.

Interviewer: In what way?

Caroline: I knew you were going to ask me that, but I just . . . {sighs in frustration}

Interviewer: Try to think about it because there is a reason why you say that and maybe you can't think of a specific incident, maybe you can. There is something that is triggering that awareness in you that it is *different*.

Caroline: Almost seems more superficial.

Interviewer: With the women?

Caroline: His interactions with me . . . if I am going in to his office and sitting down in a meeting, it is straightforward, no problems. I feel appropriately treated. If it is going over to a reception and he comes up, I feel that it is social. I think that maybe with men, he conducts business in those areas. I don't know.

Murphy: When I first went in, I think the one thing that made me a little uncomfortable was that I didn't know the players. You don't know motives. You don't know personalities. So that was the one thing that probably made me more

uncomfortable. After I learned, and I have learned, I know everybody's idiosyncrasies and what they might do and how they are thinking and who is kind and who is sitting there with a razor sharpening their teeth and whatever. So that was the one thing. I think after I learned who is who and where they stand, so to speak, then I felt very comfortable.

Cesaria: I mean I have a whole thing full of stuff, if I could get the permission to take the next step. There are wonderful things that we could do here. Exciting things that I think the faculty and students deserve and they don't even take . . . some of them don't even take money. Some of those, I am doing. Mostly, it is a question of facilities.

Interviewer: Why can't you get things done?

Cesaria: Well, because the big thing standing in my way is another woman. And I am convinced that she has pictures of him doing something obscene. That is the only reason I can {laughing} . . . for the life of me I cannot figure out why he is so afraid of her.

Trudy: Some days it is like {frowning} . . . the story I give: So I came in here and I did all their shit jobs and I got this stuff done and they have not assisted me in any way in making things easier. "Okay, if we keep her off center enough, she will keep cleaning up or maintaining what needs to be done or she will get out of here." Was I hired to come in and do the shit cleanup and then get the hell out of Dodge? There is just something about me that says...maybe so. You know, last year was a good year but it was a difficult year. So I think a lot of people thought that I would be pulling out this year, but I am not looking to go anywhere.

Two of the women described the changes that they have seen during their tenure in senior administration.

Amelia: Well, see, I changed too, over the years. I am one of the ones who remembers what it was like only five years ago. But I do think that part of it might be that I have been here longer; part of it might be because I do not speak out if I do not have something to say. I want to get this meeting over as soon as possible and I don't want us to ...I am frustrated with our

present leadership. We have a male leader who doesn't move it on. I mean, I just . . . {rolls her eyes upwards}.

One of the people under him, a woman, I really feel for. She has great ideas . . . we talk quite a bit about the frustration. The other day at a meeting that was supposed to start, and everyone is sitting around chit chatting. She and I have become friends because we have shared some frustration about this administration. It was almost a half hour later, nothing had happened and we knew that people were going to begin leaving because they had other things to attend to. We knew that there were certain things that we had to do. And you know . . . I said to her, "When is he going to get this on the road?" She said, "I wish he would just turn the University over to us to handle" {chuckling}. There is a real indecisiveness there.

Murphy: Yeah, I think men are getting more accustomed to having women around as administrators, as their peers. But it . . . you still run into people who think it is a man's world. "What are you doing here on the same page as we are?" But I think, for the most part, the society has just changed in that way and that has helped us to some extent. You still have a lot of women who have trouble getting along with women bosses but it is also a challenge . . . women probably have just as difficult a challenge working for other women because we often are not nearly as supportive of one another as we could be.

Interviewer: Why do you suppose that is?

Murphy: Well, I don't know whether it is envy; whether it is "Who does she think she is"? or "Why is she acting like that and not like the rest of us"? I think it probably has something to do with that or something to do with the culture that our history says that basically we all had male managers and we were comfortable with that. That is the way it is supposed to be and now we have something that is different--why?

Like the workers sent abroad for foreign tours, the women in this study had to adapt to a new work environment. For many, it meant adapting to a new university culture wherein they had to learn new policies,

procedures and the history of the institution. Since entry to senior administration reflects a promotion, these women probably have had to go from a point of exceptional performance, which secured the promotion, to the point of uncertainty which often accompanies the assumption of a new position with new responsibilities.

As discussed in Chapter II, learning the culture is vital to a successful sojourn abroad. The traveler must adjust to changes in climate. Murphy clearly states the reason why such learning and adjustments have been vital for the women in this study:

If you don't know the environment you are in, you don't know who the players are . . . as a woman, it is probably a lot worse. If you don't know where the bodies are buried, there is nothing that you are going to be able to accomplish. That's just . . . that's the way it is.

Some of the women discussed the strategies which they used to learn about the new culture. Like any traveler, they used the strategies of listening, watching and combinations of the two.

Grace: Well, one thing, I think you need to do a lot of listening and not as much talking because sometimes you can get yourself into Dutch really quickly. If you will just listen and then try to read the hidden meaning and then wait and see actions, then that is how you know that they have gone off and had sub-meetings and these decisions have been made. They knew it all along but they didn't mention it when you were there in the group. If you would have committed yourself, you would have tipped your hand and they hadn't tipped theirs. And so you learn to wait and watch and see the reaction and then you do what you think is important.

Cesaria: I mean, I watch him like a hawk because I know that I can't behave that way. But I can modify some of my behaviors so that they are not so abrasive, if I want to go do that.

- Merrily:** I would say part observation and listening. I spent a lot of time trying to get to know the others and meeting with a variety of university administrators in both academic and non-academic administration. Just sitting and talking to them to understand how we were expected to work together and just to get an understanding of how things worked. There were a number of people, mostly men, who sort of took me under their wings, you know. Maybe it was a gender thing, I don't know. But it was . . . here is an opportunity to teach this person, this woman, how things work around here.
- Interviewer:** You said, "He took me under his wing." In a paternal kind of way?
- Merrily:** One person I am thinking of, yes.
- Interviewer:** I see you smiling through this and I am thinking, well, she knew exactly what she could get out of this relationship. And you just went for it consciously and said, I will take it any way and get the knowledge.
- Merrily:** Absolutely. But I think men probably do that too. There is a very interesting book . . . I think his best book that Peter Drucker wrote many, many years ago called *The Effective Executive* and his main message there is that you have to adapt to get along with the person to whom you report and the people around you. You can't expect them to adapt to work with you. And so, I just took that to heart and said, I have to figure out how to work with these people. And if playing one role with one person, I mean we do it in life all the time. Playing one kind of role . . . if letting this person take me under his wing, if that made him feel good and I got what I needed in order to improve my area, then that was fine with me. I wouldn't compromise myself. I wouldn't do things that I wouldn't do.

Two of the participants, Ferris and Caroline, had many years of service at the very institution in which they now serve as senior administrators. Their experiences depict the valuable knowledge to be gained by being an insider who comes through the ranks. Both of these women were afforded the

opportunity to interact with senior administrators from places on the periphery of power.

Ferris: Oh well, that is just because I am the way I am. I am always . . . I have never been a person who sort of, you know, we said it before, I never acclimated. Part of it may be just this campus. I don't get a lot done by being *the Dean*. I get a lot done by being Ferris. I get a lot done.

Interviewer: All this committee work served as networking?

Ferris: Oh yes. Very powerful, you learn people. You learn who is interested in what. You learn who listens to whom. You learn which office can get things done for you. It is invaluable.

Caroline: I watched. I really watched. I had that for years before I got into this role where I am a peer to them. That was absolutely the best experience for me, to be able to sit in. I sat in all the meetings. I watched all of the interactions . . . the highest levels. I was able to watch how they played their game.

Interviewer: So what about women who come in to their first deanship? Now they have come through chairs more than likely, it is their first deanship. What happens to them? How do they navigate?

Caroline: Well, I don't know because even for me it was . . . it took a while to get used to the role of dean.

Interviewer: All right. So you have seen them come in and you have seen what happens at the big table. How do they learn? Do they always have to have the trial by fire?

Caroline: They haven't. I have not seen them have it.

Interviewer: Well how come?

Caroline: Well, maybe just being blessed with being dean makes it okay.

Interviewer: So you were just an easier target because you weren't a dean?

- Caroline:** Yes, I wasn't a dean. Now have I had a trial by fire since I have been dean? Not really.
- Interviewer:** But you are not a good example because you have earned your spurs, so to speak, through the prior years.
- Caroline:** Yes. But I can't ever recall seeing any of those other new women deans be attacked the way I have seen women staff be attacked.
- Interviewer:** So they (the women deans) are included in the good ole boy network, do you think?
- Caroline:** Yes. Probably. They are probably a small enough group.
- Interviewer:** You are enough of a percentage of women on the campus now that maybe that is protecting you?
- Caroline:** Yes, and there has been a lot of time now, that there have been adequate numbers of women. There is also, in the good ole boys group, the deans have to be real careful in going after another dean because that person sits in the position to look over their programs and their issues and those kinds of things.
- Interviewer:** So they are more vulnerable?
- Caroline:** Yes. Plus they also want to present to the vice president and the president a more cohesive group of people. So if there is fighting amongst the deans, then they are losing that sense of power. I have never thought about all of this in such terms of power {laughing} until we started talking. I think there is a power issue in relation to that.

One of the participants, Cesaria, whose academic background is in a male dominated field, had a change of heart after her exposure to senior administration as an inside player:

- Cesaria:** I came up in an area of academe . . . my whole experience ever since high school, has been in a male dominated culture. In college when I was the only female in most of my major classes, I always found that very much a good thing. It was very pleasant and I always . . . I guess I had the prejudice that

men were smarter than women anyway and I'd rather work with the men than work with a woman because the men always knew what they were doing.

Interviewer: Do you still feel that way?

Cesaria: No. {laughter} Actually, not.

It seems that for some sojourners, despite their best efforts to understand and learn the new culture, they are faced with exclusionary behaviors on the part of the host. It is often difficult and sometimes impossible to overcome the clannish behaviors which leave some women feeling Occidental in the Orient, on the outside, looking in.

Cesaria: They like being in the room with one another. They like the social event. They like to talk to you about personal things and they don't get down to business until they have talked about personal things.

Merrily: There are some men . . . some of my male colleagues, who are . . . who act differently to their female colleagues than they do to their male colleagues.

Interviewer: Give me an example.

Merrily: In a meeting, their conduct will be more condescending to the women than it is to the men. Body language, in particular, they squirm or are much more uncomfortable or make faces at one another but not openly . . . but I mean you know that they are going on. But that is okay because there are enough female colleagues now that, I mean, we do it to each other as well. So it is more . . . some of it is tied up with competence and some of it isn't. There are some men who are very uncomfortable, who would never turn to me, for example, for advice whereas other of my male colleagues do.

