Silent Strategy: Women Faculty and the Academic Profession

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I have always lived life in the present, mostly because I never truly thought I had much of a future. Life has thrown its share of hurdles and lifelong struggles my way, all of which have helped build who I am today. Those hurdles and struggles, however, have often created a cloud of doubt around my future. If it were not for key individuals who stepped into my life at integral moments and saw in me what life was blocking from my view, I know that I would not be where I am today. While I have done a fair amount of hard work to achieve what I have to date, I owe unending gratitude to those who have helped me along this journey. After all, success is not a solo journey.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the women faculty who shared with me their experiences, strategies, and the silences involved in their careers. The insight they contributed to this study is invaluable and will likely prove meaningful to many women academics who will see their words and experiences as reflections of their own. One of the greatest powers in this world of ours is in sharing our experiences so that others can know they are not alone.

Abstract

Although the passage of Title IX improved access for women in higher education, women faculty remain underrepresented in many disciplines and prestigious institutions in the U.S. For women faculty, navigation strategies are integral to succeeding in their careers within an environment that privileges men. Women faculty often utilize silence, consciously or subconsciously, as a tool to advance their careers. This qualitative study included 26 interviews with 13 women associate professors representing different disciplines across one public research-intensive institution. In this study, I explored silence and other strategies women faculty used as they sought career success and satisfaction. Findings support that women faculty use and experience silence, daily, in their academic careers to manage and negotiate identities, preserve their careers or selves, hide or conceal identities and emotions to conform to cultural and institutional expectations, silence their voices in specific situations or contexts, and strategically use their voices to push toward change or fight for a cause. These strategies make up strategic silence. This dissertation highlights how the women faculty in this study strategize around the gendered organization that is higher education to achieve success and satisfaction. It also demonstrates the reasons women faculty might choose silence to negotiate and manage their careers and how the academic environment produces a culture that invokes the need to choose silence. Finally, findings further theoretical understandings of silence as a gendered career-enhancement strategy for women in academia and provide implications toward social change within institutions.

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Chapter One: Introduction

While the academic culture and environment has improved for women faculty in the last several decades, the experiences of women academics still differ in many ways from those of their counterparts who are men (Broido et al., 2015; Cress & Hart, 2009; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Mason & Goulden, 2004; Metcalfe & Gonzalez, 2013; Samble, 2008; Wolfinger, 2008). Much of higher education continues to privilege men and White individuals; as a result, those with minoritized identities often manage or compartmentalize identities. Those with minoritized identities also exert more effort to accomplish more in order to gain the same respect as their White and/or male peers. To do so they must overcome stereotypes and identity taxation, and work within an environment that often fosters and perpetuates bias, discrimination, and oppression (Cress & Hart, 2009; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Ropers-Huilman, 2008; Terosky, Phifer, & Neumann, 2008). Although the experiences of women academics often include both challenges and opportunities, much of the literature focuses on how the patriarchal and androcentric environment of higher education fosters oppression, bias, and discrimination (Acker, 2006; August & Waltman, 2004; Bain & Cummings, 2000; Metcalfe & Gonzalez, 2013; Terosky et al., 2008; Ward, 2008). Indeed, as women academics navigate their personal and professional lives in academia, they often face an uphill battle in achieving promotion and career satisfaction. While many college and university environments remain unfavorable to the success of women academics, the numbers of women earning tertiary degrees and entering academic professions continue to grow, though too slowly for many in science, engineering, technology, and mathematics (STEM) fields (August & Waltman, 2004; Metcalfe & Gonzalez, 2013).

The continuous growth in women's participation in all levels of academe signifies that while women may encounter difficulties in succeeding in the academy, many remain committed to education and the academic profession and finding ways to navigate and succeed within academia.

The origination of higher education by and for affluent White men established academia as a patriarchal (male governed) and androcentric (male centered) institution (Bystydzienski & Bird, 2006). Many characteristics of patriarchy and androcentrism continue to persist in academia today. These include the valuing of competition (e.g., tenure, funding, publishing), hierarchal structures (full, professor, associate, assistant, adjunct, instructor), and the continued dominance of men in top-level positions (Bird, 2011; Trower, 2012). The characteristics of patriarchy and androcentrism that persist create a culture of inequality for women and underrepresented faculty by favoring characteristics and expectations that favor men and White individuals.

Success in any organization requires navigation and negotiation, particularly for individuals who identify with minoritized groups, as organizations regularly support inequality regimes (Acker, 2006). Acker defines inequality regimes "as loosely interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender, and racial inequalities within particular organizations" (p. 443). The academic environment supports its own system of inequality regimes through practices that reinforce particular ways of knowing and being over others. Additionally, inequality regimes within organizations delineate who has power (traditionally, White men) and who must work to gain power (traditionally, women and minorities) in promotion opportunities and decision-making processes (Carli & Eagly, 2001). Further, power

influences identities as "it regulates behavior so pervasively and silently that individuals incorporate its normalizing effects and regulate themselves" (Baez, 2002). The imbalance of power within society and organizations suggests that women and minorities likely need to employ career navigation and negotiation strategies more actively than their White men counterparts. To navigate and manage careers in academia, I postulate, women faculty employ intentional and unintentional strategies that involve the experience and use of silence.

For some women academics, the use of strategies of silence may be essential to the management of their careers because these strategies allow them to adapt to the environment of higher education. This concept of strategic navigation evokes the idea of power and agency that must be realized by individual women faculty in adapting to, and in some ways resisting, the culture of academia. The ability to resist or manipulate dominant systems to manage and navigate careers in higher education implies agency and power within women academics' career management. Yet, it is unclear whether or how women academics are consciously utilizing strategies of silence toward the management of their careers.

Although it is clear from the literature that there can be consequences (e.g., isolation, career fatigue, attrition) to employing strategies of silence, understanding the potential positive attributes that strategic silence may bring to the careers of women faculty is imperative to the overall understanding of their experiences in academe. Understanding the experiences and career strategies of women faculty is important to the discipline of higher education because while women have made great strides in gaining access to higher education as students at every level, the percentages of women faculty,

especially in traditionally male-dominated disciplines, have not risen to the same degree (August & Waltman, 2004; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Mason & Goulden, 2004; Metcalfe & Gonzalez, 2013; Samble, 2008; Ward, 2008). Some scholars have found that the culture within higher education for women academics has created a "leak" in the pipeline of women PhD's leaving academia or initially opting for non-academic careers and choosing to not enter a career in academia at all (August & Waltman, 2004; Metcalfe & Gonzalez, 2013). Given the importance of women's participation in higher education at all levels it is critical to understand how those who choose the academic path manage and navigate their careers.

Research Questions

August and Waltman (2004) state that "it is not enough merely to recruit and hire more women; once hired, women faculty must be retained by fostering a satisfying work environment in which they can perform well and prosper" (p. 178). In order to understand how academia can assist in attracting, hiring, and retaining more women academics, it is useful to first understand how successful women faculty members navigate through their careers in higher education. Therefore, the overall questions that guided this inquiry are:

1. How do women faculty use strategic silence in the navigation and management of their careers?
2. How do women faculty strategically employ silence toward identity management, masking, and self-preservation?
3. How do the identities, backgrounds, and experiences of women faculty influence their approach to their roles as academics?

4. How do women faculty use strategic silence differently or similarly within STEM and non-STEM disciplines?

Positionality Statement

In qualitative research:

> Understanding one's standpoint and position before entering into a research project is imperative so as to guard against hearing, seeing, reading, and presenting results that conform to the researcher's experiences and assumptions about the self and other, rather than honoring the participants' voices in the study (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2014, p. 41).

The process of reflecting on and writing a positionality statement is important to qualitative and feminist research because "without reflection on the influences of social identities in the research process, interpretation and representation becomes more about telling the researcher's story and less about staying true to the words and stories of the participants" (Jones et al., 2014, p. 41). In this section I reflect on how the topic of this dissertation became important to me, how my own experiences and identities relate to my framing and understanding of this topic, and why I see this topic as important to the discipline of higher education.

Gaining insight and understanding of the experiences of women faculty and the relationship of silence to those experiences is important to me for several reasons. This topic initially began to resonate following the data analysis of my master's thesis on the experiences of lesbian academics negotiating personal and professional lives. Since beginning my doctoral studies it has become increasingly more important to pursue as I continue to find and define my academic identity because I am increasingly more

conscious about how I present my identities and self and how I and my identities are being perceived. Additionally, my own experiences with using and experiencing silence contribute to my desire to answer the research questions in this study. For the purposes of this study it is important to note a few of my identities: feminist, lesbian, female, atheist, and living with chronic illness. These identities that I have chosen to list are ordered strategically in relation to the level of energy and effort I put forth to try to hide or negotiate them within my academic identity. Each identity has with it risks when "outed" within my academic world in the ways in which others interact with me, respect my intelligence, or tokenize and value who I am or what I have to offer. Due to these risks, I know that I both intentionally and unintentionally silence and manage these and other identities within my role as an academic.

Having chosen silence as a strategy to continue my path toward success in academia suggests to me that experiencing and employing silence is not limited to just my own experiences in higher education. I have chosen silence in beginning many courses with the mission to not reveal or discuss my lesbian identity so that lesbian is not the only identity the instructor and classmates see as it has, in the past, been the predominant identity others rely upon in their interactions with me in the classroom. Nearly every time I failed because I have never been able to maintain that silence. Another silence I try but often fail to maintain in and out of the classroom is in silencing my chronic illnesses because when people attach illness or disability to my identity I am often treated differently, nearly always with the assumption that I cannot "keep up" with students who are perceived to be healthy. A strategic silence I have succeeded in silencing is my identity as an atheist because the label of lesbian already creates enough

assumptions that I do not feel comfortable adding another identity that has attached to it socially constructed assumptions about morals and attitudes toward religion.

Before my interviews with participants, my memories of choosing silence in regard to writing this statement were regulated to my academic career. However, while talking with participants I remembered the labor of silence I endured while a teenager hiding my newly discovered sexual orientation. In hindsight I should have known I was destined for an academic career because when I realized that I am a lesbian, my first mission was to go to the library and find every book available, fiction and nonfiction, that covered the topic of lesbian lives and experiences. Doing this, though, meant having to brave taking those books to the librarian to have them checked out and facing the possibility of judgment from a stranger. This experience, was, of course, easier when the title of the book left some ambiguity about its content. The work of silence from this method of understanding my newly discovered identity came in the form of managing the secrecy of the topics of those books. At home and at school it meant making sure the cover of the book was never facing any potential eyes and when asked what I was reading I would simply reply, “a mystery” and sometimes the genre of the book actually was a mystery but that response was more about keeping the mystery and secrecy of what I was reading to myself. I know and remember how much effort choosing silence requires, the mental space it requires and the exhaust that comes from the effort to negotiate an identity. I have now been out for 15 years and since being open and not having to negotiate my sexual orientation brings so much freedom, until I was talking with participants, I forgot about what it takes to hide and negotiate an identity.

While I have experience in choosing silence, I also have experience with being silenced. This forced silence has occurred in the classroom and in the workplace when being silenced or spoken over by male peers, in the job market with my experiences and abilities being discarded because of their association with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) groups or events, and in the academic profession with my thesis scholarship being discounted or undervalued because of its focus on the still "taboo" topic of lesbian academics. As an individual with complex intersecting identities that have varied levels of social recognition and acceptance I understand both the necessity of managing those identities utilizing silence and the sacrifice that often coincides with that management.

Within the data from my master's thesis, common among the discussions I had with my women faculty participants were stories of bias or discrimination that were dismissed by the participants as "not that big of a deal" or as not being sufficiently disruptive as to "ruin my day." This dismissal was interesting to me because the stories they shared seemed like instances that had potential to be "big deals." An example of this dismissal occurred in one of my participant's stories of sexism when she began her career in academia as one of two women in her department. She spoke of incidents where male colleagues and supervisors would openly objectify her as a woman, or would make suggestive comments to her in front of other colleagues. This participant dismissed these experiences as part of the culture at that time that women had to expect. Another participant discussed experiences of overhearing colleagues discuss her sexuality and relationship using derogatory language but dismissed these experiences as something LGBT individuals must expect in the workplace and, because of the expectation, these

experiences did not "ruin her day." This common theme from the participants lead me to wonder whether the tendency to dismiss encounters with bias and discrimination were strategies these participants, and perhaps other women faculty, employed to enable them to manage and negotiate their careers as academics. A desire to further investigate this theme of dismissal of bias and discrimination followed me into the beginning my doctoral work.

While the thinking behind the research questions in this study originated from the data of my thesis, a few early experiences during the first year of my doctoral work pushed the initial interest to investigate into more of a passion. These early experiences came in the form of one-on-one conversations with a couple of successful women academics. One such conversation resulted in advising me to learn and embrace how to "pick my battles." As an individual who has been forced to fight for many of my identities, this was important, albeit difficult advice to hear. This advice was important because I understand that in order to succeed within academia, it is necessary to negotiate and manage identities and, most importantly, to be selective on which "battles" are worth the time, energy, and risks that it takes to fight. All individuals likely engage in negotiation and management of identities using silence as a strategy. However, the need to use silence as a strategy in the negotiation and management of identities, particularly in the workplace, is different for women and those with minoritized identities because they are navigating a gendered organization full of obstacles and barriers to their success.

Finally, what concerns me about the silent negotiation and management that women faculty seemingly must do to exist within the culture of academia is the effort, time, and energy that must be used to facilitate the negotiation and management. My own

success at times, in and outside of academia, has been reliant upon my ability to silence or negotiate certain identities. There are layers of identities that I negotiate, sometimes unsuccessfully, every day and I know from experience that the negotiation of these identities requires energy, time, and often sacrifice, which could otherwise be used more productively toward academic work that is valued and rewarded. In addition to the detrimental effects of silence, I realize that sometimes the management of identities or the silencing of experiences in relation to those identities may be something women academics utilize as a strategy, intentionally or not, to positively influence the navigation of their careers. Similar to the participants in my thesis, I find that the silencing of experiences of bias or discrimination may indeed be a necessary tool, yet it is one that allows for less time and energy to be used on managing the academic career.

Purpose Statement

The literature about women academics and their experiences within academia often issues a subtle warning that challenging the status quo may have consequences that can obstruct career satisfaction, retention, and promotion opportunities (Baker, 2012; Hogan, 2010; Pierce, 2007; Ropers-Huilman & Shackelford, 2006; Terosky et al., 2008). These warnings caution against overt challenges of gender inequality, inequitable policies, and participation in work towards changing such inequity and inequality. Terosky and associates (2008) caution: “Though we strongly applaud women’s agency in fighting gender-based inequity – and any kind of inequity – we underline the need to weigh the costs of such engagement with care” (p. 72). Referring to ways in which academia’s reward system celebrates typical masculine traits and how the hegemonic structure of higher education is not likely to change anytime soon, Baker (2012) warns:

"academics who are unable or unwilling to play by these rules of the game will inevitably fall behind" (p. 149). Beyond these warnings are stories and literature that highlight the "double bind" (O'Dair, 2010, p. 36) women faculty often find themselves in between fighting against the status quo and maintaining and succeeding within their careers (Hogan, 2010; Pierce, 2007). It is apparent that in order to manage an academic career, women faculty must find strategies to negotiate a climate that remains dominated by men, particularly White men, favors masculinity, reinforces gender norms, continues to invalidate the abilities and agency of women, and stifles individuals who seek to change inequities. Silence is undoubtedly involved in the strategies and negotiation, both intentional and unintentional, that women faculty employ as they work to manage their careers in both STEM and non-STEM disciplines. While the literature presents the processes through which women faculty adopt and employ strategies to silence and negotiate identities, and their motivations to do so, exactly how these strategies are employed by diverse women faculty as means for retaining and succeeding in the professorate, remained unclear. The purpose of this dissertation was to understand how women faculty use strategic silence to negotiate and navigate their careers.

Definitions

In an effort to ensure clarity in my study, I define key concepts and terms in this section. Specifically, I review definitions and my understandings of faculty, identity, silence, and woman.

Faculty. In this study faculty includes those individuals employed at a college or university who are charged with doing research, teaching, and service and who are tenured or tenure-track. The study will specifically include women faculty who have

earned the status of associate professor. While a growing number of the individuals teaching and researching on campuses are now contingent or non-tenure track faculty (AAUP, 2013a), it is important for this study to look at a group of faculty who have utilized strategies to seek the particularly difficult task of tenure and promotion due to the high stress and amount of time involved in earning this promotion. In higher education, the tenure-track and navigation toward tenure require a level of navigation and management that may be different for faculty who are not on a specific, timed, path toward promotion. Therefore, participants who have succeeded in earning tenure will be most likely to have developed strategies to support their success and these strategies may include silence. Additionally, since they will have an additional level of promotion to achieve they can both reflect on past uses of strategies of silence and present uses and how those strategies might have changed before and after tenure.

Identity. While identity cannot be condensed into a singular or simple definition (Erikson, 1994; Jones, 2009), for the purposes of this inquiry identity refers to both the psychosocial and socio-cultural aspects of identities. Psychosocial identities are identities developed through personal growth (e.g., marriage, parenthood). Socio-cultural identities include both identities developed or understood in relation to historical and cultural contexts and socially constructed identities that are both self-ascribed and socially labeled (e.g., gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity). Erikson (1994), in his theory of psychosocial development introduced the idea of the "ego identity" which is how individuals understand themselves through social interactions. Jones (2009), in an autoethnographic study with a diverse group of eight doctoral student participants, explored the complexities of identity development. She found that understanding how individuals

come to realize who they are includes influence from certain contexts, experiences, and the complex intersections of "race, gender, class, sexual orientation, religion, ethnicity, culture, and family background" (p. 293). Within academia, identities are often formed, understood, and negotiated in relation to social interactions, cultural contexts, and power structures (Jones, 2009).

Further understandings of identities can include aspects of the self that are either realized or unrealized. By this I mean that identities are often described or defined in terms of labels but that not everyone identifies who they are within labels or label categories, either by choice or by ignorance that the labels exist. However, identity labels have become important to our society. "We use identity labels to tell our stories, to describe our experiences, to let people know how we see ourselves and how we believe we fit into the world" (Serano, 2013, p. 14). Identity is the way in which individuals understand themselves and their place within the world and how they approach and perceive their interactions with others. Additionally, since we live in a socially constructed world, identity also encompasses the ways in which others identify and label us. Moreover, identities are the way in which individuals describe their similarities and differences, find common communities, and make meaning of their experiences.

Silence. Silence, in this inquiry, refers to both the intentional use of silence as a resistance or strategy for success and the unintentional silencing that women often encounter in organizations, particularly in traditionally male-dominated organizations (Acker, 2006; Carrillo Rowe & Malhotra, 2013; Luke 1994). This understanding of silence can include: silence in the form of identity management when identities are silenced intentionally or unintentionally; silence in the literal vocal sense forced or

chosen; resistant silence in which the lack of action or speech is used as a strategic action; or the silencing of emotion or stereotypical characteristics that may be viewed as restrictive to career management. This view of silence, in its multiple understandings and iterations, is integral to this study in seeking understanding on how women faculty negotiate and perceive their lived experiences of academic careers.

While the interpretations and definitions of silence are multifaceted, in this inquiry, I foreground the ways in which silence directly relates to identity and career navigation. Silence exists within academia in a variety of ways for all participants in higher education such as in classrooms between students and instructor, in faculty meetings with who is vocal and who is not, or in policy in which problems or issues are decided to be important enough to create policy. However, the experience and use of silence is often unique to minoritized groups, which can be both positive and negative. Keating (2013) suggests, "the ability to be silent is a valuable skill that subordinate groups have too often been forced to develop, and one that dominant groups have often had little practice with" (p. 28). While the culture of academia may force women academics to learn the skill of silence, that skill may prove valuable as they manage and navigate their careers.

The silencing utilized by women academics is influenced by contextual factors. An example of the silencing of identity for women academics might be a phone call while teaching coming from a babysitter or caregiver that is briefly acknowledged but then ignored until the teaching session or class is completed. In this example, the identity of mother or caregiver was silenced in order to proceed with the identity of teacher or instructor. The reasons for this silencing could range from being focused on and

respecting the students' time to not wanting the identity of mother/caregiver to be known within the classroom. The underlying reasons for employing silence as a strategy can and will vary among individuals and be dependent upon context.

Woman. The term woman in this inquiry is understood to encompass individuals who identify as women or are perceived to be women within the bounds of the dichotomously gendered world (Ropers-Huilman & Winters, 2011). In her book, *Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir (2011) poses in her introduction "what is a woman" (p. 5)? Defining the term or idea of woman, de Beauvoir explains, is rife with history and nearly always found to be in opposition to man. According to de Beauvoir,

> One is not born, but rather becomes, woman. No biological, psychic, or economic destiny defines the figure that the human female takes on in society: it is civilization as a whole that elaborates this intermediary product between the male and the eunuch that is called feminine. Only the mediation of another can constitute an individual as an Other (p. 283).

Butler (1986) proposes that gender exists in a socially constructed, dichotomous, manner that individuals in society continue to perform and perpetuate.

> In other words, to be a woman is to become a woman; it is not a matter of acquiescing to a fixed ontological status, in which case one could be born a woman, but, rather, an active process of appropriating, interpreting, and reinterpreting received cultural possibilities (36).

The idea of woman is in direct relation to man and while scholars like de Beauvoir (2011), Butler (1986), and Monique Wittig (1992) question whether the label of woman can exist outside of the binary, they all agree that, culturally, society labels and treats

individuals based on the man/woman binary. Additionally, as Butler (1986) discusses in her critique of de Beauvoir's *Second Sex*, individuals within society actively perform and perpetuate the binary.

Like society in general, academia operates in a gendered context, labeling and defining individuals based on the woman/man binary (Ropers-Huilman & Winters, 2011). Therefore, individuals who are perceived to be women by the structured gender roles and expectations within society will be treated and approached as women within academe. While it is understood that women have a variety of intersecting identities, the one identity that will be shared among all women academics is the label or definition of woman as deemed by the gendered world that academia operates within and perpetuates.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Women in Academe

Acknowledging that women academics have intersecting identities and that their career negotiation includes management of those identities and experiences with silence, this review of literature is grounded within the framework of Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organizations. Acker frames her theory of gendered organizations claiming, "gendering occurs in at least five interacting processes that, although analytically distinct, are, in practice, parts of the same reality" (p. 146). The five "interacting processes" that Acker details are particularly useful in framing the literature to attend to how women academics manage their careers within male- and female-dominated disciplines. These five processes are: (1) gendered divisions, (2) gendered interactions, (3) gendered symbols, (4) gendered components of identity, and (5) gender as creating and conceptualizing social structures. In relation to how women academics manage their careers, the five processes are inextricably intertwined within the culture of academia and within the use and experience of silence. Framing the literature in relation to gender is helpful in laying a foundation for understanding how women academics manage their careers.

The first process, *gendered divisions*, frames how the academic environment influences the particular experiences of women academics in relation to labor, behavior, physical space, power, and expectations (Acker, 1990). For example, the *gendered division* of labor is seen in how women academics often receive and/or offer to do more advising and service responsibilities and are expected to behave in a nurturing manner. In addition to gendered divisions, *gendered symbols* also frame the messages women faculty

receive about how to act within academia and the subtle and overt messages that higher education and broader society send on which identities are valued within academia. The messages on how to act can be in the form of language, symbols in popular culture, and subtle gendered assignments or expectations like expecting women to be nurturing to their colleagues and students as being a nurturer is something she should be comfortable and knowledgeable about. Further, *gendered symbols* in academia include the expectation of women academics to be feminine presenting and to have families or children that rely upon them. They also communicate that being heterosexual is more advantageous than not being heterosexual in the success of one's career. The first two sections of literature on the experiences of women faculty in higher education and the use of performativity, identity management, and emotional work will include these two processes.

The next two processes will influence both the section on performativity, identity management, and emotional work and the section on silence as each is linked to identity and the management of identities. *Gendered interactions* include the social structures that teach, indicate, and facilitate how individuals interact with one another and within differing contexts and situations (Acker, 1990). These interactions include the ways in which identities are managed dependent upon whom an individual is interacting with. Similarly, *gendered components of identity* frame the constructions and performances of identity within the understood limitations of how women and men are supposed to act, which are provided by the gendered organization. Finally, the fifth division of labor, *gender as creating and conceptualizing social structures,* is employed in all sections in this review of literature as the social structures both influence and are influenced by gender and the ways in which gender is performed and perceived. For instance, women

academics might interact differently with other women colleagues, with male colleagues, or with supervisors, and those interactions are influenced by the gendered social structures of academe. Within this theory of gendered organization (Acker, 1990), identities within academia and how those identities are managed within academia are understood as, to some extent, reactionary to the gendered organization of higher education.

Women Faculty and Higher Education

The literature on women faculty members' experiences in higher education is well established (August & Waltman, 2004; Bain & Cummings, 2000; Cress & Hart, 2009; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Mason & Goulden, 2004; Ropers-Huilman, 2008; Terosky et al., 2008; Ward, 2008). This literature demonstrates that the academic environment and culture continue to favor men academics, with the glass ceiling (Bain & Cummings, 2000), or the even more durable, Plexiglas ceiling (Terosky et al., 2008), still firmly in place. Bain and Cummings (2000) highlight that "a glass ceiling of unstated norms and distorted expectations is said to hinder women from reaching the top of academe" (p. 493). Certainly, how the patriarchal and androcentric culture and environment of higher education affects women faculty is steeped in historical ideas of gendered divisions of abilities and acceptable behaviors. Further, Acker (2006) discusses that inequality must attend to the intersections of identity. Therefore, it is important to research how women academics navigate, strategize, and make meaning of their lived-experiences in academe with reference to all of their intersecting identities (Crenshaw, 1991; Cress & Hart, 2009; McCall, 2005; Shields, 2008).

Within this section I first discuss literature on the culture of higher education institutions with a focus on the experiences of women academics. Culture, within this study, refers to the specific "beliefs, values, assumptions, and norms that characterize the faculty experience" (Austin, 1994, p. 52). Following the discussion on the culture of academe, I highlight women faculty members' general experiences in academia. I then discuss literature on women faculty members' experiences within STEM disciplines, with a focus on the male-dominated disciplines within STEM. Following the literature on STEM faculty, I touch on the literature on women faculty and career satisfaction. Finally, I complete this section with literature on intersectionality and how intersecting identities influence the experiences of women academics.

Culture of academe. Academia is an organization defined by patriarchy and modeled after the traditional role and experiences of men, particularly White men (Cress & Hart, 2009; Dill & Kohlman, 2012; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Terosky et al., 2008; Thomas, 2005; Ward, 2008; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006). This is supported in the dominance men, particularly White men, continue to hold in salary compensation and in the upper-most faculty positions in academia (AAUP, 2013a; Chronicle of Higher Education, 2013). Indeed, according to AAUP's (2013b) 2012-2013 *Annual Report on the Economic Status of the Profession*, in average salary data, men continue to have higher salaries than women at every rank and in every institutional type. Additionally, in describing the androcentric culture of higher education, scholars often point to the perpetuation of gender norms that follows Acker's (1990) concept of gendered divisions of labor. This division includes heavier teaching loads, higher demands on service, and more student advising for women, responsibilities of faculty that

are considered feminine due to the perceived nurturing nature of the tasks (Gardner, 2013; Hogan & Masse, 2010; Mason & Goulden, 2004).

At its inception, academia was established in a way that was not meant to be supportive toward the success of women.

> Since the criteria for academic success were established when most institutional cultures were homogeneous, most departments are reluctant to consider alternative forms of scholarship and teaching… In other words, higher education's ground rules designed by and created for men actively inhibit the psychological, social-cultural, and organizational achievement of women (Cress & Hart, 2009, p. 476).

Inequality exists within all organizations, including traditionally male-dominated organizations such as academia (Acker, 2006; Dill & Kohlman, 2012). Acker (2006) discusses the importance of intersectional identities, multiple and varied, as being affected by inequality regimes and notes that class, gender, and race are the primary "bases of inequality," meaning that one of those three are typically present in inequality regimes within organizations. Although class, gender, and race are prominent categories of inequality that are often thought of first, other "bases of equality" that are significant include sexual orientation and ability status. Within this study, the common characteristic of the population being studied is their identity as women. All women faculty experience the inequality regime of gender at the very least, with some experiencing additional "bases" simultaneously.

Beyond understanding that androcentric organizations support a culture for inequality regimes (Acker, 2006; Dill & Kohlman, 2012), it is important to understand

the culture specific to academia, particularly in terms of women faculty. Cress and Hart's (2009) study on two institutional campus climate studies uses an athletic metaphor to illustrate how they found that men and women faculty experience academia differently. They explain, "we purport women faculty are playing soccer on the male-constructed and male dominated football field" (p. 475). Here they are using soccer as the collaborative, less hierarchal, and strategic sport to represent women faculty and football as the hierarchal, competitive, and male-dominated sport to represent the culture and climate of higher education. While equality initiatives and policies have increased access to and success within academia, Cress and Hart suggest that women faculty face a fundamentally different "game" than their male peers in academia. Additionally, even though policies have been established to increase access and success of women and other minoritized faculty, the culture of academe is preventing women faculty from trusting that the use of the policies will not present further barriers or bias to their careers (Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006). For instance, stop-the-clock policies initially created to allow women faculty to pause the tenure clock, primarily for the birth or adoption of children, have been underutilized due to the fear of career consequences (Mason, Goulden, & Wolfinger, 2006) and consequently have been found to indeed have consequences in the form of salary penalties when utilized (Manchester, Leslie, & Kramer, 2013). In essence, women faculty must both know how to succeed in the patriarchal and androcentric academic culture and how to strategize and navigate the gendered symbols and messages that work to reinforce gendered divisions within the academic profession.

Within academia, the ingrained nature of competition and the competitive environment serves men faculty and their success more effectively than women faculty

(Cress & Hart, 2009; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012). In extending their metaphor, Cress and Hart (2009) further discuss that football is a hierarchal sport with clear leaders who are calling the shots and individuals who are underappreciated but integral to the overall success whereas soccer is a cooperative and collaborative sport of constant motion, strategy that is shifting by moment, and subtle communication. Cress and Hart link these themes with the culture, expectations, and beliefs about academic work to the inequalities that women academics encounter. Within the frame of American popular culture's favoring of the male-dominated sport of football and the unequal playing field for women academics this metaphor highlights "the internalization of perspectives and unexamined beliefs and values that get incorporated into daily behaviors, decision making, and adherence to institution processes" within academia (Cress & Hart, 2009, p. 481). Many of the processes and policies (e.g., salary inequity, imbalance of resources, hiring policies that favor male-centered lives) that academia holds on to are preventing women faculty from being on the same playing field as their male counterparts in academia creating a culture that is often unwelcoming and isolating (Cress & Hart, 2009; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Thomas, 2005).

More women, still underrepresented. Investigating the experiences of women faculty is a subject continuously important as women academics continue to struggle for equity and equality within the academy. Indeed, even when women achieve status and position in leadership positions they continue to experience disadvantages in the form of prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping, and barriers to success (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Although women now make up 43 percent of all academic teaching positions, within public doctoral granting institutions the percentage decreases to 39 percent and further to

36 percent in private-independent doctoral granting institutions (AAUP, 2013a). Further, within all institutions only 34 percent of assistant, associate, or full professors were women. More specifically, 30 percent of assistant, associate, and full professors are women in public doctoral granting institutions and only 26 percent of the assistant, associate, and full professors at private-independent doctoral granting institutions are women. In relation to their male peers, women faculty are represented disproportionately in lower ranked positions such as instructor and adjunct and represented in higher numbers in less "prestigious" institutions. Women faculty (a) receive more teaching and service responsibilities, which are often less valued than research in promotion decisions; (b) are often expected to take on more mentorship and advising duties with the expectation that their nurturing nature, as women are expected to portray and enjoy, is more suited for faculty-student relationships than male colleagues; (c) are often subtly penalized for having children; and (d) experience sexism and a general lack of support or acknowledgement of their scholarship (August & Waltman, 2004; Hogan & Masse, 2010; Metcalfe & Gonzalez, 2013; Philipsen, 2008; Terosky et al., 2008; Ward, 2008; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006).

While much of the existing research focuses on the experiences of faculty working toward tenure and promotion, scholars have also noted that following tenure approval, many faculty receive increased demands on their time; for women faculty these demands are often gendered toward more teaching and service (Terosky et al., 2008). Terosky and associates' (2008) study sought to understand which aspects of tenured women academic's post-tenure work drew them away from their desired research work or activities. In their analysis of the career narratives of 20 tenured women academics,

Terosky and associates (2008) call the demands and other distractions they found to distract from their participants' scholarly work "felt pulls" (p. 60).

> We hear these 'pulls' in these interviewees' expressed desires to build meaningful personal and family lives, to respond to academic structures that promoted gender equity in compensation and work support, to rectify administrative practices and policies that positioned women as 'tokens' and 'symbols' rather than as meaningful participants in institutional decision making, among others (p. 60).

Within their study, Terosky and associates focus on the demands and distractions not just from the general parameters of the academic career, but more specifically from the research that is often valued as a primary aspect of faculty work. They continue by highlighting three challenges that tenured women faculty experience as distractions or "pulls" from their scholarship. These three challenges include: (1) increasing work, specifically service in committee and management of research responsibilities that are often unrelated to their scholarship; (2) service demands that they felt unprepared and unsupported for that, again, is often unrelated to their scholarship; and (3) "a value-driven pull to work that seeks to right gender-based 'professional wrongs,' yet often with hidden costs attached" (p. 60). Terosky and her colleagues (2008) continue to explain that their findings in this study on women academics point to concerns about what women scholars are able to contribute to the "academic knowledge production" due to the variety of "pulls" from their scholarly work which therefore leads to issues about promotion and professional advancement since scholarship production is so often the primary focus in promotion decisions (p. 73).

Scholarship about the experiences of women in academia as a whole includes women in STEM fields but does not fully describe the specific obstacles and barriers experienced and the negotiations necessary in the STEM disciplines, particularly in those disciplines that are still heavily male-dominated. The following discussion on the specific experiences of women academics in STEM focuses on the experiences that are particular to the male-dominated cultures and disciplines within the sciences.

STEM: Leaky pipelines and ADVANCE. Similar to the participation of women overall, the percentage of women earning degrees in the STEM disciplines has improved but not at the same rate in all STEM disciplines (Bilimoria, Joy, & Liang, 2008; Glass & Minnotte, 2010; Kulis, Sicotte, & Collins, 2002; Rosser, 2003; Stewart, Malley, & LaVaque-Manty, 2007). For example, while men continue to earn the majority (82 percent) of all bachelor's degrees in engineering, women now earn the majority (77 percent) of bachelor's degrees in psychology (NSF, 2012). According to the National Science Foundation's (NSF) 2013 data, the percentages of women faculty in the STEM disciplines varies greatly. For instance, the total representation of women academics in engineering, including full professor to instructor, is 16 percent while women academics in psychology made up 58 percent of all academics in the field (NSF, 2015). Additionally, women faculty make up 30 percent of all tenured faculty in the science, engineering, and health disciplines, 46 percent of all tenure-track faculty, and 48 percent of all non-tenure track faculty. Similar to the representation of women faculty in all disciplines in higher education, the percentages of women increase in the lower levels of the academic position hierarchy.

Analysis of why the percentages of women faculty are not increasing at the same rate as the percentages of doctorate degree earners includes the common metaphor of the "leaky pipeline" (Blickenstaff, 2005). This pipeline metaphor alludes to the belief that to succeed in the STEM fields, students must continue, uninterrupted, from "secondary school through university and on to a job in STEM" (Blickenstaff, 2005, p. 369; Mavriplis et al., 2010). The leaky portion of the "leaky pipeline" metaphor calls out the loss of women in all levels or stages of the pipeline and is understood by some scholars to be a large influence in the underrepresentation of women in STEM (Bilimoria et al., 2008; Blickenstaff, 2005; Goulden, Mason, & Frasch, 2011). Factors contributing to women leaving STEM at various stages of their academic development and careers include persistence of gendered divisions and norms, search committees and activities that lack gender diversity, lack of sufficient mentors or women peers, lack of available resources, and undervaluing of women's work and intelligence (Bilimoria et al., 2008; Glass & Minnotte, 2010; Goulden et al., 2011; Kantola, 2008).

While some scholars support the metaphor of the "leaky pipeline," others argue that the metaphor perpetuates the argument that the disparities in women's representation in STEM are simply due to a shortage in supply rather than problems stemming from institutional, cultural, and structural obstacles and barriers (Blickenstaff, 2005; Glass & Minnotte, 2010; Kulis et al., 2002). In 2001, the NSF acknowledged the gender disparity problem in STEM disciplines as an issue important to higher education and society as a whole and developed the ADVANCE program. "The goal of the ADVANCE program is to develop systemic approaches to increase the representation and advancement of women in academic STEM careers" (NSF, 2013a). The ADVANCE program provided a

national voice on the issue of women's underrepresentation in STEM disciplines and added external validation that women's underrepresentation was not about the lack of women's ability in the sciences but rather reflected cultural issues that systemically excluded women. Included in the NSF's description of the systemic and cultural barriers for women's equitable participation in STEM were "stereotype threat, societal impacts, implicit and explicit bias, and lack of women in academic leadership and decision-making positions" (NSF, 2013b). NSF has granted more than 100 institutions and organizations in 41 states more than 130 million dollars in ADVANCE program support (NSF, 2013a). Higher education institutions that have participated in ADVANCE projects acknowledge that the underrepresentation of women in STEM disciplines is more than a pipeline problem but rather a structural, cultural, and climate problem (Stewart et al., 2007).

Bilimoria and associates (2008) studied 19 institutions that participated in ADVANCE projects in the first and second rounds of grants. Their goal was to highlight the outcomes and institutional transformational initiatives that resulted from the ADVANCE experience. To do this they analyzed project reports, publications, websites, research reports, and project evaluation reports. Additionally, Bilimoria and associates (2008) conducted 54 interviews with team leaders and senior faculty involved in the ADVANCE projects. Transformations that were initiated by these 19 institutions included the creation of new positions and family-friendly policies; modifications of policies like work release, tenure clock extensions, and medical leave; creation and adoption of mentoring and leadership development programs; and the creation of best

practices aimed at increasing the participation of women and minorities in STEM disciplines.

Bilimoria and associates (2008) found that "key internal and external elements facilitated successful implementation of initiatives, effective institutionalization, and measurable outcomes at ADVANCE universities" (p. 430). This finding that institutions are implementing strategic policies and practices to increase the participation of women in STEM disciplines is promising to the future of women's representation in the highest levels of the professorate. In addition to understanding the culture and climate of academia for women faculty and the experiences of women faculty throughout higher education, it is important to understand how women faculty approach and understand career satisfaction.