Grace: And then I think that I saw the majority of the structure at this upper level as being *good ole boys* and I wasn't sure that I wanted to fall into that *good ole boy* mold and have to play their games and have to put up with them.

Interviewer: And was it *good ole boy*? Is it?

Grace: It is not as *good ole boy* now as it was then. It still is some.

But still, I guess where I see the most evidence of it, is when there really is a crisis or there really is something that they are just sort of trying to work through. They go to each other. They don't come to women.

For example, and it is not any fault of his, but every meeting we go into, one dean talks about "my guys, my guys." You know, he doesn't have many women over there but still, they are not all guys--but that is his reference point and he doesn't even think about it when he says it. It just doesn't dawn on him what he is saying {laughing}.

Interviewer: Has anybody ever called him on it?

Grace: Oh yeah, we do and he just lapses right back into it.

Caroline: But the other one, even as supportive and liberated as he is, when he was applying for another job, he never listed any of the women deans as references. He listed men at lower levels but no women. I think that is interesting.

Merrily and Trudy describe how it feels to be faced with the ole boy network:

Merrily: Although I have to confess that there are days when I think it must have been wonderful to be a good ole boy head thirty or forty years ago and you could just snap your fingers and say, "Go do it" and it got done. And you didn't have to worry about nurturing people and training and all this other kind of stuff. But those are only on my really bad days {laughing}, because that is the system that I grew up in and I . . . and you know, it was pretty awful to work in. You were nothing.

Interviewer: And everybody knew it . . .

Merrily: Oh yeah, you were just another . . . another thing, another body out there.

Trudy: It is probably very similar to the culture that I have operated in as a faculty person coming through the ranks and you take on the same identity of knowing that you don't have all the information to make a decision with and that you are going to use information that you have and, as I define it, gut level hunch from there. And whereas you see others that do, my male counterparts, that tend to, I feel, have access to some greater information. And maybe they have the knowledge of how to get it and I don't. I can accept that to some extent. But it doesn't happen that way consistently. So the environment in which you work is the same environment in which I worked as an assistant professor at a different level because you are always looking for the other pieces of the puzzle that weren't in your box when you got it.

All the women in this study have developed adaptive behaviors to deal with the ole boy network. Some, like Merrily, have even reached the point of redefining the problem in light of what she sees in the present day.

Amelia: You know, it is interesting. We have two groups. The Ag campus and here. The Ag campus is a completely male dominated group and we interact with them quite a bit for various business. Talk about a difference in culture. The difference in culture sitting around the table in the Ag atmosphere is just so, so *good ole boy*, that it is blatant there. Where in our campus it is . . . {long pause}.

Interviewer: (laughing) Pseudo?

Amelia: {laughing} Yes. It is unreal. In fact, I still have . . . there is an outing that the men have at the Ag campus. I have never been invited to that but one of my male associate deans is always invited. Well, uh {laughing}.

Interviewer: They don't even try to cover it up?

Amelia: No. UhUh. I will probably go next year. I am not sure I want to, you know how that goes. I mean they really . . . they go somewhere for a weekend. It is not my idea of enjoyment but . . .

Interviewer: Do they bring their spouses?

- Amelia:** No. No. Which is probably another reason why they don't want me there. But there is a lot of business that goes on there and I am glad that . . . I am glad, at least, that I have a male associate dean who is a part of that good ole boy network.
- Interviewer:** And he brings back really concrete information that they are doing in the social outing?
- Amelia:** Oh yeah. Sure. Yes, so it exists.
- Interviewer:** How do you fight it? I mean if you only had a female associate you would never have a clue what was going on.
- Amelia:** I would never have a woman in that position. You see, that is part of my strategic planning {laughing}. There are . . . now maybe we are getting somewhere here . . . there are things that I ask him to do because he is a man.
- Interviewer:** Like what?
- Amelia:** Work with physical plant {laughing}.
- Interviewer:** They even make the Dean feel stupid? They have a knack.
- Murphy:** I learned a long time ago that people's hang-ups and whatever are theirs, not mine, so I just kind of deal with it that way. But people are surprised if you don't conduct yourself as the little woman that they see, especially if you are in the South.
- Merrily:** And I really believe, and maybe I am unique, but I really believe that a lot of what my female colleagues attribute to ole boy, male, uncomfortable settings with women, have more to do with the competence of the individual than it does have to do with their attitudes toward the other sex.
- Interviewer:** The competence of the men or the competence of the woman who is doing the perceiving in that way?
- Merrily:** I think both. I think both.

Soon after the traveler adjusts to her new country, clime and culture, she begins to separate individual actors from the intricate collage that makes

up the foreign culture. The typical executive sojourner finds herself faced with many men in the roles of supervisors, colleagues and subordinates. Simultaneously, she works with women as peers and subordinates. Only one woman in this study had glowing comments regarding her male supervisor:

Cricket: I work with a man who came from the outside and who really includes us in all decision-making along the way for input that he listens to and to keep us informed. Because he realizes that when he is gone, he doesn't want things not to happen. So, he has a great deal of respect and wants us to be contributing members to his cabinet. We have a woman in an associate position that does not have a doctorate. He has no problem with it. For her area, at the time she came through, she had a terminal degree. He reassures her. I think it has helped her not to apologize for the fact that she doesn't have a doctorate.

Some participants spoke with brutal candor regarding their male supervisors:

Cesaria: I am very frustrated. The person I work with makes the decisions. He consults me broadly. I think he values my opinion. He is not as willing to take risks as I am. He is not doing anything for fear of making a mistake. And so we have very different work styles and I think he knew that when he hired me and that is what he wanted. Trying to get a balance or whatever. It was what he was looking for.

Interviewer: So why doesn't he allow you more freedom?

Cesaria: To make himself feel good.

Interviewer: In his head, what position does he think he is grooming you for?

Cesaria: His.

Merrily: Although I am sure that I have a different kind of relationship, I think, with my current supervisor, I think he is intimidated by

women so I use that in order to . . . {rolls her eyes upward and smiles} to make my point and do what I want.

Holly seems to have summed it all up when she states, "See I have found all sorts of men are at the top. Sometimes you can find no reason why some people are at the top {laughing}."

When the women in this study talked about their male subordinates, they clearly showed their directness, authority and sense of humor:

Interviewer: What are some of the real problems with being the administrator over so many men?

Trudy: Another administrator and I were talking about that yesterday. She said, "They want so much to resist you on so many fronts, like kids." And she is dealing exclusively with budget and personnel. And that was something that they were acting like "we can walk around her on that." But that was one of my goals this year. We will get a strong handle on what is going on over there. When they see her coming, they don't want to deal with it. It is not a resentment to her as much as it is "the Dean has put you on me now." She said they were kind. They haven't been as abrasive as I am accustomed to dealing with men working with female leadership, but it is there. They are not happy with it. They are shaky about it because you have them on the two most critical issues. They have two women telling them what they are going to do with their budget and their personnel. Anytime they spend a nickel of it, they have to have our blessing on it. And we ask questions.

Interviewer: And that is different.

Trudy: It is different. It is very different for them and this is something . . . granted all the other changes have been interesting, but this has been very interesting because she has such a thorough understanding of budget. It is nice to have her to balance ideas on because I have a chair who was complaining that he doesn't have enough money to do this, and this, and this. And the Dean's office needs to do this and something else for him. He is putting in a requisition to spend

thousands of dollars on something he doesn't even need. And I am saying, I am not going to sign this. If you need this, I am not going to provide the money to get it. This is your responsibility. You don't need to spend this. He says, "But it is what my faculty want." I say, "You have to make a decision here. What is it you need?" They are not liking that. Nobody has come out with open rebellion, but in the next couple of months, that is going to happen.

Ferris: Most of the faculty members in my college who are in the full professor ranks are men. In fact, I am the only one of two full professor women in my college. They have reacted to my being in this position in ways that suggest that they believe . . . they believe that some of the kinds of things that I want to do are in reaction to things that they didn't get done while they were in power. So sometimes they are just grumpy. They describe themselves as *old white dudes* and they are sitting upstairs worrying about what it is "she" is up to. And when they . . . those that are comfortable enough to talk to me about it . . . I always say, "I don't know what we are supposed to do. You know what we are supposed to do. When you figure it out, we will get started and we will do it." Well, this just absolutely just throws them. You know, they can't really believe that I am willing to let them decide what we are going to do, because they had a dean for a very long time who told everybody what to do.

Caroline: Some of them are fine. It has been easier as I get older too. I deliberately leave the gray in my hair. I think as I am older, it helps. The males that I have recruited who are department chairs, there may be an easier relationship than with the ones that I inherited. One of them might have been the same regardless, whether I recruited him or not. He is a little more difficult to take direction from me and he may be difficult to take direction from other people too. But I have recruited four out of five male chairs. The females were already there. I think, generally, I get along okay with them.

Another was never an academic but has thirty-five years experience in his field but doesn't know anything about the university so he has been real dependent on me for knowledge that I have to give him. Another one is just off the wall. So with each of those we have worked out a relationship where there is give and take but they don't seem to have any

problems with "I'm the dean and that's my decision to make on those kinds of things." Another one does. He has problems. He doesn't like to be told to do anything or to be asked to do anything.

Interviewer: Does he want to be a dean?

Caroline: Probably.

Merrily: I have an associate dean, a man, he has been here forever. He is wonderful at what he does. I know he changed his style. He doesn't agree with some of what I say and he won't tell me and I don't know whether this is just his personality or whatever. He professes to be perfectly comfortable working with me and I know that he is not. But he also knows and I know, and he knows I know, that he is not going to leave. He is very valuable. He plays a very important role here but I take his advice with a grain of salt and he knows it. He knows that.

Murphy: I just hired two senior level men, neither of whom, I am sure, ever had worked for a woman. They didn't know what I was going to be like, whether I was going to sit down with them and develop two horns or something. You know . . . you could see it kinda . . . and then after they became comfortable that I was not going to do anything crazy, wasn't cannibalistic, this was going to be all right. Then I think they were all right. But initially, they were very uncertain as to what the experience would be because they hadn't experienced it before. So I think some of that still exists and that is to be expected because there are not a lot of us.

I had one that thought that maybe he could be a little macho. I was just a woman. And I had to let him know, I'm a woman, but I'm your boss and this is the way we are going to do this. And it is fine now, but he was kind of testing that and had made that decision. It didn't take any harsh words or . . . this is the way we are going to do this. So I think that is a challenge for a woman.

The participants in this study lend credence to the belief that the stereotypical picture of the female, senior administrator being a single

woman devoted solely to her career, has changed. Although nine out of the ten participants have added family to their professional lives, some still think of their situation as being atypical. As Trudy tells us:

. . . I find it interesting here because I think this is not the typical situation. But what I normally see are people who have sacrificed something in life to be where they are. The president of a public university up North is female and she had no personal life whatsoever. It was all professionally driven. Sometimes I feel like I have gotten into that same box and yet, I think I do have a family side. It is not as big as I would like for it to be, but I think a lot of people have chosen to have career and not family life because it is very, very, very difficult to balance the two. I think the interesting thing about the deans here is that we do have family and we do have a career. I find that to be a unique kind of situation, not typical.

The participants described their female peers using the same gender-free norms that they had indicated they would want ascribed to themselves.

Cesaria: I think that the women administrators that I work with here, by and large, are just like the men. They are good, bad and indifferent. There are enough of them that there are some of all of the above, and I don't think that there is anything that characterizes some of their administrative styles that is attributable to their sex.

Interviewer: So when you look around you at the women, the other women in senior administration, what do you see?

Cesaria: All kinds. Some good, some not so good at what they are trying to do.

Interviewer: So what is your reaction to these women that work 70, 80, 90 hours a week?

Cesaria: They are not very good if it takes them that long to do it. That's my, you know . . . you say a word, I say a word. That's my immediate response.

There are some women administrators that I don't have anything to do with. I mean by choice.

Interviewer: Why?

Cesaria: Don't respect them. It insults everyone. It should offend everyone.

Merrily: I see those who got there by competence and paying their dues and those who had a goal and did anything they had to do to get there. Of course, I see that among men, too.

In talking about the women that they called "climbers," the participants clearly indicated their dislike and distrust and the negative effect that climbers have on others.

Amelia: They are probably just more self-centered. I don't know that they won't help anybody else. I have seen some that will help other people because it makes them feel good to help other people. It positions them. It is the motives, I think, that are different or that I see as different.

The climbers have sometimes hurt the institution in planning for themselves. I had a lot of repair work to do here when I became dean, because we had a climber for a dean.

Merrily: My reaction is to be more suspicious of what they have to say. They really have to prove themselves on a point or on an action, probably more than someone else would. They come with this little aura around them {chuckling} but I think the same is true if you are talking about some males or some other minorities that found their way there by something other than competence. And that does . . . I mean, Lord knows that it happens. It happens everywhere.

Murphy: But there are some people that climb and say, "I did it all by myself. You can do it yourself." You know, "I got mine" . . . that syndrome. I have seen that happen.

Interviewer: What is your reaction to it? And what do you see as other people's reaction to that climbing?

Murphy: I don't think that person wins any friends but then, I don't think they are trying to.

Most would agree that language and communication differences present some of the most difficult barriers with which foreign travelers must cope. Intense language study before the journey may provide some basic vocabulary, but a correct accent and more natural flow come only with total immersion into the culture. The non-verbal subtleties of communication are often difficult to recognize and even more difficult to incorporate into one's own communication style. It is only by living among the native people for an extended time that the sojourner gradually reaches the point where her speech and communication demeanor reflect that of the host culture.

Regarding the topics of male conversation, Cricket tells us, "They are going to come in and the first thing they are going to talk about this morning is the Yankees and Braves game." Cricket also stated that she thought "economics" was another area in which "a great deal of side discussions occur and you need to have some participatory comment." Although Cricket was quite adamant in her view that women needed to be able to converse with men on topics of interest to the men, especially sports, Ferris was equally adamant when she stated:

Plus, I think if you have an active mind, you are going to know enough. You are going to have something to talk about. I mean, I don't think you have to talk about sports just because the person you are talking to is a male. I think in some ways, that is an insult to them.

Much more troublesome for the women to cope with are the differences in communication style between the men and the women.

Grace: It's still, like in Deans' Council, it is still very evident that men talk over women. You start to say something and they just come right in or you are telling something and you are not finished, almost in the middle of a sentence, and they barge in on a totally different topic, sort of like children talking. They aren't listening to each other. They just want to get their, you know, bit in. And certain ones are worse than others.

Interviewer: And how do you deal with it?

Grace: Yeah, sometimes, you just have to say, "Wait a minute" or sometimes you have to, if they blurt it out . . . you can't get their words back so then you have to wait and you have to reintroduce whatever it was.

Caroline: They might not respond to a comment or you can say something in a meeting and then a man will say the same thing and everybody will jump on it. And they will say, "Well, I agree with Joe" and I think, well, that is what I just said. But realizing that, however I said it, wasn't in words that had meaning to them.

Interviewer: Or that they wanted to acknowledge even if they consciously heard it.

Caroline: That's right or that I had made the comment. That's right. It is passed over. Or it could have simply been that at that point in the conversation, they were thinking about something else and it didn't register until Joe said it. You know, maybe if Mary had said it later, then it would have been . . . but I think communication patterns are probably the biggest bugaboo between men and women in the work environment. Because one is the number of words you use and how you communicate, the other is just simply the way we approach decision-making and communication, those things. We (women) . . . the nurturing, the wrapping our arms around it, is kind of a different approach than the straightforward, few words, bam bam bottom line. Except in our senior staff, some of the men take a whole lot longer to get to the bottom line than anybody else. One is real wordy.

Amelia: Sometimes it is how people value what you say. Coming up with ideas and expressing them in a meeting and having a male counterpart take the idea and come up with it, only slightly different. It is more recognized in some instances by men's authority to say something than it is by a female to do that same thing.

As the women begin to recognize and experience the male communication behaviors, they begin to incorporate adaptive styles of their own. The women recognize that their own emotionality is unwelcome in this "thinking" environment and readily accept certain taboos. Losing one's emotional control and expressing it through tears is not acceptable behavior.

Caroline: But from that point on, and of course he didn't realize how much he was getting to me, I held it in that meeting and went through the rest of the meeting. But as soon as I walked out, I fell to pieces. I don't think he ever knew that.

Holly: I remember sitting in my office embarrassing two of the gentlemen in my department by just weeping buckets which is something that I never do. I never cry. It is my one rule. No matter how mad, angry or whatever you are, in a management situation, never cry. As women, we can't. We have to always appear to be in control because we have to overcome these myths that are out there.

Additionally, Trudy remarked on a certain environmental or situational press which compels the women to justify their very presence in this elite culture.

Trudy: People have to understand why you are where you are. It is not okay in a meeting that you are the dean and occupying a chair because you are the dean. What is your contribution to this meeting? In interviewing candidates for high office on campus, I feel it is essential that I raise at least one issue in each discussion time. I need to raise an issue otherwise it is like, "Why is she here?"

Interviewer: Did everybody else raise a question?

Trudy: No. Interestingly, I hadn't thought about this until I sit here right now, every one of the female administrators at the last such meeting I was at, asked a question of the candidate. Every one of them did. There were some of the men that raised questions but *every* woman did. All of us did and I hadn't even thought about that. I have never said to another woman, "Do you feel compelled to ask a question or to make a contribution to a meeting?" I do. Whether that is just me . . . but the last meeting tells me that it is bigger than me.

Many of the women recognize that not all of the communication and decision-making was being done in the open forums of the various university administrative councils or even senior staff meetings. Inevitably, some comment was made regarding decision-making at the urinal, and some participants humorously pointed out how the women were beginning to emulate the men.

Interviewer: So they are still excluding you?

Grace: Uh, huh. And even down to decisions and where they are made. Like there was some negotiating going on in my accepting the position and I came back with a counter-proposal. They laughed and said, "Well the decision was made over the urinal". The vice president went in and said now she wants so and so and the president said, "Give it to her." Over the urinal . . . well you know, that's an insult. That is where they go. But it happens.

Interviewer: Yes and is it just a natural extension . . . I mean I think we tend to think that it is just a natural extension. That they start talking in the hallway and end up in the bathroom and by God, they conclude it.

Grace: Exactly. Exactly. Yes. But at least we see . . . we meet twice a week for senior council and now there are more women. We have a number who can go in and continue the discussion in the women's room, which is nice.

- Cesaria:** I know what they say about all the important decisions being made over the urinal. It happens. One of the fun things that happened at my last university up North, a high moment, was when there were three women in the ladies room and we were commenting that we were actually standing in there talking about something professional. It took a long time to get to that point {laughing}. It doesn't worry me, because people can always find places to do their secret business.
- Amelia:** We even . . . we tried . . . the women . . . every once in a while we go through this, the women will get together. It is ridiculous.
- Interviewer:** Was this the answer to the decision-making at the urinal?
- Amelia:** Yes, but it doesn't work. One of the vice chancellors who was female, who is no longer here, and we had a luncheon. It was all women. Some of the women really got into: We should do this more often. No one has taken the initiative to get that group together again. I think if they did, I can just about tell you who it would be. It would be the women who really have not . . . can't call up the male deans and talk to them about things, so they probably are more isolated. And it is also the women that are higher than the deans, so to speak, but really lower than the deans in terms of real power and authority. They have high positions but they don't have . . . they are frustrated because . . . at least the female deans, we have colleges to work with, they have nothing.

The participants candidly discussed some of the psychological and emotional aspects of being in a foreign culture in a powerful and responsible role. To understand their wariness regarding friendships and general issues of trust, it helps to hear some of their tales of betrayal by former colleagues as these women embarked on their journey to the top.

- Cricket:** The person that was the dean of the college that I left wanted this position. I did not know that. I did not know that she even talked to somebody about the vacancy. You can imagine her dismay when I was chosen for the position. I chose to stay in the college an extra month after my

appointment. It was a mistake. I thought I needed to help out to get some work finalized. It was resented that I was even around. It was very uncomfortable. She gathered together three or four other faculty, who I had been colleagues with at that point, and probably shared information with them that was partial truth, not totally truth, to convey to them that I was the enemy.

Grace: There was some real resentment in my department. But suddenly, when I came into this position, I had some powers that did influence them, pro or con, and they were always ultra, ultra nice to me to my face, but then I would hear their comments come back from the back.

Trudy: And the feeling then was that the dean chose me because I was the dean's favorite child. There were all the rumors: Is she sleeping with the dean? Is she . . . ? all those kinds of things.

Interviewer: Does every woman face that with every promotion?

Trudy: Yeah. With internal promotions, yes. I think you do. People are going to latch on to some kind of criticism.

Interviewer: Some kind of explanation of why not them?

Trudy: Yes. . . . when I became chair at another institution, it was an issue. And very honestly, it was the main reason that I turned down the associate deanship there. I was very happy doing what I was doing. I was in the process of divorce and I needed some free time. But I knew that I would have to face some of the wrath of the Dean.

Interviewer: Were you surprised by what you got from your peers?

Trudy: Yes.

Interviewer: How did you deal with it?