Women faculty career satisfaction. The previous sections lead to and intertwine with the topic of career satisfaction. Some research suggests that women PhD's are attracted to non-academic careers because the culture and climate of higher education indicates career satisfaction in academia may be low or difficult to attain (August & Waltman, 2004; Metcalfe & Gonzalez, 2013). Indeed, the rate of attrition of women academics is higher than men faculty at all levels, including pre- and post-tenure (Gardner, 2012). Consensus among the research on women faculty career satisfaction notes that women academics are disproportionately less satisfied in their careers in academia than their men counterparts (August & Waltman, 2004; Baker, 2012; Gardner, 2012; Glazer-Raymo, 1999). Some reasons found to challenge career satisfaction in academia for women faculty include the prevalence of sexual harassment, the lack of feeling safe for women, the exclusion of women in certain environments, disciplines,

social events, and colleague interaction, the devaluing of women's work, the existences of double standards, the feeling of needing to hide identities, and the experience of silence (Cress & Hart, 2009; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Ropers-Huilman, 2008; Ward, 2008; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006)

While the culture and climate of academia, including the patriarchal and androcentric structure, influence many of the issues related to low career satisfaction for women academics, the broader cultural expectations of women also affect their career satisfaction (Baker, 2012; Gardner, 2012). To be sure, the ineffectiveness of academia to adapt to, adopt, encourage, or enforce policies and supportive environments for the multiple responsibilities that women incur, including family obligations, is a fundamental reason for the perpetuation of those issues following women academics into their careers (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Mason & Goulden, 2004). In addition to the pull of family obligations affecting women faculty member's career satisfaction, Baker (2012) also found that another powerful aspect preventing both career satisfaction and promotion for women academics was the "lack of confidence in their academic abilities" (p. 132). This lack of confidence is certainly partially due to the lack of respect women faculty often face toward their scholarship and the lack of support they receive from their colleagues. Social and collegial support and availability of resources are often lacking for women academics, which causes difficulties with promotion, attrition, and lowers career satisfaction (August & Waltman, 2004; Baker, 2012; Gardner, 2012).

With a less patriarchal and androcentric academic culture and climate, women academic's experiences in the academy might improve, which would, perhaps, lead to greater career satisfaction, less attrition, and higher numbers of women faculty in higher

education, especially in the traditionally male-dominated disciplines. While this literature highlights the difficulties women face in satisfactory careers in academia, women faculty are succeeding and continuing to pursue academic careers and promotions. Therefore, it is important to understand how the women who are succeeding are navigating through their careers and whether or not their form of navigation and negotiation includes career satisfaction.

My review of research on the culture of academia, women faculty's overall experiences, the specific experiences of STEM women faculty, and women faculty and their pursuit and experiences with career satisfaction all focused primarily on the identity of woman. Important to consider in this review, though, is that all women faculty have multiple, complex, and intersecting identities and understanding how they experience and manage their careers in relation to those intersecting identities is important. The issues represented when women faculty have a variety of intersecting identities is approached through the lens of intersectionality.

Acknowledging multiple and intersecting identities. In her analysis of inequality regimes with reference to intersectionality and identity, Acker (2006) notes that when researching and studying issues of inequality, solely focusing on just one category prevents an understanding of the totality of the inequalities and experiences of the population being studied. While Acker specifically focuses on gender, race, and class, other scholars, most notably in the last decade, remind that the variety of identities that intersect are far beyond the boundaries of gender, race, and sex (Carbado, 2013; Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Dill, 2009; McCall, 2005; Shields, 2008). Noted by Cho and associates (2013):

> Intersectionality was introduced in the late 1980s as a heuristic term to focus attention on the vexed dynamics of difference and the solidarities of sameness in the context of antidiscrimination and social movement politics. It exposed how single-axis thinking undermines legal thinking, disciplinary knowledge production, and struggles for social justice (p.787).

The failure of scholars who focus on issues of social justice and equity to think in intersectional terms often causes the perpetuation of oppression and discrimination against those with multiple, intersecting minority identities (Crenshaw, 1991). It is essential to consider the variety of intersecting identities that exist within the population of women faculty when working to understand the experiences of women academics within higher education. For instance, the issues facing a White, heterosexual, woman faculty member will simultaneously mirror and differ from that of a Black, lesbian, woman faculty member. Within this section I focus on why it is important to include intersectionality and intersectional thought in inquiry focused on women faculty and the challenges and opportunities women academics face due to intersecting and intertwined identities.

Shields (2008), in her analysis on research and intersectionality, emphasizes that when conducting any research or scholarship with reference to gender, it is important to include an intersectional perspective.

> The intersectionality perspective further reveals that the individual's social identities profoundly influence one's beliefs about and experience of gender. As a result, feminist researchers have come to understand that the individual's social

> location as reflected in intersecting identities must be at the forefront in any investigation of gender (p. 301).

In her work, Shields (2008) discusses the importance of intersectionality on understanding and thinking through the complexity of issues focused on gender. Specifically, intersectionality "promised a solution, or at least a language for the glaring fact that it is impossible to talk about gender without considering other dimensions of social structure/social identity that play a formative role in gender's operation and meaning" (p. 303). Shields continues to explain that due to the variety of identities that intersect with gender, how we understand and respond to our environments cannot be sufficiently explained through the lens of a singular identity.

Abes (2012) applies intersectionality in combination with constructivism to "explore multiple interpretations of relationships among one lesbian college student's social identities" (p. 187). In her findings, Abes notes that through her application of intersectionality, she found that her participant's identities shifted dependent upon context and the power structures involved in certain situations. Indeed, the application of intersectionality in this study allowed Abes to explore the extent to which her participant's identities intertwined and intersected. Like Abes' study on one lesbian college student, studying intersecting identities in relation to each other is important to gaining understanding on how women academics manage their careers in higher education. Also, recognizing the specific context and history within certain identity categories combines for the best approach to utilizing intersectionality in research and scholarship focused on gender. Intersectionality is complex in that in its foundation it acknowledges the instability of identity and the inability to study any one identity marker

without consideration of the other identities that intersect, interweave, and evolve (Acker, 2012; Cho et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005). Understanding how gendered divisions, symbols, and interactions affect the culture of academia for women faculty, their experiences noted in scholarship within academe, and the importance of considering the intersections of identity lead toward understanding how women academics currently manage their careers in higher education.

Performance, Management, and Presentation

Directly intertwined with identity management is the theory of performativity and how each individual is every day managing identities through visual markers and actions (Acker, 2006; Butler, 1990). For women faculty in particular, identity management, both intentional and unintentional, may be imperative to their management of their careers (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Lester 2008, 2011a,b; Ropers-Huilman, 2008). Management, masking, silencing, and negotiation of identities is a constant for many women academics in managing their various and intersecting identities within academia. These identities could include race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, ability status, religion, gender identity, and many other identities. Ways in which individuals can identify are infinite: therefore, understanding that women academics have multiple, intersecting identities, management and negotiation of those identities becomes important to women academics ability to sustain and succeed in the professorate. This section will discuss scholarship on identity management, followed by literature on performativity and how identity management and performativity are intertwined, especially within academia. Next, I introduce literature on emotions and the management and labor of emotions within organizations. I conclude

with literature that discusses how identity management is utilized and why it is important to the careers of women academics.

Identities and the reasons for management. Women academics negotiate a variety of identities within and outside of their roles as faculty members. Negotiation or management of identities can be in the form of strategic construction, performance, or concealment. When referencing identity management generally I include all of these possibilities and strategies. In addition to gender, race, class, and other identities, another role some women academics have is caregiver to children and/or elderly family members. Literature suggests that family obligations are a common cause for stress, frustration, and imbalance in the women academic's negotiation of work and family life (Mason & Goulden, 2004; Mason et al., 2006; Metcalfe & Gonzalez, 2013; Philipsen, 2008; Wolfinger, 2008). In their study on the effects of family on academic careers Mason and associates (2006) analyzed two national survey databases and found "that marriage and young children have a strong, negative effect on the probability of women entering tenure-track positions, but family status has no clear independent effect on determining whether the tenure-track faculty eventually achieve tenure" (p. 11). While family formation did not have a significant effect on women faculty in the tenure-track, Mason and associates found that all women were less likely to achieve tenure in relation to men academics on the tenure-track. While having a family may not be a significant barrier to gaining tenure once on the tenure-track, a common subtle message to women in the academy is the assumption that one must choose between work and a family, that both are not possible for women academics (Philipsen, 2008; Wolfinger, 2008). Indeed,

Mason and associates (2006) also found that early career, tenure-track women academics were less likely than tenure-track men to have children.

While the family pull is often sourced as an identity choice and/or a negotiation necessary to strategize for women academics, there are also many others. “Women negotiate their identities as leaders, family members, ethnic community members, members of various disciplines, and academic citizens. These multiple identities both facilitate and impede the ‘productivity’ that is typically associated with faculty roles” (Ropers-Huilman, 2008, p. 35). Race, sexuality, age, ability, nationality, religious affiliation, and many other identity markers also cause the need for negotiation and strategy to progress and succeed in academia, particularly for women academics. This identity negotiation is particularly necessary for women academics because of the combination of the patriarchal and androcentric structure of higher education and the regulation and perpetuation of gender norms (Cress & Hart, 2009; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Lester, 2008, 2011a; Ropers-Huilman, 2008). Negotiation of identities is important for women faculty because, as women, they often must wrestle with earning respect, empowerment, agency, and authority among their colleagues, institutional administrators and leaders, and students. This leads to a “dance of identities” with focused construction and strategy on which identities to reveal and express given the context or situation, and sometimes the “masking” or hiding of identities that are perceived to not be safe or wise to make apparent or reveal (Ropers-Huilman, 2008). An example of this negotiation of identities might take form in which identities or performances women faculty might conceal within the classroom, some of which might be revealed over the course of a semester. For instance, a woman faculty member who is a mother might choose to

conceal that identity within the classroom until she feels she has gained the respect of the students as a strategic choice. Another woman faculty member might shift her performance of gender and style of dress by dressing more conservatively at the beginning of a semester or academic year to attempt to gain the respect of her students, particularly the male students. This specific negotiation of identity leads to the concept of performativity, a concept important to the understanding of identity management.

Identity performance and gender roles. The negotiation and construction of identity, how it is worn and acted, with intentional strategy, specifically around gender, is the foundation of performativity (Butler, 1990). Due to the regulation and perpetuation of gendered roles and norms within the academy, performance, either within gendered norms or beyond, is necessary for career progress and success (Lester, 2008, 2011a). The culture of academia favors more masculine attributes. Simultaneously, academia also creates obstacles for women faculty in appropriating gendered assumptions and oppressing feminine, or perceived feminine, aspects of identity (Clegg, 2008; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Thomas, 2005). "Hence, as a strategy of survival within the compulsory systems, gender is a performance with clearly punitive consequences" (Butler, 1990, p. 190). While Butler focuses on the fact that gender, as a concept, is a social construction performed through physical signals and actions, she also asserts that this belief that gender is socially constructed is readily ignored or concealed by a majority of individuals within society in order to continue the regulation and separation of gender roles and norms.

Within academia, gender norms and roles are both overtly and subtly established with the expectation that participants will align and obey those norms to a certain degree

(Lester, 2008). Whether women academics negotiate and perform their identities to abide the gender roles and norms or disobey and disrupt those roles and norms, there are consequences of that decision. Lester (2008) supports this juxtaposition in her ethnographic case study of six full-time women faculty members at an urban community college.

> Style of dress, use of language, and expression of emotions reinforces representations of what is masculine and feminine, widening further the divisions of gender within the organization. Social interactions are both subtle and blatant. Subtle interactions include expectations to perform both masculine and feminine qualities (p. 281).

Through interviews and observations over a four-month period, Lester (2008) found that her participants gained understanding of gender norms within their academic environments through social interactions with colleagues. Further, Lester's (2008) participants' perceptions and subsequent performances of gender were influenced by experiences such as bullying and tokenism from their colleagues.

The performance, negotiation, and strategy that women academics employ with their identities can be both intentional and unintentional due to the overt and subtle nature of gendered norms, roles, and expectations. Within the concept of identity management and the academy, "performativity helps make evident the relationship between identity and gender roles, regulatory power, and the ways in which gender roles are made legitimate in an organizational setting" (Lester, 2008, p. 300). Still missing in the literature is how performativity might be contributing to the navigation of women academics' careers.

Emotions: Management and labor. Arlie Hochschild (2003) first introduced the concept of emotional labor and management within sociology in 1983 from her study on women flight attendants. She found that their management and negotiation of feelings were due to what she terms "feelings rules," which are rules and guidelines for emotions and feelings determined and governed by employers and organizations. According to Denzin (1990), "being emotional locates the person in the world of social interaction with others" (p. 88). Therefore, emotions are integral to success in the majority of workplaces. Indeed, the need for emotion management increased as work changed from processing to service oriented, changing the type of work individuals were doing in organizations (Poynter, 2002). Poynter highlights that "the current focus on emotions in labour process suggests important new connections between the subjective experience of work and the prevailing cultural values and socio-economic structures from which they have emerged" (p. 259). Further, Hochschild (1990) defines

> Emotion as an awareness of four elements that we usually experience at the same time: (a) appraisals of a situation, (b) changed in bodily sensations, (c) the free or inhibited display of expressive gestures, and (d) a cultural label applied to specific constellations of the first three elements (p. 118/9).

All individuals learn how to negotiate our emotions, how they display those emotions, and how to understand others emotions and react accordingly to them within both private and professional spheres. Hochschild notes that "we manage to feel and we manage to not feel" (p. 120), in describing how individuals welcome, dismiss, and control emotions. She notes two specific types of emotion management: surface acting and deep acting (Hochschild, 1979, 1990, 2003). Surface acting is the conscious alteration and

negotiation of emotions and feelings. Surface acting is an intentional attempt toward changing the outward display of emotion in effort to change or simply just hide the inner feelings. Deep acting is the conscious attempt at changing how we feel on the inside to present a certain image that reflects the new feelings. “In everyday life, we manage feelings through surface and deep acting” (Hochschild, 1990, p. 122). Similar to the management and negotiation of identities, emotion management changes both internal and external feelings, identities, and emotions. More so than identity management, however, Hochschild argues that organizations and workplaces specifically provide guidelines and rules for feelings in what she terms “feeling rules.” However, Kemper (1990), points out that “culture may also attempt to impose emotions upon individuals, sometimes even with success, but sometimes at a price” (p. 231). There are both private and public motivations for emotion management regulated both by culture broadly and by specific organizations and workplaces.

Wharton (2009) notes that emotional labor does not always lead to negative consequences but rather sometimes leads individuals to feel a sense of accomplishment when their emotion management meets what was expected. However, research in sociology on emotional labor and management has provided many examples on the negative effects of the management and labor of emotion work (Hoschild, 2003; Gunaratnam & Lewis, 2001; Pugliesi, 1999). Women and minorities specifically experience higher and different demands in emotional labor (Gunaratnam & Lewis, 2001; Hochschild, 2003). Gunaratnam and Lewis (2001) note “emotional labour is connected not simply to gendered divisions, but also to racialised divisions of labour” (p. 138). Indeed, Hochschild (2003) found in her research on flight attendants and bill collectors

that emotional labor differed in degree and demand by gender, class, and race divisions. The "feeling rules" in workplaces expect women to show deference (being nice and sociable) and to push down anger and aggression (Hochschild, 2003; Wharton, 2009).

Pierce (1995) conducted an ethnographic study on litigation paralegals and trial attorneys to address the gendering of occupations and emotions. She found that the emotional labor required within the legal culture posed negative consequence both for the individual workers and for the profession itself. Focusing on women legal workers, Pierce (1995) notes that "playing the game [following "feeling rules"] helps to suppress…emotions by giving workers feelings of competence and control and a sense of being "one up" on management" (p. 7). Therefore, not only does the emotion management provide "psychological rewards for workers but this dimension [also] plays a role in the reproduction of the labor process" (p. 7). Playing the game of following the expected "feeling rules" has consequences in perpetuating the system for women legal workers and likely all women working in an organization or workplace. Further, Pierce (1995) found that in the men-dominated environment of lawyers the primary emotional labor included manipulation from men utilizing intimidation and strategic friendliness. In the women-dominated paralegal profession, the primary emotional labor included deference and caretaking. For women faculty, emotional labor is highlighted in the gender roles and norms perpetuated by the culture of academia that include the expectation of women faculty to be nurturing, supportive, and nice toward their colleagues, students, and superiors.

Women faculty and the negotiation of identity. The reasons for and degree of identity management, construction, and negotiation is dependent upon the individual;

however, it is clear that "the extent to which one's identity performances are valued in the academy shapes one's abilities to contribute to it as well as one's desire and intentions to continue being a part of it" (Ropers-Huilman, 2008). The fewer minoritized or oppressed identities one has, the less negotiation they may require, though some type of identity management, negotiation, or strategy is necessary to all women academics' continued participation in academia. There are many ways in which women faculty choose to construct and negotiate their identities, many of which can change dependent upon the specific context or environment. As Ropers-Huilman (2008) notes, "the process of identity construction lasts a lifetime, but it takes particular forms during different stages of development" (p. 36). This negotiation can depend on context, whether the faculty member is in the classroom or in a faculty meeting, whether the faculty member is on the tenure-track or has earned tenure, or can change as identities evolve.

While many of the specifics of how women faculty intentionally and unintentionally manage and negotiate their identities with regard to gender norms and roles as well as other identity markers, is unknown, some generalized strategies have been discussed in the literature (Lester, 2008; Ropers-Huilman, 2008). Due to gendered norms and assumptions, some of the strategies within the construction of identity are either based on circumventing or supporting those norms and assumptions (Lester, 2011b; Ropers-Huilman, 2008). Within academia, "women faculty are expected to perform caring and nurturing service roles" (Lester, 2011b, p. 158), which often makes gaining respect from students and colleagues difficult. Lester (2011b) explains the complexity of "the paradox between gender identities and power. Certain identities become laden with power, thus limiting the scope of agency and identity. Individuals

may choose to represent and perform a gendered identity, but must consider the implications" (p. 159). Supporting the expected gendered roles may cause women faculty to engage in more identity negotiation when working to earn respect and authority with their students and colleagues due to the bias associated with femininity and stereotypes associated with female gender norms. However, if they reject those gendered roles and norms, they may face discrimination and isolation. Indeed, "when one resists the hegemonic gender norms, regulatory powers, such as isolation or marginalization of women faculty in terms of networks and departmental decision-making, identify those actions as inappropriate and problematic" (Lester, 2011b, p. 159).

In his study on faculty of color, Baez (1998) found that faculty of color negotiated, confronted, and resisted racism in different ways. He labeled their management of racism and racist situations as strategies "to describe how the faculty members negotiated and resisted racism; they chose one of a number of possible alternatives and did so after weighing the consequences" (p. 16). When encountering racism some of the faculty chose to do nothing because they believed that strategy would serve them best in their careers. Others chose to always confront and challenge situations perceived to be racist as they felt that doing nothing would not change the environment or culture. However, these faculty all experienced consequences to their strategy of always fighting against racism. The majority of the participants chose a balance between the two as doing nothing was not favorable to their emotional well-being and always fighting was seen to be too detrimental to their careers. They saw this strategy as "picking and choosing" their battles (Baez, 1998, p. 21). Baez's study highlights that faculty of color consciously navigate their identities and emotions in their academic careers.

The paradox of which identities and performances are appropriate to the role of women faculty as well as productive toward career success creates what Hirshfield and Joseph (2012) call "identity taxation." Specifically,

> Identity taxation occurs when faculty members shoulder any labor – physical, mental, or emotional – due to their membership in a historically marginalized group within their department or university, beyond that which is expected of other faculty members in the same setting (p. 214).

While there is a heavier burden or "identity taxation" on those women faculty with intersecting marginalized or minority identities, this taxation can also aptly apply to the White woman faculty member in a heavily male-dominated field, such as engineering. Different disciplines have varying demographics, supporting and marginalizing differing identities. However, those who have multiple marginalized or minority identities often experience more pressure to be a role model for those students who have similar identities, more policing in how they dress and behave, and isolation or marginalization from collegial interactions and networks (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012).

Identity management, whether it is in the form of construction, performance, negotiation, or concealment, is necessary for women faculty. Hirshfield and Joseph (2012) interviewed 66 faculty members at a Midwestern public university to seek how the participants' social identities affected their academic experiences. Their results found that:

> Unfortunately, in practice, there are many barriers to success in the academy in the form of various kinds of explicit and implicit discrimination. For women

> faculty these may include isolation in subdisciplines and workgroups, lack of networks, and perceived lack of authority (p. 223).

Whether roles are overtly or subtly expected, women faculty must negotiate their acceptance or rejection of those roles as well as how they negotiate other identities. To be sure, it is a complex interweaving of intentional and unintentional strategies and actions, all to strive for career satisfaction and success. While much of the literature discusses the ways in which women faculty have been forced, by gender roles, expectations, and minoritized identities, to manage and negotiate their identities and careers, what is lacking is how women faculty may be choosing to adopt the strategies of identity management in order to not only preserve their academic careers but also to move their careers forward toward career success and satisfaction.

Silence: Strategic, Resistant, Reactionary

The culture of higher education for women faculty and the necessity of identity management may influence both the intentional and unintentional use of silence by women academics. An aspect of identity management includes the strategy of silence. In addition to the silences that exist within identity management, silence exists in other forms for women faculty. Historically, and particularly within the women's movement, silencing has been viewed as detrimental to women's success and voice has been viewed as a form of empowerment challenging that silence (Bowen & Blackmon, 2003; Lorde, 1984; Luke, 1994). However, silence can also be used as a form of resistance, navigation of ensuring certain subjects or identities remain concealed, or as a way to communicate something more effectively than vocal speech might (Keating, 2013; Luke, 1994; Ropers-Huilman, 1998; Russo, 2013). Acker's (1990) process of gendered components of

identity describe how gendered organizations influence the consciousness of gendered norms and expectations and how the presentation of the self is rewarded or critiqued within the organization. This consciousness could lead to the strategic use and experience of silence for women faculty within the culture of academia.

To better understand the concept of silence and its varying definitions and uses I first focus on literature on varying types and definitions of silences. I then discuss the power and influence of silence in which minorities and underrepresented groups and individuals are often silenced. Finally, I conclude with a discussion on how women faculty experience and use silence as they manage their careers.

Variations of silence. The concept of silence is complex and multifaceted, as it often operates and finds meaning dependent upon context and culture (Acheson, 2008). In Acheson's (2008) analysis of literature on silence, she found "one of the greatest disparities in research on silence involves the values that people hold for silence – whether they perceive silence as a positive or negative phenomenon" (p. 6). Indeed, much of the literature within the discipline of education focuses on the silences that exist within the classroom (Bell & Golombisky, 2004; Fidyk, 2013; Ropers-Huilman, 1998), particularly for students with traditionally marginalized or minoritized identities, and with a social justice focus. However, there are many positives and negatives to the use and experiences of silence. Acheson (2008) explains:

> The complexity and diversity of silence illustrate the importance of reflexivity on the part of scholars so that they may be more aware of their own definitions as well as dissimilar ones. In addition, this same complexity and diversity should serve as motivation for researchers to be more explicit in explaining their

> conceptions of silence rather than assuming that others define silence in the same ways (p. 6).

While I defined silence in the introduction, this literature review of silence will explore the varying nature and uses of silence and how that might affect the experiences of women faculty.

From a "cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary, and cross paradigmatic" (Acheson, 2008, p. 3) review of literature on silence, Acheson constructs themes and definitions of silence. Within the themes and types of silences Acheson developed from the literature she presents six examples of "situational silences" (p. 24) and four examples of "silence as a marker of identity" (p. 29). Situational silences are, as might be apparent, events or instances of silence for a specific contextual or situational reason or intent. These six include: "stimulus of expectation or instrument of emphasis; display of emotion; reaction to uncertainty or confusion; device of relational control; acceptance/agreement versus refusal/protest; and rhetorical strategy" (pp. 24-28). Of those six, display of emotion, device of relational control, and rhetorical strategy are the most likely of the situational silences to occur within academia and be utilized by women faculty. The type of silence described as "display of emotion" is explained as a communicative tool that operates with a sense of agency due to the required strength and effort it might take to remain silent (Acheson, 2008). Women faculty may face this when voices of power or authority make comments or statements that offend or interrupt the comfort of the culture. In reaction to situations involving individuals of power or authority, women faculty might also employ the type of silence Acheson describes as "device of relational control" (p. 26). This type of silence is engaged to "maintain 'professional relationships' – frequently formal,

careful, and polite relationships" (p. 27). Finally, the silence described as "rhetorical strategy" is more of an institutional, cultural silence, used by those in the dominant cultural identities to perpetuate and continue hegemonic cultural structures.

Acheson's (2008) delineation of four types of silences that occur due to specific identity markers includes: "identity of authority; identity of subordinate or victim; gender identity; and other cultural identities" (pp. 29-33). All of these types of silences are likely to exist within the academy and be experienced by women faculty. Examples of silences that women faculty likely encounter include the authoritative silence enforced by the male-dominated structure of higher education and the protested silence as a subordinate to "demonstrate deference to authority" (Acheson, 2008, p. 31) without risking the self. Finally, women faculty also experience silences involved in adhering to or challenging the ideas and norms of gender and cultural silences often in response to "insider knowledge" (p. 33).

Another form of silence, presented by Keating (2013), is resistant silence. Like Acheson (2008), Keating (2013) also cautions that there are many different forms of silence that exist and "it is important to be able to distinguish between" them (p. 25). Keating presents three modes or types of resistant silence: silent refusal, silent witness, and deliberate silence. "Silent refusal," as Keating defines, considers silence in reaction to hegemonic power. "Silent witness" is most often defined as organized silence for effect or cause to convey a certain message. The most applicable to women faculty life, however, is the idea of deliberate silence. This silence is a rejection of efforts to assert power over subordinates or traditionally marginalized groups. Rather than speaking in reaction to instances of discrimination, the silence defined as deliberate silence attempts

to decrease the power of those moments by not acknowledging them in the first place. This certainly could be a valuable tool for women academics in understanding the moments that are worth speaking out and the moments when deliberate silence may be more appropriate either for the situation or their continued success in their profession. Acheson (2008) also notes deliberate silence as a form of silence that "often becomes quite noticeable, especially when marginalized voices refuse to 'echo' those in power" (p. 23).

Acheson's (2008) thorough exploration and analysis of the literature on silence and Keating's (2013) breakdown of different forms of resistant silence assist in understanding the complexity and variety of silence and indeed the power within nearly all types. Additionally, the differing forms of silence in both Acheson's (2008) and Keating's (2013) work was beneficial in the data analysis process in helping to identify which types of silence women faculty reveal or utilize in certain contexts.

Power and influence of silence. In her essay, *The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action*, Audre Lorde (1984) discusses regretful silences, the silences she wished she could take back. The overall tone of her essay is of frustration with the sociocultural climate that forces women, particularly women with multiple layers of minority identities, to be silent. Lorde says of silence, "each of us draws the face of her own fear – fear of contempt, of censure, or some judgment, or recognition, of challenge, of annihilation. But most of all, I think, we fear the visibility without which we cannot truly live" (p. 42). For Lorde and many other feminist writers and scholars, silence is powerful both in the silences forced upon women and minorities and the silences all individuals choose to entertain in particular situations and context (Bell & Golombisky,

2004; Carrillo Rowe & Malhotra, 2013; Fidyk, 2013; Keating, 2013; Ropers-Huilman, 1998; Russo, 2013).

Acheson (2008) conveys that the power of silence is found in its ambiguity. "The ambiguity of silence can enable individuals to disarm opponents, making them more willing to enter the discussion, and also allow multiple participants in an interaction to co-create meanings by interpreting the message in the silence for themselves" (p. 23). As shown in the previous section, there are a variety of forms and definitions of silence that lend to its degree and breadth of power. In their analysis of the literature on silence, Carrillo Rowe and Malhotra (2013) describe silence "as a space of possibility" (p. 2). By connecting silence with choice, the literature on silence presented in this section is connecting that choice with power. The idea of silencing that has so often been discussed in educational contexts has often been equated with lack of choice. They continue:

> Silence allows us the space to breathe. It allows us the freedom of not having to exist constantly in reaction to what is said. Standing in silence allows for that breath, for that reflection that can create a space for great healing (p. 2).

This idea of silence allows for greater reflection and space to consider silence as an act refuting the idea that voice and speech is the only way to break free of oppression and experience empowerment.

In her essay on the applications of speech and silence Russo (2013) reflects on "how the praxis of speech and silence are intricately connected with the power systems we are working to dismantle and transform" (p. 35) and the internal difficulties in knowing when to choose speech and when to choose silence. While the above scholars have situated silence with power, Russo looks at how speech and silence work to disrupt

and perpetuate dominant power lines. As she considers her privileged identities that allow her voice against hegemonic power and other literature on silence, she settles on the understanding that:

> One of the simplest, most profound, and yet consistently difficult practices that disrupts the automated entitlement to hegemonic speech is active listening. Stepping back from speaking and stepping up to active listening is one method in undermining the presumed entitlement to be at the center of the conversations, to speak to universals, and to determine the direction of the conversation and agenda (p. 36).

Russo (2013) and many of the scholars on the issue of silence and power agree that, in every form, silence is powerful. Additionally, reflexivity is important to understanding exactly how powerful silence can be, particularly for those with marginalized or minority identities.

Silence and women faculty. The scholarship highlighted in this review of literature show the numerous ways in which women faculty experience and use silence in the culture of higher education. Silence is involved in the negotiations of identity and in the local silences experienced and enacted at the micro level of women academics' careers. From the silences imposed on women faculty due to the support and perpetuation of patriarchy and traditional gender norms and roles to the silencing of women faculty from even being able to participate in academia at all, silence is featured in the literature on careers of women academics (August & Waltman, 2004; Cress & Hart, 2009; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Lester, 2008, 2011a; Mason & Goulden, 2004; Metcalfe & Gonzalez, 2013; Ropers-Huilman, 2008; Samble, 2008; Ward, 2008). Intersectionality

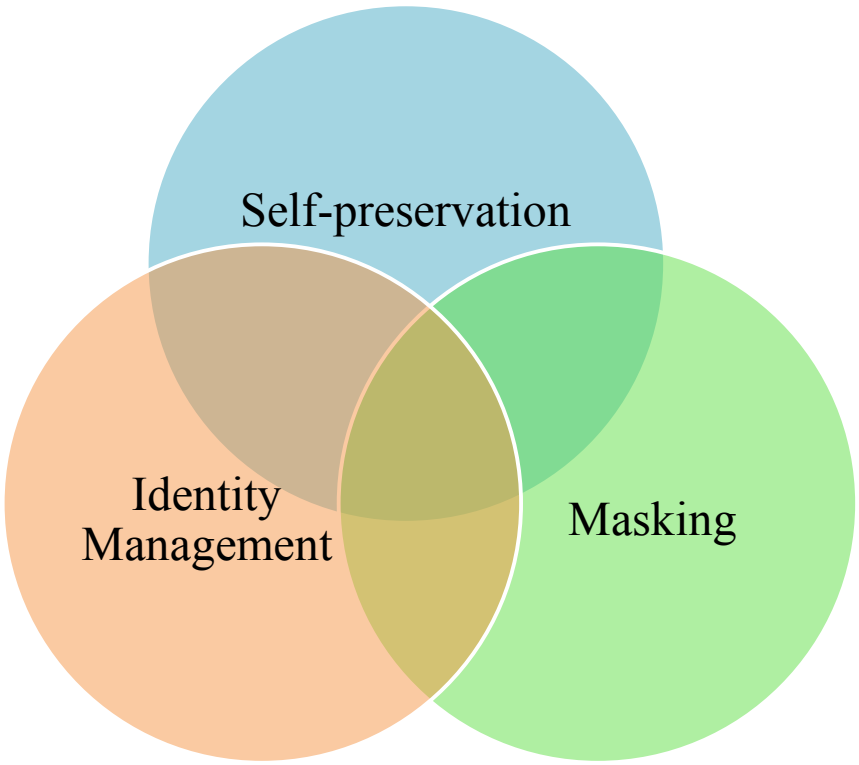
helps bring to the forefront the experiences of those with multiple marginalized or minority identities and helps to discontinue the invisibility of Black women's voices in the feminist and social justice movements (Cho et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 1991). Further, scholars on intersectionality argue for its method or perspective to indeed bring out of invisibility the many different identities that combine to shape the experiences of those with intersecting minority or marginalized identities (Carbado, 2013; Cho et al., 2013; Dill, 2009; McCall, 2005; Shields, 2008). Finally, within the concept of identity management, the continued efforts to enforce gender norms causes some women faculty to hide facets of their identities, silencing or masking, sometimes integral, aspects of their identity (Lester, 2008; Ropers-Huilman, 2008).

Most of these examples highlight how silence is in some ways forced upon women academics. What is unknown, to a large extent, is how women faculty might be using silence strategically to manage their careers and further success and satisfaction. Within this section I presented types or methods of silence that provide ideas of how women faculty might strategically utilize silence (Acheson, 2008; Keating, 2013). This section on women academics and silence highlights how connected silence is to the experiences of women faculty in higher education whether that is the silences women academics experience, the silencing of identities, or strategic or resistant silences as intentional career navigation. Integral to understanding the ways in which women faculty succeed in the professorate is identifying how they negotiate and navigate both identities and silence.

Conclusion

The literature reveals at least three themes of motivations for the use of strategic silence by women faculty: identity management, masking, and self-preservation. While there may be, and indeed likely are, more motivations for the strategic use of silence, these are the three that primarily emerge in the literature. Women faculty may use these motivations individually or simultaneously. I define each motivation below following the conceptual model (Figure 1) highlighting how each motivation works individually and simultaneously forming a concept of strategic silence.

Figure 1. Conceptual model of strategic silence



Identity management. Specifically, within this study, identity management refers to the intentional and unintentional presentation and negotiation of one's identities as well as the navigation of exposing and hiding facets of one's identity depending upon

context (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Lester, 2011a, 2011b; Ropers-Huilman, 2008). These negotiations and navigations can include careful construction of identities, the intentional hiding of identities, or the navigation of certain identities within particular contexts (e.g., within the classroom, with colleagues, with superiors). My introduction to the concept of identity management in relation to women faculty and my continued understanding is grounded in the following quote:

> All women are grounded in communities and life experiences that affect how their identities as women are constructed. Women faculty construct their identities in ways that incorporate the complex and contradictory expectations of all their roles, oftentimes leading to a finely tuned, yet partially subconscious, dance of identities (Ropers-Huilman, 2008, p. 35).

Constructing, hiding, and navigating are all ways in which identities are managed via silence by women academics within higher education. The management of identities for women faculty can rely upon these methods or strategies. This understanding of identity management is important for this study in that it focuses attention on how women faculty navigate their identities utilizing silence within academia.

An example of identity management might include a woman academic's choice to hide her identity as a mother with specific colleagues or superiors in an effort to maintain a certain amount of respect and image of ability that she feels would be diminished if she revealed her identity as mother. Another example of identity management might include a woman academic sharing her minority sexuality identity to a specific student or student group with aims to establish a relationship with a particular student or group of students.

Masking. While masking has, in some research and literature, been conflated with identity management, in this study masking refers to the concealment, suppression, and disguising of identities and emotions depending upon context (Montoya, 2003). Silence is a primary tool in the act of masking identities and emotions, as concealment, suppression, and disguise require some aspect of silence to be successful. Within this definition of masking, silence is used to present something understood to be more acceptable to the situation, context, or atmosphere while concealing, suppressing, or diminishing those identities or emotions thought to be considered less acceptable or unacceptable. Montoya writes of the necessity of learning and knowing how to employ tools of masking for people of color:

> Presenting an acceptable face, speaking without a Spanish accent, hiding what we really felt – masking our inner selves – were defenses against racism passed on to us by our parents to help us get along in school and society. We learned that it was safer to be inscrutable. We absorbed the necessity of constructing and maintaining a disguise for use in public. (72-3).

While identity management may include some masking the difference between the two is that masking is not only about concealing and suppressing but also about presenting something that may not be a "true" or "authentic" identity or emotion. Masking includes attempts at altering the presentation of what exists while identity management focuses on the shifting or negotiation of what exists. The same tools of silence may be present (e.g., concealment, suppression) for both identity management and masking but the intention behind the two are distinct.

An example of masking for a women faculty might include efforts toward suppressing emotions that trigger crying when interacting with colleagues and students so as not to be seen as weak. Another example of masking that Annette Kolodny (1998) discusses, in reflecting on her academic career, was in disguising her degenerative chronic illness by masking her increasing disabilities so as to not make her illness noticeable to others.

Self-preservation. Within this study, self-preservation refers to the utilization of silence to avoid confronting or acknowledging situations of discrimination, oppression, or obstacles that women faculty perceive to be harmful to the themselves and/or their career, whether in the short-term or long-term. This motivation of self-preservation can be highlighted in the dismissal or deference to experiences of discrimination or oppression, an instance in which the energy to confront a situation is not worth the effort or is better utilized in other situations. Self-preservation may also occur in instances where women faculty might avoid placing themselves at risk by confronting a situation. This avoidance is highlighted in the recommendations by academics to consider avoiding challenging the status quo of inequality and inequity within one's academic career, as the consequences may not be worth the risks (Baker, 2012; Hogan, 2010; Pierce, 2007; Ropers-Huilman & Shackelford, 2006; Terosky et al., 2008). Finally, self-preservation may also be present as a motivation in the idea of being wise at picking the battles that are worth the time and risk involved, or in avoiding talking about topics or doing research related to minority identities to avoid any or further potential marginalization (Baez, 1998). All of the above utilize silence in effort to preserve the self in some way, whether that is the career, the time to achieve goals or tasks, or the energy for things that matter more. Merriam-

Webster (2014) defines self-preservation as "(1) preservation of oneself from destruction or harm, and (2) a natural or instinctive tendency to act so as to preserve one's own existence." Women academics are undoubtedly acting in a way to preserve their selves and careers from destruction and continue their existence in academe and silence is an integral tool to successfully achieving goals toward self-preservation.

An example of self-preservation that women faculty might utilize includes walking away from hearing a superior make a racist joke because confrontation is seen to be too risky toward career stability. Another example of self-preservation a woman faculty member might apply is avoiding doing research on a topic close to her minority identity so as not to highlight that identity further in her career and to her colleagues.