Trudy: I just kept on working and ignored it, every time it happened. It is not very comfortable. It is not very friendly. I guess I begin to do self-critique when that happens and look at what is real and what is unreal.

Ferris: I was named department head. That relationship, that had been such a strong mentoring relationship, totally disintegrated. That was a painful experience, but it was also very good for me.

I learned later that what she really thought was that I would be department head, but she would still call the shots. It never occurred to me that that would be expected. I just could not understand that, and I just blithely went on my way being department head. Her support for me completely disappeared, and she did her level best to take the chair away from me.

Murphy: Basically, he said that somebody was concerned that "You are moving too fast, that too many good things are happening." But it was this formal letter saying they should watch me that I was low down and dirty and after his job and that he couldn't trust me. It was awful. I went home and I cried. I still have that little letter. I am sure it was somebody that worked there, but to this day, it really . . . it bothered me.

Interviewer: When you went from chair to dean, what happened to your connections to those faculty in the department? Friendships? Personal connections?

Amelia: They began to disappear. Probably the couple that I was closest to, did everything together, one was an untenured professor, heaven forbid . . . a woman who socially, we just enjoyed each other. Even that was difficult within the department, because it was a little bit touchy. But at the dean's level, it would have hurt her even more. So we just didn't socialize {voice dropped to a whisper}.

Interviewer: And that hurt?

Amelia: {nodding} Yes. Yes.

By virtue of the above experiences, the participants seemed to have developed a caution regarding those in whom they will place their trust and friendship.

Interviewer: So the trust issue is always going to play into this?

- Trudy:** Yes, it always is and probably rightly so. It should. I think it is probably the same across all areas and it is probably the same male or female. I think females feel that there is an extra element of--you can't trust. I am not sure what is personal perception and reality on that.
- Murphy:** I think you trust different people in different ways. You have your peers that you can trust to work with you honestly on things, that you don't have to worry that they have some ulterior motive in getting this accomplished. And you find out who they are pretty soon. You can tell who is on the same wave length with you. It doesn't take long to find that out. Or who might think you are okay, but wouldn't go out of their way to keep you from getting your head chopped off.
- Interviewer:** How about trust issues?
- Cesaria:** I guess I do until they prove that I have been a fool. I have found that trust misplaced.
- Interviewer:** More cautious as a result of that, I assume.
- Cesaria:** {laughing} Nope.
- Interviewer:** I assumed wrong. You really are not?
- Cesaria:** Well you said you could see how excited I get about things. Ever since I started in this business, my male colleagues always have teased me about the fact that when things happen around the table, that they like to watch my face because they know . . . they can read me like a book. And I have tried and tried and tried and I cannot not react, so I have given up. So I said, "I won't be a president", big deal, their loss.

Half of the participants talked about being "lonely at the top."

- Grace:** Well, I think that very thing of "It's lonely at the top" . . . I mean, I think a lot of people think that if you can just get up there where you got all this power, that everything is just wonderful. Well, there are a lot of heartbreaks and heartaches that come with making those hard decisions and having to stand by standards and be isolated and that kind of thing. So

. . . I don't think people see that. You know, they just see it as all glamorous.

Interviewer: So the "lonely at the top" is very real?

Trudy: Very real. It is the one thing that I dislike about being in an administrative position. I am a people person. I like to interact with people and I like for them to interact with me and I don't like for them to interact with me because I am "the Dean." I would be very happy if I had a party at my house one night and people came because they wanted to come and they didn't come because "the Dean" is having a party and I feel obligated and I need to go. That is not what I think is fun.

Murphy: You develop alliances and good working relationships and friendships with people but there is still . . . you are kind of in this little box over here and there are just certain things that nobody can help you with; that nobody really understands. You don't have anybody to run to. Who do you run to?

Caroline: I think women have a difficulty relating to each other once they move into higher administration levels because they are required to do a different kind of relationship. Women want to have friends. I guess I have been making these observations because so many of us who were friends have moved into more responsible positions. It is hard to do that friendship because there are times you sit in meetings and you are not going to agree. Your budget is going to come into competition with somebody else's budget and you can't . . . women don't understand how you can be competitive and be friends too.

So I haven't fully formulated it but somehow or other the reason that women have problems interacting with each other is that they have to learn how to do that balance. I can think of one woman in senior administration in particular. We had no history together. We tried to share experiences outside of work . . . we tried to talk about personal stuff, the new house, that kind of stuff. We are friendly to each other and we are good associates, but we still both feel that there is only so far that that friendship can go. I can be friends with one of the male deans in a different way because I am not

looking for the kind of friendship that I think women are looking for--the pals kind of friendship.

Amelia: . . . because you do have to sort of stand apart and make decisions. And you know that ultimately the biggest decisions are going to land in your lap. You don't want to jeopardize that by people's impressions of anything else that might be influencing your decisions.

Interviewer: So you are telling me it is lonely at the top.

Amelia: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you miss it?

Amelia: Yeah, I guess I have. It has been a long time since I have been a department member. I mean even as department head you couldn't . . . so yes, I think that is part of the reason that I would like to be able to go back there in my last years as a faculty.

THEME 3: THE STRUGGLE OF ADAPTATION:

COMPROMISE AND ACQUIESCENCE

As the sojourner gradually gets past the initial culture shock of being faced with daily stressors and deprivations in the foreign culture, she begins to adjust to her new environment and responsibilities. Acculturation often follows a deeper understanding of the culture, its customs and its rights of passage.

Caroline: But from that point on, once I was good enough to be taken on in a way . . . and that is what I have tried to help some of the other women who have been faced by his tearing them down. If you are good enough to be taken on, and that means if he doesn't think you are good enough to be taken on, he won't even bother with you . . . if you are not a threat to him or you are not challenging his authority in any way.

But if you get to the point where you are and he takes you on and you stand it, you can stand the fire . . . well then, he will leave you alone. But you had to go through that passage and I think being a woman, more so. I haven't seen him do that with men, only with weak men.

Merrily: I think the men perceive the women differently depending on the women's competence and their own competence and vice versa. And I think there is an awful lot to be said for basic competency and that we sometimes wrap up in gender issues that probably aren't there.

Interviewer: So that . . . I don't know if I am taking this too far . . . the less competent, the more good ole boy?

Merrily: Yeah.

Interviewer: As a cover, as a comfort kind of thing?

Merrily: Yeah . . . and often the relationships that are built between deans have more to do with competency . . . well . . . and likeness of programs . . . than it does with personalities and than that it does with gender.

There seems to be an acceptance of what one cannot change and a pragmatism about dealing with it. As Caroline sees it:

Yeah and more back to this thing about why it has to be a man with a penis at the top. It is just how people think. It is just how men think. One of the women deans thinks, hey, I could do that job. She even has mentioned it out loud. There is a position that may open up soon. I don't want it right now. I need more administrative experience. I don't want to deal with the issues surrounding that position right now. I could deal with the internal stuff, but I don't have what I would need to do the negotiations with the community on various projects. I just don't have the skills. The other women here don't either, but at least one of them thinks she does. But could one of the other men do it? Why would you think they could do it any better than we could? I don't know, but they are used to playing in that world.

As the foreign traveler soon learns to avoid drinking the local water and to use bottled water instead, the participants use alternative methods of dealing with their environment. As Cricket states:

You may have to be manipulative in order to get what you believe is the goal that needs to be accomplished. If they can't deal straight on in every situation, you may be unsuccessful. So sometimes you may have to use behaviors that that person winds up being able to deal with as opposed to being totally direct and up front.

Amelia, too, accepts that she may have to use the power and authority ascribed to the men around her.

Amelia: That is just the way it is. I really do that consciously. It is not a subconscious thing that is going on. But yes, there are things . . . I do all the development right now, all the fund raising. I do all the work with corporations and so forth. Occasionally, there will be a situation where I will have the associate dean come to a meeting that we are having at the corporate level, if I sense it is going to be important. I mean, that hurts. That makes me angry, but I am not going to push and alienate the system in which I am working. I am going to make it work for. And if I am there to raise money for the college and I know it will help me to bring along a co-worker who can work within the system, we will do that.

Interviewer: And do you and he talk about it?

Amelia: Oh yeah, we do.

Interviewer: Does he have a sense of humor about it?

Amelia: Oh yes, he does. Like a while back, I went up North with our President to make a development call on a large union. You want to talk about a male world, *that* is a male world. I was glad that he went with me. But I was invited there, and I decided that I wanted to bring the President because power is important to those men.

Most of the participants talked about the necessity of developing a certain *toughness* to be able to successfully exist in this culture and to discharge their duties.

Interviewer: And if you have to be liked and if you are driven to be liked, it is even more difficult?

Grace: It is even more difficult. Yes.

Interviewer: How do you reconcile with it?

Grace: I guess that I pretty much reconciled that as a faculty member. I mean I didn't want . . . I didn't seek out . . . to be disliked. I think some faculty do. I didn't do that. They don't really have to really like what I am doing or requiring of them, but if they will say that I am fair and that it has some value to it, then I'll be satisfied. And that is pretty much the way I feel. You know, I am not after a popularity contest, but it would really begin to bother me if they, any of the people that I deal with, any other administrators or faculty, said, "Well, she plays favorites."

Trudy: And I was told up front that there were a couple of personnel decisions that I made that would haunt me my entire life and that you just couldn't do them. I said, "Well, you are probably right but the fact is, for the good of the college, for the best kinds of opportunities for the students, these are the kinds of decisions that have to be made." And I have no question in my heart or in my mind, in my professional wisdom, that this is the right decision. If it comes back to haunt me, then it does because I know, if I don't do it, I can't sleep at night knowing I should have done it.

Ferris: It taught me a lesson that I needed to learn at that point and that is that you can't make everybody happy. I just brought her in and told her what I knew and I told her what I was going to do with the information. "If you don't get out of this situation and let the appeal process run without your involvement, I am going to use it." You can discharge for insubordination. And so she just folded up her rug and left. She didn't leave immediately but she stopped. The faculty member was ushered out. I found out later she was doing

some things that were really awful for the program, so that confirmed my decision. But that was a wrenching decision for me, but I have been much tougher since then.

But it is Merrily who seems to have truly acculturated without reservation:

Merrily: And I am tough and people know it, even though I appear kind of {she shrugs, smiles and wrinkles her nose}. Being short really helps.

Interviewer: That helps?

Merrily: Oh yeah. People think I am a real softy.

Interviewer: They think you are cute?

Merrily: They don't know that I have this ram rod of steel and that I can play hardball.

Interviewer: It is probably too late by the time they find out.

Merrily: {laughing} We play. That's all.

For these women, coping with the new culture included developing a certain amount of "balance" in their lives. Grace tells us: "Well, I guess I don't put my whole stock or my whole life just in this job. I have a lot of outside . . . I have family; I have friends. I travel. I try to supplement the rewards that I get at work with other rewards in my life." As stated above, nine out of the ten participants were either presently married or had children. Ferris typified their stance on balance:

Ferris: The most unfortunate thing I think I see is women who don't have balance in their lives, women who have devoted themselves exclusively to work and don't have a good sense of themselves as women. This work is never, ever, worth giving up me as a woman. That is the most important piece. That is the piece that I have hung on to because that is the

core, but sometimes I see women who have not hung on to it or maybe they never had it, I don't know.

Approximately two-thirds of the married women credited their husbands for much of their professional success. For many, the husband served as a powerful mentor and as a source of encouragement and support. As the executive's family must relocate for global assignments, these husbands make the necessary moves and sacrifices to accommodate their wives' rise to the top.

Cricket: Well if someone were to say to me, "Who is probably the single most important person responsible for you being in this position today?" I would have to say it is my husband, and I think it goes way back. . . . My husband doesn't like me to be gone and leave him alone at night but he is learning to deal with that. All along the way, he has encouraged me to do what it is that I see to do. He helped a lot with the kids, more than most husbands did of his age. He encouraged me if I was wronged, to go to the boss and speak out . . . those kinds of things, from the very beginning.

Trudy: My husband said to me, this is my second husband, . . . he said, "You really need to get into administration." And I said, "No, I don't want to do that. I really don't want to do that." I was offered some opportunities and I said no to them.

Interviewer: When you were chair?

Trudy: I was in one chair and I was offered an associate dean's position and I turned it down. And that was when he really got on my case. We weren't married at that point, actually, we weren't dating at that point, but it was like "You should do this."

Interviewer: Your husband now, before you were married, he was saying "You need to do this"? Was he in a mentor role?

Trudy: He still says it.

Interviewer: Was he the mentor in your life?

Trudy: Maybe. Maybe. He was chair of another department in my college when I was chair. He had been an administrator at another Southern university. He had done those things and he got out of it. . . . He is probably my number one supporter in what I do . . . and I guess I never really thought about it that way, but if I had to say, "Who has worked with me the most on skills and communication?" He has. I mean, he is my sounding board.

Cesaria: I don't think I have a model that anyone can emulate because I happen to have a unique husband. He started out in one field and then changed to something very different. That changed his career path in a way that made this a logical way to go for both of us.

Interviewer: His ego must be totally intact.

Cesaria: He is one of a kind. He really is. I have met very few men who would do what he did and still know who they are.

Interviewer: That's neat. That says a lot.

Cesaria: That was very lucky for me.

Amelia: I remarried someone outside of academe. He is very successful in what he does. He is older than I am, ten years older, very typical probably of re-marriages.

Interviewer: Does he mentor you?

Amelia: Does he mentor me? Yeah. Probably, but . . . he mentors me, you know . . . we talk things over. He mentors me in that I get an opinion from outside the confines of the academic area from someone who sees the world a little bit differently, which is good, I think.

Interviewer: And who is male.

Amelia: {laughing} He does give me that viewpoint.

- Merrily:** . . . but then I met my husband and he became my husband and mentor, I guess you could say. He really helped me understand how this place was structured and ran.
- Interviewer:** So he . . . by virtue of conversations with him and your relationship with him, you really learned how everybody else ticked that sat around the table?
- Merrily:** Oh yes. Well, I heard his perspective . . .
- Interviewer:** You had inside trader knowledge.
- Merrily:** {laughing} Well, yes, I had a lot . . . well, I had a lot of knowledge about his arena, but what I had was a reality check. We sat around the same tables. I had a reality check on what was it that so and so meant when he said this or she said this . . . and we would talk about how the meeting went and what was going on and share notes about various conversations that we had had, that weren't confidential, with various people, to see if we were hearing the same thing. Sometimes we did and sometimes we didn't.
- Interviewer:** How valuable that was.
- Merrily:** He still teaches here, but he is no longer on the inside, so I can only bounce things off in a vacuum. It is really different.
- Holly:** Our careers have both been ones where we have managed large numbers of people. I will discuss a lot of the situations that come up with him, but I don't do what he says. But I kind of like it to be part of the mix when I have a particularly difficult problem.
- Interviewer:** Sounding board?
- Holly:** Yes.
- Interviewer:** I am assuming that he had to be supporting for you to embark on your doctorate.
- Holly:** He always was.

THEME 4: THE PROCESS OF MENTORING: GUIDES AND LEARNERS

Before embarking on her extended sojourn abroad, the savvy traveler attempts to gain as much helpful information as possible regarding her new life. While guidebooks, videos and television documentaries all serve to educate her, there is little argument that an informed personal guide would be the most beneficial and effective source of information. Competent, caring guides are rare. Thus, the woman who finds a guide willing to assist her in her preparation for her journey is most fortunate. For the executive traveler, her guide goes by the name "mentor."

As stated in Chapter II, much has been written regarding the role which mentorship plays in career development. The mentoring process spans the entire career of these executive women. It influences their ability to achieve high position and to successfully remain in that position. Despite the prevalent belief that women are not mentoring others, the participants in this study, at least, mentor both genders at all levels of higher education.

As expected, all ten participants acknowledged that they had male mentors to aid their careers. As discussed above, many of the women credited their husbands with mentoring activities. Aside from husbands, all ten women had at least one male mentor and four of them claimed to be mentored by two or three different men. These male mentors played various roles in the participants' lives. Again, as one would expect, most of the men were in supervisory positions over the participants (e.g. department

chairs, deans, or senior administrators). Three of the participants named their major professor as their mentor. Two of the male mentors were "friends" of the participants, and one is a subordinate at the associate dean level.

The participants talked about their male mentors with respect and acknowledged their influence on overall career success.

Grace: . . . One of the former deans was the biggest supporter and best mentor that I had and, probably, very instrumental in me getting the position. And I continued to turn to him as long as he was in that role and still do. It is a different kind of relationship because he is not on this level now but, yes, he is very much a mentor.

Interviewer: All right, so we had male mentors. Could you have progressed the way you did without male mentoring?

Caroline: No. I couldn't because the male mentors actually helped to put me in the positions. I learned a lot from them. From one, about organizations, and he took an interest in helping me progress. One of the best things he did was insist that I finish my degree. I occasionally see him, and he is always interested in my career and what I am doing. He knew me and encouraged me and helped me to advance.

What I learned from another one was what academics is. I truly learned the academy from him. He understood the issues in higher education, promotion, tenure, faculty relationships. So I learned what it means to be part of higher education from him. Another one who mentored had a different approach. His mentoring was the kind to throw you in the river and see . . . he had so much trust and confidence. He would give you that confidence and delegate it.

Amelia is in a unique mentoring relationship with her subordinate, male, associate dean. Their relationship seems different since it is a partnership in which both seem to give and receive useful information.

Interviewer: So you are mentoring him and in some ways, is he mentoring you?

Is it a collaborative kind of thing? Is he mentoring you about the male culture?

Amelia: Yes. Probably. Because I hear things from him that I probably wouldn't if we weren't that close to share those kinds of things and understand that they are going on.

Interviewer: It sounds like this is real collaborative. So you bounce things off of him before you present them at Deans' Council or whatever?

Amelia: Oh yes, definitely. We read each other's memos if either of us has a really hot memo that needs to be toned down. I mean, you know how that is when you fly off {gesturing the flight of a plane and laughing}.

Although mentorship by male mentors was far more common, seven of the ten participants benefitted from female mentors. Most of these relationships took place early in the participants' academic careers. Interestingly, five of the seven women mentors named by the participants held supervisory positions over the participants. Of the other two female mentors, one was a major professor, and the other a faculty colleague in the participant's department.

Grace: Probably my first professional mentor was my major professor who was a woman. . . . and showed me how that there needed to be interaction between males and females, because she did a marvelous job of that.

Cesaria: There was one woman in the department that I went in, who had been hired initially as an instructor because her husband was hired and she came in as a tailgate. And she actually developed an Honors program in the department there. She was a woman who was uniformly detested by all the men in

the department. They found her too abrasive, too aggressive, very, very sharp, and unapproachable, unfemale.

Interviewer: Male?

Cesaria: Yes. Well even for a male, she was too much. I loved her. I thought she was great. She was brilliant. She was very sharp and just didn't bother rounding out the edges for anybody for anything. And she took me on as a woman; told me where she had come from and warned me what to do and what not to do. To this day, she is a very close friend. . . . When I became chair at the large university up North, she nominated me and wrote me a letter of recommendation.

Merrily's continued relationship with her female mentor most closely resembles the traditional model of mentorship as discussed above. Her mentor was a vice president at the institution where Merrily served as department head.

Merrily: . . . my major mentor is a woman.

Interviewer: And at what point did she step into your professional life?

Merrily: When I became a department head, I rejoined an institution that I had been in before. It was probably sometime within that year that I had something that she thought was worth nurturing and she has been my mentor ever since. She has since retired.

Interviewer: How neat, so you kept it all these years.

Merrily: Oh yeah, we are very good friends. I turn to her for advice all the time. We communicate on e-mail almost every day.

Eight of the participants in this study discussed their efforts to mentor others. They mentor their own male and female subordinates, colleagues at their own institutions as well as at other campuses.

Grace: I have probably mentored all the way through my whole professional career.

Interviewer: I am not surprised . . .

Grace: {laughing} I've got this little trail that follows me around.

Trudy: I am working with one of our female minority faculty who has had difficulty transitioning into this environment. She and I work together on a very close basis. I try to say that I am taking off my dean's hat and I am working as a faculty person. Her chair doesn't accept that. He thinks that the dean is trying to protect this, in his book, incompetent, black female faculty. But that is his problem and that is not where we are going on it. But I do mentor her very directly.

I meet once a semester with our junior faculty to try and work with them on where they are and that is as a group. Then I work with some of them individually on some individual processes but I don't do as direct of a mentoring process as with this one.

I also have a very close friend that I am really serving as a mentor for at another institution, out of state.

Murphy: I guess I have had just one formal mentoring situation and I have had a number of women who would call and ask about situations. "What do you think I should do?" "What does it sound like to you?"--informal "let's have lunch" things. I have provided advice to a number of people but there was only one that I provided . . . and she considered me her mentor.

Interviewer: Are you still in contact with her?

Murphy: Yes.

Merrily: I have a man on my staff who I have been mentoring, actually two of them. One more difficult than the other, in a sense. They are both at entry level. One is very competent with the operational details and is very clumsy at relationships. I really have advised him that he has to spend a lot of time developing interpersonal skills and knowing just how to deal with people in a relaxed manner.