Summary of literature review. Through the framework of Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organizations, this literature review highlighted how women faculty experience their careers and roles in higher education institutions. Women and minoritized faculty remain underrepresented in tenure-track and tenured positions overall and are substantially underrepresented in STEM disciplines. Due to continued underrepresentation, the culture in many disciplines, departments, colleges, and institutions remains most favorable to men and male lives making it difficult for women and minoritized faculty to achieve success and satisfaction in their academic careers. Further, the academic environment for women faculty with minoritized identities continues to produce obstacles and barriers to success and satisfaction including implicit and explicit bias, lower representation than White, male, and heterosexual faculty, fewer experiences with quality mentoring, and overt and subtle discrimination, bias, and oppression. However, while the conditions of academic institutions are not favorable to

the success of women and minoritized faculty, those faculty members are finding ways to succeed and feel satisfied with their academic careers.

Due to the obstacles and barriers facing women and minoritized faculty, management of identities, strategic performance in presentation and mannerisms, adaptation or rejection of gender roles and norms, and management and labor of emotions are necessary strategies for the academic career. Within these strategies is the common theme of silence. The literature on silence broadly highlights a variety of ways in which to understand, interpret, and utilize silence. Acheson (2008) and Keating (2013) provide variations and types of silence and how they are presented in the literature and how they might be utilized and experienced. Further, the literature highlights the power and usefulness to strategically using silence as well as the damaging effects of experiencing and being silenced. Finally, the literature focused on women faculty suggested potential strategies of silence, personal experiences using silence and being silenced, and how connected silence is to the overall experiences of women faculty in academic institutions.

Chapter Three: Methods

To explore how women faculty use strategic silence in the management of their careers in both STEM and non-STEM disciplines, this qualitative study focused on the concept of strategic silence. Therefore, I focused data collection and analysis primarily on identity management, masking, and self-preservation while also allowing the data to reveal other motivations. These three motivations of strategic silence drove the development of data collection instruments and initial analysis.

Research Questions

This study sought to understand how women faculty utilize strategic silence in effort to manage identities, mask identities and emotions, and preserve the self and career in both STEM and non-STEM fields. To do this, the following research questions guided the development of methodology, research tools, instruments, and analysis.

1. How do women faculty use strategic silence in the navigation and management of their careers?
2. How do women faculty strategically employ silence toward identity management, masking, and self-preservation?
3. How do the identities, backgrounds, and experiences of women faculty influence their approach to their roles as academics?
4. How do women faculty use strategic silence differently or similarly within STEM and non-STEM disciplines?

Framework

To inform this qualitative dissertation I employed feminist constructivism. While I sought to include attention to the power and privilege issues that women academics

encounter in higher education, I wanted to avoid focusing too much on the disadvantages women faculty encounter in the academic profession. In other words, I wished to focus on what strategies women faculty use in their careers more so than on why they must use them. Since this study focused on the experiences of women, attention to the gendered dynamics of academia was necessary in understanding the factors that encourage use of strategic silence in the careers of women faculty, something constructivism on its own cannot address (Locher & Prugl, 2001; Olesen, 2000). Therefore, the combination of feminism and constructivism enabled me to address the gendered issues the participants encountered that motivated their use of strategic silence while also maintaining an approach of co-constructing the participants' experiences without limiting my focus to those gendered issues. In the benefits of combining constructivism with feminism, Locher and Prugl (2001) "argue that constructivism shares ontological grounds with feminism and thus provides a unique window of opportunity for understanding" (p. 112). In combination, feminism adds the sensitivity to gendered power structures that constructivism lacks and constructivism adds the support of the co-construction of diverse experiences and knowledge claims between myself as the researcher and the participants in the study separate of a critical lens. Abes (2012) notes that "there are limits to constructivism's reach in probing social inequalities within the contexts that shape identity" and "without explicit attention to these inequitable structures, it only reveals how they [participants] make sense of their identities within the structures rather than challenging the structures" (p. 188). Therefore, a feminist constructivist framework assisted me in identifying how participants' meaning-making of their lived-experiences and worldviews are or are not influenced or related to the gendered power structures that

work to influence identities and experiences within academia. In the following sections I discuss constructivism and feminism separately to highlight how each contributed to this study and the ways in which they informed the work.

Constructivism. Constructivism seeks understanding of how individuals construct their lived reality (Crotty, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Patton, 2002; Pasque, 2013; Schwandt, 1998). Indeed, "constructivists study the multiple realities constructed by people and the implications of those constructions for their lives and interactions with others" (Patton, 2002, p. 96). Additionally, the constructivist framework relies upon the idea that multiple individuals living in the same world, or in this case working in the same context, can have different worldviews and therefore have different ways of making meaning out of their experiences (Crotty, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Patton, 2002). Further, constructivism supports the notion that those individual experiences are all equally worthy. Constructivism holds "one's way of making sense of the world as valid and worthy of respect as any other, thereby tending to scotch any hint of a critical spirit" (Crotty, 1998, p. 58). Constructivism, in its foundation, supports the belief that participants are competent, knowledgeable beings whose experiences and knowledge about their social worlds are all equally important to the research process (Crotty, 1998; Magoon, 1977; Patton, 2002). Indeed, constructivism supports that "as researchers, we must participate in the research process with our subjects [participants] to ensure we are producing knowledge that is reflective of their identity" (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011, p. 103). In this study, constructivism served as the guide for me to work with the participants in co-constructing representations of the realities in which they live. Further, since this study relied upon finding strategies of silence through the participant's

perceptions of their career strategies and negotiations, co-construction of the participants' use and perceptions of their use of strategic silence was integral to collecting valuable data. This theoretical framework is helpful in understanding if and how women academics perceive and understand their experience and use of strategic silence to negotiate and advance their careers.

Feminism. The lens of feminism in studies about women's experiences is integral to research that seeks to both understand those experiences and provide information to promote social change. Feminist research challenges dominant structures of knowing, empowers diverse and individual perspectives and knowledge, allows for the agency of women's knowledge and lives, and has the potential to uncover the uniqueness of how women experience and perceive their lives within the world (Burns & Walker, 2005; Griffiths, 1995; Hesse-Biber, 2012; Pasque, 2013; Ropers-Huilman & Winters, 2011). Specific to this study, the lens of feminism aids in "challenging the silencing of women's voices in society and research" (Burns & Walker, 2005, p. 66).

The benefits of applying feminism to a study on women's experiences is that "feminists ask 'new' questions that place women's lives and those of 'other' marginalized groups at the center of social inquiry" (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 3). In addition to centering women's experiences and perspectives as the focus of inquiry, research employing a feminist perspective also "*disrupts* traditional ways of knowing to create rich new meaning" (p.3). In this study, I use a feminist focus to create new understandings of women academic's lived-experiences and how they use strategic silence in the negotiation and navigation of their careers. Using a feminist perspective

requires understanding of feminist methodologies and the opportunities and challenges such methodologies bring to the study.

While there are numerous methodologies within feminist theory and research, what they share is a "commitment to drawing attention to the deep and irreducible connections between knowledge and power (privilege), and to making problematic gender in society and social institutions in order to develop theories that advance practices of gender justice" (Burns & Walker, 2005, p. 66). Further, Ropers-Huilman and Winters (2011) assert that all feminist research seeks to:

> Generally (a) acknowledge that the role of the researcher will have an effect on the research; (b) seek to understand social situations as they affect women in all their diversity; and (c) is concerned with positive social change, especially as it relates to diverse women's lives (p. 672).

While the framework of constructivism and the overarching objective of this research was to identify and understand women academic's use of strategic silence, the feminist perspective added the focus of implicating social change toward the improvement of the academic culture and environment for women faculty.

Feminism questions, challenges, and appraises androcentric structures and bias, including within academic cultures and environments (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Generally, research utilizing a feminist perspective "can offer different interpretations of social interactions and, potentially, provide possibilities for change both in higher education as well as other settings" (Ropers-Huilman & Winters, 2011, p. 668). Additionally, feminism and constructivist qualitative research are complementary in that both

appreciate the importance of inclusivity in the diverse and unique voices and perspectives of all individuals.

Data Collection

In this qualitative study, data collection included interviews and document analysis. While observations were initially planned as part of the data collection methods, they proved to be a barrier to women faculty agreeing to participant in the study due to time constraints, inconsistency in teaching schedules, and teaching sabbaticals. Although in planning the study, I thought observations would be integral to uncovering silence, the interviews with participants proved to be the most effective means to understanding how women faculty utilize strategies of silence and negotiate and manage their careers. Indeed, the individual interview approach proved to be beneficial to understanding the collective and unique experiences of women faculty's use of strategic silence.

The document analysis in this study included review of participants' curriculum vitaes, social media use and online presence of the participants, and stories and/or articles about the participants' careers and lives. The primary use of this collection of data was to learn about the participants' careers and lives, to the extent possible, in preparing the interviews. This approach provided question ideas and opportunity to build rapport with the participants. Outside of information for interviews, the data from the document analysis is not used in the findings other than when participants responded to questions formed from the document analysis. Because the interviews and method for recruiting participants ended up being something I adapted throughout data collection I will now detail, further, the interview structure and application and participant solicitation.

Interviews. Data were collected through 26 in-person interviews with 13 participants lasting between 90 and 150 minutes. Each participant was interviewed twice, separated anywhere from two weeks to several months. Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. The first interview was unstructured and approached to be conversational. "Conversational interviews are a powerful way of gaining access to an individual's interpretations of their personal experiences (i.e., their social world)" (Burgess-Limerick & Burgess-Limerick, 1998, p. 64). This approach to interviewing fosters storytelling from the participants and allowed me, the researcher, to build and structure interview topics and questions based on the narratives from the participants themselves as well as from other participants in previous interviews. Therefore, in conversational interviewing "each individual and situation produces a unique agenda that allows the researcher to ground the research completely in the experiences of the participants" (Burgess-Limerick & Burgess-Limerick, 1998, p. 64). Because conversational interviews feel more like social interactions than research interviews, "the researcher and participants are viewed as partners, collaborators, or co-constructors of knowledge" (Burgess-Limerick & Burgess-Limerick, 1998, p. 64). In each first interview I first asked the participants to talk about their career path and tenure experiences. I followed up their career narratives asking what identities the participants viewed as important and present in their academic careers. From their narratives, I then probed about big career decisions, understandings, experiences, and uses of silence, and how they might negotiate and manage the identities they shared. In the conversational interviews I often shared small samples of my own experiences to both build rapport and to attempt to reveal understanding and commonality of experience to build trust in the

participants that I would treat their stories and experiences with care and respect. Indeed, these interviews felt so much like conversations that I often felt discomfort calling them interviews when scheduling the second interviews with participants.

The second interviews were semi-structured interviews utilizing adapted versions of the initial interview protocol developed in the study design. Utilizing a feminist constructivist framework, the interview questions in the initial interview protocol and the adapted versions were written to recognize the participant's agency, knowledge, validity of perceptions, and multiple ways of knowing and being (DeVault & Gross, 2007). To prepare for the second interviews with each participant, I listened to the first interview audio recording, taking notes and listening for themes and important stories, identities, and situations to focus the interview on elaborating on what was introduced in the first interview. Listening to the interviews rather than reading interview transcript text allowed me, I believe, to consider emotion and significance in the stories and experiences the participants shared thinking about not only what was said, but also how it was delivered. This helped in narrowing the second interview's focus to include certain topics, identities, and silences that may not have struck me as very significant if I were just reading text on a page. Further, as I completed interviews certain commonalities across experiences were emerging so those topics were often added to the interview questions, depending on the identities, disciplines, and experiences of the participant. These open-ended, semi-structured, in-person interviews were able to further elicit how the participants make meaning of their lived-experiences (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Merriam, 2009). The second interview focused more on collecting data on how the participants perceived their use of strategic silence via identity management, masking, and self-preservation, their

overall perceptions of their career navigation and management, their understanding and presentation of identities and emotions, and how they view themselves within the world of academia. Both interviews, and getting to know each participant was genuinely fun, educational, and occasionally therapeutic for some of the participants. On more than one occasion I ended up talking with participants in a social manner, separate from the research, far after the digital recorder was off.

Site selection. For multiple reasons the selected site for this study is a public research-intensive university. These reasons include: (a) the specific rigor involved in earning tenure at a research-intensive institution possibly creating a setting for the need for more navigation and management of careers for women faculty; (b) the wide variety of disciplines available in both STEM and non-STEM fields concentrated in the same overall institutional context; and (c) the larger pool of potential participants creating a more likely opportunity to have the desired number of participants included in the study. Further, I chose to select participants from a single institution to provide a control element in the study in showing how women faculty across 13 different disciplines navigate and negotiate their careers within a particular institutional culture and context. However, a few of the participants have had careers at multiple institutions and in industry and the focus of the study was on their experiences and strategies overall, therefore, there is a limitation to having the site and institutional context as a control factor.

Participant selection, consent, and confidentiality. At the start of data collection my goal was to successfully recruit 12 women associate professors representing 12 different disciplines balanced between male majority and female

majority, STEM and non-STEM, disciplines. My participant selection utilized purposeful sampling. To identify potential participants, I went to the institution's website and for each department counted the full-time faculty, including tenure-track, tenured, and non-tenure track faculty. For those departments that had higher differences in their male versus female faculty, I identified the women associate professors as individuals to contact. From those I created a list of potential participants who represented male majority and female majority, STEM and non-STEM disciplines equally.

With University of Minnesota IRB approval, I contacted my initial list of potential participants using the formal IRB structure email solicitation. After receiving a few declines due to time constraints or lack of teaching and no responses from the rest I decided to eliminate the observation requirement from the study design. Following the removal of observations, I sent out more emails to additional potential participants that I had identified in my initial plan as additional contacts if the first list did not gain participants. This solicitation approach elicited one participant. So after a month of no responses and the occasional decline, I changed my solicitation approach and eliminated the formal participant invitation and replaced it with a request for a brief conversation about my research and potential participation. From this approach I gained eight participants, though by this point I had run out of women faculty in female majority STEM disciplines, as there were only a few to choose from initially.

After struggling to gain participants I also dropped the focus on male majority and female majority disciplines and instead focused on gaining a balance of participants between STEM and non-STEM disciplines. The final four participants proved to be difficult to find and so I asked a few faculty members for assistance in identifying women

faculty that they thought would be willing to participate. This approach yielded five more participants giving me a total of 13 participants, seven from the social sciences and humanities and six from STEM. I defined the disciplinary categories for the participants according to Biglan's (1973) classification of academic disciplines. In total, I contacted 45 potential participants and yielded 13 for this study. From the 13 participants, eight are in male majority departments and five are in female majority departments. In the end, I was able to gain a diverse group of participants including four women of color, two women who identify as lesbians, eight women who identified as mothers, and five women who identified as having working-class backgrounds. This diversity proved beneficial to highlighting differences in experiences due to identities and backgrounds in data analysis and findings. More detail on the participants can be found in the next chapter.

Prior to interviews each participant consented to participation in the study by signing the IRB approved consent to participation form. For participants this study included little to no risks and in the end, seemed to be very beneficial to the participants in providing them an opportunity to reflect on their careers. However, for some participants recalling particularly difficult experiences did include a minimal amount of stress. Part of my promise to the participants was that I would do all that I could to maintain their confidentiality. Because of the anonymity included in the study, participants did share experiences and identities they would not have otherwise felt safe to share. Because of this I have been strategic with the data and participant information to provide as much confidentiality as is possible. Further I employed member-checking by sending both interview transcripts to each participant with opportunity to comment, edit,

provide clarity, or note text they would like omitted in the transcripts. Three of the 13 participants sent back their transcripts with comments. As another measure of transparency I also sent a copy of the second draft of this dissertation to each participant so they could see and comment on the findings and interpretation of their experiences and identities.

I do want to note that I had two Black women faculty members decline participation in this study because they felt that due to the small number of Black women faculty at the associate level at this institution, it would be too easy to figure out their identities. My discussions with those two women highlighted to me the benefits of doing national scale studies on the experiences of women of color.

To help in maintaining confidentiality I am only identifying participants as either being in STEM or social science disciplines, using pseudonyms for the participants in this study and all future writings and publications, and not using any identifiers for particularly sensitive subjects and direct quotes in the findings. For an additional layer of confidentiality while trying to balance attention to the identities of the participants I first asked participants to provide me a pseudonym of their choosing if they wished to provide one. Three participants provided their chosen pseudonyms. For the other 10 participants I searched the origins of their names on the internet for ethnicity and history origins and then looked up names for that specific background and chose names authentic to each participant's names' history and ethnic backgrounds. I did this because I wanted to honor those identities and avoid choosing pseudonyms too close to their actual names. Further, after identifying a potential list of pseudonyms to use I went to the institution's website and searched to see if there were other faculty with those names in either STEM or social

science colleges. After finding 10 names that were clear of duplication with other faculty at the institution, I confirmed my list of pseudonyms for the study. Finally, to ensure the protection of all audio recordings and documents I stored them digitally in encrypted files on a separate hard drive and deleted the audio recordings at the completion of the study.

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using a constant comparative approach (Boeije, 2002; Patton, 2002) going through multiple iterations of coding. Using a constant comparative approach (examining data for themes, refining themes by comparing and contrasting data, and revisiting data to finalize themes) for data analysis included multiple iterations of coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Goetz & LeCompte, 1981). I first conducted open coding for each individual participant data, followed by predetermined coding on the individual participant data. Next, I conducted another round of coding comparing and contrasting the codes found in the first round of coding amongst all the data from all participants. Finally, I conducted a final round of coding to ensure the themes found in the first two rounds continued to be true to the data and compared the themes to the literature.

While the data were primarily analyzed using the predetermined codes of Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organizations and Acheson's (2008) examples of types of silence, codes from the research questions including the three motivations of strategic silence; identity management, masking, and self-preservation, and codes that emerged during the analysis process were also utilized. Throughout the data analysis process, the framework of feminist constructivism was employed as the lens through which all data analysis methods preceded, which included careful attention to power, interpretation of

the data, member-checking, multiple methods of analysis, and reflective journaling. Following constructivism, data analysis included each participant's clarification of themes/findings through member-checks, sharing of notes, and follow-up interview analysis. Following feminism, data analysis included codes looking at strategies motivated by particular power and privilege dynamics, specific attention to gender dynamics highlighted in the data, frequent reviews of and recording through reflective journaling from the data collection and analysis process, and constant attention at maintaining inclusivity of diverse perspectives throughout analysis (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007).

Ethics

Trustworthiness in this study is achieved via fulfillment of confidentiality agreements via the consent form, frequent member-checking via email, and efforts to co-construct the analysis of the data, and constant attempts at reflexivity throughout the study utilizing the reflexive journal method. I kept a journal throughout the data collection and analysis process. Following each interview, I recorded any thoughts or potential biases I felt or had during or about the interview that would not show up on the audio recordings. During the data analysis process, I referred to my journal to provide context and any additional thoughts that might have been important to analyzing the data. Additionally, I kept a journal during the data analysis process to attempt to be reflexive in any biases I brought to the analysis, which aided in clarifying the data.

I ensured confidentiality, to the extent that is possible, by using pseudonyms for the participants and the research site as well as not identifying the participants' research focuses, disciplines, departments, or colleges and will maintain this throughout any

additional analysis, writing, and publication processes. Member-checking was essential in building trust in transparency and working to truly understand how the participants perceived their use of strategic silence in the navigation of their careers. Those who responded provided additional meanings and interpretations for the data and data analysis process by clarifying the data, adding additional insights, and marking which data they would like omitted (Bradbury-Jones, Irvine, & Sambrook, 2010). The member-checking with participants was essential in efforts to encourage the co-construction of the data and analysis. Reflexivity on my part was essential in this study particularly in understanding the identities and perspectives that I brought to the topic and analysis. Reflectivity provided impetus to consistently recognize power in relation to each aspect of the study (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007). I worked at being reflexive by ensuring that I took time to journal regularly throughout the collection and analysis process, providing as much transparency as is possible with the participants in the data collected and how data were analyzed, and what themes emerged from the data.

Limitations

The most obvious limitation with this study is the difficulty in studying and identifying silence, though I worked minimize this limitation through my approach to interviewing for data collection and the use of the constant comparative approach to data analysis. Another limitation was that the participants often focused on gender and silence in their simplest definitions; however, I was able to negotiate this with participants by sharing examples of strategies and silences from the literature that connected with the stories and experiences they had already shared with me. The one area in which I think the data were limited was in revealing masking strategies the participants might utilize.

Only a few participants discussed masking and that could be because they simply do not employ the strategy, they did not want to reveal identities, emotions, or experiences they might find too sensitive to share, or because they do not recognize when they might be masking identities or emotions.

A site selection limitation includes lack of ability to generalize findings to other institutional types. The broad look at participants working in different disciplines across the institution can be viewed as a limitation of this study in that it will not be possible to generalize about the experiences of women faculty in any particular discipline. Similar to most qualitative studies, this study will not be generalizable and is limited by its singular location and use of only participants who have achieved the associate professor status. However, qualitative research is not meant "to construct grand generalizations, but [rather] to work closely with people, maintaining an inclusive reality, open and flexible, consisting of a diversity of perspectives, and enhancing their understanding and ability to control their own reality" (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007, p. 503). Indeed, this study includes participants with a diversity of backgrounds and identities with whom I worked closely to understand and co-construct their own perceptions and experiences with strategizing and using silence.

Conclusion

In order to improve the academic climate for women faculty, increase women's representation at upper levels of the professorate, decrease attrition of women academics, and come to a greater understanding of what it takes for women faculty to manage their careers in academia it is critical to uncover the silences involved in how women academics navigate higher education employing strategic silence. Audre Lorde (1984)

concluded her essay on transforming silences with a statement of the costs the sociocultural history of women in the United States continue to perpetuate: “For we have been socialized to respect fear more than our own needs for language and definition, and while we wait in silence for that final luxury of fearlessness, the weight of that silence will choke us” (p 44). As women academics continue to push against the status quo in academia and break those silences, they must also negotiate ways to stay in the game of academia. Acker (2012) notes that in our current social reality “inequality regimes seem to be relatively resistant to additional change” (p. 219). While policies and time have improved the opportunities and environments for women and minority academics, White men maintain dominance in many disciplines and top positions within higher education institutions.

The study generates better understandings of how women faculty in academia are managing their academic careers, succeeding in academia and into the top positions, experiencing their careers, and perceiving their approach to their careers. Within the framework of feminist constructivism this study sought to provide space for how women academics perceive their lived-experiences in their careers and how strategic silence is utilized or acts as an influence in their careers. My approach to this study in its design, data collection, and data analysis was genuine in a desire to understand how women faculty manage their careers in both STEM and non-STEM disciplines within higher education and will be important to higher education broadly and to the discipline. Those who seek to enhance the inclusivity of higher education contexts cannot know how to change the system until we understand how the actors operate within the system.

In the next chapter I provide details and summaries for each participant, introducing them and celebrating their identities, experiences, accomplishments, and lives to the extent possible while maintaining confidentiality. I truly appreciated each participant's trust in sharing their stories and experiences with me and hope that the following participant chapter as well as the findings chapters do justice to their courage and strength as women faculty.

Chapter Four: Participants

The 13 participants in this study represent a diversity of identities, backgrounds, and educational and professional experiences. Each participant is situated in a different discipline at this institution in five different colleges. Eight of the participants are in male majority departments and five are in female majority departments. Each participant has earned tenure, some over a decade ago and some as recently as this past academic year. All participants noted the stressfulness of tenure, and while most had relatively smooth tenure experiences, three had troubled tenure experiences. While all participants acknowledged the stress of tenure (some even laughing at my prompting to tell me about their tenure process and experience), every participant also noted the relief, increase of freedom, and increase of confidence tenure brought them.

All participants lead with their research when asked what identities were present in their academic careers, so scholar is the number one identity the participants identified as important. To ensure confidentiality, details about their research areas is omitted from this study. Some of the identities represented include eight participants identifying as a mother, five participants identifying as having working-class backgrounds, four women identifying as women of color, and two women identifying as lesbians. All participants discussed the importance of mentoring, many specifying the importance of mentoring future women scholars, and appreciated their opportunities to succeed in academia as women academics, noting that their success highlights to future women scholars that a successful career in academia is possible. The following summaries introduce participants and share a little about their lives and careers. The STEM participants are listed first followed by the social sciences and humanities participants. In each of those

two areas the participants are in order of ascending percentage of women in their department. Those percentages range from 10 percent to 90 percent.

STEM participants

May. May is an associate professor in STEM, originally from Asia, which, as she noted has made her realize how behind the US is in terms of women in science and parental leave policies. She came to this institution because she enjoyed teaching large classes in which students are responsible for figuring out how to solve problems. May earned tenure within the last five years and described her department as not having issues around gender even though the representation of women amongst full-time equivalent faculty in the department is only around 10 percent. This assessment of the climate may be due to May's desire to silence all but her academic or intellectual identity in her work environment. Despite not wanting to focus on her gender within her role as a faculty member, May described a deep sense of commitment to helping other women academics succeed in STEM. She remarked that this desire is from having been advised throughout her career by women mentors. Further, in her interviews May discussed the difficulty in dating while an assistant professor, describing that the busyness of the tenure-track kept dating and meeting men who did not view how busy she was as an interruption difficult. Following tenure, May met her husband and now has a child, who she credits with increasing her confidence and providing something outside of work to focus on and provide balance in her life. For May, personal fulfillment enhanced career fulfillment. In choosing to become a mother, May, like many women in academia, strategized on the timing of having a child, planning for a summer birth date for her child. May recognized her use of silence but not always the reasons or motivations why. And while she uses

silence in her career, in her research and intellectual work (e.g., conference presentations and panels) May adopts strategies to ensure that her voice is heard when she speaks in settings where she is presenting or discussing her work.

Alexis. Alexis is an associate professor in STEM who worked in industry before becoming faculty at this institution. Alexis always knew she wanted to a be a scientist, having had a parent in academia, she was introduced to science and academia early in her life. Although Alexis knew she was going into a career in science, she commented that she strategically chose to attend a women's college for her undergraduate degree, primarily because of the sexism she endured in school as a child. Alexis positioned this decision as opposing to her goals of a career in science, however, literature situates such decisions as logical and positive to academic careers. She also notes sexism as a reason she returned to the US from Europe as she believed that European men are worse than men in the US when it comes to sexism and sexual harassment. Alexis highlighted that dealing with men in STEM is just part of the package of being a woman in STEM. In Alexis's department women represent approximately 15 percent of the full-time faculty. Due to the small number of women, Alexis finds that having a group of women faculty for support important. Coming into her current position, Alexis was a spousal hire, which she commented does come with a stigma, though she noted the stigma and attention to that has decreased since earned tenure. Like other participants who are mothers, Alexis is a mother and recognized both the importance of having a life outside of academia and a place outside of work in which she belongs as well as the productivity and organization that comes from having a child due to the necessity of having to schedule in time to work. Alexis, like many other participants, struggles with imposter syndrome and

acknowledged that as a barrier and sometimes motivation for the silence she utilizes in her career. While sometimes her motivations for choosing silence are due to fear of being perceived as unintelligent, as Alexis commented that she often refrains from speaking to avoid the internal turmoil and anxiety that is produced by the fear of saying something unintelligent, Alexis also chooses silence to protect her time, as she commented that speaking up can often be perceived as volunteering to spend time on a committee, project, or initiative. Further, Alexis is conscious of her identities and works to control how she is perceived by others. At the end of her second interview, Alexis thanked me for the opportunity for her to reflect on and talk about her career experiences and strategies.

Sadie. Sadie is an associate professor in STEM who was recruited to this institution from another institution in the last few years. Sadie knew she wanted to go into science before she entered her undergraduate career, but did not know she wanted to become an academic until her postdoctoral experience. She realized that academia was the right course for her when she discovered her appreciation and enjoyment of teaching and the teaching and learning scholarship. While she enjoys teaching, a poor experience with student evaluations in her third year caused her to change completely how she dressed and talked in her teaching. Sadie commented that her confidence and ability to teach was damaged from that experience and that she still does not feel safe in being herself in the classroom. When she transferred to this institution she came without tenure because she had yet to earn funding that is required in the criteria for tenure. Sadie described her department as constructive, so far, and mentioned that one of the things that helps her navigate her career as a woman in STEM is talking to other women academics

online, where there is freedom to share. Within her department women represent approximately 20 percent of the full-time faculty. Due to the dominance of men in her field, Sadie remarked that she does not feel safe wearing clothes that she would otherwise like to wear that are tighter and more feminine, as she believes that would only attract increased experiences with sexism. Sadie completely blends her professional and personal lives and highlighted that the story or timeline of her personal and professional lives interweave completely. While Sadie was recruited to this position, which she commented provided power in negotiating in the hiring process, she does deal with imposter syndrome. Sadie highlighted that while her feelings of imposter syndrome is a consequence of being undervalued and constantly questioned as a woman in STEM, she also commented that some of her imposter syndrome feelings may be due to the poor teaching experience as that experience made her question her abilities and negatively affected her confidence.

Janet. Janet is an associate professor in STEM and although she always knew she wanted to be a scientist she did not know what kind of scientist and also had many interests outside of science that she wanted to maintain. Janet started out her career at this institution as a spousal hire on the non-tenure track path. After a few years she was able to earn a tenure-track position and described her tenure experience as smooth, primarily due to the clarity in criteria for tenure provided by her department. Like the other participants who were spousal hires, Janet noted that there is a stigma attached to coming in with that label. And like others, she believes that with the passage of time, her proven research record, and her success at earning tenure, the stigma is less apparent now than in the beginning. Janet claimed that she does not negotiate identities; in fact, she does not

like labeling as she tends to see labels as ways to pigeonhole individuals. She commented that she does acknowledge, though, her identity as a woman when trouble arises due to gender. In Janet's department, women represent approximately 20 percent of the full-time faculty, and has a climate that suppresses and discourages sharing personal lives. Within her department, Janet has a small circle of trust which provides support in a sometimes difficult departmental culture. Coming from a family with a service background, Janet believes service and making a difference in the world is important, but she described research as a higher priority. Janet acknowledged the necessity and use of silence sometimes but will always stand up for certain issues, especially if they are about the treatment of and opportunities for students. While Janet knows that there is value in choosing silence, she also believes that it is important to show others she cannot be taken advantage of or stomped on. Janet remarked that standing up for her career and being vocal when certain colleagues work to disrupt and damage her career can come with consequences but believes that when she shows bullies that she will not accept their treatment they often move on.

Clara. Clara is an associate professor in STEM and earned tenure within the last several years. She is originally from Europe but moved around as a child with her academic parents. Clara noted that cultural characteristics that are revered in her home country are seen as negative attributes in her department so she has learned to silence them in certain ways. Clara is a mother and, similar to other participants, spoke of the value and necessity of having a life outside of work, whether that is a family or some other interest that takes one away from the pressures and stresses of academia. When in graduate school, Clara was strategic in finding a mentor who had a history of placing

women in academic science careers. At the beginning of her career at this institution, departmental issues arose as she was promised lab space and a spousal hire for her husband, both of which were not fulfilled by the department. These issues continue to affect Clara's trust in her department and caused difficulties in connecting with colleagues. Indeed, she continues to feel isolated and unsupported in her department. The representation of full-time women faculty in Clara's department is approximately 25 percent and, while Clara did not attribute much to the imbalance of gender representation in her department during our first interview, upon reflection she shared how the imbalance has affected her career during our second interview. Due to a poor experience with advising and mentorship as a student and junior faculty member, Clara has had to seek out advisors on her own and has often felt very isolated. These experiences, however, encourage her to be an effective and supportive mentor to her students, particularly her female students. Clara chooses silence when she believes speaking would not prove to have a favorable outcome. While Clara spoke of the need to use silence and negotiate identities, she acknowledged that she has struggled with learning to let certain things go.

Lillian. Lillian is an associate professor in STEM and described herself as a White female who, due to her women's college undergraduate experience, went into her career not willing to deal with oppressive cultures and climates. Instead, she strategically chose to only consider offers from departments that she saw as egalitarian. Different from the departments the other STEM participants are in, Lillian's department has nearly double the percentage of women full-time faculty with approximately 40 percent women academics. This higher representation than many other STEM departments have of

women faculty could be why Lillian feels her department is very egalitarian and therefore she does not have many issues pertaining to gender in her career. Lillian, similar to many of the other STEM participants, has parents who were in academia and also has children whom she credited for increasing her productivity and organization in her career. Lillian earned tenure in the last several years, a process that was smooth despite her concerns over not following the traditional notions of merit and having all of the expected sources of funding most often looked for in STEM tenure reviews. She feels that her department is guided by egalitarian processes, and her experiences, as compared to many of her women faculty friends and colleagues, have been rather mild in terms of issues with gender. Given this perception, Lillian initially did not think she had much to contribute to my study. However, in our first interview, Lillian spent the first 10 minutes discussing how her height, which is taller than the average female, has affected her career and how others interact and approach her at work. She believes that one of the reasons that she has had what she considers a better experience than other women faculty is that she is much taller than the majority of women and men in her work environment. Lillian attributed her height to her lack of need to choose silence as she believes being tall means she is imposing and not easy to take advantage of so she tends to not see a need for silence.

Social Science and Humanities Faculty

Jamie. Jamie is an associate professor in the humanities and is in one of the two male majority departments the social science participants represent. Representation of women faculty in her department is close to 25 percent for full-time faculty. Due to this low representation, Jamie experiences a service burden as many committees within her department rely on a small number of women to provide service duties. While she

acknowledged her service burden and understands service is not valued in academia, Jamie does find satisfaction in doing service work and, in fact, has had many service and administrative responsibilities since she was on the tenure-track. She also values teaching and mentoring students. Jamie identifies as a lesbian and remarked that having been out from the beginning of her career has been "great" and it seems that it is just common knowledge amongst the faculty, staff, and students. She does not feel in any way that she silences, has been silenced, or needs to silence that identity. Jamie also identifies as having a working-class background and commented that is where she feels the most difference in the academic environment. Jamie is one of the few participants who had a difficult tenure experience. While eventually earning tenure, the trouble that occurred was so stressful that recalling it during our interviews was uncomfortable for her. Jamie is one of the many participants that struggles with silence. While she sees the merit of choosing silence, she is not able to remain silent. Further, Jamie believed that she tends not to negotiate identities but does negotiate outing her sexuality in the classroom. She intentionally tries to mention her wife or sexuality, when appropriate to the topic, to represent that identity in the classroom in case students in the classroom are LGBT themselves or have not had exposure to LGBT individuals before college. Jamie sees being out in the classroom as an opportunity to be a role model.

Jacqueline. Jacqueline is an associate professor in the social sciences and is the other social science participant in a male majority department with approximately 25 percent full-time women faculty. She described herself as a White female who is short and therefore approachable. Different than most other participants in the social sciences, Jacqueline did not identify as working-class or first generation and has a sibling that is

also an academic. Jacqueline commented that gender is always an undercurrent in interactions and therefore she is conscious of how people perceive her. She earned tenure in the last five years, even though she described her work as not aligning with traditional notions of merit typically rewarded by tenure committees. Jacqueline described that she cares most about and focuses more of her time and energy on her teaching and service commitments and acknowledged that her research suffers as a result. She highlighted that the department does not value her service and has even suggested to her that she does too much service, but does not have any colleagues or administrators willing to help in lightening her service load by taking on some of her service responsibilities. Jacqueline commented that her department can be STEM-ish at times and noted greater difficulties with the department culture as a result. Having been sexually harassed by her doctoral advisor and "hit on" by too many male colleagues, Jacqueline has resisted collaboration with men. She acknowledged that this has led her to miss out on opportunities. Support in her department is minimal and Jacqueline is one of several participants who struggles with silence in that she often wants to be silent but fails due to a deep commitment to altruism and a desire to acknowledge when something is wrong. Further, Jacqueline has a hard time separating identities in her academic career but sees the value in negotiation. In fact, she approaches her clothing choices and demeanor in her classes depending on the class objectives (e.g., wearing more formal clothing and being more authoritative in classes where learning the subject matter is critical) but she always seeks to balance being an authority figure in the classroom while also being approachable and supportive of students.

Samantha. Samantha is an associate professor in the social sciences who is the most strategic in the management of her career of all the participants. She described herself as a woman of color, highly productive scholar. Although not an identity she forefronts, Samantha does not hide her identity as a mother from her students and colleagues as she sees her experiences with having a child as an opportunity to help women students who want to go into academia have a greater understanding of what it means to be a mother and an academic. Unlike many of the other participants, particularly the STEM participants who are mothers, Samantha explained that her work time has diminished since having her child but she finds it more important currently to ensure she gives time to her family life. The department Samantha is in has a representation of approximately 55 percent women full-time faculty. Samantha keeps her relationships with her colleagues as professional and described her colleagues as acquaintances at best. She was recruited to the institution and is very driven and strategic about her career. Samantha went up for tenure earlier than is typical, having found strength in both her drive and high productivity as well as the power from being recruited into her position. Indeed, the very fact that she was recruited seems to have provided Samantha a source of power in negotiations and leveraging her time and skills within her department. Along with the power she feels from being recruited, Samantha also cited her drive and high productivity as a product of her working-class background. She has set very high expectations for herself and claimed not to always meet them, but recognized that she ends up better off than most others in terms of productivity and publications for the effort. Other than being transparent with her students, Samantha believes in separating the bulk of her personal life from her professional life. Because she is driven

to succeed in her career, Samantha is protective of and fights for her career as she explained that the institution is not set up for supporting the success of individual faculty as the institution is a business and, as she remarked, focused more on maintaining the overall business and gaining monetary funds rather that the careers of individual faculty, so she must be her own advocate.

Renee. Renee is an associate professor in the social sciences and has had many difficulties in her career due to a lack of support in her department. Renee identifies as an African American woman and sees herself as an important role model and source of support for students of color. She always knew she wanted to be an educator and enjoys the intellectual challenges that academia provides to her life. Within her department, women faculty represent roughly 60 percent of all full-time faculty. Renee has never felt supported in her department and that lack of support encouraged her to take a grant project opportunity to step away from academia for a short time. During that time, Renee realized how much she enjoyed her academic career, despite the challenges included in negotiating and managing the career. Renee earned her degree while her children were young and completed her PhD in three years. She commented that children encourage more organization and productivity and that her professional and personal lives are inseparable as her children have informed her research focus and community engaged and service work. However, Renee is careful to never allow her responsibilities as a mother interfere with her work, like showing up for meetings. Renee is another participant who struggled with the tenure process because of poor quality mentorship and an error in the process that delayed her tenure one year. Included in the department's lack of support is a historical lack of value of Renee's research focus, which is now a research

topic that is represented more in peer-reviewed scholarship and receives national attention and national and state-level funding support and yet she still does not feel her research is respected. Renee really enjoys her "work you do not get credit for," otherwise known as service and community engaged work. Because race is something that cannot be altered in terms of perceptions and stereotypes placed on an individual, Renee explained that she cannot negotiate her identity as an African American woman but rather must heighten the negotiation of other identities and performances so they have more opportunity to be seen and can present a different narrative than the perceptions and stereotypes placed on her due to her skin color. For instance, Renee commented that she maintains that students and those in the community must refer to her as Dr. because she needs that identity to be seen more due to stereotypes and assumptions placed on her due to her identity as an African American woman. Further, she talked about the labor involved in managing how others perceive her, noting that she must always be on top of her appearance and literally be aware of how she looks from all angles.