Then I have this poor young man who is in an area that he doesn't like anymore. He doesn't really know what he wants to do and I can't really help him much except to lay out a bunch of options for him and to help him think through what the implications of taking certain paths are.

I mentor someone on my own staff who is very talented and she will make a wonderful administrator. I find it hard to give her good advice about what kind of position she should look for next. She heads a large department.

I am mentoring a number of people outside this college, at other schools.

THEME 5: THE AFTERMATH OF SUCCESS: REFLECTIONS AND GROWTH

After a period of time in the foreign culture, most of the sojourners reach the point of being relatively comfortable in the host country. It is during this time, that she begins the process of reflection on her circumstances; makes plans for her next trip; and perhaps shares some travel tips with those aspiring to the culture.

It is reasonable to expect that sojourners will have positive and negative experiences during their journeys. Only three of the participants talked about the negative aspects of their current positions. All three mentioned the lack of time to continue with research and writing in their academic disciplines. Trudy spoke for the group when she stated:

And professionally, I don't do the kinds of quality professional work that I did before I went into administration. It is quality administration but I am behind on my research and I am behind on my writing. There is not enough time. You can't do that.

I have never not been the lead person on getting a book or article done but at this point in time, I can't load one more thing on.

Cesaria was forthright in articulating what she experiences as "the biggest downside":

The bad part is not being in charge; not being able to act on ideas . . . that instincts or decisions that I think need to be acted on. Right now we are having a terrible budget thing and not one person who should have come up and said, "Here's what we should be doing." Instead, they are making committees. That is the biggest downside. It's not seeing what I call leadership.

On the positive side, the participants talked about the rewards of their careers. Like precious souvenirs and mementoes gathered during a journey, they talked about the meaning of their work.

Trudy: Oh, I think the best aspects are that you can have a vision of what things can be and you can facilitate it happening.

And I think a good part of it is that you do have control, to a great extent, over your destiny and the destiny of programs. No one has total (control) but you have a lot more than you do as that assistant professor.

Amelia: I have found that I have enough freedom and flexibility at the dean's level to do almost anything that I want to do . . . this is a good level to be at for having influence within your own college . . . there is a lot of authority and power relinquished to the deans. That doesn't happen at all institutions.

Cesaria: It is working with the faculty to develop new courses; to make the faculty's life easier. I'm a dean. I like promotion and tenure issues. I love meeting new faculty and seeing them come in and I vicariously enjoy their thrill that I had at an earlier time. I like to facilitate things with them in a way that I didn't have; that I think could have made a big difference at different points in my career. I really enjoy that.

Grace: The university has been the most rewarding for me. I think it is just a wonderful life. I couldn't have picked a better area to

have been in and if I had to do it over, I don't know that I would do much differently. I think that I have been very fortunate that these steps have fallen into place and it just has been very good for me.

Planning for the Future

Some sojourners contract local maladies or simply get weary. They either never acculturate or merely want to return to a place that is more comfortable and less stressful. Often, they acknowledge that they have completed what they set out to do and that it is time to return home.

- Grace:** . . . I look around at the impact it has had on a lot of people's health. We have a lot of people that just don't mentally burn out, but their bodies just take a toll. They are really ill and it's stress. They get heart attacks or have strokes.
- Trudy:** My husband has some prospects for a good position in another state. He asked if I would go. I said, "In a heartbeat." If he gets a good position, I would go. I can figure out something to do . . . I don't think it is worth the physical, mental and personal sacrifices that have to go into it.
- Interviewer:** I read that a lot of women reach a high level, especially women our age, and then they say, "Okay, I have done it." Unless you really are aspiring to that vice presidency or presidency, there is not a whole lot of motivation to keep being beaten up.
- Trudy:** That is right. That is it exactly. Or to wonder where your kids are going to be in four years, knowing that you can't back the calendar up and repeat it.
- Amelia:** I have seen more of it among my colleagues. I have seen more people who are just retiring, just saying . . . just getting away from it completely, retiring early.

Interviewer: Are you lame duck?

Amelia: {laughing} Not really lame duck. . . . lame duck in my own mind; no one knows that I am lame duck, okay? I am trying to be very discrete about that. No superior knows that I am lame duck. I just know that I am not going to be here after a certain amount of time in the position. That is a personal thing.

Other sojourners have already begun exploring the possibilities of moving on to yet another country. They seem to hunger for a taste of even more challenging, exciting and exotic cultures.

Cesaria: This is my third year. Actually, what has happened is that I have decided that I can do a much better job than most of these people and I have actually started looking elsewhere.

Interviewer: At what level?

Cesaria: Oh, I am actually looking at a vice chancellor or provost position.

Interviewer: Okay. What's appealing about it?

Cesaria: The next position? To be able to do the stuff . . . I wasn't sure that I could do the things that a person in that position does. Now that I see what happens, I can do it with one hand behind my back {chuckling}.

Sharing Tips with Future Travelers

Many foreign travelers are asked to share their experiences and advice with others who are interested in similar journeys. The participants in this study generously shared tips for successful sojourns.

Holly: The other thing is to be able to lose some of them, sometime. Some of them, even if you are right, you are going to lose. You need to talk to yourself and say, "Okay, there are other

battles to fight. I don't have to win them all." I have seen some people take their marbles and go home when they still had meaningful things left to do.

Caroline: They have to be competent and consistent in their jobs. They don't have to put away their feminine aspects. They don't have to wear bowties . . . But I think you have got to be caring and I think that is the difference in a woman's culture and a man's culture in the leadership role. I think the caring part comes with having a sensitivity to what else is going on within the organization besides just what is black and white.

Grace: I had said that there are usually two or three significant people in your professional life and I think it is very, very important for a woman that is going to get ahead or move into these levels, to have at least one man, if not more. I don't think that you can make it all the way up through the ranks staying in the female line.

. . . try to move toward things that are going to give you satisfaction, not just something that is going to give you money or not just something that is going to give you a title.

Cesaria: If you think about what makes a successful administrator, a male, your typical person . . . it is somebody who thinks well of themselves. He's articulate; has good ideas; and has the strength of his convictions. They have an idea that they want to convince other people to buy into and to move forward. You don't do that if you don't know who you are and feel confident about what you are talking about.

Amelia: Have enough experience before you come into administration to build yourself a base. You have to feel confident about what you can do; good about what you have accomplished. That becomes your base. You have to know your value system. You just have to build up that self-confidence before you take on a position of having to make tough decisions; of having to represent your group. You cannot do that without a good firm foundation in your own value system, in your own self-respect and experience.

Murphy: I'd tell her some of the things that I think really helped me. I think integrity is just very important. Do the right thing. Know what you are doing; learn as much as you can about

what everyone else is doing. Know the culture of the organization.

After spending time with these successful women sojourners, it became apparent that readiness to embark on such a journey is a complex, developmental process. The time element is a critical piece of the overall professional maturation which needs to take place prior to entry into senior administration. In the next chapter, I will explore some specific aspects of these findings; the research and analysis processes; and the implications of this study.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine the unique world of women in higher education senior administration and particularly those aspects related to dominant culture which they encounter. In this chapter, I will discuss the qualitative findings, the research and analytic processes as well as the implications of this study.

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

This study explored the culture as experienced by women in higher education senior administration by using an emic approach, i.e. speaking with the women themselves. These cultural insiders provided descriptions of their own attitudes and values as well as the cultural milieu in which they live and work. The participants in this study are trying to be good team players. Often, they succeed; however, their stories resonate with an awareness that they are still not granted full membership into the inside culture. Their vivid descriptions of a work environment fraught with exclusionary behaviors from the power elite or *good old boys* calls forth images of a relatively inhospitable work atmosphere. The overt behaviors of exclusion are troublesome. Under the guise of communication differences,

the men are basically forgiven for inattention, interruptions and generally discourteous behavior during discourse. The literature has led many women to believe that it is solely up to themselves to rectify their deficiencies in order to be heard in the executive suite.

A number of the women in this study mentioned communications as a difficulty for them to overcome and as a source of chronic frustration as they realize that their voices are often not being heard or attended to in a receptive way. All of the participants who mentioned communication also took the position that it was up to them to correct the difficulty. Cricket and Murphy talked about the need for women to become more informed on topics of interest to men. Caroline and Amelia discussed gender differences (related to communication) such as the number of words used and emotional tone. A few of the participants discussed playing the "men's" games according to the men's rules. The findings suggest that women deny their emotionality because it has no place in management. Tears are a strict taboo. Women are not to run from confrontation but are to fight back, emulating the behavior of their male peers.

Some of the participants seem to have accepted and incorporated these beliefs so completely that they rarely deviate from them. While insisting that they have and can retain their femininity, they also adamantly insist that one must "act like a man" in at least some behavioral ways, in order to fit in successfully.

Some of the exclusionary behaviors are more difficult for the women to combat. Decision-making which is conducted away from formal organizational bodies (e.g. at the urinal, golf course or other social function excluding the women) is another source of frustration for the women. While the participants may joke that their increased numbers permit them to do similar kinds of things, it is apparent that they take this exclusion from decision-making very seriously.

Perhaps one of the more interesting findings is the awareness of a much more subtle and pervasive exclusion. Amelia talks about the acceptance of women feeling "surface only." Cesaria and Trudy spoke of "subtle things" which occurred and of which they did not feel a part. Caroline, even when pressed to do so, could not articulate what "it" was which made her believe that the president was treating her differently from her male counterparts.

As the literature points out, not knowing the nuances of a new culture is a source of stress for sojourners. Sojourners are forced into a state of hypervigilance out of fear that they will make an inadvertent blunder. Trudy talked about "not having all the pieces to the puzzle" in her box and of being aware that some of her male counterparts did. No matter the reason for the existence of such situations, they are a source of frustration and stress for the women who just want to do their jobs as well as possible.

It is interesting to note that there seems to be a direct correlation with the increase in women sitting around the table and with increased awareness of the behaviors of the men toward the women. While the lone woman in the board room may have been unaware of the subtleties and discounting going on around her, women in institutions with at least three women in senior administration seem to have a heightened awareness and sensitivity. Merrily spoke about other women at the table noticing and reacting to the men's nonverbal cues. Cesaria, who came from a male dominated discipline, never noticed anything amiss until more women joined her at the conference table. Caroline, when asked when does she find herself looking through a "gender lens," responded, "I am more likely to do it when I am with other women who are also more attuned to that." One can only speculate how the atmosphere will change as even more women file into the executive conference rooms.