Abbi. Abbi is an associate professor in the social sciences and earned tenure within the last several years. She is another participant who had a difficult tenure process and overall a somewhat stress-filled path to date. Abbi does not feel supported or valued in her department, having presented multiple competing offers in search for a salary raise and has yet to receive any raise at all. Abbi described herself as a White female, first generation college student, who is conscious of her identities as she exists in spaces in which not many women have access. She is also another participant who was a spousal hire, something that has affected her career to a point at which she feels like a shadow in her career. Abbi has felt the stigma of being a spousal hire and has felt she has had less

power coming into the position through that path. While her department is approximately 65 percent women full-time faculty, Abbi's specific area is only roughly 25 percent women faculty. Due to this she often feels like her colleagues cannot understand her experiences with gendered issues in her program area. Like other participants, Abbi rejects traditional expectations of scholarly work noting that she only has two first author publications and would rather focus on collaboration and service work than meeting the traditional expectations of the academy. Abbi explained that she highly values service and community engaged work and would like that work to be valued more in academia. Having co-founded an initiative that benefits the college and institution in multiple ways, Abbi found that her work in developing and leading the initiative to be regarded as useless when her tenure review went to the college. Her tenure issues caused much stress and while she did earn tenure the stress of the process is still present in her feelings about her career and the leadership in the institution. Abbi, like others, has struggled with earning respect for her service work and has found success despite rejecting what academia traditionally requires as worthy scholarship. Abbi noted that she chooses silence in her career and after her last relationship ended, she now keeps her personal life completely separate from her professional life, to the point that most of her colleagues do not even know she has a partner. Like Alexis, Abbi also thanked me for the opportunity to reflect on her career and talk about the silences involved in the academic careers of women faculty.

Carmen. Carmen is an associate professor in the social sciences and is the most senior in terms of length of career of all the participants. She described herself as a White Jewish lesbian with a deep commitment to social justice work. Carmen also commented

that her working-class background has been one of the biggest sources of discomfort in academia. Similar to Jamie, Carmen also has made a point to come out in the classroom to show students that lesbians exist and to be a source of support for potential LGBT students. When Carmen was first at the university this was especially important as not many people were out then. Like a few other participants, Carmen was a first generation college student and she noted that having to figure things out on her own has been influential to her career path and the work that she cares about. Feminism and social justice drive Carmen's work and she acknowledged that focus and drive has not done her any favors in her career. Carmen has chosen to do nontraditional work and scholarship and she acknowledged this and her refusal to be silent likely cost her being able to move up to full professor. Carmen's department is female majority with approximately 65 percent of its full-time faculty being women. In her career, she has never felt like she had community on campus meaning that she does not, and never has had, a strong support system in her career. Carmen refuses to silence herself and came out to her colleagues within two months into her tenure-track employment. She described how her refusal to be silent has affected her career negatively but highlighted that she would not do anything differently. Carmen acknowledged that her refusal to be silent has meant that she is not invited to be on committees or speak at events and feels isolated as a result. Coming from a working-class background, Carmen acknowledged that she has been privileged to have the career she has had and for as long as she has been an academic. She acknowledged that choosing silence is an effective career strategy but that she was never able to really use silence in her career as she simply does not believe in silencing her thoughts, ideas, or

opinions as that runs counter to who she believes herself to be in terms of her morals and identities.

Nia. Nia is an associate professor in the social sciences and is a bit of an outlier in that her department's representation of full-time female faculty is approximately 85 percent. Nia identified as a Black woman, a scholar, a mother, and as having a working-class background. Nia had a smooth tenure process, as she noted that the expectations were clear and she was able to check everything off the list in time for her tenure review. Due to her class background, Nia has felt pressure throughout her educational and professional career to succeed as failure was not an option. Nia also feels that it is difficult to connect with colleagues due to her background and the number of academics the come from privileged backgrounds in academia. This is a sentiment many of the other participants who come from working-class backgrounds also highlighted in their interviews. Nia is driven to succeed in her career so that she can continue to provide her children a better childhood than the one she experienced. That drive includes taking on projects and other things she wants to achieve on her own even if others tell her no. Although she would like to have more time to write and produce research she makes spending time with her children a priority and therefore does not produce as much as she would like. The burden of qualitative research, she remarked, is that it takes up so much time. Another burden she bears is service work, which she does not dislike but could use less of to make time for research. Further, Nia does not feel valued highly in her department and recognized that her research is not valued by her colleagues. She mentioned that she knows and tells other minority scholars that it is not helpful to publish in identity or diversity focused publications as those publications are not valued in

academia. Nia utilizes silence in her career, although she pointed out that she cannot negotiate or silence her identity as a Black woman. One area in which Nia is strategic in utilizing silence is in managing and working to hide emotions because she knows being perceived as an angry Black woman would not be helpful for her career.

Conclusion

While each participant in this study brings unique experiences, backgrounds, identities, and strategies for navigating their careers, within the data there are far more commonalities in the stories the participants shared than differences. Across disciplines, departments, and colleges, utilizing silence and identity management was viewed as either a necessary strategy or a wise strategy for satisfaction, survival, and success within the academic career for women faculty. While degrees of satisfaction with either their careers or the institutional climate itself varied among the participants, they all recognized the privilege they have in being women academics and having careers in a research-intensive university. Further, many participants recognized that their very presence as tenured women faculty members provides them opportunity to be role models and valuable mentors to future women scholars. It is their hope, and mine, that their stories and experiences can serve to increase understanding and simply awareness of the lives, experiences, and silences women faculty have in academic institutions.

Chapter Five: Strategic Silence

When we tell a story we exercise control, but in such a way as to leave a gap, an opening. It is a version but never the final one. And perhaps we hope that the silences will be heard by someone else, and the story can continue, can be retold. When we write we offer the silences as much as the story. Words are the part of silence that can be spoken.

Jeanette Winterson, Why be Happy When you can be Normal?, 2011

I begin this presentation of the findings with Jeanette Winterson's quote because the silences and experiences the women in this study discussed with me offer a part of their stories but not the whole of their stories. Additionally, their participation in this study was grounded in their view of the importance of greater understanding of the silences women faculty choose and experience in their careers. The women in this study shared their experiences with silence in hopes that their stories will not only be heard by others but also might be helpful to other women faculty and women students looking to enter scholarly careers.

The reasons women faculty utilize strategies of silence in their careers are multifaceted and a result of academia continuing to perpetuate a patriarchal and androcentric climate and culture that supports the success of male-centered lives and voices. As such, many of the silences the participants chose were in reaction or opposition to men or the organizational structure that favors male-centered lives. All participants agreed that there is value in utilizing silence and identity negotiation but that there is a struggle not only in learning how and when to use silence, but also in feeling

comfortable with silence. Renee summed up the struggle of the faculty career and why it is sometimes necessary to negotiate one's identity within that career,

> I think it's a way of life, that you have to negotiate it [life and career] in order to remain sane. You should be able to go for more than just sanity but it doesn't mean that you shouldn't do it [use silence] and then just not have access to anything else that may be available. It's a give and take.

Here Renee explained that women faculty can refuse to utilize silence but that could mean limiting opportunity and access to important things that can help in their careers. It would be difficult to find a woman academic who had not experienced silence in her life or career. For instance, an easily recognizable silence is explained by Sadie in recalling her own experiences with silence:

> We were in a…committee meeting and I was talking about something…I had a strong opinion about it and I was like 'da da da da da' and he…snapped at me saying something implying…"you don't know what you're talking about" and I almost started crying…[I] had a hard time not crying for the rest of that meeting. I was just…completely shut up. And that affected my interaction with that colleague forever more.

Being silenced like Sadie experienced, particularly in front of other colleagues can have lasting effects. While this is the typical type of silencing often thought of when talking about experiences of being silenced, this process can occur in subtler ways. For example, women often silence themselves in how they approach voicing opinions and thoughts. Janet reflected,

> This idea of silencing yourself even by the way you speak. I was thinking about that because our discussion has spurred that a little bit. I've noticed this in meetings too where occasionally women will speak, but they'll speak in ways that are geared to minimize and semi-silence what they're actually saying. Instead of…just putting it on the table and saying, "How about this suggestion?" They think it might be a good idea to try to do this in a lower voice or…"What do you all think about maybe something like this?" There's qualifiers like "maybe," "perhaps," "if you think so," and things like "I think," or "I believe," or "it might be possible that"…It's been my experience that putting those qualifiers in to what you're saying in a professional context [is] really expected to a certain degree when women speak. I don't think it helps us much.

Janet and I talked about how the use of qualifiers by women is part of the socialization of girls in the US society and a difficult habit to break, even when one is aware of it. Many of the participants discussed issues with imposter syndrome and undoubtedly a history of being taught that women's voices matter less will aid in those feelings of not belonging.

Women can also be silenced because others ignore their speaking. Some participants who have difficulty utilizing silence noticed that because they are the ones in meetings who always speak, they are less often heard. Jacqueline explained,

> My guess is that in a meeting where I speak too much or I'm too inflammatory or something, there's gonna be a set of colleagues with whom I have fine working relationships who are like, "Huh, Jacqueline shouldn't have said that, but whatever, we're moving on." And then there's gonna be a set of colleagues who

> are like, "Oh, there's Jacqueline again," and they never did listen to me and they aren't gonna listen to me.

Janet also talked about this same silencing experience:

> I've noticed it more in the context of meetings and in discussion groups and things like that with other faculty members. You speak up but no one really hears you and then 10 minutes later a male faculty [member] will say the same things that you just said. Then people will agree with him and say, "Yeah, that's a great idea." Ninety-nine times out of one hundred he won't say, "Yeah, Janet just said that." That was a real problem for a long time. It still happens occasionally but not as often as it used to. I've had difficulty negotiating that one because it looks and feels a bit childish to say "Well, I said it first." Most of the time I just sort of sit there silently.

Not feeling like one can own their ideas and what they offer in meetings and discussions with colleagues not only produces silence and the habit of using silence, but also can induce career fatigue and feelings of imposter syndrome. Alexis also talked about the idea stealing that occurs,

> It's never taken at face value…you know how many times in a collaboration I have said something…nobody reacts, I mean these stories are so plentiful, right, and then a guy says it and everybody's like "Oh, that's a great idea."

While women faculty experience this silencing of not having ideas, thoughts, or opinions valued or acknowledged even when it seems their voice has been heard, Janet commented that her voice is met with discomfort and that leads to feeling as though she is "being dissuaded from speaking" in professional settings.

Other reasons for utilizing silence include not being able to identify the motivation of experiences of discrimination. For women with multiple intersecting minority identities, knowing which identity is being challenged or discriminated against is an ongoing puzzle. Given the multiple ways in which women with multiple intersecting minority identities can experience discrimination or bias, Renee talked about the work that goes into monitoring the options through which individuals can discriminate or misperceive her as an African American woman.

> I would be less professional or less intelligent so [not negotiating is] not even an option. It doesn't matter where I'm going or what I'm doing …I have to look at all angles to see what other people are going to see 'cause they're going to be looking…Not only is it exhausting...it could be perceived so superficial…because it shouldn't matter what you look like or anything like that. You also have to make sure that when you're saying something that it's well thought out, you know, so it's not going to get you in trouble somewhere down the line.

Samantha also commented that when one has those multiple intersecting identities discrimination can be because of race, age, gender, or a combination of those identity categories. The work to manage identities, presentation, voice, and silence is substantial for women faculty and when asked if there is space, situations, or contexts in which the participants could feel free to not worry about their identities or whether or not to choose silence, responses ranged from "when I'm out running my dog" (Jacqueline) to Clara's statement that no space exists for any women faculty for that freedom. She commented,

> I think anybody [who] will tell you yes, they would lie because there is so much judging of your career. There is so much of, if you say something it's going to be

> viewed as weakness, it's going to be view[ed] as something and it's going to come back.

Not having the space to feel free to speak openly was also highlighted by those participants who have difficulty using silence. In talking about the consequences of refusing to be silent Carmen noted that she "can see the anger that's…a result of it." And Janet provided an example of judgment being placed on a colleague,

> We hired a person here a few years ago who's just a wonderful female faculty…When she was coming here to visit, I was on the search committee and everybody on the search committee was very much in favor of hiring her. Still one of our male faculty, who's very reasonable in many ways, said, "Well, she really is a very aggressive person." Since she's been here I really don't think I've met anybody [so non-]aggressive at all. But simply the fact that she makes her views known gets her the reputation of being aggressive…It's not just her, I've seen it happen in various cases.

A woman academic does not even have to experience the stigmatization that results from being a vocal woman herself to understand the consequences of speaking. Women faculty learn through their own interactions and through seeing how other women faculty are treated that silence is a necessary tool for negotiating and managing their academic careers. Even those participants who struggle with using silence acknowledged the consequences they have endured because they continue to speak.

Finally, a few participants discussed with me experiences with physical and sexual abuse and mental illness. The silences involved with those experiences reach far beyond academia and are influenced heavily by stigmas perpetuated in society. While

only a few participants shared these stories, they are hardly alone in academia in having survived physical and sexual abuse and in dealing with mental illness. The silences felt in not being able to talk about these experiences and the shame perpetuated broadly means that these are stories and experiences that are rarely shared, even though they are not rare in existence. Because the participants who shared their stories and experiences with physical and sexual abuse and mental illness only shared them because of the confidentiality provided in this study and there are only so many ways that confidentiality can be assured, I am going to share their data but not attribute the quotes to a specific participant. I believe this to be important data to share, as these experiences not only silence these women in multiple ways, but also affect their confidence in their intelligence, their sense of belonging within academia, and the difficulties of negotiating emotion and identities within their careers.

Many of the participants talked about their experiences with dealing with imposter syndrome and the variety of reasons for why it is an issue for them and a barrier in their careers. In talking about being a survivor of an abusive relationship, one participant shared,

> I am a survivor of an abusive relationship but you can't...this shame that comes from having bad judgment to be in a relationship...that's what society tells me is that I had bad judgment and I should never let anybody know that I had this...moment of weakness and bad judgment that nearly got me killed...but being able to share that story...I feel like there would be a lot of people who would resonate with that, but I can't because of the consequences.

While there are multiple reasons this participant does not feel safe to share her experience, here she highlighted that sharing it would only serve to allow judgment of her intelligence and overall ability to make intelligent choices. Indeed, she saw the sharing of this experience to be something that would only exacerbate her imposter syndrome even as she recognized the utility in sharing experiences like this because they are likely experiences with which other women in academia can relate or understand.

Another participant included in her identities being a survivor of sexual assault and living with mental illness. These experiences have been drivers for many decisions, moves, and negotiations that she has made in her career. In fact, one of the reasons she ended up at this institution is that she was attempting to free herself from an emotionally abusive relationship. She shared that earning a job at this institution allowed her to "be able to…flee or escape from that very…emotionally and psychologically abusive relationship." While other participants shared periods of their lives in which they dealt with or experienced depression, this participant shared that her mental illness is something that she must negotiate and work with regularly within her career. She commented on how she builds time in her syllabi to allow for the "breakdown times" and those times when she simply needs time away. Negotiating time to give to her mental illness takes time away from productive scholarship, something she noted as one of her frustrations in her career.

> In certain ways, every semester…I know I'm going to have a day and I actually structure it into the semester when we're going to not have class. I know that…I'll tell my chair "I'm going to have to miss class a day. That's just that. I go every other time." I would just say that but I had a chair who didn't make that into a big

> thing. It wasn't like it was all the time, it was basically, there are times where I know that I'm going to have to breakdown and be skillful about when it's coming is when you can say, "Okay, I'm going to need this week off, [it] means I'm going to miss this class or this day and we're just going to do it that way and we're going to watch it." I think you should structure mental health days or even physical [health, whatever] type you look at...you should structure those days into your syllabus.

This conversation with this participant started because in her first interview I told her that the way to help people understand the time one must give to health, mental and/or physical, and how it affects the academic career was to say it is like having a child. This discussion developed as we were sharing different ways in which individuals might manage health in their academic careers. When I returned for her second interview, she had been reflecting on this analogy and it spurred a discussion about negotiating around health. I share the above quote because her thoughtful strategy may help others see how someone negotiates their career with consideration for their health. In addition to this participant, several other participants mentioned negotiations and strategies they use to maintain a sense of "sanity" in their careers. This idea of sanity meant being able to continue forward in their day-to-day and not allow the stresses and difficulties of the academic career affect their mental stability and overall peace and happiness. Further, a few participants went further and remarked that they believe academia and the role of being a woman academic breeds mental illness, particularly stress and depression.

These are just a few examples of why silence is a necessary tool for women faculty in negotiating identities, emotions, voice, ideas, and their careers. While I

developed my concept of strategic silence from the literature on women faculty and silence broadly, and designed and conducted the data collection process looking for the three motivations of strategic silence I initially outlined (identity management, masking, and self-preservation), the data revealed additional elements of strategic silence. From both the literature and the data, I have revisioned the concept of strategic silence to include five different motivations or elements of strategy. This revised concept of strategic silence includes: 1) identity negotiation and management; 2) self-preservation silence; 3) masking; 4) situational silence; and 5) strategic voice. While strategic voice does not utilize silence in the same way as the other four elements, participants revealed that often when they do use their voices, it is strategic and reserved for specific contexts, situations, or causes. Since it is a strategy in which the effects of silence are weighed carefully, I believe it to be integral to the concept of strategic silence as a framework of strategies women faculty utilize in the negotiation and management of their careers. For each of the five elements or motivations, I present data about participants' definitions and the meanings of that element in the participants' experiences and lives. In the conclusion of this chapter I summarize the definitions of each to summarize how the data drives the revised concept of strategic silence.

Negotiating and Managing identities

Identities are central to agency because agency is both ontological and an epistemological issue, a question both of who I am (and how I come to understand who I am) and of what I am capable of doing. Identities are the founts of our agency; the process of becoming a subject is bound up with the production of agency.

Carisa Showden, Choices Women Make, 2011

All participants recognized the benefits and consequences of negotiating and managing identities and their own agency in deciding when and/or if to negotiate and manage their identities. While participants who are White and heterosexual either did not see the need for negotiating identities or felt a sense of freedom in negotiating identities, women of color and lesbian participants commented that they do not have the privilege of negotiating certain identities as easily. This is because they feel like no matter what they do to negotiate their racial and sexual orientation identities, bias, stereotypes, and assumptions will be placed upon them based on their race or sexuality. Therefore, they must heighten their negotiation of other identities to overcome the stereotypes and perceptions based on their race or sexuality. For Lillian, a job or institution in which she would have to negotiate identities is not worth it in terms of what she wants in a career.

> I just figured if [negotiation and silence] is required to make those choices for it to work, I don't want to do it, so I'm going to be me and it's going to have to work. If it doesn't, then, well, I'll find something else.

While Lillian has the privilege of choice in whether or not she negotiates identities, Renee commented on why women of color do not have that privilege to the same extent. When I asked about her experiences of being an African American woman in academia Renee replied,

> Well, they are isolating because people don't value you as they value others. As a result, you can either accept that identity that people ascribe to you or you can create your own. The reason I left…is because it was becoming very difficult to have the pressure [of]…the way people were describing me. I had to step away

> from it to find out if [that] really [was] what I wanted to accept or if that was something that I wanted to think about more.

In our discussions, Renee talked often about the necessity of managing her identities so that she is in more control of how she is perceived by others. Renee discussed this idea of creating the identity and person that others see by heightening other identities and performances like always being conscious about the clothing she chooses or the ways in which she allows others to address her (e.g., requiring students and community members to refer to her as Dr.). This is a daily strategy and labor for her as she noted that "you've got to be able to bring out the right person at the right time." In this section I will highlight data that discusses why or why not participants feel that negotiating and managing identities is an important part of their career strategies and experiences, how participants negotiate identities with the motivation to help students and be role models, the attention to performativity and how dress and presentation is negotiated and strategized by the participants, and finally whether or not participants blend or separate their personal and professional lives.

To negotiate or not to negotiate? The participants defined identities in a variety of ways. Some participants highlighted what is generally thought of when identities are brought up including race, sex, gender, sexual orientation, and class. Other participants included religion and morals or beliefs that drive their actions. The majority of participants negotiate, manage, and strategize their identities in one way or another. Even Lillian who does not want to work in an environment in which she needs to negotiate identities, highlighted her height and the advantages of being tall have brought to her career in many of the experiences she discussed in her interviews.

When asked about negotiating identities Nia commented that because, as a Black woman, she has had to consider and think about her identities and how people are perceiving her throughout her life, she does not even notice doing it anymore. She remarked that as soon as something occurs or she enters a space in which an identity needs to be negotiated she has to "move and adapt. I do it so quickly that I don't know when I'm negotiating." Renee furthered that sentiment of negotiation as being a fact of life for women of color.

> I think if you are African American growing up you don't have to figure [negotiating] out because it's your whole life. No matter how you identify yourself you are still a White woman, right? Done, you are in. There is no way you can look at me and not know who I am and as a result I have been doing this [all my life].

In our discussions Renee and I talked about how she must heighten the negotiation of the identities that cannot be seen to overcome the identities that are placed on her by others due to her race and gender.

> I can tell you that I'm White, but that's not who you are going to see who I am, right? But the other things you can't see who I am as a scholar or researcher…those things you can't see that piece [together]… it's like when you go into a store it depends on what you are wearing as far as how people perceive you.

Renee was adamant that it is important to take as much control as possible in one's identities and the opportunity one provides others in perceiving them. She stated, "you

can figure…out that your identity isn't formed by what they say. That's what I mean when I say you have to help people determine who you are."

Negotiating around stereotypes and identities that are perceived as outside of the norm is something that women faculty with minority identities must consider in their careers. Like Renee and Nia, Carmen also noted that there are identities of hers that she cannot conceal or negotiate. When she started her career being an out lesbian came with risks and consequences which Carmen highlighted as she mentioned that after coming out "women would be nervous around me." But being out was not completely a choice, although one she would have made regardless as she commented, "I don't fit the cultural norms [here]…so, you know, I'm a…Jew and a lesbian and big, so…I've never been able to pass in any way." Further, Carmen notes that as a butch lesbian, her options were to either come out or risk the assumptions, correct or incorrect, that others would be placing on her identities. As someone whose research embraces social justice ideals, Carmen recognized, though, her privilege as a White woman. She reflected,

> I have colleagues who are women of color who insist that they be called doctor or professor in the classroom and then students think that they're supposed to be my friend…and it's like they do that for a reason, 'cause they don't get taken seriously. So, I totally respect that…I don't need to do that because I'm White…and I've chosen not to…and sometimes that means students think they can get away with more stuff.

Renee supported Carmen's assessment that women of color often need the added authority and respect that comes with the doctor or professor title.

> Here is what I'll do…if I have students who will email me and they are asking permission to get into my class and they will say Ms.…I will just email them back and say Dr.…because, "okay figure it out. Number one, everybody there has a PhD, that's the first thing. Second, if you don't know err on the side of assuming the PhD instead of not assuming the PhD." I don't know how much more that happens but I do know that it happens more often for me than for others. I will do a lot of correcting because if you don't, it's giving people permission to continue doing that type of behavior. That's not okay.

Finally, Renee, Nia, and Samantha talked about negotiating around stereotypical identities and characteristics applied to women of color, particularly Black or African American women. Samantha commented, "I am very mindful never to present myself as the angry Black woman because I think that has…kind of hobbled the careers of many women." Having to negotiate around minority stereotypes and discrimination is a taxing part of identity negotiation and management that minority women faculty must encounter.

Many participants also commented on carefully crafting their performances to affect the perceptions of others. While Lillian does not believe that she does the work of negotiation in the majority of her interactions in her professional life, she did comment on how she wants people to perceive her in her academic role.

> [In] my role, I want people to identify me…for my science, but I want them to also know that I am someone who cares about the people in her lab and that I have a good lab. I can't stand people that take advantage of the people that work

> for them. I want to be seen as someone who's fair and supportive, but that does good science.

Although Lillian might not be actively aware of negotiating identities and emotions to ensure that those are the perceptions others have of her, Jacqueline spoke about both how she wants to be perceived and how she attempts to manage identities to accomplish goals to help perceptions.

> I'm anxious about being the boss-man in the room…Different classes, different…approaches…[In her small classes] I want to set a really open framework. You have to feel free to say, "I don't know. What's that?" Because I can't anticipate all of the holes in everybody's background that we're going to need to address in order to move forward as a class. So there, I never dress up. I put my small class teaching days on different days from my big class teaching days. So I have like my teaching pants days and my fun teaching days…and in the small class I do everything I can to be accessible, at their level.

Jacqueline further described how she wants to be in control of others' perceptions of her within the classroom. As she is a small female she sees herself as very approachable, which she sometimes appreciates, but she also acknowledged that it is important to have authority in the classroom.

> I want to balance "I am a rock and you cannot move me" against "I care about you and I care about where you're at and I care about the things that come up in your life during the semester that are going to make it hard for you to succeed in this class, and I want you to succeed in this class, and so I want you to talk to me

> as soon as you have a problem, I want you to come to my office hours, I want you to feel that I'm approachable, unless you're trying to get out of something."

As Jacqueline works to maintain that balance in the classroom she also acknowledged that one facet of who she is that she works to conceal is that she is "deeply critical of people who do not carry through on…work the first time." She noted that this is "very non-constructive and very non-supportive, and very non-approachable" and because of that and how she wants to be perceived as supportive and approachable, Jacqueline works to conceal this particular aspect of who she is and how she reacts toward others.

All of the participants who are mothers talked about ways in which that identity affects their careers and is negotiated or separated. Several of those participants talked about the fact that while they are open about being mothers in their academic roles, they work to ensure kids are never a reason for them missing meetings or work as they believe doing so would always be viewed as an excuse. This strategy of trying to make sure work and meetings are not missed due to their children is motivated by the gendered divisions within academia (Acker 1990). These gendered divisions show up in the expectation that while women should be mothers, as that is expected within the gender norms, children affecting their ability to be productive and attend meetings is viewed as weakness and inability to effectively do their jobs. While Renee commented that she has never allowed herself to miss a meeting because of her children, Alexis reflected on a recent example of trying to negotiate her mother identity when she was late for a meeting because of her son's doctor's appointment.

> Just today, for example, I was late to a meeting this morning because I had to take…my son to a…clinic…[it] took much longer [than expected] and I…was

> like half an hour late to a meeting and I'm sitting there thinking when…I'm telling them…now the people are…two women and a man, one of the other women is a faculty member that I collaborate with, she has a small son so I just sent her an email. And I get there and she's like, "Oh, how's [your son], is he okay?" I'm like, "No worries, it was…not a sickness…" but then…the guy's sitting there and I know…I've known him for four years, he's fine but there's still in me this feeling of like, well if I didn't have a kid, I would have been on time to that meeting and they wouldn't have had to spend the time catching me up on the information that already happened. And that was triggered by the fact that he's male. You know, he could be not thinking that, who knows, he may be thinking "Oh poor kid" …But for me it's that weird reflection bias or whatever you call it.

Due to the stigma of working women who have children and experiences of bias against academic mothers, Alexis is fearful of perceptions of having to miss meetings due to her child if there is a man present in the meeting. It is an interesting reflection on her part to highlight and understand that she is making an assumption that the man in the room would be looking at the situation through a particular lens regardless of whether he is judging or not judging her reason for being late. However, Alexis also mentioned that these assumptions that she makes are a result of the climate and culture for working mothers and the experiences of bias and judgment that academic mothers endure.

Subconscious negotiations. While the experiences highlighted above talk about participants' strategies and reasons for negotiating and managing identities, several participants talked about not doing the work of negotiating identities. Instead, they discussed bringing their whole selves into each interaction and context. However, each

participant who rejected the idea of negotiating identities, did in fact explain situations, circumstances, or certain identities that they do negotiate, just not on a conscious level or to a degree that they recognize. Both Lillian and Janet simply see no need and do not want to negotiate identities and therefore they commented that they are just themselves. When asked if she negotiates any of her identities Janet responded, "Absolutely not…I'm just who I am, that's one thing I've never bothered with." Janet further commented that she has never encountered her not negotiating identities as a problem. Lillian replied, when asked about negotiating identities, "[I] don't even think about it…I want them to just see me as me because if they don't want to take me seriously, that's their loss." Lillian attributed her lack of trouble in students taking her seriously because of her height. Being tall, for Lillian, and possibly other women academics, is an advantage in that others likely perceive her as imposing and having authority simply due to her height. For both Lillian and Janet, their privilege as White, heterosexual women may be a factor in their beliefs and feelings toward negotiating identities. If they were in environment or had minoritized identities that called for more negotiation, they might view negotiation of identities different. It is interesting, however, that both women are in STEM departments, one with fair representation of women and one with low representation of women and feel safe and secure enough in their roles that negotiation of identities is not something they feel is necessary.

Carmen also discussed how she does not feel she negotiates her identities but revealed negotiations when she talked about the importance of how she presents herself in bringing all of who she is into each situation.

> [I try to] live intersectionally so that no one piece of me gets fronted all the time. The pieces that I certainly address in work that I do, again, I really believe that intersectional work means you bring all of who you are at the table. The reality of that is some days we're friends a little more than others, but they're all there.

Carmen went on to comment that some identities may be fronted more than others in certain contexts. For instance, if she is doing a workshop in a Christian church, her Jewish identity will be heightened, as she said, "In that setting, I'll certainly mention that I'm [a] Jew more than once." So while she tries to avoid fronting any particular identity over another, Carmen recognized that sometimes certain identities will be more present than others.

Performativity and dress. Some participants utilize identity negotiation to present identities that are considered outside the norm to ensure that students who share that identity have people with whom they can identify. Both Nia and Renee talked about the importance of their work in the community. For example, Renee highlighted her ability to be present for students of color for support and mentorship. Additionally, she makes sure to talk about her children in the classroom because the experiences of her family and her children will most often be different from the experiences of the students in her classroom and it is important for her to present a different perspective. Carmen and Jamie also are strategic about sharing their lesbian identities in the classroom. Carmen reflected on her early career experiences in the classroom, "I came out in every single class…and students didn't know very many gay people so it was a very interesting challenge to be who I was in front of students." Because students early in her career often did not have exposure to LGBT individuals, Carmen found it important to be an example

and be open about her sexuality, both for the potential LGBT students in the classroom and for the students who had yet to interact with anyone in the LGBT community. Having similar motives, Jamie also commented on why she chooses to share her lesbian identity in the classroom.

> I'm going to have gay and lesbian students in the class who may or may not be out to themselves, much less their peers. I always want to make sure that they understand that this is their world to some degree. I will try to bring that up from time to time in a way that feels, to me, natural…I don't want it to feel like it's something I'm adding on…We can find a way of making it relevant to a larger discussion…I won't do that all of the time but I might just offhandedly mention it…It's funny talking about identities because now, there's a whole other realm of one that individuals can do somewhat tacitly which is that you have the PowerPoint. Like I often do, turn on the computer and it kicks to whatever the default display screen is before you kick in to whatever it is you're going to use…It's like "who's on there?" It's usually…my wife…I just want to make sure…that it seems to the students and to my colleagues that it's…truly…just a part of [an] integrated person that I'm not hiding or feeling like I have to say one way or the other.

Although most identity management is due to the negative ways in which women and minorities are stereotyped and judged, these examples show that some identities can be negotiated in very strategic ways important for both the participants and the students they interact with.

A majority of the participants highlighted pressures to dress, perform, and behave a certain way in their academic environments. Some participants do the work of negotiating their appearance, like Renee mentioned about having to always be on top of her appearance. Some participants simply do not see a reason to do anything other than what they want in terms of dress or performance of who they are, like Janet who is who she is and has never received any poor feedback to suggest she should change that approach. Some participants commented that they initially tried to conform to the expectations within academia of ascribing to gender norms, however they quickly decided against such strategies and negotiations as it was not worth it, did not work in their favor, or since men did not have to worry about it, seemingly, then they would not worry about it either. Samantha took on the approach that if others were not dressing in professional attire then she would not either.

> I did [dress professionally] in the beginning of my career and…I would always have…very professional clothes and then…I look to my colleagues who are going into class in jeans and a polo shirt…or shorts and a t-shirt. I am like, "Why am I wearing heels and slacks? I want to wear jeans and I am going to." And I don't care…if students care, they need to learn at least to have pants on.

While Samantha looked to her colleagues as a source of releasing the pressure she felt in dressing professionally, Carmen and Jamie both learned not to focus too much on their dress because they could not adapt to the heteronormative expectations of femininity. Jamie talked about trying to dress a certain way when she started out in her career.

> I do remember [a] conference paper, and that was a long time ago, that I actually wore…a dress and shoes with some kind of heel on them…I just felt like I was in

> drag and I felt uncomfortable and so I just decided, screw it, I'm never doing that again.

Although Jamie resists adapting her clothing choices to meet the heteronormative feminine standard, she did stress that she tries to look professional as she perceives it. Carmen talked not only about dress but also her entire being as well in terms of not conforming to the norm.

> I think when I started…it was worse...I think I was probably perceived as taking up too much space. I was verbal and loud. So I think…it's a combination of factors. I dressed up a little bit more then when I taught…I didn't wear jeans in the classroom. Now, on occasion I wear jeans. I'm sure it did not open doors and it did close doors, factored in with having a big mouth. So you see all those little stereotypes piling up and being butch…You can see heterosexual women who conform to these norms, I see them interacting with men, they know how to work it, even if they don't even know they're working it. Yeah, that's real still.

Carmen noted that she has never been able to pass and here explained how she believes, through experience, she has been perceived in her career. While she did not conform to social norms, she did strategically dress up a little for teaching.

Several participants discussed their experiences with feeling pressure to dress or not dress in certain ways. Jacqueline dresses differently depending on the objectives she has for certain classes and so she is relaxed in her small classes in her dress. In her big classes she dresses more professionally as she wants there to be an easily readable distinction between the students and herself. Sadie's experiences in teaching have included substantial criticism from students on her performance and dress. Therefore, due

to those poor student responses she dresses professionally in her classes and although she continues to hope that someday she can be herself again in class she commented that there is a positive to dressing more professionally.

> I think it makes me feel more like a grown up when I dress fancy [laughs]…It does make me feel a little bit more like I'm the boss. There's kind of an internal thing about it as well as the external, of [students'] perceptions. I think it also affects my own perceptions, so it's not all a negative thing. I think it is good to dress for being in charge of stuff. I felt much more…almost a peer…when I started out, when I was being a lot more casual. Then when I create this authority figure through dressing differently and speaking to them differently, then that makes me feel more like the professor. That is probably good for my career…because I tend to be more informal and that might be part of why I've had trouble getting people to respect my voice and my opinion. When I'm really laid back and informal about it I seem like a kid, maybe. It's getting used to putting on that costume and this role of being the authority figure…[It is a] useful skill to develop.

Alexis feels a similar kind of pressure to dress professionally for her classes, although she has never received any feedback to suggest she must dress professionally. Rather than from actual experience, Alexis feels the pressure to dress professionally in class because of the research and knowledge of women's experiences in academia.

> I lectured today. This morning, I am so tired, I got up, I just want to put on…not necessarily jeans but something more comfortable…it's like, nope…you have to wear the pantsuit because…you've read the studies. Now it could be…that now it

> wouldn't matter…I could just wear, not sweatpants or whatever, but something nice and presentable but…nope I have to wear the [professional attire] …so it's all around…femininity in our culture and how women are respected.

Alexis is not willing to chance the potential that she could lose respect and authority in the classroom if she were to be more informal in terms of her dress. Both Alexis and Sadie are in STEM and that may be why there seems to be more pressure on them to conform to professional expectations of dress than those participants in the social sciences and humanities as they are likely to have higher proportions of male colleagues and sometimes students than some of the participants in the social sciences and humanities. Further, both Alexis and Sadie also commented on their feelings that they cannot dress in the feminine clothing that they prefer in their work environments due to sexism and potentials for not only judgment, but also sexual harassment.

The classroom is the primary context in which the participants felt pressure or a need to dress more professionally. However, two participants detailed certain feelings of not being able to wear what they would otherwise want to wear overall in their academic environments. Nia talked about the particular pressures of dress and what is determined to be okay and not okay for Black women.

> I feel like my identity can't be negotiated that easily because being Black is easily read and seen as Black even though students try to deny that that's impacting their interactions with me and also being female. I think early on…there was this one experience that I had when I was being videotaped as this way of training…new TAs on how to master authority in the classroom or try to have that idea of how they appeared and I remember wearing this…yellow sleeveless kind of shirt. My

> breasts were very apparent. My nipples were very apparent. My femaleness was very apparent. My Blackness was very apparent and these are not things that I could negotiate or hide away. I remember at a certain point…I just felt like there was this whole way of being almost hostile to anything even remotely feminine and so everyone tried to present as very androgynous, which was very different from the way I present…I would always wear a scarf, the large earrings, and things that I associate with Black cultural pride and Black female cultural pride specifically. I remember not wearing earrings anymore…I wore more very boxy kind of clothes and it was mostly me trying to fit into the culture that was hostile to my very being-ness…Coming here, it's been a little different…I never felt like I had to contain who I was but I also see how certain types of academically facilitated cultures can actually serve to negate just various aspects of Black womanhood and Black feminism generally speaking. I felt a lot of that actually but…by that time I learned how to compartmentalize to a certain extent in order to function and that's why the whole negotiation part is like, "you know, this is kind of who I am."

Nia commented further that although this institution and department is better in terms of what she experienced previously, she still feels like she cannot wear certain things like feminine Black culturally representative accessories and clothing as doing so would mean less respect. Like Nia, Sadie also commented on feelings of not being able to wear certain clothing and accessories, feminine clothing and accessories, due to the environment in which she works. However, the reason why Sadie feels she cannot be too feminine in her work environment is due to sexism.