There are some serious ramifications that stem from the frustration of being a marginal member of a group. In an effort to adapt as quickly as possible to their new culture, the women are using methods used by generations of women before them. Some of the women quietly accept the situation. There is a conscious effort to not rock the boat. An attitude of "not fighting it" is common. At times, I was reminded of little girls who were barred from the boys' treehouse and special clubs. Like the little girls of their childhood, some of these women react with the attitude, "I don't

care. I don't want to be in their silly club anyway." By use of humor and self-righteous contempt, the women "roll their eyes" and make light of the "little children." Perhaps this kind of rationalization and denial is necessary in order to allow them to accept condescension, disrespect and relatively poor treatment.

Another method of adaptation which the women are using is manipulation of the system. Amelia, recognizing that the *good old boy* networks devalue her as a woman with power, uses her male associate dean and even her president in order to achieve her goals. Merrily allows her male counterparts to assume her fragility and to "take her under their wing" in order to get whatever information she needs to do her work. I have no doubt that all ten of the strong, competent women in this study would much prefer to operate in a direct and forthright manner; however, gender stereotyping often precludes them from doing so. Thus, as distasteful as it is, these women will use whatever means are at their disposal, which do not violate their ethics, to get their jobs done.

Ferris was the only participant to acknowledge the benefits of not acculturating. She states, "I have never acclimated." Ferris believes that by remaining outside of the main culture, she retains a more objective perspective. In reality, she often functions as an outside consultant brought into an organization for a fresh outlook. This participant is cognizant of no barriers, related to her outsider status, which prohibit her from getting the

job done. Ferris is apparently an example of someone who is accepted into the dominant culture, despite her lack of acculturation. Her campus leadership recognizes her value to the university and accepts her without demanding change.

In order to reach and maintain these positions, the participants have had to make compromises in their lives. Most notable is a loss of old friendships and an inability to establish and maintain traditional, female friendships within their own universities. In the process of progressing from faculty through administrative ranks, the women all spoke of friends left behind and betrayals by colleagues, friends and even mentors. These painful incidents apparently helped the participants to get "tough" which further prepared them for the difficult tasks and loneliness inherent in executive office.

Those women who received promotions from within their universities suffered more resentment and betrayal than those women who came to the position from the outside. In discussing the concept *lonely at the top*, some of the women spoke of losing connections to other women with whom they could no longer relate or with whom they were competing for budget dollars. Trudy seemed honestly saddened about being relegated to the role of *Dean* which made it difficult not to suspect people's motivations for attending a party she held.

Amelia, Cesaria, and Merrily successfully cling to their disciplines by active participation in their national professional organizations and continued research activities. Others have abandoned their professional disciplines in order to fully embrace their management roles.

Occupational roles have long been considered as extensions of gender and family roles. Those women who were promoted from within their institutions were afforded the opportunity to develop an accurate representation of what the role of senior administrator actually encompassed. They were able to learn proper role behavior before ascending to the position. Such prior learning lessens the chance of role ambiguity and its attendant stress.

The isolation these women experience on campus would be lessened if they were in sufficient numbers at each institution to form a subculture. At this point, that is not the case and they have not yet coalesced into a subculture. Even though many of the women rely on colleagues at other institutions for advice and support, that is not the same as being part of an influential campus network such as those which apparently exist for the men. These women, in their work isolation, do not have as complete an identity with executive work as many men seem to have. Therefore, we are seeing the phenomenon that after a decade or less of senior executive work, they feel as if they have achieved what they wanted and can leave senior administration. Because some of the women do not find their sole identity

in their work, they have a desire to return to that which was more comfortable (i.e. department faculty) and which met their needs for social interaction with peers. They have a need to fit in somewhere because during their years on the fringe, they were never wholly part of the group and they were well aware of it.

The participants expressed the fact that they earned the right to sit at the table. Ferris and Amelia talked about leaving the university because they have much to contribute and want a chance to do so. These women are still quite young and are leaving the academy at least a decade sooner than their male counterparts. Many of the participants discussed their beliefs that women in senior administration have limited options regarding advancement. They state that academic vice presidencies and presidencies would be realistic goals only at small private institutions. Unfortunately, the current employment statistics seem to validate their beliefs. Higher education will continue to lose valuable human capital if it does not make honest efforts to retain these women in the system by offering them access to the highest positions available.

Many of the participants referred to the necessity of paying one's dues prior to entering senior administration. *Paying one's dues* served not only the expected function of allowing the participant to gain needed knowledge and expertise, but also some unexpected functions as well. Especially for the six women who had internal promotions to senior staff,

paying dues allowed them to learn the culture first-hand from the periphery. More importantly, it allowed the power structure to become comfortable with them as women and as colleagues. The prolonged exposure to senior administrators enabled these women to be seen as "safe." They were known entities who would "play the game" and fit in. The risk to the existing power structure was minimized by virtue of familiarity.

Paying dues also served the purpose of allowing the women to gradually become accustomed to the jealousy and isolation which might assail them as senior administrators. Paying dues afforded the women a chance to mature in their expectations of what work would really be like once they rose to the top executive ranks.

Another noteworthy aspect of *paying one's dues* was that it allowed many of the women to "see how it is done" and to then decide that they could do it better themselves. A number of the participants credited incompetent and dysfunctional supervisors for providing the impetus to seek advancement in administration.

All of the participants in this study stated that they had male mentors. Seven of the participants had female mentors as well. Over the course of their careers, some of the women had two or three men in the mentor role. The fact that immediate supervisors became mentors for many of these women is important. The literature tells us that the most effective mentors are people who are not only knowledgeable but also influential within the

organization. Women may find that carefully assessing a potential supervisor is actually more important than a specific job description.

The mentoring process spans the entire careers of these successful administrators. See Figure 3.

In the early stages of the participants' careers, both men and women served as mentors. Despite the common notion that "women do not mentor

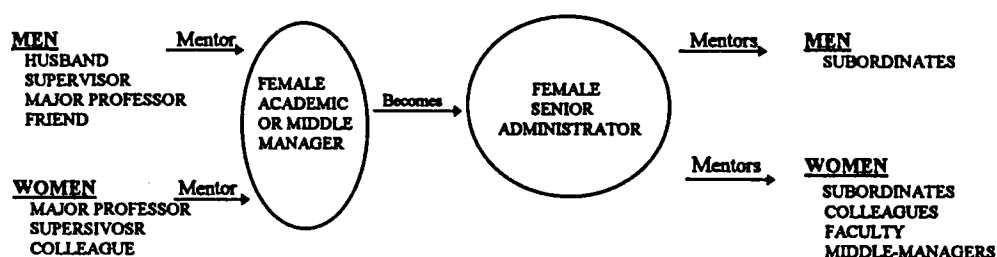


Figure 3. The Mentoring Process over Career.

women," the participants in this study mentor other women far more than they mentor men. Some of this may have to do with opportunity, but also there must be a willingness on the part of men to engage in a mentoring relationship with a woman in a senior position.

Caroline, Merrily and Trudy all talked about mentoring male subordinates. For them the process seemed quite straightforward. Amelia left no doubt that she enjoys the mentoring relationship which she shares with her male associate dean. She recognizes each of their strengths and deficits and how they both strive to grow within the relationship. Hers is

the only example of a cross-gender peer relationship that emerged in this research. It raises the hope that more such peer mentoring will develop in the next decade. By virtue of a cross-gender mentoring relationship, both parties become aware of false stereotypical assumptions regarding how persons of the opposite gender problem solve, deal with difficulties and function in the administrative culture. It appears to be an effective way to increase respect and break down barriers which inhibit an egalitarian work environment.

One potential source of mentoring rarely mentioned in the literature is one's own husband. Husband-as-mentor incorporates many of the accepted aspects of traditional mentorship. It can be a long-term relationship, often with an older male. Such a relationship has the potential to incorporate expertise, respect, friendship and trust. It would be free of outside denigration regarding inappropriate sexual intimacy. In light of the increased number of dual career couples in today's society, both men and women could benefit from a mentoring relationship which would enhance both of their professional lives.

In the careers of these sojourners, mentors are typically established and influential within the organization. In light of the mentoring these participants are already engaged in, it would be safe to predict that women will do more the longer they stay in senior administration. This is yet

another reason why the academy must make a stronger effort to retain these women.

THE RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS PROCESSES

In Chapter III, I discussed the use and function of a bracketing interview to expose my own biases regarding my research topic. The bracketing interview revealed that I expected the participants in this study to be women who would possess certain personality traits. I expected to find competent, independent women who tended to be less emotional and more tough in their interpersonal exchanges. I expected them to possess a sense of humor and to have well-defended egos. The findings do bear out these expectations. The Findings also reveal that these women do rationalize some of the stressful events and interactions which occur with their male peers. They make excuses for the men's behavior by saying such things as, "He doesn't realize it," et cetera.

I had assumed that the women would articulate trade-offs that had to be made in order to stay in these high administrative positions. The participants talked extensively about changes in their social lives as trade-offs for the opportunity to reach their professional goals. Regarding power, I expected more discussion than actually emerged. These participants, for the most part, accept their power in stride and focus much more on "getting the job done." Also, I did not expect to find much closeness with male peers.

The participants clearly have a range of relationships with their male peers and are apparently closer to some of them than they are to female peers. I had also expected to discover a subculture of women senior administrators. Instead, what was revealed by the data is something quite different. Some described a parallel culture, while others refused to describe anything other than being part of the overall culture of senior administration. At the same time, these women were describing a situation wherein they knew that they did not have full access to the same information to which their male colleagues did have access.

As the bracketing interview indicated, I expected to find much more frustration about their situation and much less resignation or contentment. I also expected to hear less tolerance for the status quo than these participants voiced.

I fully recognized that there was no way to avoid subjectivity in this research; all I could do was make every effort to assure that my conclusions and interpretations were indeed grounded in the data. I have concluded that the fact that I am employed within higher education afforded me a number of benefits which may not have been available to a researcher not part of their world. First, access to the participants was facilitated through my own personal contacts in higher education. I have no doubt that many of the participants agreed to be interviewed for this study due to my referral sources. Secondly, my familiarity with their world seemed to facilitate

rapport with the participants, and an easy camaraderie was established very quickly as evidenced by the amount of laughter and humor which marked the interviews. Since their world was not totally foreign to me, the participants did not have to provide much minute clarification which allowed for a relatively uninterrupted discourse. I was able to understand the participant without difficulty as evidenced by the frequency with which they commented "exactly," "that's it," or "right." The participants spoke freely and with an openness which was facilitated by exhibiting a certain degree of understanding of their examples and concerns. My being perceived as an *insider* apparently conveyed that I would understand that which they chose to discuss with me.