> But there are certain clothes I'm not going to wear to work, that I would wear if we were going out because…I don't want there to be any chance [for harassment], and this is frustrating because…I don't want there to be any "tight clothes" thinkings, anything like that with my male colleagues. I don't want to go there. I don't want that to be even brought up in anybody's mind. Sometimes that feels like having to cut off part of my personality, not to wear tight clothes. I like to be fashionable and wear cute clothes or wear makeup and have my hair nice, stuff like that, but I feel like if I do that too much in professional settings…I feel like I'm leaving a door open that I don't want to open and that's annoying because why does that have to be my problem? It should be the people [for whom it is a problem]…who would be thinking that way.

Alexis also commented on wanting to wear more feminine clothing but feeling as though that is not an option in her work environment. Sadie, Alexis, and Nia all expressed frustrations with feeling handicapped on what clothing and accessories they can wear and still be respected by colleagues and students and free from harassment from colleagues. The combination of the culture of higher education institutions and societal expectations of gender roles and norms often presents a contradictory message of what is and is not appropriate dress for women. The messages suggest that women should present as feminine but not too feminine, meaning a skirt but at a "respectable" length or heels but not high heels. This conflict, at least for these three participants, was discussed as frustrating and a barrier they feel restricts part of who they are and how they would like to present themselves.

Personal and professional, blended or separate? In discussing the blending or separation of personal and professional lives, most of the participants described a desire to keep their personal lives as separate as possible. Although a few of the participants seem to really keep their lives separate, most of the women faculty in this study have a mix of separation and blending. Only one participant, Sadie, seems to completely blend her lives. Sadie even commented that one can track her career path and her life path along the same line. On the question of whether she separates her personal and professional lives,

> They're blended…I did a quiz kind of thing…[at this] women faculty conference…and…I went to it and we did a work-life balance evaluation…There were four quadrants and it was about how your boundaries were between your home life and your work life and whether you kept them really separated or whether they blend together…All my answers to the questions were in the quadrant of, "I just let each of them be whenever."…I bring my [children] to the office and I do work while [their] around, or I take care of [them] while I'm doing work. That helps keep my anxiety levels down, but I know for some people that can make them feel more more stressed out and anxious because some people like to keep it so separated. When you leave work, they want to not be at work anymore. For me, the way my brain operates, the way that I like to do things, it's more comfortable to just let them flow together.

Like Sadie, Abbi used to have a very integrated approach to her personal and professional lives. However, after a stressful separation from her former husband, Abbi has now taken on a strict separation approach. She remarked that many of her colleagues and students

do not even know that she is married again. Speaking about her previous relationship and the ending, Abbi explained,

> After [the divorce], I have just become hyper-private about all of my personal things. Everything always was so mixed to me. My personal life and my professional life were always [mixed]. I'm a collaborator…that's what we do as women. It's all there. I've grown…to be very separate…I'm very, very, very private…I just can't do it, so I built up walls.

Abbi explained that she is starting to feel a little more comfortable and safe in sharing some details about her life but she doubts she will ever go back to the comfortable mix she had before. Abbi and Sadie are the only two participants on each end of either separation or blending of personal and professional lives; the rest of the participants have a mixture of separation and blending.

Many of the participants who have children shared that they do share that they have children in their work environments and classrooms but that the majority of their personal lives are kept separate from their academic careers. Samantha shares with her students, particularly her women students who might be scholars someday, her experiences being a woman faculty member with children because she likes to be transparent about the academic process and career with her students. However, Samantha tends to keep most other details of her life separate, particularly from her colleagues. On the topic of sharing personal life information with her colleagues, Samantha stated, "If it's relevant, fine. If it's not relevant, I don't share it, in general. I'm a more private person and so I don't think they are entitled to certain information." In Samantha's department she explained that typically personal backgrounds or anecdotes do not help in

terms of making a point to her colleagues; instead the culture of the department prefers research and data to back up points and arguments. This departmental climate runs counter to most of the rest of the participants in the social sciences and humanities and is interesting in a department with a slight majority of women faculty. Samantha believes that it helps her career to not have a lot of personal information known amongst her colleagues. Renee also believes that it is important to keep her personal life away from her professional life,

> Because people like to judge. Because the more they know about you the more things they have to judge about you. If they know less, then they have to create these things in their minds and you are not going to be able to change their minds anyway. The more that they know, then they can validate whatever it is that they are thinking.

Renee may take this approach because she has never felt supported in her department and therefore is removed from her colleagues as she does share, when relevant, the fact that she has children with her students and in the classroom. Finally, like Renee and Samantha, Lillian also will mention freely in her classes that she has children. However, Lillian talked about how her roles in her personal life and professional life are so separated that she even has two different last names in each space. She explained that when she married she adopted her husband's last name in her personal life and kept her original last name for her professional life, as she already had publications and did not want confusion or the labor involved in changing names. And outside of the names, Lillian shared that she does see the different roles as distinct and separate.

While Samantha, Renee, and Lillian share their personal lives, at least when it came to children, within the classroom but work to maintain separation from their interactions with their colleagues, May and Clara are the opposite. May and Clara share with their colleagues that they have children, but work to keep that identity out of the classroom. May was not immediately aware of why she does not mention that she has a child in her classroom but in her second interview reflected, "I know a lot of other male faculty who say, 'Hey, those are my kids.' I try not to mention that in class…I feel like I just don't want to get the students distracted." May is newly a mother, her first child being born within the last two years, so in time, this may change. Clara described that she keeps information about her family out of the classroom and that she has never brought up her family within the classroom. However, Clara also noted that it is difficult to separate her personal and professional lives. "It's hard to separate the two…family and work. I can't separate them, just my time with family and there's my time at work. But you personally do [try] and…no matter how much you try, [one] does affect the other." While Clara would like to be able to keep her work and family lives separate, she explained, at least for her, this is not possible. Clara and May both commented on the fact that their lives, overall, improved when they started a family as having something out side of work was important to them. This sentiment aligns with literature on women faculty who are mothers (Ward and Wolf-Wendel, 2012).

Silence to Preserve Career and Self

"Silence" never ceases to imply its opposite and to depend on its presence; just as there can't be "up" without "down" or "left" without "right," so one must acknowledge a surrounding environment of sound or language in order to recognize silence. Not only

does silence exist in a world full of speech and other sounds, but any given silence has its identity as a stretch of time being perforated by sound.

Susan Sontag, Styles of Radical Will, 2002

Self-preservation. The most noticeable use of silence by participants was the self-preservation silence, often a silence chosen in opposition of sound or language. This is the silence that individuals choose in order to save themselves from harming their career or their self. Events, interactions, or moments that might influence the choice to remain silent for self-preservation are multifaceted but primarily revolve around discrimination, bias, oppression, and generally inappropriate actions or speech. As Sontag's (2002) quote above suggests, self-preservation silence is a reaction to "a world full of speech" perpetuating discrimination, bias, and oppression. Many of the participants noted experiences with at least one problematic male student, although most also described those experiences as "not that big of a deal." May remarked, "Maybe as a woman faculty, I had to put up with one obnoxious grad student and some undergraduates but it was not a huge deal, nothing that I could not work with." For the participants in this study self-preservation silence also emerged in situations where their research, teaching, or service work were being devalued to the point that it was threatening their career success. Although many participants have certain contexts, subjects, or events in which they refuse to be silent, most of those motivations are in situations in which others are affected. Knowing when to choose silence and when it is safe to speak up is something participants struggle with and encounter regularly. This silence is something that takes time and energy, and affects emotional well-being, yet is

seen as foundational to the success of the careers and the maintenance of feelings of satisfaction for the participants.

Several participants shared examples of specific situations or events in which they chose silence in order to protect their careers. Both Renee and Nia commented that as women of color, the moments of discrimination and bias are either so frequent that they do not linger in the memory or are experiences faculty of color must compartmentalize or forget about because keeping them high in memory is harmful to the self. A specific experience with sexual harassment was recalled by Jacqueline. As a graduate student, Jacqueline was sexually harassed by her advisor. She recalls her thought process and actions after the incident occurred:

> I was like, "Whoa, that didn't happen." [I] get home, I'm like, "This can't be a thing…this is the last that I hear of it or I need a new advisor." But I'd already switched advisors once. I was a year out from defending and it would be really costly to switch. Then he tried to engage me in conversations about how me and my guy should go to counseling with him and his wife and it was like, "Nuh-uh…this is something you take care of, that I'm not a part of, or I'm finding a new advisor." I did go to the director of graduate [education] and told him what was going on and he told some student something office and they wanted [to file a report]…but...I said, "Keep this anonymous. I don't want to skewer his career." It was a questionable decision. I was like, "But just, if you need to file something, file it anonymously," and they came back and said, "Can we put his name on record?" And I was like, "Ah, no." And I don't know if that's the right decision or not…I could have taken him out. Like…there's very few things you can get fired

> for when you've got tenure, but that's one of them, and I could have taken him down. I didn't.

Jacqueline chose to stay silent about this experience then as the implications of harm for both herself and her advisor were high. While she was silent then, Jacqueline now talks about this experience to her graduate students, particularly her female graduate students, when it is relevant as a cautionary tale. Not knowing to this day whether or not her decision was the right one is something common in the participant's stories about using self-preservation silence. The conflict in choosing self-preservation silence exists in many of the participants' desires to protect themselves and their careers versus combating and confronting issues of discrimination, bias, or oppression to improve the environment not only for themselves, but also for other women. Because the participants have a desire to choose the latter but an understanding that choosing the former is often better for them, the self-preservation silence often produces feelings of regret, guilt, or desires for a better, more equitable society.

Although Carmen tends not to choose silence she described a few events that lead to her choosing silence. One such even happened early in her career during a tenure review discussion.

> When I hear that somebody says something disgusting about me, like the hippy White boy at one tenure review. He characterized my work as kind of left-wing radical feminism and he did that intentionally…I wasn't a radical feminist politically…but he was trying to sabotage me 'cause I was not silent. And…I didn't rage at him because he really had the power…people who know he was

> bullshitting knew but…I would hear this stuff ‘cause people would tell me. I didn’t necessarily take people on one-on-one like that.

Because Carmen does not believe in being silent, generally, and throughout her career has been vocal against many social justice issues, taking on self-preservation silences was very difficult, but often easier for her to identify as important silences to choose. As Carmen stated, the man she referred to in the above quote had power and therefore silence was the only option for her. While Carmen knew who made the inappropriate comments about her, Jamie discussed an incident of discrimination in which she did not know who was the perpetrator. For individuals with known minority identities, sometimes bias and discrimination occurs and the source is never known. Jamie recalled coming back to her office one day.

> At my door [of] my office, either they had put a note on there or they had written on my name, “I don’t know if it’s a dyke.” It upset me at the time in the sense that…I just took it down and my colleagues were appalled. We didn’t make a big deal of it. I’m sure it was one of the students and it could have been a student, to be honest, who was unhappy with a grade. I mean, in fact, given that I tend to be known as pretty tough…that always was just my assumption that it was a disgruntled student. It certainly was not anything that ever happened elsewhere and it certainly hasn’t been anything that’s ever been overt here.

Jamie’s dismissal of the emotional effect this incident had at the time was self-preservation. After she shared this story I shared my own story of a similar incident and commented that while one cannot take those incidents too seriously, it is very difficult to not let them have any effect at all. She replied, “That’s the thing, you have to recognize

it. You have to be secure enough to realize that people have all sorts of motivations for the kind of stuff they do." Protecting oneself from being too affected by incidents of bias, discrimination, or hate can be difficult work, but it is essential work to enable the ability to move on and focus on career and self. Nia talked about why it is important to learn how to utilize self-preservation silence.

> I haven't had to actually…verbally challenge or break down people, even though I probably should have, even when I know I've been disrespected in some really profound ways. But…I just kind of bury it and I swallow it and then I just do what I want to do.

Nia highlighted that it is important for her to find other outlets when she has to utilize self-preservation silence and that to be able to move on to her own work and life she must bury those experiences. The emotional and physical toll of compartmentalizing and burying experiences, emotions, and one's own voice can be substantial and may affect the career success and satisfaction of women faculty by decreasing productivity and overall desire to remain at their institution.

May, Sadie, and Lillian talked about instances in which they have chosen or tend to choose self-preservation silence when general discriminatory, biased, or inappropriate words are used but not necessarily targeted toward them personally. When asked in what contexts or situations she might choose silence May responded that in talks about the STEM women hiring issue she often chooses silence. "I tend to just ignore comments if I hear…sort of putting down women or people from a different culture who doesn't speak grammatically correct, sometimes it's not worth fighting for." Many participants choose silence when doing the opposite seems like it would not change anything and would cost

them too much time and energy. Lillian commented that if "Someone does something that really just ticks you off but you realize what it's going to lead to…you just don't deal with that one." So sometimes choosing self-preservation silence may not be because of a power differential and preservation of the career, but rather a choice to save time and energy when a good outcome would not be likely if they spoke up. Whereas both May and Lillian talked about choosing silence in those situations as speaking up would not be worth it, Sadie considered moments she has encountered in which someone has said something and she has struggled with whether or not to choose silence.

> When somebody will say something that makes me uncomfortable, or that I worry would make other people uncomfortable, but I don't say anything about it...Like at conferences or in groups of faculty…there's so many people, tend to be men, women don't do this very often…making little jokes that they think are really funny. I'm just like "Ah, don't use that word, that's gross…anything that's off-color jokes and innuendo jokes, don't do that in a professional setting" But I don't say anything about it. Partly because…it's like a social barrier not wanting to disrupt the social dynamic. They just disrupted it for a bunch of people but then I don't want to disrupt back.

The pressure of a room of people who are all silent when instances like what Sadie described occur provide that social and peer pressure and often end in silence. Sadie talked about the guilt that is associated with walking away from moments when she has chosen silence but later regrets. This self-preservation silence often comes with pressure, guilt, and second guessing. Further, Sadie's explanation of "not wanting to disrupt the social dynamic" invites questions about who feels empowered to be disruptive and who

feels the obligation and cares about avoiding disruption? This is likely drawn across gendered lines as women are socialized in the US to be small and quiet, whereas men are socialized in the US to speak freely and take up as much space as they choose. Feeling a responsibility to maintain the status quo, even as one realizes that the status quo is disruptive, not only to a specific situation but also to an environment as a whole, is likely something women faculty encountered often.

Sometimes self-preservation silence is chosen by participants in interactions with individuals who have power over their careers and resources. Maintaining frictionless relationships with those individuals is important to the success of their careers. And sometimes self-preservation silence occurs spontaneously when emotion might be overwhelming and releasing the emotion would be damaging. Carmen talks about an incident in a meeting when an initiative that she spent most of her career building was being threatened.

> When this asshole guy wanted to close my [initiative]…I just felt myself standing up and walking out, you know…that's what I did. I didn't have to sit there and think about it. It was like, "I am not going to get emotional here," though I was almost crying. I felt…betrayed…for my sanity I had to get outta there…more than anything else.

Several participants talked about that management of emotions and the toll it takes. Participants know that showing emotion in a professional setting, especially crying, is very damaging to careers and authority. Jacqueline and I had a discussion about what men do not understand about the different ways in which anger shows up.

> And the guys do not understand that crying is an expression of anger just like yelling. You're yelling, I'm crying. Both of us are bringing emotion here that should not be here…"Watch me lose ground! When I'm already angry." Why guys don't understand that crying is just another emotion and they express emotions all the time, I don't know. I don't tend to cry ordinarily. I tend to get straight up angry but if I do cry, it's because I'm angry.

All of the strategies and negotiations that involve silence take a toll on energy, confidence, emotional well-being, and time. However, self-preservation silence may be both the most important silence and the most harmful silence that women faculty utilize. The fact that participants discussed not feeling safe to choose anything but silence hampers their agency in their careers. Sadie remarked that plenty of times with certain supervisors and administrators she had not felt safe to advocate for herself.

> Just overall I have felt…like I couldn't bring up or push about certain things because it just wasn't safe to do so. Like it wouldn't be safe for my career to do so. And in some of those cases I felt like if I was a dude it would have been safer.

Feeling a lack of power in situations because one depends on someone for resources and employment can affect a woman academic's career in many ways. Sadie and other participants noted the sacrifices of this silence but are firm in the necessity of it to safeguard their careers and selves. However, for many participants, tenure brought with it greater safety and the ability to be less silent in certain ways. Renee talked about this transition after tenure.

> What I learned was that after the whole tenure process that there is nothing different [in] the way people view you. It's how you view yourself. Now having

> the same credentials gives you just that much more confidence to give a statement back to someone when they said something that was inappropriate to you. Where you didn't feel like you had that opportunity before because you always had this tenure cloud hanging over you…now it didn't matter and if they didn't value the relationship or my feelings or emotions any more than by what they were saying or doing, then it's not something I had to accept anymore. I think that's the difference between pre-tenure and post-tenure. You don't have to accept it.

Given Renee's reflection on the increase in confidence and power to push back against discrimination, bias, and inappropriate speech, I have to assume that women who are in positions that are non-tenure track seldom experience such an increase in confidence and power.

Emotional effects of self-preservation silence. In a variety of ways, the necessity and use of self-preservation silence has long-lasting emotional effects for the participants. Both Renee and Nia talked about suppressing incidents and moments that cause them to use self-preservation silence as important strategies for them to survive. Nia detailed why self-preservation silence is important and also why it can be harmful not only to use self-preservation silence but also the risks of not dealing with the events and instead suppressing them.

> Well you see…for instance, something happened [and] I could easily tell it listening to someone else [talk about] the same thing. I could easily have told a similar story but I hadn't told that story so I just wouldn't have talked about it but then when I hear it I'm like, "Damn, that's exactly what happened." And so…part of when I say I get upset sometimes when I'm around other Black women, is

> because they're bringing to the surface and expressing things that I just can't allow myself to express because if I allow myself to express them, then I would be fucked up and I would be emotionally fragile and I may not have a job and so it's frustrating to me because it requires that I deal with certain things that I haven't been able to deal with…personally.

Having to frequently monitor and be conscious of emotions within their careers takes significant time away from their academic work. Nia also noted that having to frequently weigh whether or not to engage in the racial hostility she often experiences is disruptive to her creativity.

The lasting effects of Sadie's students rejecting her preferred and most comfortable way of teaching include decreased confidence in her ability to teach effectively. Because Sadie enjoys the teaching aspect of her career, the way students responded to her was likely more damaging than if teaching was just simply one of the responsibilities she had to check off. Clara talked about her struggles with learning to let things go and feel comfortable in her department after starting out with the department in turmoil with their not providing her lab space that was promised while providing free lab space to the two male faculty members that started with her. While the echoes of that experience continue to cloud her interactions with her department and colleagues, Clara commented that she is learning to let things that she cannot change go. While she still struggles with letting things go and admits that it is hard and taxing to herself and her career, Clara remarked that continued satisfaction and success in her career requires her to learn to let things go more often.

Both Abbi and Nia have had experiences in their careers when individuals, committees, and administrators have undervalued, disrespected and discouraged their scholarship and service work. When Abbi went up for tenure, her work in co-founding an influential initiative in the college was not credited to her as significant. I asked her if that made her feel like she had lost power or agency in her voice, or if she felt she ever had those things in the first place. She replied,

> I felt both. I felt like I had power and then I had no power all at the same time. That's pretty much how I feel right now. It's always this illusion that I could do things and maybe I don't take it enough and use it enough. At the same time acknowledging I have none really. I think I'm just really tired…I just continue to be really tired…emotionally and mentally tired. I'm trying to figure out a strategy for my next five years in terms of my work and how I'm going to honor me, honor my work, and leave the rest of this stuff and let it go.

All of the participants in this study love their scholarly work; for many, this includes their service and community work. Having to constantly defend themselves and their work takes time and energy away from them and their work. Nia described the area in which those who have devalued or not appreciated her work affect her most.

> I'll tell you where I feel like it impacts me the most. It impacts me mostly because of my scholarship because those negative feelings are always, like you can sense when…you know when people are being condescending, which is all the time. You know when they think they're smarter than you are, which is all the time. You know when they think…that I'm misguided or something, which they say in not so many words and I deal with that stuff a lot. Like it happens with me

> because creatively I can't do what I need to do because my strategy has been to just let me get through this, compartmentalize, let me just deal with this and…it's really dangerous…in terms of mental illness because you suppress so much and… you are not just suppressing feelings but you can also suppress memories and so…I just won't deal with it.

Several participants mentioned strategies and use of silence to maintain what they described as a sense of sanity. Strategies to simply encourage maintenance of sanity as a baseline can lead to stress, low satisfaction, and, as Nia commented, issues with mental illness. Further, half of the women faculty in this study expressed moments or recurring issues with imposter syndrome. The constant attack and questioning of the actions, work, and research some of the participants' encounter cannot be helpful to resolving imposter syndrome or maintaining a sense of sanity. And for the participants, particularly the participants who conduct qualitative research, questioning their abilities and the quality of their research can be harmful to their ability to produce as Nia mentioned, creativity is important to her work and without freedom to produce and feel like her work is valuable, it is difficult to focus.

Choosing battles. Because of the emotional costs and labor involved in choosing and using self-preservation silence, every participant acknowledged that each situation includes a weighing of consequences and a decision whether or not to "fight." Alexis commented that not only is making a good decision when weighing whether or not to be silent important for herself but it is also important for other women faculty within her department because "you lead by example." And trying to find the right balance between when to engage and when to be silent is an ongoing learning process. The cost of

weighing situations frequently is substantial. Alexis shared that, "It's this constant…evaluation that this…loop…this voice that's continuously going on in your head. Which is so tiring…And it's like if I could just [stop] that voice, how much extra time would I have? How much self-doubt [would decrease?]" Imagine the productivity increases if women faculty did not have this heavy burden of constantly evaluating situations, interactions, and events. Not only do women faculty encounter this emotional labor regularly in their careers, but they also have to strategize beyond the silences they choose to continue to do their work despite the constant evaluations.

Jacqueline, Abbi, and Renee illustrated three ways in which they are strategically utilizing self-preservation silence while planning alternate pathways to continue their work or rectify the situation. Some of Renee's colleagues frown upon how much work she does in the community, even though she is passionate about her community work which is often also her research.

> So I do a lot of work in the community and so years ago I was told…that I do too much work in the community and that to me was bothersome because every year is a generation of students and it didn't seem to me that there was that luxury of waiting until you get tenure in order to work, to help other people…I was told…"You're a speaker in demand but you do too many." Okay, so I just had to stop putting them on my vitae. So I had to, in some way feel like I was okay so I did them but I also had to feel like I was okay so I couldn't say I was doing them.

Being invited to speak means that those inviting Renee valued her work and contributions and having to silence those when her work and contributions were devalued in her own department furthered her feelings of isolation within her department. Renee found a

balance that she could live with but she still feels the lack of support and lack of appreciation for her work within her department.

Jacqueline has a history of being given too heavy of a service load while simultaneously being criticized for the amount of service she does. When she discussed a particular service assignment that she did not want, she explained what she would like to do to end her involvement and then what she actually plans to do because doing what she wants is not an option.

> Because what I want to do is…one of the large service commitments I have is this department liaison for [a committee]. It's a very unpleasant task. The…team that I'm working with is disrespectful to me and doesn't support this role. The department doesn't support this role and so I'm left on my own to do the work. And then I do the work and I'm told it's wrong and I have to redo this and it's just a huge amount of work for no good reason. So what I wanna do is march in there and say, "Given my mediocre performance evaluation, it is clear that the service I'm doing is not being recognized or rewarded by the department, I need to stop doing this unrewarded service so I can take on…being a journal editor [which] would be the kind of service that would have a bigger stature and you expect the guys to be doing." So, I wanna resign from the role, citing my mediocre performance evaluation…which is just like, "In your face! You're stuck and I guess you need to go find a [new] liaison and this is why I'm going to punish you for giving me a mediocre performance evaluation." But that's going to burn a couple bridges that I probably shouldn't burn right now. I mean the chair already does not like me so…staying on her good side is not a goal because I'm not on

her good side…but a year from now I want to go up for a sabbatical and…they're gonna have to replace me in that role a year from now anyway.

Many of the participants talked about the importance of timing and that if they cannot engage in a "battle" now, they will remember it and might be able to engage later. In this instance, Jacqueline is looking at the long game and will focus on that to enable her to survive another year on that specific committee. Abbi has had some issues in the initiative she helped to start in the past several years and is weighing decisions on whether or not to leave the initiative and if, yes, when to leave.

Abbi: I wrote down…pick your battles. I wrote down choosing when and what. I'm not done with what happened in the [initiative] a year ago. I've been sitting on it for a year until things settle. I chose not to pick the battle right away with the people that I need to pick the battle with because 1) I was broken, and 2) I needed to focus on me and my tenure stuff. That said, there will be a battle that is fought. It just wasn't at the moment it came. I'm choosing that fight.

Leah: So the importance of not only what you choose to do it, but also the timing for when it's appropriate and best to do it. Is that primarily just to protect yourself? Or, is it just to get to a comfortable place where you feel like you can make that decision?

Abbi: First it was to protect myself and [second it] was to gather information. And I was just also not ready. That battle I can think of, I think I choose that every day, which battles to pick and which battles to leave.

Within the discussions of choosing which "battles" to engage in and which to choose silence for, is also the heaviness of knowing, or more often guessing, when the right time

is to engage if that is a choice that is made. Renee commented that "Just because you're silent, doesn't mean you don't have a good memory." So even if the initial choice is silence, that may not be the final choice for any particular situation. Participants in this section highlighted the necessity, consequences, and strategies to work around self-preservation silence, and while this type of silence was the most noticeable to participants when reflecting on their experiences, this is not the end to participants' experience and struggle with silence.

Silence to Conceal or Disguise

Being masked may be a universal condition, in that all of us control how we present ourselves to others. There is, however, a fundamental difference when one feels masked because one is a member of one or more oppressed groups within the society.

Margaret E. Montoya, Máscaras, Trenzas, y Greñas, 2003

While Margaret Montoya (2003) believes masking or being masked to be something universally experienced, particularly by individuals in oppressed groups, the majority of participants did not discuss or explicitly label strategies of masking or experiences with masking. However, a few participants highlighted specific experiences or strategies of masking identities and emotions. Further, Jamie, Carmen, Nia, Renee, and Samantha's view that they cannot negotiate their lesbian or woman of color identities because they are visible and cannot be hidden is really commentary that they cannot mask those identities. While they negotiate around their sexuality and race identities, they do not have the privilege to hide them or control for the bias and stereotypes applied to them due to those identities. While the data did not reveal a high number of experiences and uses of masking, the data that did reveal masking are important both in the participants'

stories and experiences and to the concept of strategic silence. I do believe that through additional interviews with the participants, more instances and experiences with masking might have been revealed as this element of strategic silence is the most nuanced and difficult to identify.

May described utilizing masking, unknowingly, in how she wants to be viewed within her academic career. When we discussed gender and how gender interacts with women faculty careers, May talked about wanting to be seen simply as an academic and not wanting to be treated differently because of her gender.

> In terms of gender, I don't want to be treated differently because I am a woman. When you say I want to be treated differently because I am a woman, typically people think of affirmative action [is how] you got here, you feel less good. I mean, I worked as equally hard as my male colleagues to get where I am. I guess I don't want to be treated differently…I try not to think about all these other things. I try to think that I'm an academic, I want to do work here.

Until our discussions, May either did not consider how she was thinking about her identities or did not realize the motivations for why she was doing certain things like keeping her mother identity out of the classroom. May commented that because of the cultural and ethnic diversity in her STEM field, being different is more normal and therefore she believes she does not have to focus on her identities very much. While May might not feel like she is masking her identities, she does silence or suppress her identity as a woman through her desire and actions to minimize those identities that are different or less represented within her department. May's desire to be seen solely as an academic and have her other identities silenced is an example of masking. Further, while May

discussed not wanting to be seen as a woman, she did not discuss her ethnicity at all in any of our discussion beyond a brief conversation about accents. The fact that this identity did not come up leads me to believe that her remark about the diversity in her department, at least when it comes to race and ethnicity, runs true and that aspect of her identity is not one she has to focus on as much as her identity as a woman. Alternatively, May might be masking her ethnicity so much, and possibly subconsciously, that she does not consider that specific identity as one is present in her academic career.

Clara does not provide a story but just an overall feeling about having to mask emotions, identities, and the self. She commented; "I think it's hard sometimes too. Sometimes I feel this feeling of you need to put on the mask and you're so beaten down behind that it's hard to keep the mask up." Here Clara referred to emotional labor (Hochschild, 1979) and how difficult it is to maintain the mask on emotions and how the negative experiences affect women faculty. Nia also talked about emotional labor in her strategies to silence difficult experiences and emotions in her career. She spoke often about compartmentalizing, suppressing, and trying to conceal her emotions. Nia's strategy to suppress and conceal emotions was seen by her as a means to maintain a sense of stability in her ability to move forward in her career. Both Clara and Nia talked about the consequences to masking emotions and the toll the emotional labor takes on not only their mental health, but also their physical health.

Finally, Sadie has an explicit example of masking that is an important part of her story in her experiences in academia and how she has negotiated her identities and presence in effort to be successful in her career. In her teaching role:

I started out being myself…[in the] first two semesters I taught…I was teaching with [a well-known academic]…he's…[an] older, senior male professor who literally wrote the text book that we were using and he had won numerous awards for teaching…all of the students loved him, he had a great way of organizing the class so I learned a lot…personality wise and demeanor wise and the way that I came in front of the class I just kind of was the way I always was and it worked okay those first two years, partly because I think…the students were sophomores so they were more mature and had been in college for a while and we got along fine…[I received] decent comments in my evaluations and then my third year of teaching we switched so that it was second semester freshman taking the [course]. It was 7:30 in the morning…my daughter was a year old so you know I'd had a baby…and this is when I was doing the single mom thing during the week. And so there was a lot of things on my end that were just…a mess. But also the students…hated the 7:30 in the morning, they hated that they didn't know how to study yet so it was incredibly stressful for them to be taking this class at that stage. And it just went [motions explosion]. I still was just myself that year…I dressed the way I would normally dress and I talked the way I would normally talk and I was sort of open about having a kid and…I'd bring my coffee and…I'd be normal and I got the worst evaluations. They were so bad…the students just could not stand me and they used to complain. My grad student was a TA and he would sit in the back and he would hear them complaining about me during the lectures…so that and a lot of their comments…had the tone of, "She doesn't know what she's talking about" like "She doesn't know what she's doing" and

> that kind of like "Obviously this lady is…some kind of idiot…why is she teaching us?" And "Professor [who she previously taught with] is so much better"…the first thing I did the next year was start dressing a little bit differently and not be as casual as I had been before…and I was still trying to do the lectures the way that he [well-known professor] does…which was all like hand draw notes, talking while you write, and all this stuff and that also…just didn't go well for me either 'cause I would make mistakes. I would be like "La da da oop, sorry that wasn't right, okay do this part over" and they just crucified me for that too…Both the previous year and this fourth time around they were just like "She's making mistakes all the time"…and they would comment on my tattoo and they'd comment about my hair…so the fifth time around I always had my hair back, I wore…suits practically and did my notes on PowerPoint and was really careful not to be too…myself…I really…changed the way that I talked to them and I changed the way that I interacted with the class and my evaluations got better…Acting different and dressing different improved things for the last two times that I taught. So I still feel like…when I go back to teach this coming spring, I'm going to be doing that masked version again because…I'm not comfortable yet going back to just being myself…in front of a class until I maybe get a little older and see how it goes for a couple of years. 'Cause it really bothers me to have them tell me that I don't know what I'm talking about.

This story of Sadie's experience in teaching highlights one way in which masking might become a strategy used by a woman academic. For Sadie, this experience damaged her confidence and ability to teach as well as added additional layers of effort that she must

expend in her career that should not be necessary but continues to be a reality of the lives of women faculty. While only a few participants highlighted masking in their experiences, this element or motivation of strategic silence is foundational and likely more prevalent than the data in this study revealed. A silence all participants experienced and strategize is chosen silence for specific contexts or situations.

Context Driven Silence

Through it all, I have learned that there are good silences, bad silences, and unforgiveable silences.

Angela Onwuachi-Willig, Silence of the Lambs, 2012

Situational Silence. Situational silences are the silences chosen for specific contexts, situations, fears, and uncertainties. Acheson (2008) uses the term "situational silences" in her review on silence and lists six examples of what she considers situational silences. While there are some similarities between her examples and what the data highlight in this study, for the most part this interpretation of situational silences differs from that of Acheson's findings. Participants find value in silence in certain areas of their careers, certain interactions with colleagues and students, and for reasons ranging from fear of saying the wrong thing, sounding unintelligent, or expending energy that, in the end, is not worth taking on. Comfort with utilizing situational silence ranges among the participants, though all noted the usefulness of being silent. While participants viewed silence as useful, they also acknowledged, like Onwuachi-Willig (2012) highlighted in the above quote, that there are good and bad silences and deciding whether a situational silence will be a benefit to them or not is part of the battle that is choosing silence. Alexis highlighted a benefit of utilizing silence by comparing it to art. "Like

art…sometimes it's the negative space that really makes the picture right. So sometimes it's the choice of silence. Silence isn't a bad thing…it's something to negotiate." Indeed, even the participants who feel uncomfortable with choosing silence recognize its utility.

Participants occasionally indicated certain places or contexts in which they, more often than not, choose silence. Renee chooses silence in faculty meetings because she feels outnumbered there and she also navigates silence in meetings with students as she remarked, "Your students are always going to be different from you so it's…trying to figure it out." Not feeling safe to share her thoughts or opinions in faculty meetings is understandable for Renee, as she does not feel supported by her department and the isolation that results means that she does not have allies within the room to support her if she speaks. Renee is not alone in choosing silence in faculty meetings; several other participants indicated that faculty meetings are times at which silence is chosen more often. Clara described that she believes in speaking if she is fighting for her career but she has learned to silence her directness which comes from her cultural background. Within the culture of her department she quickly learned that being direct with her colleagues would not be beneficial to her and so she has had to learn how to let things go. The contexts in which Clara most often chooses silence include departmental decision-making committees and departmental meetings as she, too, does not feel supported by her department and therefore is not willing to take on the time and energy to speak in those contexts. Similar to Renee, Jacqueline also chooses silence in interactions with her colleagues, particularly with her senior colleagues, and in her classes. She commented that in the classroom or in any situation in which she has authority it is always important

to filter what is said and how it is said. While she chooses silence, or tries to, in interactions with her colleagues, Jacqueline finds it difficult in certain situations.

> It's keeping your mouth shut while you approve stupid institutional politics. That is just soul-sucking and maddening. Like, "Really, we're gonna…go ahead and approve this then? All right! Yeah!"…So it's departmental politics, executive committees, committee work…anytime more than three professors get together in a room…I find it just hateful.

Jacqueline believes that silence is a form of deceit and cites altruism (described by her as seeing the truth and helping others) as an integral part of who she is and so she struggles a great deal with both her own and others' silences. Jacqueline's identifying altruism as one of the barriers to her acceptance of silence aligns with her motivations to help others and be a voice against the status quo. Therefore, she views silence as a barrier to helping others and changing the environment and culture for women, minoritized individuals, and individuals with less power within academia like staff and students. While Jacqueline dislikes choosing silence she acknowledged that she chooses silence occasionally and wishes she could be silent more often because she understands the usefulness of being more strategic about silence as a woman faculty member, especially in a male majority department.

In addition to certain contexts and places, some participants highlighted internal reasons for choosing silence, primarily around fear of sounding unintelligent or naïve. For Lillian this type of situational silence was prevalent in her pre-tenure experience.

> In giant meetings I tend to just sit there. Some of that is more than because of being a woman, I feel [it is] more…about being junior. Because at times, I've said

> things I sometimes feel like afterwards…were really naïve and I feel like I'm still learning how things work. At this point, I'm getting the hang of it and I should be starting to speak up a little bit more…I don't tend to say a lot during faculty meetings and stuff. If I'm in a smaller committee meeting, I do say a lot then.

The majority of participants commented that they used silence more prior to earning tenure as they feel safer after tenure to use their voices more often. This is not at all surprising and again makes me consider whether women in non-tenure track positions ever find relief from silence, or even feel as much need to navigate it given that they do not have the journey of earning tenure on their shoulders. While some silences are easier to step away from, Alexis talked about the burden of silence when navigating the fear of sounding unintelligent. In response to my question about whether she feels like she struggles with silence regularly, Alexis highlighted a particular situation in which she struggles more often than not.

> I think about [silence] daily…The obvious examples are…if I'm in a colloquium and I have a question that I want to ask, two things happen. I think about the question [and then think], "Oh my god, am I going to say something stupid?" Like is this question a real valid question…and a part of me is like well…of course you want to make sure that you're not wasting everybody's time by asking a question that is easily addressed…if I thought two seconds about it… "Oh yeah, actually I know the answer to that." But…asking questions in a colloquium is like scoring points…So if you can ask a question and…it's a challenge to the speaker in a way and they explain it and okay. But it shows how much you know, if you can ask an insightful question…so it's really scary asking a question. So I feel like often

> I…gird my loins and ask, "Do I really want to go through this?" And sometimes I just don't because I just can't deal with the psychic energy…so it's that negotiating…it's all around "am I gonna say something stupid?"

Alexis encounters imposter syndrome as a barrier to her progress and a challenge to her self-confidence. Therefore, choosing silence due to fear of sounding unintelligent is understandable, particularly in the STEM fields where competition can be heightened more than in the social sciences and humanities. Alexis continued to talk about the labor of silence around this fear of sounding unintelligent.

> I have this feeling that guys don't have to worry about the issue of sounding stupid. I know they do at some level but I think guys are much more apt to not worry about the judgment factor and just lay it out there. And…I worry about wording a lot too and how to word things precisely. It's like speaking a foreign language, I feel like I am speaking a foreign language and I'm constantly having to translate. And so sometimes…I lose the energy and…so I fall into silence as a rest, you know it's like a [expels big breath] "I can't bother" when perhaps I should've said something. So I think little by little in aggregate that has had an impact on my career.

Having to consider silence occasionally is not likely to influence a career substantially, but the time and energy women faculty in this study use to think about, weigh, choose or decline silence is significant, which is why knowing ahead of time if it might be worth it to speak or be silent is tool.

Knowing the outcome. Participants talked often about choosing silence because they did not believe or could not see that it was worth their time and energy. Within the

decision to choose silence or not is an evaluation of the situation to consider whether not being silent would lead to a positive outcome or not, change anything or not, or produce direct conflicts with colleagues. Samantha commented that there are situations in which she chooses silence because she does not see her voice influencing change. "There's certain conversations I didn't instigate…[where] I wasn't fully transparent about my opinions because I know that…at the program level, if certain people disagree…the change is unlikely to happen." Renee also discussed choosing silence when she did not think situations, policies, or decisions would change but she also commented that if she thought a particular issue would come up again then her silence initially was for information gathering. Renee also shared that there are different methods she considers for delivering her thoughts or opinions. "Sometimes…there are better ways of having it put out there. Sometimes you can't put it out directly, you have to put it out through somebody else. So you have to…get smarter." Janet also commented on the utility of silence and the importance of considering each situation and potential outcome, but noted for some instances, regardless of outcome, speaking is important.

> It's wise to a certain extent, if you can, to keep your mouth shut unless there's something that you really need to say that is going to be very important. Especially in a university environment because it's political, that's the way it is, there's always going to be somebody who's going to take what you say out of context or it could be used against you in some way…You have to gauge each situation individually before speaking up about something. In negotiating my career, I think that it's been an issue and so, for the most part, I don't really speak unless I think that it's critical.

Janet is one of the participants who carefully chooses when and when not to speak and is in a department that highly restrains the sharing of personal information. As such, while she will speak up for certain issues, she often chooses silence.

Jacqueline remarked that in salary and promotion discussions silence sometimes is smart because a confrontation that leads to a marginal increase in salary is not worth the damage a confrontation might produce. Avoiding direct conflict is also a reason that Nia chooses silence and, like Renee, Nia also tries to wait to take on "battles" until she has gathered information. However, when Nia does not believe her voice will make a difference in the conversation or decision-making process, she will choose silence.

> There are certain things I don't say anything about because I just don't feel like it's going to make much of a difference. When people choose silence it's mostly because they don't feel like their voice is going to be respected…a lot of times in the kind of culture that values speech and verbal expression, a lot of people have learned that when they speak up it doesn't matter and so what's the point of doing something that's almost futile.

While choosing silence requires energy and effort, the participants acknowledged that the potential consequences of speech far outweigh that energy and effort toll. Although the women faculty in this study often choose silence, as Renee pointed out, those silences are not always forever.

Silence in wait. Several of the participants discussed situations or contexts in which they might be silent initially but after gathering information and waiting for the right opportunity they choose to end their silence. Renee and Nia are probably the most strategic in terms of successfully utilizing silence to gather information and wait for the

right opportunity confront a situation or speak in reaction to something particular. Renee explained,

> There are times when I would purposely be silent just because I knew that they are waiting for a reaction or something. I wouldn't say anything. It got to a point where they would directly say, "Renee, what do you think?" Because if you gave your opinion before, it was as though you didn't say anything. Why say anything? Then when your opinion is needed then you know you probably have a better chance of being heard, when you are asked as opposed to just volunteering any information.

This strategic approach to silence is smart in terms of negotiating whether or not her voice is heard. However, if a woman faculty member used this approach at all times and never was called on or asked for their opinion, this strategy could be very detrimental to their confidence and feelings of belonging. Nia's belief that speaking can often be futile and Renee's strategy to wait to be called on invites the question of how many perspectives are left out of conversations because someone is either waiting to be called on or simply never speaks? Further, as it is most likely to be women and minoritized faculty who remain silent or wait to be called upon, how often are the diverse and unique perspectives of these faculty left out of conversations in academia?

Several of the participants struggle with embracing silence as a strategy, not because they do not see the utility but rather because they simply do not have the personalities to not speak up. Jacqueline and Jamie both highlighted, though, their attempts or strategies for trying to silently wait for the right opportunity or moment to speak. Jacqueline commented on her struggle with accepting silence.

> So is there value to keeping your mouth shut against your impulses?...There's never been a point where I think the right thing to do is to not say…whatever the inconvenient truth is…but it's more just like, in the course of discussion…not every opportunity to make your point is the right opportunity to make your point.

Jamie's attempts to maintain silence on occasion are influenced by not wanting to be the person who is always the voice speaking up for certain things.

> I tend not to be silent and when I am, like conspicuously silent, I think it's because I sense that …either a conversation has devolved to the point where we just have to scrap it and start over or others are saying more or less what I would say. And I don't want to always be the one who [speaks on a certain issue]…I think I have tended to be that person from the time I was a little kid in school. Every now and again I'll try to step back just because I don't think that I want to be that person all the time.

Jamie and I commiserated about being that person and how difficult it is to remain silent if no one else is willing to vocalize a certain issue or problem. Situational silence is recognized by all participants as an important strategy in their academic careers, whether they are comfortable with silence or not, the value of using it is apparent. And while silence is something that participants commonly and strategically employed, they also pointed out that knowing when to strategically utilize voice is also very important to the success of their careers.

Utilizing Voice Strategically

I have come to believe over and over again that what is most important to me must be spoken, made verbal and shared, even at the risk of having it bruised or misunderstood.

Audre Lorde, Sister Outsider, 1984

Strategic voice. Choosing voice over silence for the participants is something many participants strategize and consider before making a decision. Some participants simply would rather not allow silence to be a part of their career strategies, while others have particular causes or reasons that provoke the need to use their voices. Several participants share Lorde's (2012) sentiment in the quote above that when it comes to the causes most important to them, they must choose voice. All participants, however, have experience strategizing around both silence and voice. The idea of strategic voice is centered around two main considerations the participants have when choosing voice. These two considerations include: 1) fighting for the self or others on issues or causes the participants believe in, and 2) participants fundamental issues with being silent either because it goes against what they believe or because they simply do not find a purpose for silence as much as they do for voice. Those participants who are vocal more than silent acknowledged that there are consequences to that approach in the academic environment, particularly for women. Further, some participants commented that when they decide to speak, they must choose the most productive means by which to deliver their message, like Renee who commented that passing the idea to someone else may be the best method.

Due to the difficulties Clara encountered at the start of her career at this institution and having to speak up for herself and fight the battle of being provided the lab space she

was promised from the very beginning, Clara will often choose strategic voice if it means fighting for her career and resources that will help her in her career success. She viewed the situation as something that she could not accept, and therefore had to fight against.

> I remember fighting at a number of points and you're at one point in the emails just saying, "Hey, you gave free lab benches…to my two male studying assistant professors and for me you're making me pay out of my start up, that's not fair." And people were taken aback…you're not supposed to be fighting like this…so then I will be criticized for being aggressive…I did speak up…I'm one of those people that unfortunately don't shut up…that's a problem here that you end up being aggressive in a way, because you feel like very much you're being cornered…so you tend to react.

The beginning of Clara's academic career was stressful but she continued to fight for herself and the resources she needed to be successful in her career. Clara does not tend to choose silence for security but rather for maintaining satisfaction in her career so she uses her voice, often seeking the best way to deliver her messages in the most productive manner. Both Jamie and Renee also discussed being strategic about how they deliver thoughts and opinions. They both commented that for things that they view need to be addressed or when they reach a point at which they cannot live with silence, they must speak. Jamie is one of the participants who described choosing silence infrequently. She commented, "I don't tend to be very quiet. I mean, when there's something I think needs addressed, I'm usually not reticent about addressing it." Of the participants who struggle with using silence, Jamie mentioned the least amount of experienced or perceived consequences. That could be because she experiences fewer consequences than other

participants or because she simply did not discuss them. Either way, I do not think Jamie would approach silence and voice any differently than she already does. Renee commented on speaking when she cannot handle being silent anymore. "I know it has happened when you reach a point where it has to be said and whether people are ready to hear it or not…you just really have to say something." Having learned about Renee and her approach to her career, I am willing to bet that when she decides to speak she is very strategic about how she delivers her message. Samantha points out the importance of choosing the right delivery method when she chooses to speak.

> I can sit in a room, I can sit on some board or some committee and…I can drum in my perspective on something and I could be completely inflexible. Or, I can do it…in a more subtle manner…and I think I picked that up watching other people. Just because you speak the loudest doesn't mean you are heard or that your perspective is eventually the one that is most influential in the decision…so I think it's just better, I think it was often better to buy time and to be more subtle about things and more strategic about things and it works fine.

Indeed, in Samantha's opinion, "you can't come in and kick down the door when it's easier to nudge it open." The participants explained that learning how and when to choose silence and the most productive ways to deliver their messages is something the that has taken time and experience in their careers.

Similar to Jamie, Jacqueline has trouble accepting silence as she is not comfortable with deceit and she views silence as deceit. However, like Jamie, Jacqueline does try to include silence in her strategies but she too often fails. Jacqueline acknowledged that there are consequences to her choosing voice more than silence,

including expending more time on things that are not, in the end, worth her time. When she discussed confronting decisions and changes that she viewed as inefficient Jacqueline commented that she should "walk away, just walk away." However, she further explained, "I can't, and I won't. And that is why…it's gonna be my Achilles heel, none of my business, not my responsibility, but it's wrong!" Among the causes or situations that Jacqueline will always stand up for are, "junior research staff positions, respect for research staff positions, fighting for people's jobs…I will never let that go. You'll lose right? But you'll fight…so respect for…fairness to people who aren't professors…everything else is pretty negotiable." Jacqueline explained that she is working on improving her ability to strategically utilize silence but her instinct, she recognized, will always be to speak up against things she sees as wrong. Janet spoke about a similar approach to the causes that she will always stand up for, which include fairness to students.

> If I think it's something that's going to be detrimental to my students, that's a battle that I will always fight. If I think my students are not being treated fairly, I mean students in my class, especially the students who are part of my lab because I'm their boss, I'm their supervisor, that's my responsibility to make sure that the people who are under my direction are being treated fairly. In that case, that's not something I ever have to question myself about if something bad is going on there. I guess I don't think about it in terms of a battle that you can win or a battle that you can't win, it's more like what would the outcome be and who would be affected by it. I think that's how I view it.

While the participants have found ways to utilize voice strategically and recognized what issues or moments cause them to need to stand up and use strategic voice, several of the participants continued to have general problems with silence, both in accepting it as a strategy and fulfilling desires to be silent. These participants value voice far more than silence, even as it causes them issues in their careers.

Silent issues. None of the participants are completely comfortable with the necessity of using silence in their careers, however several participants either do not see a need for silence, do not allow for silence, or fundamentally do not believe in silence. These participants speak more often, for various reasons. Lillian credited her undergraduate experience at a women's college for approaching life and her career always speaking her mind. She also credited her height for allowing her the privilege of speaking more often without any consequences that she recognizes. Lillian remarked that she "just didn't want to let people do that to me" in regards to silence and being silenced. Janet also believed that it does not matter whether she chooses silence or voice so she might as well choose voice.

> After a while, I realized it kind of doesn't matter what I say or do because that's not going to change the culture anyway. I might as well say or do what I think is right and let the chips fall where they may.

Being able to take this approach of not allowing for, or choosing, silence is undoubtedly layered in privilege as it is questionable whether Nia, Renee, or Samantha could make the same choices and not feel consequences to their careers. May talked about how she views speaking as important in certain situations like in committees or on academic panels. May explained that she wants to be sure her thoughts and opinions are heard in these important

situations and so she takes on an approach to be louder as she commented, "If I have an opinion, I want to make sure it's heard." May remarked that she has strategies to be louder and make sure she is heard but did not elaborate on them in our discussions.

The privilege of speaking and not feeling heavy consequences is not something either Carmen or Jacqueline have experienced. This could be due to a number of factors including identities and their strategies for delivering their messages. On why Carmen does not embrace silence, she explained,

> I don't lie about stuff…I've never lied…but sometimes I've been stupid 'cause enough people can hear sometimes. And…I used to go to faculty meetings regularly. I sat on committees and as it became clearer and clearer that nothing I said made a difference and, oftentimes, made it worse it's like "I'm not here anymore to change the system, I'm here to mentor who I can to reach, students" …and I think they enjoy not having me here 'cause I can see their veins starting to pop when I show up at meetings. And…I say what I'm gonna say.

Carmen does not embrace silence when she sees her voice not being effective, rather she transitions where she takes her voice and for what purpose she uses her voice. This is strategic in not spending time where her efforts are wasted and instead transferring her time to something through which she can be more useful. Carmen highlighted that the benefits to her approach of using voice more than silence is that she names "what needs to be named. People don't have to assume and maybe assume incorrectly." While Carmen rooted her dislike of choosing silence in her feminist background, Jacqueline's distaste for silence resides in her identifying with altruism. She described her resistance to silence as a result to her "compulsion against deceit." Silence can often be an

uncomfortable choice but even though Jacqueline and Carmen dislike and try to avoid silence, they struggle with occasionally wishing they could or would choose silence more often. And for all participants the decision-making process of whether or not to choose silence and their ability to fulfill plans or strategies to utilize silence is a struggle.

The Struggle of Silence

Academic Careers can be taxing…In retrospect I survived the harsh academic terrain because of sheer luck, determination, and most importantly, carefully selecting which battles I am willing to entangle myself in, constantly weighing the potential gain versus the likely career repercussions and personal costs.

Linda Trinh Võ, Navigating the Academic Terrain, 2012

Discomfort, guilt, regret. Throughout this chapter, the variety of issues and struggles the participants described in their experiences and use of silence are highlighted. These struggles include feelings of discomfort generally with silence, guilt after the fact of not speaking up against or for something, and regret for both using and not using silence in a particular interaction or situation. Sadie talked about several instances in which she felt guilty after a moment of chosen silence. This could be due to not speaking up against off-color jokes said in a meeting, not speaking up for her own benefit in gaining resources for her career, or, the opposite choosing silence to ensure that she does gain needed resources and keeps good relationship with the individuals who control such things. At one point, Sadie commented that guilt surrounds most of the silence she chooses, “It always makes me feel guilty for not saying anything” when those silences are related to issues where someone has said something problematic or where

she is choosing silence in exchange for necessary resources. However, Sadie acknowledged that both strategies are necessary for career survival and success.

Finally, Jacqueline referenced that she often regrets not being able to choose silence. Due to her disdain for deceit and her natural impulse to speak up against things she sees as wrong, Jacqueline has many afterthought regrets about not choosing silence.

> There's a…committee thing where I should've kept my mouth shut and found out about the way that power was handed off. I should've just kept my mouth shut and found out what the new situation was and worked within that without making any overt comments about, "This was the wrong way to handle power." I should've just recognized the new power structure and then contacted the person in charge and asked him to share the information with us that he wasn't sharing with us…and left all of the editorializing out of it. So I just made the situation a lot harder for everybody…Should've kept my mouth shut, didn't keep my mouth shut, said the unnecessary truth.

While Jacqueline is feeling regret for speaking up, Sadie is feeling guilt for being silent. This shows the complexity of choosing or rejecting silence. The complexity of the decisions and follow-through to choose silence, for some participants, are difficult to successfully embrace and achieve.

Trying but often failing. The benefits of using strategic silence in the academic career for the participants is especially highlighted in how often the struggle of choosing silence and the consequences of not choosing silence come up in the data. Jacqueline, perhaps the participant who struggles the most, explained that she understands the importance of being strategic in the battles that women faculty choose to fight in

academia. She commented, “If I knew how to do that, I would succeed.” Learning how, when, and whether to use silence takes time. Janet commented that not only does it take time to learn but that it also does not really become easier to use. Rather one becomes more aware of exactly when silence would be the best option. When asked if she felt choosing silence has become easier, Janet commented,

> I don’t know if I’d say it’s easier. I’d say I have become more aware of the dynamics and so therefore since I understand the dynamics better than I did previously, I think I have a better sense of judgment as to when it’s useful to speak up [and] when it would be more useful not to. I’m not claiming that I fully understand that or that I have full mastery of that yet because I really don’t. Looking back, there are times when I wish I had spoken up and I didn’t.

Janet recognized the decisions surrounding when to use silence occur on a regular basis, which is why the choice is complicated and not always one participants look back on without regret. Both Carmen and Jacqueline commented frequently on the consequences they have endured due to not being silent. However, while Jacqueline wishes, and even plans, to choose silence as she recognized the risks of speaking up, Carmen has no regrets about her career and how she strategized around silence by not really being silent. This refusal to be silent, Carmen acknowledged, likely cost her an opportunity to reach full professor, something she wishes she could achieve but not at the sacrifice of being herself and speaking her mind.

In their careers, both Jamie and Jacqueline have strategized to try to use silence but have most often failed at those missions. While Jacqueline’s desire to use silence more often is because she too often says what she is thinking and “call[s] it like it is too

often," Jamie would like to be able to include more situational silence into her interactions in meetings as she does not like feeling like the deliverer of bad news so frequently.

> That's why sometimes I also try to pull back, dial it back although I'm not always as successful, because they do think that if you are always the one who's seen as…sort of becoming…Debbie Downer about…larger kind of institutional or curricular issues. If you can kind of see enough from the ramifications of something you can also see where the problems are going to be. I've often tended to be the one that says, "Well, you realize if we do this, then we are going to have this down the road, we are going to have to deal with this." I think that at a certain point, when you are always that person…some of my colleagues may just assume that that's my position and not actually take it as seriously.

Jamie commented that she wants her colleagues to view her as someone who fights for her principles and that is why she is not often silent. But she also would like to utilize silence more often because she has some fatigue in being the one who always speaks up. Talking again about why she tries sometimes to use silence, Jamie said,

> I just don't want to be seen as I know the right answer, all the answers and we just need to do what I say, life would be easier if we did. I think it's often that. And so what I'll usually do is find myself and say this time I'm going to let someone else bring this up. I do have other colleagues who will recognize some of the same things. Often times I'll wait and see if one [of] them might bring this up. I will not be able to let the entire time go by if no one has [spoken up] because I don't want us to invest a lot of time for something that I see is going to be a train wreck

> unless we take care of some stuff. That's what I mean by silence. It has primarily to do with not always wanting to be the one who claims to have the right answer. Not always wanting to be the one who shoots down ideas that might otherwise be inventive.

This desire to have some control over how others are perceiving them is shared by many of the participants. Clara also commented on reflecting on moments in which she wishes she had spoken up and equally wishing certain times when she did speak up, not doing so. This conflict and struggle between choosing and not choosing silence is substantial and likely unavoidable. Renee believed that one must take ownership of how others view oneself and one's identities and I am sure other participants would agree. However, being able to successfully and comfortably manage identities, emotions, appearance, silence, and voice is a full plate and the faculty career is already busy enough.

Strategic Silence

This chapter has presented data supporting findings that the women faculty in this study use and experience strategic silence in negotiating and managing identities, self-preservation silence, masking, situational silence, and strategic voice. The findings of identity management, self-preservation, and masking support my original concept of strategic silence. Situational silence and strategic voice are the other two motivations in the revised concept of strategic silence that emerged in the data. Therefore, the revised concept of strategic silence is shown in the below figure.

Figure 2. Revised Conceptual model of strategic silence

Identity negotiation and management. The women faculty in this study utilized identity negotiation and management in multiple ways and contexts and for a variety of reasons and motivations. From managing, or attempting to manage, the ways in which others can perceive their identities, to strategically positioning their identities to highlight

their unique qualities and experiences in being mentors and role models and to help influence the world in positive ways, to manage relationships, authority, sanity, and interactions, to balancing their personal and professional roles and identities, the participants recognized the value and utility of identity negotiation and management and many considered it an essential tool in the negotiation and management of their careers. Identity negotiation and management can be influenced by negative factors including stereotyping, racism, sexism, heterosexism, and other factors that place burdens on women faculty in the academic environment. However, the data highlight that identity negotiation can also be motivated by other factors of wanting to be a positive influence to students in providing mentors with similar identities, role models who represent identities separate from their own, and as influencing student lives for the better. One point of interest in the data is that while several participants identified as working-class or first generation college students, identities which provided the most discomfort for them in academia, it was not an identity mentioned in their negotiation and management of identities. The majority of the findings highlighting the participants use of identity negotiation and management are supported by the literature (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Lester, 2008, 2011a, 2011b; Ropers-Huilman, 2008). This element of strategic silence was the one most expected to be found in the data and was the strategy most easily identified by the participants as they began reflecting on their careers. Further, the influence of the gendered dynamics of academia, particularly in gendered divisions and gendered symbols was substantial (Acker, 1990). While the original focus on identity management looked into how women faculty utilized silence to negotiate and manage identities, the data highlighted that the participants also use voice and strategies to

heighten identities to overcome stereotypical or judgmental biases or judgments due to their appearances and race. Due to this strategy I added the term negotiation to identity management because negotiation suggests that strategic heightening of identities for personal gain more so than career success. While Renee's work to ensure students and colleagues see her as a researcher undoubtedly helps her in her career, it helps her more in her personal confidence and desires for how she wants to be perceived by others. Therefore, this strategy of identity negotiation and management is the first element in the concept of strategic silence.

Self-preservation silence. Similar to identity management, the use of silence for the preservation of self and career was an expected finding in the data. However, the data revealed that this strategy of silence is the silence most easily recognized and thought to be most important to the negotiation and management of the participants' careers as well as the maintenance of their continued peace of mind and sanity. Although participants acknowledged the necessity of self-preservation silence, the emotional labor and consequences are substantial. Further, participants highlighted the significant amount of energy and time they feel they extend to not only utilizing self-preservation silence, but also in considering which battles to fight and which battles to let go. These findings align with the literature (Baez, 1998; Baker, 2012; Hogan, 2010; Pierce, 2007; Ropers-Huilman & Shackelford, 2006; Terosky et al., 2008), but were found to be much more prevalent and integral in the careers of the participants than anticipated.

Masking. Although the data did not reveal masking to the extent expected, the participants who shared their experiences with masking highlight how masking can be useful to women faculty as well as how situations or incidents women faculty encounter

might lead to the use of masking. Participants who identified masking in their experiences and strategies included masking of emotions, identities, mannerisms, ways of speaking, and difficult incidents too painful to retain at a conscious level. The emotional labor participants discussed with suppressing, concealing, or disguising emotions comes with a cost to time, energy, and creativity. This emotional labor and conscious effort to mask emotions is likely something many women and minoritized faculty utilize strategically in the management and negotiation of their careers. The extent to which participants described the need to mask emotions and do emotional labor aligns with some of the literature (Gilmore, 2003; Hochschild, 1979, 2003). Further, the suppression and disguise of identities, mannerisms, and ways of speaking participants discussed in how they present themselves or want to be seen in specific contexts can require substantial effort and constant maintenance. The consequences of not masking, however, was viewed by these participants as potentially damaging to the further success, and even continuation, of their careers. The necessity and experience of masking women faculty feel as integral to their career success and satisfaction is supported by the literature (Gilmore, 2003; Montoya, 2003; Ropers-Huilman, 2008). Further studies that include more than two interviews with participants may reveal additional data on masking as this element of strategic silence seemed to be the most difficult to identify for participants in reflecting on their careers. I am confident that had we engaged in one or two additional interviews, more data on masking would have come through in the participants' narratives.

Situational silence. Silence chosen consciously for specific contexts or situations, was an expected finding in the data but the degree of awareness and strategy discussed by

the participants in their use of, or rejection of, situational silence was somewhat surprising. While some of the examples of situational silence that the participants highlighted in their stories and experiences align with some of Acheson's (2008) examples of situational silences, many of the motivations for situational silence were grounded in fear and feelings of lack of safety. Further, participants showed the degree of forethought often included in choices of silence or speaking and were much more strategic when they decided to use silence than I anticipated at the outset of this study. In fact, it seems that the participants who try but fail to choose silence are the ones who feel the least control over their interactions and deal with more consequences due to their failure to choose silence than those participants who successfully succeed in their choice of silence. However, silence also comes with consequences, both to the individual and to the overall climate and culture. Additionally, participants' ability to rather quickly recall in which situations, interactions, or contexts they most often choose silence was interesting in that it highlighted that the choice of silence is most often a continuous conscious decision rather than a reaction to the environment. Findings that highlight the importance of choosing situational silence, the conflicts and consequences of choosing silence, and the difficulty in choosing in which situations or contexts silence should be utilized supports literature on silence and women faculty (Luke, 2004; Marsh, 2015; Trinh Võ, 2012; Sontag, 2002). Situational silence is viewed by participants in a more positive frame than self-preservation silence and is understandable given that with this silence participants encountered the most conflict and internal struggle with choosing. With self-preservation silence, the outcomes of choosing silence are more clear in terms of protecting the career and self. In situational silence, participants are often guessing that

silence is the best strategy for the situation and are unclear of the direct outcomes. Overall, situational silence is highlighted in the data as another integral strategy of silence participants believe positively influences their careers.

Strategic voice. Due to the struggle that participants discussed in choosing silence, the power and decisions of when to use voice are viewed to be strategic. Although some participants are less strategic with their uses of voice, their motivations or beliefs in not being silent are strategic or integral to their identities. Further, for several of the women in this study, their comfort with choosing voice is layered in privilege to which other participants do not have access. Like the variety of ways in which silence can be interpreted and utilized, strategic voice is also not simply limited to the act of speaking. Rather, the ways in which participants voiced their thoughts and opinions showed to be strategic and the work to heighten specific identities to overcome stereotypes and assumptions may not be delivered through vocal means but is delivered through means to call attention to those identities. These motivations to strategically use voice is supported by some Human Resource Development literature defining the strategic use of voice as voice used to affect change, influence a particular situation, or intentionally express ideas and information that is specific to the work situation (Bell et al., 2011; Hirschman, 1970). Participants who described strategies and use of strategic voice most often used this element of strategic silence to affect change or express their identities to influence a particular situation or help in a particular situation. This element of strategic silence was viewed as important to the participants' feelings of balancing their struggle with silence and desire to utilize agency and power to affect change. Strategic voice is integral to the concept of strategic silence as it is not only an option

participants weigh in deciding between silence and voice, but is also a means through which participants break through silences attributed to their identities and careers.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented data showing how the women faculty in this study use strategic silence in negotiating and managing their careers. The participants are responding to the pressures of the academic career for women by negotiating and managing identities, choosing silence to protect themselves or their careers, hiding or concealing emotions and identities to attempt to match the norms of the academic culture, choosing silence in specific contexts and situations, and strategically using their voices for particular causes or situations, often to affect change or fight for something they care about. While looking for evidence of strategic silence was the primary goal of this study, other aspects of the participants' narratives highlighted how they have experienced their careers and in response how they negotiate and manage their careers and roles as women faculty. The next chapter presents data on how the participants experience, negotiate, and manage their academic careers.

Negotiating and Managing the Academic Career

All participants recognized the difficulties of being women academics within the culture of higher education. Each woman faculty member in this study discussed how they experienced, negotiated around, and managed through the gendered dynamics of their departments, colleges, and within the institution broadly. Some participants set out to learn the rules of the institution and department in order to know the most productive ways to behave, interact with others, and how to succeed to promotion. Influenced by her experience in figuring things out on her own while a student, due to being a first generation student and not having mentors to provide her the information to succeed in higher education, Samantha very strategically did the work of finding out the rules and how best to follow them to foster success in her career. In response to advice she would have for career success Samantha replied,

> I think know the rules and then bend them as you need to. But you have to know them before you can break them and bend them. So, I think, do the homework, do that detective work to figure out if people won't make them explicit for you, figure out [and] know the rules because that is going to determine…the parameters for what is acceptable behavior. Because…there's what is expected and then there's kind of this range of possibility around it. And I think, especially for early career scholars you have to operate within that range. But you have to know what it is first.

Samantha suggested that the ways to find out what the particular institutional and departmental rules include,

> Doing a survey within an institution or within a discipline and looking at the people at certain career stages and figuring out…what is that range of acceptable kind of professional behavior and making the conscious decision to be at the upper end.

Samantha has been resourceful in finding the most productive ways to understand the culture and rules in her department, leverage the advantages she has, and align with those rules to help in her success of earning promotion.

Another perspective of knowing the rules and cultures in higher education is understanding the reality of the faculty career for women. Since Samantha knows that it is difficult to be heard as a woman and when one's research area focuses on diversity it is often valued less, Samantha makes sure that she does not use emotion or anecdotes when she is sharing thoughts or ideas. She commented, "If you're seen as coming from a place of emotion, your perspective is devalued." Not only does Samantha know and understand the rules as they are set by higher educations' gendered organization, but she also plays by them, for the most part, to ensure successful management of her career. While Samantha is the most strategic when it comes to knowing and playing by the rules, and also probably the participant most likely to successfully reach full professor, other participants acknowledged the advantages to understanding the rules and either playing by them or working around them. On respect, Renee commented, "You never earn that respect, it is just something you have to demand because it's not something that people will give you anyway." Renee described being very strategic in how she presents herself and in demanding respect from others. She is not willing to accept the identities and

characteristics others apply to her based on her gender and race and therefore works to manage how she presents herself to control, to a degree, how others' view her.

Beyond knowing the rules, certain aspects of the academic culture produce the need for women faculty to strategize the negotiation and management of their careers. The aspects of the culture that drive much of the negotiation and are involved in fostering women academic's experiences with being devalued and disrespected, is patriarchy, sexism, and the continued dominance of men in higher education. Several participants discussed experiences with sexism and sexual harassment within their careers. Some remarked that sexism and issues with men is something to expect and, in fact, normal. Alexis commented, "I've always…had issues with men in [STEM]…it's just, that's just the way it is. They've always had issues with us." In a department that is less than 15% women in terms of the faculty, the difficulties in a male dominated environment indeed probably do seem routine and just a fact of life. Alexis moved back to the US because of the sexism in Europe, which she describes as worse than in the US, by far. She noted dealing with sexism in school as a reason she went to a women's college for her undergraduate degree and learned early in her career that sexism is simply a part of her environment and "You can either get obsessed and worried about it or you can just move on and do work and make your work show…that you're just as good as anybody else." Sadie also reflected on a moment in which she encountered sexism.

> I was giving a job talk somewhere and the person who introduced me was like, "This is Dr. X, she's here to…" and something about, "Can you believe that **she's** our job candidate?" or "**She's** our speaker today?" Don't you understand how insulting that is?

The sexism women faculty experience can often be very subtle but no less insulting and can stick with a woman faculty member throughout her career. The fact that Sadie remembers this moment highlights the power subtle moments of sexism can have on the careers of women faculty. Another subtle way sexism works is in salary compensation. This is subtle sexism because the culture in the US stigmatizes talking about salaries. However, public institutions must make salaries public and Jamie recommended against checking them.

> Doing the thing, which I now tell…all my colleagues not to do…you start looking up salaries to try to figure out where you are…as I said, nothing good can come of that, really nothing can, because you start realizing how all over the map [salaries are], and you start looking at colleagues almost all of them male who are making some very high salaries and doing virtually the bare minimum.

Having completed a salary search for this study, I agree, nothing good can come of becoming more aware of salary differences. However, can anything good come from not being aware? One of the perpetrators of the gender pay gap is likely the very fact that most individuals are unaware of what their colleagues earn. Therefore, transparency in salaries of those within a department or unit, while possibly painful and demeaning, could possibly provide power in negotiation and arguments for higher pay or less service assignments. These moments and realizations of the culture of academia influence how women faculty and the participants in this study negotiate and manage their careers. Abbi has encountered specific issues with salary negotiations in her career.

> When I was just offered this job…I tried to get a raise…[my male colleague] had [negotiated a raise]…a couple of months before that, didn't have a job offer,

> didn't have anything, and he just went to the [department leadership] and said, "I want a raise, this is how much, blah, blah, blah." He didn't get what he asked for but he certainly got a raise. Part of the commentary to me when I did this…was "Basically you're an average scholar, you don't have the national prominence, international prominence that [male colleague] has. So keep doing all the good work you're doing because you're holding the program area together…but we think you're fine the way that you are." It's like this shadow, even in those conversations.

Having had multiple competitive job offers, Abbi has each time taken those offers, as the culture suggests to do, to her leadership and has yet to earn a raise, even while seeing male colleagues do the same thing and succeed in being granted a raise. This chapter highlights the influence that educational backgrounds and career beginnings have on the careers of the participants, the ways in which the participants negotiate and manage their careers, the importance of support systems, and participant responses to what their ideal career would look like.

The Influence of Beginnings

Whether the participants are conscious of it or not, when they discussed their backgrounds and careers it became very clear how their backgrounds, graduate training, and beginnings of their careers were heavily influential to how they navigated and continue to navigate their academic careers. In this section I present first, three participants who entered their current positions in three different ways and how those differences have influenced their careers. Following those examples, I present some themes of influence affecting the careers of participants in both positive and negative

ways. These include the influences of working-class backgrounds, having academic parents, and dealing with sexual harassment incidents.

Samantha. Samantha finds power in having been recruited in helping her have leverage and status to go after and negotiate for what she wants or sees as fair. During the hiring process Samantha highlighted the benefits of being recruited in the power she felt to negotiate a contract she wanted, though she does admit she did not receive the salary she asked for she expected that to improve with time and promotion. On negotiating during the hiring process Samantha commented,

> I was in a good position, so to speak, because they were recruiting me. It's not like I applied for a position and they had somebody else they could offer it to…And frankly, the fact that I'm a female minority scholar in a field that I think is like 97 percent White…it gives me some leverage that I think other people might not have. And because I was highly productive, it's not just that they were getting a minority scholar [that they benefited].

Leveraging not just the fact that she was sought out specifically for the job, but also the fact that as a highly productive female minority scholar she would be in demand elsewhere presented Samantha with many advantages in the hiring and negotiating process that most women academics do not feel they have the power to take on as a strategy. Sadie was also recruited to the institution and she agreed that the recruitment provided her greater negotiating power in the hiring process. Acknowledging that typically women have a difficult time feeling comfortable or confident negotiating employment contracts and salaries, this is a significant advantage to the beginning of the

career of a woman faculty member, particularly a woman of color faculty member, like Samantha.

The power in negotiating and asking for things she wants in her career has continued to be a source of strength for Samantha. She expressed willingness to use the advantages she has to foster career success and that includes utilizing her minority statuses as beneficial to negotiations. Because of the successes she has achieved in her scholarship, Samantha knows that she needs this institution less than the institution needs her as she is confident she could easily find a place at another institution. On leveraging her advantages, Samantha replied,

> I will view those minority statuses for my benefit. I will go in and I have used it as reasons for additional resources because there is a value in most fields on female faculty, on minority faculty. And so I have, because I am a highly productive female minority faculty, I have the ability to switch institutions with a fair amount of ease. And I am transparent about that.

Not being afraid or hesitant to leverage the advantages of being recruited and the perceived advantages of her minority statuses in her field shows not only power, but also a great sense of agency in Samantha's career. Indeed, it would be great if women faculty felt this power and agency regardless of the method by which they gain their faculty position. However, that is not how the gendered organization is structured and experienced. Finally, a part of her strategy Samantha explained in negotiating for herself in her career is understanding that the institution is not set up to help her, and therefore she must be the one to help herself just as the institution is focused on helping itself.

Abbi. Abbi was part of a spousal hire and has felt the negative consequences of having that status "marked" on her from colleagues as well as prospective students. She noted that having a spousal hire label at the start of her career was like having an affirmative action stigma attached to her and having to navigate those issues has weighed on her personally and professionally. Abbi has felt a lack of power due to being a spousal hire and in fact continues to feel disadvantaged from it even after that relationship ended. The ways in which individuals in higher education stigmatize the female spousal hire and the experience dealing with it all has made Abbi feel like a shadow figure. She commented, "I think for a lot of people I've always been a shadow." The minimization of her position and successes in asking department leadership for a raise, especially having tried and failed with competing offers in hand multiple times, reinforced that shadow feeling for Abbi. She expressed that she does not feel valued by her department. Between the experiences she has had with being a spousal hire and the difficulties she encountered in her tenure process, it is no wonder Abbi feels a lack of support.

Abbi is one of three participants who were hired as spousal appointments. Both Alexis and Janet also came to their current positions through spousal hires. I lead this section with Abbi because she has had the most difficulty and lasting effects of being a spousal hire. While both Janet and Alexis commented that coming in as a spousal hire included a stigma, they feel that stigma has decreased with time and tenure. Janet commented on her experience pertaining to being a spousal hire,

> Coming in on a spousal appointment…you're automatically seen as somehow less…regardless of what your qualifications are. I've seen that happen with male spouses too but it's a lot worse if you're a female spouse…I had one person…tell

> me that I was automatically suspect because I had come in on a spousal appointment. That's a very strong word to use for somebody who is working for you, that you're suspect…I will say, however, that as time went on that became less of an issue…there are still some people who bring it up occasionally or treat it as a liability but they are really in the minority.

The juxtaposition between Samantha and Abbi in terms of their feelings of power, value, and status are significant. They both highlighted the influence in how one arrives at their position as a woman faculty member and the affect that has on the trajectory and satisfaction in an academic career.

Clara. Where Samantha and Abbi were affected by how they came to their positions, Clara has been affected by what happened after she accepted her position. After being hired and moving to the institution Clara arrived to learn that she was not going to be provided the lab space she was promised while the two men that were also hired with her were given space, for no cost. She remarked:

> That was tough…I felt much like I was alone like it was you against the world…I think that from the beginning made me feel like I was on an island, so that was really tough and…I've talked to other people who had bad experiences when…they started and we talk about if you would be likely to leave or not and one of the things that people higher up don't necessarily understand with junior faculty and especially women is that if they move it's not going to be for higher pay, it's going to be [for] feelings of respect and it's hard to let go when a big injustice has been made and when you [say] "Oh it was in the past you need to focus on the future" without any acknowledgment for [the fact that]…you did hurt

> somebody and it's far more than that…it's how you please that person psychologically, academically…it sends a strong message to your colleagues that we don't care if she succeeded and that signal it's hard to take away.

Clara explained that not being provided lab space or support from colleagues at the beginning of her career continues to affect how she feels about the department and environment today. Because of the trouble with the lab, and the responses to her speaking up, Clara found it difficult to interact with her colleagues and did not feel like they supported or even cared about her situation. She commented, "And…that made it very difficult for me to ask for advice, to ask for help, to simply ask for mentoring." Clara eventually found colleagues who support her, but she had to go outside of her department to do so. Agreeing to come to work for this institution under certain understandings of what would be provided to her once she started, and arriving to find not only were they not providing her the lab space, but they also rescinded agreement to bring her husband to the institution through a spousal hire damaged her relationship with the department from the beginning. Clara had to learn how to speak up for the things she needed to succeed in her career early due to these struggles, but the effect of isolation and detachment from her colleagues continues today.

Background and educational influences. More about class and educational backgrounds will be discussed in the next chapter, however, it is important to highlight that these class and educational backgrounds and experiences affect the ways in which the participants approach, negotiate, and manage their careers. Samantha, Abbi, Jamie, Carmen, and Nia cited the fact that being first generation college students with working-class backgrounds has been influential to how they figured out the academic landscape

and how they have approached mentoring and advising of their current students. All of these participants commented on feelings of not belonging and struggles with figuring out on their own how to navigate the world of academia. Samantha shared that because she had to figure out almost everything about her education and career on her own, she has approached advising students with transparency and works to help students understand academia and careers as scholars. She shared,

> I'll share whatever information or advice I have…because I think it's difficult to get it. Often times we're kind of trying to piece together puzzle pieces and complete puzzle pieces. That's what I did for a lot of the first [years] of my career. I was just trying to triangulate a variety of resources because I didn't have anybody to tell me these things.