Regarding the actual data collection or interview process, my experience paralleled that which was mentioned in Chapter III in that my interviewing technique seemed to improve as I progressed through the ten interviews. The questions became more focused. The fact that I was transcribing prior interviews as I was proceeding with data collection allowed for continual critiquing during the data collection period. This process of listening to and transcribing prior interviews in the same time-frame of conducting additional interviews mirrored much of the analytic and recursive analysis that was to follow during data analysis.

Anyone who has done great amounts of transcription can attest to the altered state that often occurs while the fingers fly seemingly of their own

accord. The typist is able to think of other things or relax in an almost meditative state. I found myself in that state often and would have to go back and listen to the tape and read what I had typed in order to be sure that I had not missed identifying data or failed to note something that needed editing. This state also allowed me to make observations about the data which I would then stop and record for later use during analysis. Although it was a time consuming process, I believe that the overall data analysis was enhanced by my having done the transcription.

During the transcription and editing phases, I was constantly faced with the reality that many of the specific instances which the participants recounted could not be used in this research. I was amazed at the specificity of what they told me and the very personal nature of some of the material. These same women who talked at length about betrayals and trust issues, spoke with a stranger and named names at their own institutions as well as some sensitive incidents in which they were involved. Such candor and openness was in direct conflict with the caution they stated they had to use in their daily professional lives. Although it was impossible for much of that material to be included in the transcripts, the material did provide me with a clearer understanding of the participants as full and complex women who happen also to be part of the administrative elite.

The last reflection on method regards the use of the outside readers. During our analysis sessions, the team members repeatedly lamented the

fact that they did not have the same information which I did. The readers made statements such as, "You have so much more information than we do. You have a picture of her in your head. You know the tone she used." Their comments also railed against the lack of non-verbal cues. It was live testimony against doing analysis from the cold record of typed protocols. These team members wanted to have more cues, visual and auditory, in order to do the analysis.

The team also served another important function in this study. All of the readers challenged my analysis in order to ascertain that conclusions were grounded in the data. An example of the research team challenging my bias occurred during a discussion about Trudy. I resisted their interpretation that Trudy put her family before her career advancement. I clung to my position which was clearly stated in the bracketing interview, that these women would have wanted to be the boss at all costs; they liked being the boss. The group members pointed out a number of instances in Trudy's transcript which solidly corroborated an opposite conclusion. She does not need to be the *boss* and indeed many of her career moves were family driven. With Trudy, I had difficulty getting past her powerful personality and her current position of authority. The research group helped me see this participant more accurately.

All but one reader has extensive knowledge of higher education administration. They either work or have worked in the milieu and served as accurate sounding boards throughout the analytic process.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

Looking at it strictly from a cost containment point of view, in these constrained budgetary times, universities can ill afford to lose highly competent women administrators. An often inhospitable climate is causing many of these women to leave the executive ranks at a relatively early age. With their departure, they take with them tremendous wisdom which is an untapped resource for younger aspirants to the senior staff ranks.

The women who participated in this research were eager to tell their stories. At times, there was almost a sense of desperation to make sure that the areas which they deemed particularly troublesome were explored. During many of the interviews, participants would often have startling revelations as they basically were thinking out loud. Some seemed amazed that they had not thought about certain aspects of their professional lives or the culture in which they work until participating in this study.

Since the findings of this study indicate that a woman is more likely to rise to senior administration on her own campus, perhaps universities and colleges should re-examine how they are spending their managerial development funds. Instead of spending money for external workshops and

seminars on leadership, should higher education commit itself to developing highly committed, internal mentoring programs to foster the development of campus leaders?

Finally, senior administration in higher education will face serious problems if it continues to rely on the *good old boy* network for recruitment. As women continue to rise in middle management, the *good old boy* network will have less of a white male pool to draw from; thus, continued reproduction "in kind" can reasonably be expected to perpetuate itself often at the expense of losing the most talented persons for the top positions.

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Research should be conducted to determine whether similar results are achieved with other women in senior administration in state universities in other geographic locations. Also, it is recognized that other types of data analysis might yield different results with increased linkage across themes. Additionally, a comparative study is needed to explore the culture of men in senior management. Obtaining a current, cultural, male perspective regarding their female counterparts in the executive arena would add to the body of knowledge of organizational culture. Such research should limit the male participants to between the ages of 45 to 55 years of age in order to minimize extraneous, socialization influences.

Research should also be conducted to further explore exclusionary behaviors and how they impact commitment, functioning and work satisfaction of women in administration.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study reveal a generally inhospitable climate in which these women senior administrators work. Although their competency was sometimes recognized, the collective voice of these women cries out for something quite different, an environment in which the impact of gender would be more consistently subjugated to the impact of competence. As we approach the 21st century, the feminist call for recognition as competent persons predates the advent of the suffragettes. Although much progress has been made toward the appearance of equality, much work remains.

The findings of this study differ from those of Durnovo (1990) who found that over one half of her respondents were in a newly created position. With the exception of the participant who is an associate vice president of academic affairs, all the participants in this study are in traditional line positions which in the not too distant past were filled by men.

Today, a woman's place in the boardrooms and executive suites is still marginal. The result seems to be a less than satisfactory state for everyone involved. It is apparent that many of the men in both mid-level and senior management are struggling to accept women as peers on multiple

levels of consciousness. If we accept the notion that most men derive much of their identity from their work, then we can appreciate the perceived threat which may be engendered by sharing the board room with women. Changes spawned by the women's movement, anti-discrimination legislation and recent, sexual harassment legislation have occurred so quickly that a workforce which now spans three generations is in tumult. Despite superficial appearances of acceptance of the mandated changes, there are indications that at a deeper, hidden level, the players are pulling back and regrouping in order to cope with the anxiety engendered by relatively sudden change.

Recognizing that it is as hopeless to mandate a gender-free working environment as it is to attempt to legislate morality, the goal more likely should be to strive toward an honest meritocracy. Such a workplace would not only hire the most qualified person for any given position, but also would allow all the players to function in ways that are compatible with their gender. Organizations should not be forcing women to carry the burden of changing to adapt to the traditional white male culture. Instead, all members should carry an equal burden in adapting to the undeniably difficult changes that must take place if we are to reach the point where we can refer to the *persons* of the corporation.

The chief executive officer sets the tone, and the wise one would want to capitalize on retaining all the competent, creative persons who could

contribute to the organization's success. It makes little sense, as women slowly make gains and occupy more places in upper management, to allow unaddressed undercurrents to fester into a climate which drives too many women out of the board room. Instead of a culture which demands that a woman "act like a man" and that women renounce their very essence which makes them different from men, we should strive for a culture which allows for diversity. We should strive for an enlightened organizational culture which renounces homogeneity in favor of the benefits heterogeneous approaches to management and leadership provide. Fairness demands that we encourage contribution and recognize excellence, regardless of gender issues.

During World War II, women were welcomed into the male world of industry. The country needed thousands of women to take the role of "Rosie the Riveter" in order to aid the war effort. Women left their homes and kitchens and performed admirably at what was men's work. At the war's end, these same women were rewarded for their efforts by being fired in order to make room for the men to claim their supposedly rightful place on the production floor. We can only hope that 50 years later we will not repeat our prior mistakes.

Executive women are leaving inhospitable executive ranks in record numbers and successfully embarking on entrepreneurial enterprises. Higher education should take the steps necessary to staunch the flow of talented

women who, at the peak of their career expertise, decide that they are tired of the battle and leave senior administration. We need these women to stay in higher education, to continue to improve the academy and to provide much needed mentorship and guidance to young people aspiring to administration.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

You have agreed to participate in a study of the culture of women senior administrators in higher education. Your part in this research will consist of participating in a private interview. In this interview, you will be asked to describe how you experience your professional life. The interview will last approximately one and a half to two hours. After the interviews are analyzed, the findings will be shared with you. You will be asked for your reactions to the findings in a brief telephone interview which will be recorded.

Since your participation involves a confidential question and answer session with the researcher, there should be no risk or discomfort on your part. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Your sharing of information about your professional experiences will help educators assist other highly qualified women who aspire to senior administration, and may offer you an opportunity to clarify and better understand the experience for yourself. Please note that your identity will be kept confidential at all times to all but the researcher. To ensure anonymity, all interviews will be audiotaped and coded before they are transcribed by the researcher. All identifying

information will be removed or disguised in the transcription. At the completion of this study, the tape will be erased by the researcher.

This consent form will remain in a sealed envelope in a locked filing cabinet in the Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology Unit, Claxton Education Building. Upon completion of this study, the researcher will provide you with an explanation of the findings. Any further questions you may have concerning this study, or your participation in it, may be answered by contacting Linda T. Dietz or Dr. Marla Peterson at (423)974-5131, 108 Claxton Education Building, Main Campus.

I have read and understand this explanation of the research project. I have had my questions regarding this study and/or my participation in it, answered to my satisfaction. I voluntarily agree to participate.

Name

Signature

Date

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

1. Age: ____
2. Marital Status:
Single () Married () Divorced ()
3. Do you have any children:
No ()
Yes () If yes, how many ____
4. Highest degree held: _____
5. Do you currently hold tenure?
Yes () No ()
6. How many years have you held your current position? _____

Please provide your e-mail address:

Women in Higher Education Senior Administration: A Cultural Approach

APPENDIX C

ORIGINAL 67 CONCEPTS

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| acceptance | good old boy | president |
| advice | going up | quit |
| attitudes | guilt | reward |
| balance | honesty | risk |
| betrayal | hours | role |
| boss | husband | safe |
| climbers | intuition | service |
| colleagues | jealousy | sexual harassment |
| communication-topics | ladies room | sexual harassment-training |
| communication-beneath | lonely at the top | support |
| confidant | luck | surprises |
| contradiction | manipulation | taboos |
| culture-general | men-general | token |
| culture-learn | men-details | tone |
| culture-outsider | men-subordinates | tough |
| downside | mentor - self | trust |
| dues | mentor - others | unique |
| EEOC | mother | unprepared |
| explanation | motivation | urinal |
| father | plans | why me |
| friend | play the game | women - dislike |
| goals | politicians | women - like |
| | | women - administrators |

VITA

Linda DeSanctis Dietz was born in Queens, New York on July 15, 1947. Her family moved to Slatington, Pennsylvania when she was a young child, and she attended both private and public schools there. She graduated from Slatington High School in 1965. She received a Bachelor of Science degree in Psychology from East Tennessee State University in Johnson City Tennessee in 1982.

Linda completed a Master of Arts degree in Education at East Tennessee State University in 1985. That same year she accepted a position as a counselor at East Tennessee State University. She has obtained licensure from the State of Tennessee as a licensed professional counselor and as a licensed psychological examiner.

In 1990, she began a doctoral program in Education at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She will receive the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in education and an emphasis in counselor education in 1997. Linda continues employment at East Tennessee State University.