While the participants from working-class backgrounds had to learn about academia and the faculty career, largely on their own, those participants with academic parents were privileged with a source of information in their own home. Alexis agreed that having an academic parent was a substantial advantage not only to knowing what she wanted to do for a career but also how to achieve those goals. Further, her background helped in her future career path in STEM by introducing her to and maintaining exposure to STEM fields and disciplines. The benefits of having academic parents are significant for individuals who want careers in academia, likely more so in the STEM disciplines. The final evidence of influence I present here is from Jacqueline. Since experiencing sexual harassment from her advisor during her graduate work, Jacqueline has avoided collaborating with most of her male colleagues, which she recognizes has cost her opportunities in research and travel. In response to asking about her resistance to

collaborating with male colleagues, Jacqueline responded, "Yeah…because they're sexist pigs." Jacqueline is very intentional about which male colleagues she will collaborate and work with in her career due to her past experiences and the male-dominated climate of her department and the institution.

All of the experiences and examples in this section highlight how influential the preparation and beginnings of the academic career can be for women faculty and have been for the women faculty in this study. The negative experiences are troubling in how long they can affect confidence, feelings of power, support and relationships with colleagues, and overall feelings of belonging at the institution.

Compromise and Agreement in the Academic Career

As has been established in the literature review and in the findings thus far, academia is a gendered organization (Acker, 1990), which produces complications and climates that make the careers of women faculty difficult to negotiate. Because of the gendered culture of academia, Samantha saw a need to research and really learn about her academic environment so that she knew the behaviors and actions that would produce success in her career. Jacqueline avoided male colleagues due to sexism and an experience being sexually harassed within her academic environment, which has caused consequences to her career and not to those who perpetrated the sexism and sexual harassment or the institution. Renee pointed out that because racism and sexism are so prevalent it has become routine and her response to that reality was, "Yeah, life goes on…you have to accept the smallness of people and there's a lot of that." As Nia discussed, though, there are consequences when she compartmentalizes over and over again the discriminatory and biased interactions and moments. Beyond navigating the

environment, however, the participants also have to navigate the roles and responsibilities of their careers.

Negotiating roles and responsibilities. There are a variety of strategies and approaches that the participants utilize in negotiating their roles as faculty members and the responsibilities that come with the academic role. While the specific approaches the participants have for their research, teaching, and service will be detailed more in the next chapter, this section presents ways in which the participants compromised, found agreement, and strategized around issues and situations that they encountered in their roles as faculty members. When talking about the faculty career, Renee and I had the following exchange:

> Leah: You said that in universities, "You have to make the right decision to stay alive." What is the toll of strategizing to make the right decisions?
>
> Renee: It's exhausting and you may make a wrong move.
>
> Leah: How do you work to knowing what is the right decision?
>
> Renee: You don't until you get to the end.
>
> Leah: So you have to make one and…
>
> Renee: Keep your fingers crossed.

Requiring the right decision to remain successful and maintain satisfaction relies on an educated guessing game, Renee commented, and is exhausting and stressful. While Renee strategized through the decision-making process, Samantha has remained firm in fighting for what she wants and needs for her career success. When she felt she was being burdened with too much service she spoke up about it and argued,

> I wasn't hired…to do service. I wasn't hired to be an administrator. I was hired for my research. And so my primary argument is that either I sacrifice my research time or I have to sacrifice the time I give to my program, which you have hired me to contribute to my program, not the second program…I'm not willing to make those concessions.

While career decisions have not been any easier for Samantha than other participants, she noted that she has felt a greater sense of power and agency in making certain decisions that directly affect her career success. Indeed, many of the participants commented that issues that arise that could have an effect on career success are issues they are less likely to compromise on.

For some participants, receiving an answer of no to requests or ideas does not mean the end, rather they simply take on the project or idea themselves. Nia talked about this approach when I asked about moments in which she did not walk away from a fight.

> If I get a no, I go to do shit myself. That's how I fight...when you ask for money to do a program, they don't want to give me the money, [so] I go raise money and do the program anyway. When the faculty want to ignore every damn thing I say then I go do it and do it and they'll hear about me…I do fight but I fight in ways that in my own assessment will make a larger impact that doesn't reduce itself to interpersonal battles with people.

While effective, this strategy must take significant energy and time, which Nia agreed takes away from her scholarship. Abbi talked about a strategy she has recently begun implementing with intentions of reducing time and energy spent on the battles that seem to pop up frequently.

> The strategy that I've been using recently is waiting. So the email thing is problematic especially in all of our worlds…I don't know how many emails I get, we all get these emails. I usually tried to respond to emails within 24 hours, and I won't do that anymore. I'm usually waiting between three and five days, which has actually been really hard. It's been a forced wait, silence, to let some of those battles spin out on their own. Then I also end up feeling behind all the time. I'm trying to transition myself out of that too. I am finding a lot of those things, those fires that come up, can resolve themselves if I just wait and not respond, and someone else maybe will take up the work.

In small ways Abbi has tried to strategize not only methods to decrease her involvement in battles but also to lessen the time she spends on them. While Abbi figures out the right amount of time to let emails sit without response, releasing the self-pressure to respond to email within 24 hours is a healthy move for anyone to take on. In the above example, Abbi talked about general battles that come up frequently. Janet had a particularly problematic colleague in her department that tried to sabotage her promotion to tenure and all around tried to bully her in her first several years. Talking about the situation with that colleague now, Janet explained,

> He would never dare say anything to my face now. Not because he's afraid of me, but because he knows I just won't care. Once you get to the position where it's obvious that you don't care what somebody like that says, and it really might make you angry justifiably, but it's not going to cause you to change your behavior, or to change your actions, or take a different course of action just

> because of what that person says. They'll eventually stop because they see they're getting nowhere and that's what happened.

Janet's strategy in dealing with a bully was to simply ignore him and not let him see if he affected her or not. In this instance the strategy seemed to have worked. The number of ways in which the participants have strategized, compromised, and negotiated around barriers in their roles as faculty members increases every day. Some negotiations are small and others are large, some involve silence and some involve speech and fighting for what is seen as right.

Negotiating decisions and expectations. Negotiations in the faculty career to help manage decisions and expectations include a variety of approaches which include being satisfied by what participants have achieved because they have been able to do what they want. Carmen is a participant who negotiated her career with this focus. Negotiation of the participants' careers also includes negotiating strategic decisions to ensure their career continues moving, even if not moving forward in promotion. When Carmen began to see challenges to her career within her former department she started the journey of finding a new department on campus. This ended up being a significant advantage for her in thinking ahead and problem solving before the problem because a reality as she was able to move successfully to another department. That strategy not only required understanding the dynamics and planning ahead, it also included risk.

Working on accepting situations as good enough helps some participants with their satisfaction in their careers. Carmen talked about salary differences and keeping herself from allowing those differences to influence her career satisfaction. She commented, "I could make myself nuts about that, but it's not worth it. I make enough

money to live and I do what I wanna do." Indeed, for Carmen, doing what she wants in her career is her primary success motivation, and she has been able to do those things. She did, however, acknowledge that that approach to her career likely cost her ever reaching full professor. Nia talked about managing her career around stress and anxiety and giving time to those moments when she might be overwhelmed.

> If you're having anxiety or panicking, you have to calm yourself down. You have to get yourself back to some present state or you can say, "Okay, I'm going to take the day off." But…you can't be…so called, productive unless you learn how to make meaning out of those experiences and link them to everything else that's happening.

Being able to take time and recognize those moments when the negotiation of the faculty role becomes too overwhelming has been important to Nia in successfully moving through her career. Undoubtedly, pausing every now and then to recognize the things they have achieved to date and the successes they have earned, could boost the confidence for those participants who struggle with imposter syndrome and feel weighed down by the stress of the faculty career.

While all participants have elements of being okay with what is in their career negotiations, many participants, like Samantha, also stand up for doing the things that they want and negotiating their careers toward their personal fulfillment. When Alexis was planning her job talk for her department, she told the department leadership that she needed to do two talks as she has two areas of research that she is equally passionate about. One of those areas is deemed less rigorous in her STEM field and she was advised

that she only needed to do the one. However, as she explained, she did not want the job if she could not present both research areas.

> I knew enough to be strong in who I was and what I wanted to do but I also knew that was gonna cause potential trouble with tenure potentially down the line. So I had to be really…careful in that balance like how I had to really play up the research side of the [second project] and of course be very strong with the classic research.

Being firm in not only what she wanted to do in her career, but also in declining the pressures to hide research that is considered less-than meant that she could start her career at this institution without worrying about whether or not that research would be acknowledged by the department. And while the value of that research has not increased in many of her colleague's points of view, she did not come into her career under false pretenses so she feels secure in doing that work in an academic environment that does not respect such research. Janet also rejected some of the pressures of grant writing that exist in the STEM disciplines by not allowing grant writing to take up so much of her time that she is not able to do the work she loves to do, which is her lab work.

While the participants in STEM above fought for time and space for their research, several of the social sciences and humanities participants fought against taking time away from service and community work. As mentioned previously, Renee decided to stop disclosing the speaking events she was doing due to a colleague telling her she was doing too many of them. She did not want to stop them so Renee found a way to make it work for her. Jamie talked about the substantial amount of service and administrative work she has done throughout her career and how even though it has taken

time away from research, she really enjoys doing the service work. She believes that she "Derives a certain amount of satisfaction from solving problems." Renee, Nia, Abbi, and Jacqueline all expressed that they enjoy working in the community and despite comments that they should be spending less time doing that work or that work not being valued by colleagues and in promotion decisions, they love the work and therefore continue their efforts in the community. Negotiating their careers to find compromise and agreement is easier for some participants than others but regardless of their approach all methods of negotiation lead to promotion to associate professor and in that sense, they are all a success.

Managing the Faculty Career for Success

Managing within the rules. Samantha explained to me that she strategizes her career modeled after the career path of White men. She commented, "You have to know the rules…There's the general rules which historically have applied to men and then there's the rules as women think they are and I think you need to know the rules that men play by." Samantha does this because she has a specific pace in mind for reaching her career goals. She explained why she chose to follow the White male academic path below.

> Even before I got tenured I was thinking towards full professor because I think female scholars and scholars of color too often languish at the associate level. Somebody had said once…the average time from tenure to full professor here for White males. I said, "Well that's my trajectory." I'm not following the female trajectory which is slower and I'm not following under the age trajectory which is slower. I'm sure the female minority trajectory is even slower.

Samantha is not willing to compromise a slower pace in her career. Her strategy of managing her career in the same way White men do seems to be a success so far in meeting her goals she has set for herself. Talking about the promotion pace of minorities in academia, Nia commented that while that is a plan that works it is "Not what gives rise to greatness. That's what keeps you within an institution and keeps that institution kind of going." Nia described that modeling a career specifically after the White male trajectory plays to the hand of the patriarchy of the institution rather than supporting change. However, Nia explained that she also pays attention to things in academia that tend to keep women of color faculty behind and manages her career around some of those things, like avoiding publishing in diversity or minority focused publications as those are not respected, particularly at a research-intensive institution.

Several participants reject pressure to align with traditional notions of merit in terms of scholarship. Abbi talked about not caring about how many first author publications she has as she believes collaboration is fundamental to education and scholarship. Lillian was not able to receive the standard grant usually required for tenure in her discipline and did not stress over it as she felt the work she did and her success in publishing and funding were substantial enough without that grant. This outlook and strategy worked for Lillian. Carmen also published the majority of her work outside of the traditional publication sources that are recognized in tenure decision and she made sure that those works were recognized in her tenure portfolio and tenure arguments because it was work she believed in, spent significant time on, and contributed to her focus areas. She described her ensuring the inclusion of those publications in tenure

review as “jamming it down their throats.” Regardless, she earned tenure and was able to do what she wanted.

Within her department, Renee has struggled with lack of support and isolation and because of that she must work extra to protect her interests and manage her career goals. She makes sure to not miss certain meetings, particularly the class scheduling meeting wherein the next semester’s courses are decided. There have been several instances in which Renee’s colleagues tried to dump the class no one wants to teach on her and this past year she was not allowing that to happen. Because she has tenure now she feels free to take on that fight so that she can successfully manage her career. In making sure she was able to teach the course she wanted next year, Renee stated, “I’m teaching my course and I’m teaching it on the days that I want to teach because…I don’t care what you have to do to change it but that’s mine.” Renee explained that she is no longer willing to play the political games that often occur in her department so she makes sure she is present to speak for herself and claim what she wants in her career goals.

Strategizing toward promotion. Due to Samantha’s focus on reaching certain career milestones within certain timeframes, it is likely no surprise at this point in the findings that she talked the most about strategies for promotion and career success. When she has to decide to say yes or no to a request, Samantha considers four things: research, students, promotion, and family.

> If it’s not going to advance my research agenda. If it’s not going to help my students. If it’s not going to get me moving towards full professor quicker, it’s not worth my time. If it’s going to take away from my family right now or my research agenda there has to be a major payout that will balance out.

Samantha explained that she has become more protective of her time in the last couple years, particularly after having a child. While she will say no to protect her time to allow for focus on promotion, she does tend to say yes to students. She attributes her desire to help students partially on the fact that her time as a student is still somewhat close enough that she remembers what it was like to be a graduate student. Samantha also protected her time prior to tenure in not focusing on grants because they take up so much time and would have decreased her scholarly productivity.

The majority of the participants knew the criteria their department required for successful tenure promotion. This particular institution seems to do fairly well with being upfront and transparent about the expectations for tenure. Due to this transparency, most of the participants had, stressful, but smooth tenure processes. Nia, having been a first generation student, found that being able to check things off a list was the most productive way for her to successfully reach a goal. So, Nia asked her department for that list and systematically checked each item off the list and was able to complete the list prior to her tenure review. When Sadie started her career at this institution she asked the department leadership what the department criteria is for successfully reaching full professor. She was told that she is almost already there, which brought her some relief and now enables her to focus on producing quality research and work that she wants to do rather than stressing to meet requirements.

In her strategies for successful promotion to tenure, May talked about setting course assignments to encourage favorable evaluations. She also talked about the other things she explicitly worked to do to reach her tenure goal. May's strategies included, "Go out, give talks, stay connected, go to key conferences to make sure that people know

me, [and] try to tell people [about] my work." These management strategies worked for May and allowed for her to have a smooth tenure review. A management strategy Clara had to do was fight for an extra year on her tenure clock after the department did not provide her lab space her first year. Because without lab space that first year, she was not able to produce research as she would have had she been provided the space. Issues Clara said she will always fight are ones that directly affect her career. She stated, "when it comes to something that directly affects my own career, lab space…I'm going to fight like a tiger and that has actually surprised some people. It's like, I won't let people just walk all over me." Indeed, when it comes to reaching their goals in their careers, the participants will find ways to protect what they need to reach their career success and satisfaction goals.

Managing satisfaction. For some participants, satisfaction and success are synonymous as their satisfaction is linked with their successful movement through promotion. For other participants, managing their careers toward satisfaction can conflict with the promotional idea of success. Many of the women faculty members in this study, especially now after having earned tenure, would forgo or deal with not reaching the next stage of promotion if that meant being able to do the research, teaching, and service that they want to do. The grant project that allowed Renee to take a break from her career allowed her to reflect on her academic career and consider the things she really wanted to do. She found out that she really loves the intellectual work involved in the faculty career and despite not having support in the department and all the negotiations the job requires, Renee returned because for her career to be satisfying it needed to be as a faculty member

in higher education. She appreciated her opportunity to step away and really find out what she wanted out of life.

The majority of participants are willing to push against certain things, ideas, or judgments to gain better situations or to continue doing what they want to do. Lillian and Sadie both specifically chose this institution because of the opportunities it offered in terms of the climate and environment they were seeking. Lillian was searching for an egalitarian department where she would not have to worry so much about being a woman in science. This seems to have worked out for her as she described the satisfaction she has in her department and career as being credited greatly to the department's egalitarian culture. Sadie was looking to work somewhere that allowed for a life outside of a career. The majority of individuals would not guess that a research-intensive institution is an example for allowing life outside of a career, but Sadie was comparing this institution with Ivy League institutions and in that comparison, yes, she probably picked the better environment. She commented that she is "not willing to trade [her] life, [her] self, and [her] family for" a career at an elite institution. Clara pushed her department leadership to fulfill their promise of providing her husband a spousal hire spot or risk her leaving for somewhere else. When I asked if she considered leaving, Clara replied,

> I did and I said as a matter of fact, I remember the spring of the second semester of my first year working…talking to my chair…"I'm just telling [you]…I can't live with this situation…I'm not going to live [in this] situation, it's just unlivable, you can't possibly think that will be fine being half a country away from my husband. So this situation gets resolved by leaving." And they didn't believe me…so I went [on the market] in January or February, but it was understood

> [that] I'm applying for other places, I won't back stab you, but I want you...to realize that you've put me in a corner situation which isn't acceptable and the person who is…my chair, he yelled at me and screamed at me in front of students.

Having her husband in the same location as her was more important to her satisfaction than keeping her position at this institution. There are certain concessions to satisfaction in both their lives and careers that the participants are unwilling to make. When I asked Nia about her activism work she replied that she does it to support other faculty of color as she does not want them to be alone out there. That is something she does for her own satisfaction that does not necessarily help her in her career.

Part of managing satisfaction in their careers includes improving abilities, proving critics wrong by being successful in research and funding, making decisions for themselves and relieving the guilt that has been holding them back, and doing the service and community work that participants want and enjoy doing. May talked about appreciating that she is becoming more skillful at making sure her voice is heard in academic settings, particularly on research panels and in meetings. She stated that she has become louder. Janet went against advice and responded to a colleague who tried to tear her accomplishments apart. A result of that interaction provided energy in Janet's determination to prove him wrong in her research and funding efforts. She stated that she has succeeded in proving him wrong and in silencing his bullying of her. And Abbi is moving closer to making an important decision about her career and dropping one of her roles. She explained, "One of the things holding me back is…me still being here [in her leadership role]…I know for a lot of my female students…I worry if I step down they, and or myself, sees it as a failure." If Abbi ends up deciding to stay, she intends for it to

be in a more limited capacity. If she was not one of very few women in her particular program area, she would likely not feel as heavy a weight as she does in considering leaving. Indeed, all of the participants indicated the importance of support, either because they had it or because they did not.

Importance of Support Systems

In the faculty career, having support systems both within the academy and outside of the work world is important to fostering satisfaction and success in academic careers. Support can come from departments, specific colleagues, family, friends, and even online communities. Regardless of the source some system of support is integral to the careers of the women faculty in this study. Some have many different types of support both within and outside of their academic environments and some only have support outside of the academic environment or have a few colleagues who support them within the institution. Not only does positive support show up as instrumental to the careers of the participants, but what was also significant, though only by a few shared, were the moments in which colleagues or departmental leadership showed appreciation for the work and efforts of the participants. These small moments stand out in the participant's minds because they occur so rarely. Indeed, more instances of appreciation and recognition of their work and efforts could go a long way in encouraging increases in confidence, satisfaction, and how meaningful they view their roles as women faculty.

Departmental Support. There was a clear difference between the participants who felt like they have supportive departments and those who do not have supportive departments in the overall satisfaction and number of issues in the careers of the participants. Department support matters significantly, particularly when participants ran

into issues with tenure or needed guidance and mentoring. Lillian talked the most about the fact that her department is supportive, egalitarian, and democratic. Her department makes sure no one is overburdened with service which is achieved by everyone contributing their share. Because of this approach by her department, Lillian has not felt as though she does too much service or that too much service is requested of her. About her department, Lillian shared,

> Ours is very much more democratic. Everybody in our department feels invested in our department as opposed to some of the other ones, which are very top-down. I think I feel everyone, from the day I got here, felt like I was a valued member of our department.

When Lillian agreed to participate in this study, she was adamant that she would not have much to contribute because of this supportive department environment. Samantha also feels she has a supportive department. She described her move to this institution from her previous one as "Good because they were supportive. They want me to be successful…They're very supportive of what I do." May also had nothing but positive things to say about her department and has always felt supported and free to do the work she wants. When Jamie ran into issues with her tenure decision, the support of her department was integral to her moving through that experience without being completely overwhelmed by stress. About that time and her department Jamie shared,

> The department just rallied. I mean, the department was just so supportive. It would be a very different kind of thing if there had been any kind of dissension and a split vote or anything. But it wasn't that at all, it was unanimous. I always

> felt that my colleagues here…value my teaching and my service but I think for the most part valued my own scholarship.

Not only were her colleagues supportive during this time, but her department leadership was also very supportive. Without that support, her tenure trouble would have been significantly worse and it is already a story she prefers not to recall. Finally, Nia talked about the importance of the support in her department and how that supportive environment remains conscious of the fact that many of the faculty are mothers and what that means for their work-life needs.

Beyond looking at the overall department, two participants told stories about supportive department leadership and the difference that support has made in their departments. Sadie talked about how the department head has created a constructive environment. About her department and the department head she shared,

> It seems largely pretty constructive. I think that the department head has a huge role in that. Somebody who will be respectful when people bring things up and someone who actively involves the women in the department in the administration. I think that's important too.

In STEM, having a department head who involves the women in the department in the administration and decision-making is significant, particularly in departments with very few women. Alexis shared a story about how her department head has been supportive in helping her with a case of a male colleague distastefully calling her authority into question. She described that her department head has been so supportive that he took the whole of the issue upon himself to deal with and resolve freeing her from having to fight this incident on her own. In summarizing the story, Alexis shared,

> So the bad news is it happens. The good news is this particular moment in time we have a chair who's incredibly sensitive to that stuff and is willing to use up his time and effort and energy to make sure I'm protected.

Whether the department as a whole or specific leaders within the department provide support and supportive environments, that positive support is highly valued to those participant highlighted who have what might be considered a luxury by the rest of the participants. Indeed, while Jamie described her overall department as supportive she also mentioned that leadership in the department has been an issue as they have had a lot of leadership turnover, which does not foster stability and support.

For the participants who have experienced, and many continue to experience, unsupportive departments, the absence of support causes stress, isolation, and career consequences. Renee's department has been so unsupportive that she took a break before tenure because of the isolation. Renee explained that she continues to feel a lack of support in her department and continues to feel isolated as a result. She also remains frustrated with her department in the fact that they never valued her research and yet now her research topic is a topic highly valued in the scholarly community. About this Renee commented,

> I was being penalized in some way professionally for doing that work. And now everybody's doing that work because everybody needs to and…so either it wasn't wrong when I was doing it or it's wrong because everybody else is doing it. But you can't switch it, which is what people like to do.

Renee has existed, in many ways, on an island in her department and it is a shame they cannot find ways to better support her, or support her at all. Carmen also has had

difficulty finding support and community on campus, while she has a few colleagues, more than Renee, she feels a bit of regret on not being able to really find a community on campus. Similar to Renee, Clara has never felt supported in her department, which is largely due to her beginnings there. On how she feels about her department now, Clara commented, "I think the problem that I have is that there's been so much history and background that now when I go to one of these meeting[s] I come with this [baggage] of things." Clara shared that she continues to feel isolated and unsupported in her department and what has helped in recent years is finding a community of support in colleagues in other departments. In an ideal world, Clara would not have to go outside of her department for support.

Janet, Jacqueline, and Abbi all have mixed experiences in their departments. While Janet has felt mostly supported in her department in terms of her roles and responsibilities, the department culture can be difficult and she has just a "small circle of trust" amongst her colleagues. Jacqueline described her department culture as the primary issue saying that the overall culture is very oppressive and fosters a, "Fear of saying anything that might ruffle anybody's feathers and we just keep quiet so we don't bring any difference out in the open, that would make it harder for us to get along, or pretend to get along." Jacqueline has a few colleagues in her department that she trusts and who provide support but overall finds the department frustrating and oppressive. Although many of the participants who have experienced unsupportive departments feel overall that their departments are unsupportive, Abbi's experience is mixed. Prior to her tenure issues she had more trust in her departmental leadership but now she has less trust. Further, she has been frustrated by the criticisms about the amount of service work she

does and the lack of help in lightening that burden. The differences between the participants who have supportive departments and those who do not highlights just how important overall departmental support is to the careers of women faculty.

Colleague Support. Colleague support is important in having other faculty to collaborate with, de-stress with, support one through difficult times, and be an oasis in an otherwise difficult departmental culture. Many of the participants talked about the importance of colleague support in helping to manage and negotiate their careers. Lillian, of course, had positive things to say about colleagues in her department as a whole. She noted that she socializes with many of them outside of work and sees her colleagues as overall very friendly. Sadie talked about the importance of having a group of colleagues. She shared,

> There's an awesome group of junior faculty [and] we go out to lunch. That's one [context] where I can just totally be open and genuine and I don't have to adjust anything about… my opinions [or] thoughts [or] the way I feel about things. Even if they are kind of in contrast to what their opinions are. I feel we all feel safe together sharing what we really think about stuff.

Having this group of people in which Sadie can be completely free is viewed by her as a substantial advantage to her career. Several participants replied that there were no places within their careers in which they could freely express themselves. Sadie having this support is significant. Alexis also shared a similar experience. She described having other women faculty colleagues was like being able to let her hair down.

> Having other female faculty, it's just like letting your hair down. It's like I can go to lunch with female faculty and I don't feel like I'm translating all the time. I

> don't feel like I'm speaking a different language. I don't feel like I'm under the microscope…and part of that is reflexive in the sense that sometimes I'll go to lunch with, or I'll be with male faculty members and I'm sure they're not even thinking about it [her gender] but it's just this reflexive action…you know…a dog that's been hit so many times is gonna…constantly worry.

When I asked her to talk more about the importance of having women colleagues, Alexis further commented,

> I can't imagine not having female colleagues at this point. Because it is… in a way I can get that validation from them…I can get the truth from them and…I know that they value me for who I am and there's none of this other crap that's going on. And it's okay…they're going to tell me if I'm screwing up something but I know it's not going to be for anything other than, "Hey, you need to know, snap out of it, pick it up…get on with it."

Alexis's department is less than 15 percent women so having women colleagues and a presence of women in the department is essential. Like Sadie and Alexis, Janet also talked about having a small circle of trust of two or three colleagues with whom she can trust to tell her the truth and support her when she needs to be backed up. In response to the importance of having this circle of trust, Janet replied, "I think that is really critical because also that's somebody that you can go to just talk things over, just chat." The academic environment is full of pressures to be constantly performing and impressing and be on top of everything all the time, and so having colleagues with whom participants do not have to do anything but be themselves is critical to satisfactory management of their careers.

Both Clara and Carmen have had little to no support amongst their colleagues in their current departments. Carmen shared a story from early in her career in which a colleague supported her after a particular incident with another faculty member. After walking into the faculty lounge and grabbing a cup for coffee, Carmen shared,

> It turned out I picked up the wrong cup of…like the most obnoxious old school White boy. And this woman…she was sitting there and he went off on me. Not just that I took his coffee cup, that…I was [a] crazy, radical communist feminist, all those things. And she reported him to the dean…and his vote was never put forward ever, for anything to do with me and I didn't know that for many years. So she protected me that way.

Outside of this story and a few other colleagues, Carmen never really felt she had a community on campus. Clara does not have colleagues in her department who she feels she can trust and so she began looking for friends and supportive colleagues in other departments. Doing this has added much needed positive aspects to Clara's experience on campus.

Only a few participants talked about not having any sort of community or colleagues that they really trust. Samantha considers her colleagues "Acquaintances at best," but it seemed that was more of a choice and strategy in following the male approach to her career than a symptom of the environment. In fact, in response to whether or not she blends or separates her work and home life, she said, "The average man doesn't come to work kind of sharing his business." Renee has never felt like she has had a support system on campus and she still does not have any support and does all of her work either by herself or with graduate students. Part of the difficulties in her pre-

tenure career were that Renee had a different mentor each year and none of them were particularly helpful. In fact, she explained that they were actually somewhat harmful in the conflicting advice they provided. Indeed, Renee is the only participant that said she did not know the criteria for tenure in her department. Carmen regrets not being able to find a community in her academic environment. On that topic, she shared,

> I've been bothered by…[the fact that] I don't get invited to do some things…you know committees that might make a difference or…invited to speak in a department where people might know me…'cause I don't have that kind of vitae and unless there are people who understand what my work is, it's not seen as scholarly. And, again, I have mixed feelings. It doesn't feel good all the time but I got to do what I wanted to do.

Participants who do not have supportive colleagues within their departments can have a hard time finding community elsewhere. Clara was able to find that community but Renee and Carmen were not. Having sources of support is vital and is all the more highlighted by Jamie and Abbi having shared stories of rare times when colleagues showed appreciation for them and their work. If moments of appreciation occurred more often, these particular moments would likely still be in their memories but might not stick out so much. Jamie shared,

> I remember being very touched…there was a faculty vote on the appointment and it was at a regular faculty meeting that all the non-tenure track people or non-tenure people maybe were not supposed to go away until they had their vote and their discussion. Then we came in and they applauded…I was really quite touched.

Abbi experienced a similar moment where her colleagues applauded for her in a meeting and supported the work that she does for the initiative. She also recalled receiving "really awesome words" from many of her colleagues when her successful tenure vote was shared. She highlighted her supportive colleagues as one of the reasons she chooses to stay at this institution.

Imagining the Ideal Academic Career

One of the last questions I asked each participant was what their ideal career would look like to them. For the participants who answered this question, I present their answers in this section as examples of how the participant's view their careers could be improved and how much variety there was to how they responded.

> **Alexis.** Well, there would be three of me. One for each [role: research, teaching, and service] right. Ideally…for me the priority is research and it's only because of these challenges [that] I've set myself [that] I just have this drive to want to be able to answer my own questions. I do like the teaching but it's not…as important for me. I see it in a weird way as a mechanism for me to learn. The service stuff, been there, done that. I'm sorry, I really don't care about it [anymore].
>
> **Carmen.** If I was a…Christian, skinny, White girl, still a lesbian, I think I would have been invited to participate in a lot more…I still think I'm a lucky person to have been able to…have this career at this moment for this long. Because not many people get that. Certainly if you're on the margins. [In] an ideal place, I would have had a bigger community in a department to engage in this work more collectively. I might have been mentored to do more administration…I still wish I understood some more about the inner workings, or budgets, how to work around

that kind of stuff…It would have been nice to have my name on more research but it wasn't stuff that would have made sense for me…Having like-minded colleagues, I probably would have been more connected to this place…I don't have that community [here]…I think the most important thing as I'm talking is this notion of community which I never had here for all the pieces of me.

Jamie. First off, I probably [would] spend way more time preparing for teaching than I should or really actually need to but I do…continually struggle with a balance and making time for myself [and] for my own research…A balance would be far more time where I could just spend days, whole days, thinking about my own research project, getting some writing done, actually letting ideas float around a little bit. It becomes very difficult to do that when you're continually putting out fires. When you're continually having to jump from one thing to the next whether it's because of an administrative gig…or teaching a new class where you're spending a lot of time putting together all you need for a brand new class. I would say that the best balance…would be [feeling] that your teaching was continually reinvigorated. You were doing new things with it but that you felt like at least half of your week was spent…doing your research, which usually hasn't been the case for me lately. That I guess would be the perfect thing. Again, I like service. I like being able to do administrative things. I like being able to solve people's problems but I also recognize a tendency in myself to let that become all consuming.

Janet. There's enough really good things about this situation that I wouldn't want to change. Specifically, what I really like is [the] fact that I can do the research

work that I want if I can keep my students…What I would improve upon, and this, of course, I realize is not going to happen…but what I would improve upon is I don't like the culture of money that's so prevalent in STEM, in general. The culture of money is the one of external funding. In our department it's like if you're a good teacher, that's great. If you're a bad teacher, it's not something you're going to get a lot of flak for unless somebody is out to get you or something. It's all about how much money you bring in. It's all about that external money and it's all about the overhead…That's something that if I could, I would change. Funding is so difficult these days.

Nia. It would be a culturally affirming workplace that did not denigrate aspects of who I am because of my Blackness. Because of my femaleness. Because of my gender presentation. Because of the way I speak. Because of the way I eat. All of those things. It would be a culturally affirming workplace. It would be a setting where my contributions to the institution would mostly benefit people like me as opposed to people from a more privileged caste in this country. That's what would be ideal. I know there are always going to be interpersonal conflicts, that people are people, but it would be nice to feel valued. When I come into my workplace, it would be nice to feel valued and respected for what I know. It would be nice to have my research valued and respected. It would be nice to have my stature within the institution respected somewhat. [That] would be a kind of ideal workplace for me.

Renee. I think ideally I would be doing probably what I'm doing now because I like doing it but the difference would be is that there would be, if not a person, a

document that says, “Here’s what the expectations are and [this is] what we expect from everybody.” I’m tired of the “seek and ye shall find.” What am I supposed to be seeking? I just…thought people were good by nature but it just doesn’t seem that way, it seems that people are not just competitive but vindictive because when you go up for tenure it’s not because there’s a limited number of spots, there’s a spot for everybody so why wouldn’t we want everybody to be successful? So if I could just know the rules…my life would be A-Okay. I’d be doing the same thing I’ve been doing but I would also know what to do in order to move forward.

Sadie. If I could get rid of all the things that make me feel bad about myself, I would go back to teaching [the course that students evaluated poorly] surprisingly enough. I worked so hard at getting better at it. I feel like finally I got it right and can do it. I would be teaching it probably to sophomores instead of freshman. Sophomores are just [a] little better equipped to study. I would have a department climate a lot like this one. One of the things I wish I could get rid of is…certain higher caste of faculty within the department who can kind of do whatever they want and don’t help the staff. I would like to either get rid of them or have them help more. Change them. Change their personalities entirely so that they would actually help out [in] teaching and service and take the burden off of the people who end up picking up all their slack. I would still have to do grants, of course, because my research actually costs [a lot] a year…Ideally, I would have…an endowed account so that research wise I would [have] all the money to have

> science Disneyland and I could just recruit these awesome people and I could just say no to people who I thought were not going to be good.

These responses to the prompt of what their ideal career would look like are very different but there are a few themes. The STEM participants, and Jamie, focused their ideals on research, primarily, while the social science participants Nia, Renee, and Carmen would like more community, support, and respect for their work. Indeed, throughout the data the many of the social science participants wanted for greater respect and value placed on their work and roles at the institution, while the STEM participants, for the most part, felt fairly valued for their research and contributions.

Conclusion

In this chapter, data highlighted how participants experienced, negotiated, and managed their academic careers. For the women in this study, how they began their careers, earned their jobs, or their lives before entering into academic influenced how they experienced, negotiated, and managed their careers. The participants who were recruited by their departments felt they had power to negotiate and ask for the things they wanted and needed that would help them progress in their careers. Participants who entered into their positions through spousal hiring felt that they had little to no power in negotiating or asking for resources and experienced stigmatization from colleagues. And the experiences participants had in their backgrounds and education influenced how they approached, negotiated, and managed their roles throughout their careers.

The data also showed how participants compromised and negotiated their academic careers by trying to make the right decisions at the right time, accepting what is good enough in their careers, finding ways to reduce stress and free up time for research

productivity, and taking on projects or tasks themselves when they received no help from colleagues. Through these and other strategies, participants found ways to negotiate around and through the gendered organization to try to achieve career success and satisfaction. Because of the difficulties they sometimes encountered as women academics, women of color academics, women academics with children, lesbian academics, or academics from working-class backgrounds, the participants had to find ways to negotiate their careers so they could achieve success and find satisfaction.

In addition to negotiation, participants also strategized how to manage their careers toward career success and satisfaction. Knowing the rules and the culture of their departments and the institution was discussed as integral to successfully managing the academic career for some of the women in this study. Further, the importance of tenure criteria proved critical for successful and smooth tenure reviews. Because most of the participants knew exactly what was expected of them, they were able to check the requirements off the list and feel confident about their reviews. Further, participants talked about avoiding certain tasks or situations in order to save time for the things they viewed as important for their career success. Most importantly, participants highlighted how career success does not always equal satisfaction and, for many, satisfaction trumps success to a certain degree.

Within the negotiation and management, the participants described the importance of support systems emerged as integral to their career success and satisfaction. Having quality support from their departments, colleagues, and leadership proved influential to positive experiences, being able to obtain resources, and find satisfaction within their roles as women faculty. Those participants who did not have quality support in their

departments, from their colleagues, or through their leadership proved that a lack of support can substantially decrease satisfaction, availability of resources and how to acquire them, correct or valuable information necessary for promotion, and overall satisfaction. Indeed, support in any and all ways can substantially aide in career satisfaction and success.

Finally, the participants' quotes about what their ideal career would look like prove that each of the women in this study have had unique experiences while also common hopes and desires to improve those experiences. Further, it was interesting to see that while most of the participants who answered this question wished for more time for their research, a few simply wanted more respect for their roles as women faculty and more respect and value given to their research, teaching, and service. The fact that the ideal career for those latter participants is as basic as respect and value highlights a fundamental issue with a gendered organization like this higher education institution. The baseline for women faculty should be respect and value and this one question showed just how far academia has to go to improve the climate and culture of higher education institutions for women of faculty, especially minoritized women faculty. The next chapter highlights how the women in this study experience and approach their roles as women academics and how their identities and backgrounds influence those roles.

Roles and Responsibilities of the Academic Career

The women faculty in this study approach their careers, roles, and responsibilities in a variety of ways, influenced by their experiences, identities, and backgrounds. The participants' viewed their identities and backgrounds as essential to how they experience, negotiate, and manage their careers. For instance, all participants viewed mentoring as important, particularly when mentoring women students as they see their positions as women faculty as opportunity to be role models and help the next generation of women scholars have less difficulties in their careers. Further, participants with minoritized identities felt a desire and, sometimes, an obligation to mentoring and helping students within their same minority groups. When asked about the importance of women in STEM, Lillian replied,

> I…think it's important. Women do science and do everything in a slightly different way than men do…Like the way I mentor people is probably different from the way my colleague down the hall is going to and I think it's good for students to have access to that option [of having women mentors].

Indeed, mentoring and being present as a woman was universally seen by the participants as an important element of the responsibilities of being tenured women faculty. Further, Carmen discussed the importance of her being visible not only as a woman but also as a lesbian within her career and how she would have liked more of a women's community on campus. Although the participants often talked about their identities as women faculty in a positive way, they also acknowledged the difficulties they experience due to their gender. Samantha and Abbi both talked about not wanting to be boxed in by labels and stereotypes ascribed to their identities as women. While Abbi feels slight discomfort with

being called the mother or a mom by her students, she acknowledged that labeling results from her nurturing approach to teaching and mentoring. Because she chooses to take on a nurturing approach to teaching and mentoring, Abbi commented that she is fine with the mom or mother label from her students, even though she does not have children and it feels a little odd to her. In addition to gender, the participants who are women of color discussed the variety of ways in which their race influences their motivations for mentoring and service work as well as how they experience their careers within a predominately White institution.

Class-based identity, specifically the participants who identified as working-class, also emerged as important to how those participants approach, negotiate, and manage their roles and responsibilities. While the participants who have working-class backgrounds talked about class in their interviews, those participants who did not identify as working-class did not talk about class at all. This is likely due to the fact that those in academia, particularly research-intensive institutions, generally avoid talking about class as the majority of individuals in faculty careers come from middle, or higher, class backgrounds. Indeed, those participants who talked about their working-class backgrounds mentioned that this identity is the identity that brings about the most discomfort for them in their academic careers. Further, the participants who are mothers also commented on how their mother identity affects their careers, mostly in a positive tone.

In addition to identities and backgrounds, this chapter discusses the data on how the participants approach their research, teaching, and mentoring roles, their experiences and approaches to service work, the stress and occasional difficulties with the tenure

process, and what it means to them to be a woman academic. For most of the participants, their motivations for their careers leaned toward personal fulfillment first and success into promotion second. Nia talked about the benefits of not submitting to the status quo of expectations within the institution.

> In terms of survival strategies…[the] people who I know who have done the best work have been people who have not taken the straight and narrow path…The people who have had to conform to the dictates of their disciplines and…these are the people who might get there…suffering from health issues. They don't have a social life. They don't have a lot. They sacrificed so much that all they are is in those institutions. But the folks who really [do] the most incredible kind of work, they're the healthiest people.

For many participants, that life outside of their work and doing the work that they care most about trumps pressures to conform for promotion success. However, even while many of the participants might continue to teach and do service work because they enjoy that part of their role as academics, they do wish that teaching and service received more respect and value. Jamie talked about her frustrations with the lack of respect and value that teaching and service receive in academia.

> Something that…frustrates me [is] that consistently high quality teaching and service are not valued at this place…I still feel a little bit resentful that the college, in my mind, does not…value teaching and service as well as scholarship. I can win [a] teaching award but that still doesn't really mean that much.

The frustrations with the lack of respect and value placed on teaching, service, and, for some, research affects the career satisfaction of the participants. This chapter provides

data on how the participants approach their academic careers and how their roles and responsibilities are influenced by their identities and backgrounds.

Identities, Backgrounds, Bodies

Mother. Eight of the participants in this study are mothers (May, Alexis, Lillian, Clara, Sadie, Samantha, Nia, and Renee). Of these eight participants, five are in the STEM disciplines and three are in the social sciences. Further, while the literature has suggested that women faculty often feel pressure or the need to wait until after tenure to have children (Mason and Goulden, 2002), five of the eight participants with children had their children prior to tenure (Alexis, Lillian, Sadie, Nia, and Renee). While the ways in which these participants negotiate their mother identities was highlighted in the previous chapters, this section will focus on how the participants viewed their mother identities as influencing how they approach and experience their academic careers.

When asked about how children affect their careers, participants discussed the benefits of having to be more organized and structured with their time, often increasing their productivity, the importance of having something outside of their work in their lives, and, for some, the ways in which children have decreased their productivity. The majority of discussions on children in the interviews were positive, which was unexpected as most of the literature about women faculty who have children highlights, primarily, negative aspects of having the dual roles of academic and mother. However, while participants expressed mostly positive aspects when asked directly about how their children have affected their careers, they all still negotiate their mother identities as they acknowledged that the culture of academia stigmatizes and stereotypes their mother identities.

Several of the participants talked about how having children helps them be more strategic about their time, organized, and increases their productivity. Alexis remarked that she believes that women faculty who have children are more productive, generally, and therefore she would be more likely to hire a woman faculty member who is a mother over one who does not have children.

> Once you have kids, you go in and you make use of every minute you are there because it's a minute that you're away from your kids and you're just much more driven, much more focused, [and] organized because you have to be. So in some ways I'd rather hire a mother than some other person because they're going to be the ones that are going to be on top of it. They're going to be organized. They're going to be focused. So…they might miss a day of work because their kid's sick but the time they're there, they're going to be all in.

Alexis and Nia also discussed the positives of having to be more scheduled and organized with their time due to having children. While Alexis and Lillian talked about how this need to be more organized increased their productivity, Nia talked about the need to be more organized and strategic with her time because she does not have the luxury of working at all hours. Further, Nia commented on how having children has decreased her productivity.

> I had to approach work as in, "start at this time, end at this time." [It] is very to-do list oriented. I can't pull all-nighters…Basically, I don't have time to waste…I'm always task-oriented and that's how I would deal with a lot of that…I think the writing, however, has been slower…because writing takes time. It takes not feeling pressured and that's the one thing that falls to the wayside.

While Nia has felt that her writing productivity has suffered because of having children, she remarked that she still met all of her "professional benchmarks" around the same time as her peers.

While most of the participants discussed how having a family and children was beneficial to their academic careers in providing something outside of their work to care about and focus on, Nia noted how the academic career benefits her personal life and her children.

> I'm a mom. That's my real identity, honestly…I structured graduate school and pre-tenure life around motherhood, to be honest with you because my mother wasn't present because she had to work…two and a half jobs and go to school…so I was left to my own devices. So I've kind of created a life where I'm able to be present for my children and I can be home when they get home.

Samantha also commented on the advantages of being able to create her own work schedule, for the most part, and spend time with her child. She admitted that she works less now that she has a child, but feels that the family time is more important and is comfortable with the loss of time to work. The flexibility of the academic career can be both a benefit and an obstacle for women faculty who have children, as it provides options to work within one's own schedule but that can also lead to feelings of pressure to work all of the time and less separation between home and work life.

Finally, several participants indicated how having children increased their confidence, sense of belonging, and feelings of having something outside of work to focus on in their lives. Alexis commented that having a family "fills a hole," and satisfies her feelings of needing to belong. Having a partner and a child makes Alexis not only

feel like she belongs somewhere, but also provides support outside of her work life. May also talked about the personal benefits of having a child when she stated, "I feel more mature and [I] feel more like a regular human." May discussed feeling a boost in her woman identity after having a child, not only in how she views herself, but also in how others view her. This aligns with literature that highlights how society views the role of woman as producing offspring and therefore ascribes more feminine and woman attributes once a woman has fulfilled this role. Finally, Clara talked often about the necessity for individuals to have something outside of work that they care about, whether that is family or something else.

> One of the things that people say [about] having a kid [is it] really doesn't help your career…it takes a lot of time…But I found that, for me, it's actually been great because it really did enable me very easily to have this balance of there is something else besides work. And so people always talk about work and life balance when you have kids [and] it's hard because you want to do both and both require this huge amount of time and energy…But on the other hand, I think to have that balance is amazing because you don't have just one thing in your life.

The participants overwhelmingly talked about their mother identities and the effects of having children in positive ways. While the STEM participants who have children seemed to talk more about the increase in productivity, all discussed this identity as a positive to their careers.

Race. While four women in this study have race or ethnic identities outside the majority of White, only three discussed these identities as salient to their career experiences and negotiations. May, being in a STEM field with substantial diversity

when it comes to ethnicity, did not speak much about her Asian ethnicity as being an identity she focuses on or feels has affected her career. May also talked about masking all of her identities outside of her academic identity, so it may just be that she does not think about that identity often because she is suppressing her nonacademic identities. Nia, Renee, and Samantha talked about how their identities as women of color affect their careers throughout their narratives. They discussed how they cannot negotiate or mask their race as even if they tried, as individuals would still try to control the narrative of who they are based on their race. Renee's experience of not having stable and quality mentors in her career and her feelings of isolation in her department supports the literature on women of color academics and the experiences of many other women of color faculty. Her feelings of isolation and the lack of support she has received is likely due to her race as the racial diversity in her field is minimal and her colleagues do not seem to be isolated or lacking support to the same degree. However, she commented on the difficult of identifying which identity is being discriminated against in many situations.

> I've always been a part of a group that is different from me…but…you don't know if you're being excluded because you're female or because you're African American or just because they don't like you…because you have different interests, which is fine. But when you have this checklist of characteristics that you know [people often discriminate against] it's kind of like, "well, so be it."

Nia and Samantha also supported this sentiment that it is difficult, sometimes, to identify which identity is being targeted or if any one identity is influencing the discrimination at all.

Nia, Renee, and Samantha also talked about the pressures of performing and doing diversity work. Samantha mentioned that she negotiates her emotions because she does not want to come off as the "angry Black woman" and Renee described how she manages ensuring students and community members refer to her as Dr. to maintain that image of authority and respect. While all three do research on diverse issues and individuals with minoritized identities, they are conscious of the fact that their research is often less respected, only valued if published in elite journals in their fields, and while not respected they are expected to do research on diverse issues and identities. Nia questioned why,

> All Black people have to be a fucking superstar to be in this job? Why can't we just be regular people? Why can't we just be regular people? Why can't we just fucking be average? Why can't we be free and actually learn how to pay attention to how we…[have] habitually reproduced the slavery mindset? Learning how to undo that is really important.

This need to do and be more than those in the majority was something that some of the White participants felt too with their gender, but not to the degree that Nia expressed here. Both Nia and Renee could not recall specific incidents of bias, oppression, or discrimination due to their race because, as they shared, it occurs so frequently that they simply do not allow the mental space to retain the moments and incidents in their mind. Nia commented that she experiences racial hostility daily and is tired of having to teach White students about privilege as both are taxing her ability to be creative with her work. This is a small sampling of how race infiltrated the stories and experiences these participants shared, as can be seen throughout the findings. Another identity substantial to

many participants' experiences were their class identities, which for Nia and Samantha intersect heavily with their identities as women of color.

Class. The most interesting identity that participants discussed as being an identity that makes them feel different and out of place, was this working-class background identity. Although, the five participants (Samantha, Abbi, Jamie, Carmen, and Nia) who identified working-class as an identity or background all detailed how it makes them feel like they do not belong, they also described how it has been a motivator for how they approach their careers. However, interestingly, none of these participants described silencing or negotiating their working-class backgrounds, even though it is an identity that they feel most discomfort with in academia. Participants discussed their working-class backgrounds and the affects that background has on their careers as being a source of discomfort and making them feel as if they do not belong in academia, a hurdle in requiring them to learn about academia and how to succeed on their own, and as a pressure to succeed, or more intensely, not fail.

Several participants highlighted that they experience their class backgrounds as a source of discomfort and exclusion because of the high proportion of academics who come from privileged backgrounds and have parents who are academics. Jamie shared,

> In terms of identities…[working-class is] one I may be…a little more conscious [of]. I think that probably plays more of a role than some others because that is not the norm as I'm sure you know for academics. All of my other colleagues often have parents who were professors.

The class privilege in academia is substantial in the eyes of the participants. Samantha also commented on the privilege in academia when it comes to class.

> The most interesting kind of things where I think I've had very different feelings about things…[are] more class-based…I think many faculty come from a relatively privileged background. It's not unusual to have professors who were children of professors, which I didn't realize [until becoming faculty]…I think that's where I felt [the] most uncomfortable in the academy, is the clear privilege class wise.

The feeling that academia is very privileged, class wise, particularly at the faculty level, created a sense of not belonging and difference. Carmen reflected on her first day of her undergraduate experience, "I remember walking across campus the first day in…a blazer and…a nice, beautiful shirt and feeling like, "Oh, my God. I don't belong here." And that was about class stuff." This sense of not belonging was exacerbated by the learning curve the participants from working-class backgrounds had to endure on their own because of their class.

Several participants talked about how they had to learn about academia, how to succeed in academia, and what the faculty job included on their own. Jamie commented that not having academic parents or even parents who went to college meant that she did not have a clear sense in how the academic process works. Further, Jamie noted that coming from a working-class background means faculty members who share her class background do not "have a very clear sense of our self as academics because we have absolutely no models of any sort." Further, Carmen commented on the difficulty of not having access to the same information more privileged students seem to have on understanding academia. "I did grow up working-class. Neither of my parents went to college. Some of the academic stuff has never been easy because I didn't learn about it

until I became a professor." Having to learn the necessary information on how to succeed in academia on their own has influenced some of the participants to be transparent and intentional about sharing information on the academic role and process with their students. Samantha is very intentional about making sure students have the information that no one provided her when she was a student and this is directly motivated by her experiences being a working-class student in higher education. Nia talked about how her working-class background affects her interactions with her colleagues in sharing that she does not feel comfortable socializing with her colleagues due to the differences in privilege.

> I continued to…always [feel] inferior and out of place. I don't invite too many people to my house because when I go to certain people's homes it's clear that they've had a level of experience and privilege that I don't have. I feel my house very much looks like my grandmother's house and…I don't think that it [that feeling] every goes away.

The disconnect these participants feel with their colleagues due to their working-class backgrounds is something that substantially affects their careers, either by isolating them from socializing with their colleagues, not knowing all of the rules and structures of academia, or simply feeling like they do not belong in higher education. Finally, Carmen, Jamie, and Nia all commented on how their working-class backgrounds have affected the way they communicate with their colleagues and how their communication styles differ from many of their colleagues in the institution. This communication style includes being direct, using language typically frowned upon in academia, communicating in more

informal ways, and sometimes being more confrontational when issues arise. Jamie discussed this element of her working-class background,

> It's also working-class…[influencing that] I always try to be that person to remind us all that this is not brain surgery…[and try] to not call people on their crap. To have them realize that this is a very insular world that does not actually have all that much in common sometimes with a whole lot of other people. I say what I think and I don't mince words.

The difference in communication styles for working-class faculty can, likely, produce barriers to being accepted by colleagues, developing relationships with colleagues, and receive respect.

Finally, because of their working-class backgrounds and being first-generation students, these five participants feel additional pressure to succeed, or rather, not fail. They not only felt pressure from their families and internally, but also felt pressure from society not to fail. Feeling this pressure to not fail has followed them into their careers as academics adding additional layers of stress to an already stressful career. The participants who identified as having working-class backgrounds are no longer in the working-class but that identity remains salient, likely due to the amount of privilege in academia and the continued learning curve that they encounter in how to act, speak, and succeed in their careers. Further, it is interesting that all of the participants who identified as coming from working-class backgrounds were in the social science disciplines. I touch on this more in the conclusion chapter where I discuss some of the differences between the STEM participants and the social science participants. In addition to class

backgrounds, bodies came up in the data as an interesting theme in the participants' narratives.

Bodies. When participants discussed their career experiences their bodies came up as influential in how others in academia react to, respond to, and treat them as well as how free they feel presenting themselves in certain, "acceptable," ways. Further, a few participants commented on how their health has affected their careers and how others perceive their ability to be successful. Lillian, Janet, and Nia all feel like their taller than average heights create imposing figures causing others to react to them differently, and with more respect, than smaller women. Lillian, specifically, focused on her height often in her descriptions on why she does not feel like she faces very many difficult situations or sexism. Specifically, she claimed that she believes her height is the reason she is not perceived as someone others can take advantage of or "bulldoze." Similarly, Janet commented that her tall height provides her more presence and that there is a little power included in that. She commented that, "It just works that way, especially for women." Additionally, Nia believes that her height, build, and race causes students to view her as intimidating, though she did not comment on whether or not she experiences this perception as a positive or negative.

Whereas being tall and having a bigger presence due to body was seen as a positive for Lillian and Janet, Sadie and Jacqueline explained that their small stature and petite bodies causes others to view them as individuals that can be easily taken advantage of as their bodies project them to be approachable and nurturing. Sadie remarked that being short causes her to feel vulnerable sometimes due to those perceptions. While

Jacqueline embraces her approachable and nurturing attributes, she also expressed frustration with the gendering involved in how others view her due to her size.

> There's…some feminization…like, "Women are the approachable ones." And I resent the gendering of that 'cause I think guys should be approachable too. But I appreciate the fact that because I'm small and female, I am viewed as being more approachable and so students are gonna ask me questions that they wouldn't ask [the] big, tall, deep voice, 60-year-old guys who are scary.

While Jacqueline described her appreciation for being seen as approachable, other women faculty who are smaller in stature and height may feel that vulnerability that Sadie feels as a negative and feel less power in their roles as women academics because fighting for respect as a scholar may be more difficult if one is not taken seriously simply due to their body.

While Carmen did not discuss her height in her experiences, she did talk about how her body has influenced her career.

> Certainly, big, large, fat, whatever words you want to use, women are not appealing in the heterosexual world. In advertising and movies…that was never an advantage I had. I think the stereotypes of being a big woman [are] you're lazy, you don't exercise, all that stuff. I think that's [stereotyping big women] all alive and well in mainstream culture. It didn't open up doors [for me].

The stereotyping of big women that Carmen referred to can affect women scholars in multiple ways. In hiring processes if those interviewing a woman who is bigger and are ascribing laziness stereotypes to her, she is not likely to be taken seriously as a candidate. In promotion decisions, that stereotype can also threaten approvals as perceptions of

laziness in academia can bring greater scrutiny to the productivity that individual has accomplished, perhaps requiring having to do more work for the same recognition that women often encounter. This situation might not be an issue in Nia's department as she explained that the fact that there are many female bodies in different stages of life in her department is helpful in how the students react to different bodies and place stereotypes and judgments on them. Therefore, Nia believes if there is greater body diversity within a unit or department, less stigmatization might occur.

An aspect of the body discussions with participants was the performativity decisions that they expressed. Nia and Renee both talked about having to negotiate the predominately White culture in their departments and in this institution in how they choose to dress and present themselves. Renee commented often that since appearance is the first thing people are going to see and judge about her, she must be conscious, always, of how she is presenting herself and ensuring that she is wearing clothing that brings greater respect and challenges the stereotyping others might project onto her due to her gender and race. Nia also talked about negotiating her clothing choices and adapting to the culture a little in not wearing clothing that represents her Black culture as much as she would like. One "rule" that Nia explained she will break is in changing her hair often. "I change my hair a lot, which you're not supposed to do as an academic because it suggests some type of vanity or something. I'm like actually, I just get bored." Both Nia and Renee commented that their focus on dress and presentation can be viewed as vanity in academia, which highlights that conflict women encounter that they must present as feminine, in the heterosexual ideal as Carmen commented, but not too feminine. This balancing act can be exhausting and lead to stress, which then leads to health problems.

A few participants talked about how their health affects their career and how their career affects their health. Carmen talked about the toll that stress takes on one's health and views the academic career as contributing heavily to women faculty feeling stressed. While Carmen did not directly connect her health issues to stress from her career, it is likely that the stress she experienced has some effect as stress can quickly cause health problems, particularly if the stress is constant. Alexis also talked about health but discussed how she negotiates around or works with her health issues when they arise. Because her health issues can spontaneously develop, this negotiation must be performed in real time but in her description, she manages it well. Poor health, chronic or acute, can affect a faculty member's career substantially and the stigmas that certain health issues have placed on them in society make talking about health issues difficult, particularly issues with mental health.

In addition to her occasional health issues, Alexis also talked about depression and mental health. While she cited her family as being a source of help in keeping depression at bay for the most part, Alexis noted how much time depression and anxiety can require and how damaging that loss of time can have on productivity. Nia also discussed the time health can take away from productivity and the attention one must give to their health when their body demands attention through mental and physical health issues.

> I think there are a lot of comparisons to [be] made between physical and mental health because they both are very much empiric. If it takes you longer, you have to deal with pain. You still have to cope with that. You don't not get to cope with it. You can put it away but you still have to figure out how to cope and that

> coping takes up a lot of intellectual energy and spiritual energy that might otherwise be doing something else.

Similar to Carmen, Nia also remarked that she believes the academic career, academic institutions, and broader society produces mental and physical health problems due to the stress placed on the individual, particularly individuals with multiple intersecting minoritized identities. In so many ways the participants' identities, backgrounds, and bodies not only affect how they are treated in their academic careers, but also how they approach their roles as women academics. The next section discusses the specific ways in which participants approached and experienced their academic responsibilities of research, teaching, and mentoring.

Approaching Research, Teaching, and Mentoring

Research. In response to how participants' viewed their academic identities or the identities that are present in their careers, every participant described their research identity first. As research is the largest responsibility in terms of expectation and assigned time and therefore, something they spend a substantial amount of time with, it is understandable that research led their descriptions of the identities they see present in their academic roles. While the pressures of producing research at a research-intensive institution are high, the participants expressed joy, often, when talking about their research. Further, many participants shared that they approach their research in non-traditional ways, sometimes rejecting the expectations of their colleagues and departments. Abbi's philosophy of collaboration in all of her work carries into her research and, therefore, she rejects pressures from her department that she must have a certain number of sole-authored publications. "They wanted to see a sole-authored article

and it violates everything I think about scholarship…So I have two of those. They wanted to see more…I will not just be defined by my research publications, first and sole author[ed].” Like Abbi, Carmen also rejected following the pressures to publish certain types of scholarship through certain types of journals or groups. She chose to do research that she cared about and wanted to do over the research and publications that would earn her respect from her colleagues. Carmen acknowledged the consequences of this approach including difficulties being promoted to full professor, but she would not change her approach if she had to do it all over again. Finally, Lillian did not reject a funding expectation in her department’s criteria for tenure but rather did not earn it and was okay with not earning that funding. She argued that her other work and funding was substantial enough and though she received a few no votes in her tenure vote, likely because she did not have that particular funding, she still earned tenure. Similarly, although Carmen and Abbi reject their department’s ideas of what is proper and respectable research and publications, they both earned tenure providing evidence that tenure can be earned even while slightly rejecting academia’s status quo.

A stress all participants expressed was the difficulty in finding enough time for their research. For social science participants their time for research was decreased due to service and teaching loads, while STEM faculty often noted writing grants for external funding as a source of stress on their time. However, the social science participants felt substantially more stress on their research time as their service loads were far heavier in their descriptions than the STEM participants’ grant writing loads. Further, social science participants shared that they were somewhat willing to exchange research time to allow them to continue their service and community work. Nia remarked, “The trick is learning

how not to be too hard on yourself when you don't get it done when you would like to," when talking about the pressures to produce research.

Finally, many participants, mostly in the social science disciplines, feel a lack of respect and value for their research as was highlighted in the previous chapter's section on the participant's ideal career wishes. Renee expressed frustration with her department's lack of respect and value for her research, even as it has become more respected in the field generally through more publications in elite journals. Respect for qualitative research on diverse identities is minimal in academia and Nia, Carmen, and Renee all highlighted that lack of respect as a big frustration in their careers. Because Samantha knows the stigmatization of research on minoritized identities, she commented that she keeps certain kinds of journals out of her options for places to publish.

> I understand that if I want to be impactful in my scholarship, I need to be in certain kinds of journals. And so I am not going to publish everything in the [diversity focused journal] because that has no traction with the people who are still in leadership positions.

Nia also expressed strategy in avoiding certain journals that focus specifically on minoritized identities as they are not respected and therefore provide little value on their vitaes. Having to avoid certain kinds of journals because academia does not respect them can cause women faculty who do work on populations outside of White heterosexual men, from publishing as much as they could if those journals were respected because the elite journals do not publish as much research on minoritized individuals and groups. Further, to what degree does this strategy limit the knowledge production, restrict access

to research on minoritized individuals and groups, and silence scholars in limiting their ability to publish?

While all participants expressed joy when discussing their research topics and have found success with rejecting traditional notions of merit, they also experience constraints on their time to conduct and publish their research and a lack of value and respect on what they research. Some of the participants shared that one of the areas taking time away from their research was teaching, but that they enjoy their roles as teachers and, thus, accept, to some degree, the decreased time for their research.

Teaching. Those participants who talked about their approaches to teaching all are very intentional about their teaching. While Samantha and Nia both conduct research on minority populations, they are often burdened with teaching duties when it comes to courses on diversity at this institution. Because the institution is predominately White, Nia finds herself having to teach students about White privilege more than anything else. On this, she shared, "I feel like my job consists of basically teaching White students about their privilege. It's very rare where I'm able to go into really thinking about my subject matter." Samantha commented that it is fine with her when she is given diversity courses because her research is related to diversity. She shared that if it were not, she might not be okay with the assignment.

Clara learned that for her graduate classes it was better to drop the exams and have her students do presentations and papers so that they can learn the skills they need for an academic job. She mentioned that her students were surprised by this change and she had to explain to them that learning how to write academically and present their work are essential tools to learn in graduate school if they want a career in academia. This

approach may be unusual in many STEM disciplines, which is probably the reason for her students' surprise. Jacqueline is very intentional and strategic in her teaching role, she alters her dress and presentation depending on the desired outcomes of the course. On her teaching approach, Jacqueline shared,

> My approach [is] of being passionate and data focused and…letting the content be the authority in the classroom, rather than me…"This isn't about me, this is about you and your grade and your material." And…the most effective approach seems to have been, "This isn't about me and my authority over you, this is about stuff you want to learn and me helping you learn it." And they love me helping them learning it.

Jacqueline spends more time on teaching and service, and understands that means sacrificing on research but she is passionate about both and therefore chooses to spend her time on excelling in those areas.

Both Abbi and Carmen have a collaborative learning environment approach to their teaching. Although Carmen expressed frustration with students today and what she has diagnosed as their lack of ability to critically think thanks to No Child Left Behind, she continues to center her teaching approach around the work of Paulo Freire's work. In talking about her approach to teaching, Carmen shared,

> I really think Freire's work shaped my life dramatically. It's a different kind of conversation in an environment like that. I don't lecture. Students lead class [and it is] integrated. I tried to participate. I'm a learner and a teacher though it gets tricky because some students think that means we're all equal even to this day.

> Some students use that kind of a learning environment to get by because I'll say what I want and they don't read deeply.

Similarly, Abbi also described a collaborative approach, which also informs her research and service activities. Talking about her teaching approach, Abbi shared,

> When I do teach I set up a community of practice, or I strive to set up a community of practice in all of my classes…The first couple of weeks I am adamant that we are all co-facilitators. I use the word facilitators. I don't use teacher. We're all co-learners, myself included. I try to position all of the activities/assignments, whatever word you want to use…they are constructed in way that I have an end goal, but how learners get there is up to them. I want it to be useful.

Balancing authority within that approach to teaching is tricky and will always be met with students trying to take advantage but for both Carmen and Abbi, the collaborative nature of that approach is foundational to who they are as scholars and teachers. I include these participant's approaches to teaching because, for them, it is part of their identities and who they are as women faculty.

Mentoring. Whether the participants had wonderful graduate advisors and mentors or terrible graduate advisors and mentors, they all share a passion for being good mentors to their students. For those participants who had excellent mentors, they want to pass that along to their students. For the participants who had bad experiences with mentors, they want to provide their students with what they did not have themselves. When asked about mentoring some participants simply stated that they enjoy mentoring students very much. Lillian shared that it is one of her favorite things about the faculty

career because she really loves working with people. Clara commented that she is intentional about sharing her experiences and advice on how best to choose a post-doctoral position and prepare for an academic career. Sadie's approach to mentoring included trying to balance providing the students both what they need and what they think they need. Talking more about her approach, Sadie remarked,

> I have tried to be really transparent. I try to be really transparent with everyone so I am more intentional about the way I mentor my male students and be open with them about the things that are not okay about the way structure is. Also with the women in my group I try to be very open about my choices and the way that I have come through this and the crappy things that I have experienced and the good things that I have experienced. I have always tried to be really open to them talking to me about issues or uncomfortableness they have had. I am kind of intentional about it to both genders…I try to make sure that I am raising good sons and raising strong daughters.

Many of the participants shared that they are particularly intentional about their mentoring of female students, sharing their insight into what it is like to be a woman in academia. Sadie had a good mentor in her past, which served as impetus for her desire to also be a good mentor.

Samantha, Renee, and Jamie all shared that they are intentional about mentoring because they did not have mentors who shared the information they needed about the faculty career. Jamie wants to be present and available to her students, especially in supporting them, providing them information they need for success, and driving them to do excellent work. Describing her approach to mentoring, Jamie explained,

> Basically, I'm trying to be the thing that I never ever had, which was give them a sense of the field as I see it but also things that I think they should probably do and try to also get out of the way and let them discover some of this for themselves. But also just recognizing and make sure that they feel that I absolutely [am] in their corner…I've tried to have conversations about the field and especially those who are on the fence, the women in particular who are interested in starting families and that sort of thing about how I see what being an academic asks of you and the kinds of things I think you need to recognize.

Samantha is also intentional about mentoring students, particularly female students, and takes on transparency about the academic career and now navigating being a mother and a woman academic. In our second interview, I asked Samantha if her approach to mentoring came from not having good mentoring herself, she responded,

> Yeah, because I think things would have been a lot easier if I did…I think, in general, the information people need to be successful in a field shouldn't be held by a selective few…Just talking to other career scholars, I realized that there's a lot of things that should be common knowledge that aren't because so much of it is transmitted from mentor to mentee and if people don't have strong mentors it…could have stifled their potential and put some unnecessary boundaries around their potentials.

Samantha's approach to mentoring is also rooted in her working-class background in that she had to learn about academia largely on her own and so she not only works to share her knowledge about the faculty job and academia, but she also is a voice for why good mentoring is essential in her department. Finally, Renee is very intentional about giving

time to mentoring, particularly for students of color. She feels like mentoring students of color is important work, particularly since there are few African American women faculty on campus for students to choose from when seeking out faculty of color mentors. Renee expressed frustration that she does not receive credit for this work and that frustration shined through when she wrote that she is an invisible mentor on her latest vitae statement.

> Last night I got my first draft of what the committee gleaned from my vitae as far as what I've been doing in the past four years and we're asked to write a statement and one of the lines I had in my statement is being an invisible mentor. And so in the comment that I got back last night was, "You must've made a mistake here, what do you mean by invisible mentor and colleague?" Then I go, "Oh, no no no, that was not a mistake. Invisible mentoring means you don't get credit for it. So like mentoring underrepresented students…no I didn't make a mistake. But how do you…quantify it or how it is even represented or respected? It's not, so you have to be okay with that."

Many of the women faculty in this study discussed frustration with the lack of respect, recognition, and appreciation they receive on their teaching and service efforts. Because many of the participants enjoy their teaching, mentoring, and service work, the lack of respect and value placed on that work by others is demeaning and very frustrating. While the literature supports these experiences in academia not respecting the work women faculty do in teaching, mentoring, and service, the women in this study hope that someday their colleagues, departments, and the institution will appreciate the work that they do in supporting the institution, their departments, and students. They do believe that

their work is meaningful and does positively affect students and that seemed to keep them satisfied, for now. That double bind of enjoying and wanting to do the work that has no value in academia definitely exists in service work that women faculty engage in, both assigned and chosen service work.

The Burden and Satisfaction of Service

The burden of service on women faculty is well-known to women academics and in the literature. While Samantha is just beginning to feel overwhelmed by service, many of the other participants have been overwhelmed most of their academic careers. Both Jacqueline and Jamie did a lot of service and administrative work prior to earning tenure. For Jacqueline this was built into her contract at the beginning and she quickly became overwhelmed by that service and was not publishing because she did not have time. Similarly, Jamie was given administrative duties early in her career and although she enjoys that type of work, it lessened her time to be productive with her research. Jamie says that she has, "Become the poster child for the stuff you don't do to assistant professors" in reference to the service and administrative work she was assigned pre-tenure.

What many participants recognized is that in many disciplines where there are few women, departments are overburdening those women because they try to have diversity in their committees. Clara commented that women have to be on more committees because of the importance of parity on certain committees, like hiring committees. Although it is a burden, Clara acknowledges that it is simply part of the job for women faculty. Jamie also discussed this overburden on few women,

> Every other discipline that actually has female faculty members needs to pony up one of them to do this. You end up with male colleagues who often are asked to do a lot less because they need the women who are on that division to serve on some of these committees. I see both sides. None of us wants the main administrative bodies of an institution to be wholly male, but the tradeoff is often one of us is going to have to then say, "I'll do it." I don't know quite what the answer is, I do know that it's a common one that a lot of women are tapped to serve on these committees because they want some kind of gender balance.

The double bind that is wanting women to be represented on committees but also not wanting all of the service work placed on the shoulders of a few women is difficult to negotiate. As Clara said, this is something women faculty simply must deal with until, or if, the percentages of women faculty in the tenured and full professor ranks rise up to provide a larger pool of women faculty to choose from.

Both Nia and Renee talked about the extra service burden on them as tenured Black and African American women. Because there are not that many women of color faculty who have tenure at this institution, both Nia and Renee receive a lot of advising requests from students and are called on for committee work or sometimes just consultation when something about people of color comes up. This is a similar burden that Carmen experienced when she was one of the few out lesbian faculty members on campus and was called on by people on campus and people in the community to be the voice for LGBT people. I do not think Carmen saw that experience as too much of a burden, though. In talking about identity taxation in service and whether or not she feels she can say no to service requests, Nia responded,

> Well the hard thing…about saying no, about being able to say, "No, I can't do this," there's a way in which you'll get asked again to do something even more and so I can say no to certain things…it's crazy, talk about strategy, I came up [for tenure] with my books and my articles, my research or whatever but I also know that I do a lot for this fucking college and I think at the most it comes at the [expense of research]…because it just takes up more hours in a day and…I wouldn't say that I think it's because people don't want me to do well. I think it's just structurally they need somebody to fill in the gap because when a person gets an offer and they're not willing to do whatever it takes to keep that person here…you start getting a lack of diversity, a lack of people at particular levels. There's not that many associate professors who are Black women. A lot of them just say no but I never have had the option of saying no. I remember when I first got here, I had all these students who wanted me to be on their undergraduate thesis and this that…they were like, "Say no." As soon as I said no, they came knocking on my door, "You can't really say no," I'm like, "Okay."

Nia and Renee both shared their frustration by the lack of respect and acknowledgement of the amount of service work they do, particularly for students of color. Renee mentioned that she makes it a point to do service work as she wants to have a positive influence in the world and this is one way she believes she can do that. Because for every student she mentors, they go on to mentor students who then go on to mentor students. So she views her efforts as reaching the lives of many. Renee also talked about being pulled into service work when there is a candidate of color.

> The stuff you don't get credit for - a lot of that stuff that you feel like you have to do…and you want to do…even if it's not recognized for credit. If there is a search committee and you are on it or even if you are not on it then there will always be a conversation about, "Well if there is a candidate of color then would you do this or would you have a conversation with him?" Or something like that or [be] available if they have questions and things like that. But also it is when you have students in the area and they just need either mentoring or an advocate or just someone whose got their back or [can] give them advice. Those things are never visible or appreciated.

Even while Renee would not stop doing the service that involves mentoring and helping students of color she commented that she feels the burden and the additional time she spends on service work due to her identity as an African American woman.

Several participants do quite a bit of community and service work because it is work that they care about, but like Renee and Nia, they are frustrated with not only the lack of credit, but also the career advice to do less. Abbi commented,

> Every year the feedback from my department, the department chair, whoever it was, "Abbi is doing too much service," for all of my five years as assistant professor. And yet no one ever stepped in and took something away from me. And it wasn't that I wanted to do that, but even as an assistant professor in a very male-dominated field, I take care of this home.

Jacqueline shared a similar story of annual performance reviews except the amount of service she was doing was greatly underrated.

> The thing that's most recent that has come up is my annual performance evaluation and in the service category I was rated as being mediocre. In spite of the fact that everybody knows that I'm doing more service than just about anybody else in the department…and so to be in the middle quintile in the department service is just wrong and outrageous. But expected. Because if I were a guy doing that much service people would be like, "Oh! He's really contributing!" But if you're a girl doing that kind of service they're like…she's doing what she should to build up the team.

The conflict in many of the stories that the participants shared about their service work is that most of the participants who do more service are individuals who in some way want to be doing service work. However, since it is not credited or acknowledged in academia, particularly for women faculty, it produces a conflict for the participants.

Tenure: Sometimes Smooth, Sometimes Rocky, Always Stressful

The majority of the participants in this study experienced stressful pre-tenure years but smooth tenure processes, as almost all of them knew explicitly the criteria they needed to meet to earn tenure. Further, even though many of the participants who had smooth tenure decisions commented that they do more service that receives no credit and do not align with traditional notions of merit when it comes to scholarship, they all earned tenure. All participants acknowledged that post-tenure they feel like they have more freedom to not choose silence as often, more power in gaining the things they want, and can do service as they please without as much pressure or conflict that it is not receiving the credit it is due. While the majority had smooth tenure decisions, three of the

participants encountered issues with tenure, none of their own doing and none of them expected trouble or were told there would be a possibility of trouble.

When I asked participants to tell me about their tenure process, several of them laughed, some sighed, and others simply replied that it was stressful leading up to tenure but once the process started, it went smoothly. Again, this is likely largely a result of the number of participants who knew exactly what was expected of them to be able to earn tenure. Nia explained that it was just a matter of literally checking things off of a list. Janet explained that the criteria and deadlines were clear and that her department head is committed to following the rules, therefore everything went smoothly. Nia commented that her tenure experience was affirming when everything worked out. However, she also talked about dealing with post-tenure depression and how that really affected her. She explained,

> Because you've been living in a particular way with…dealing with imposter syndrome, living with not thinking you're good enough, worrying about…whether or not you really belong here. You go through that whole time and then when it's lifted, I mean this is serious and people don't talk about it but…I had basically accomplished everything that I had set out and realized that, "What the fuck? This doesn't mean anything"…I don't know, it was weird…I'm like, "I'm sad I've done all this for nothing"…I mean they take you through all this shit, like you go through the external reviews, you go through the faculty vote, you go through the…[promotion and tenure] committee of the college and then you go to the chair and then you go [through] every single letter…the regents, you go through all this and they just send you a…funky little letter and

> they give you an apple. A god damned glass apple. It don't even have my name on there. That's some bullshit.

Nia highlighted that the aftermath of the tenure review process being met with a simple letter that moves one beyond the finish line feels anticlimactic for all the stress and anxiety she went through in the pre-tenure process. There has been increasing attention recently on post-dissertation depression. Both situations are very similar in that one works for so many years to accomplish this goal and then they experience this anticlimactic moment where everything in their life just changed but everything is also the same. And a glass apple without even one's name on it is definitely lacking in excitement.

Abbi, Jamie, and Renee were the participants who encountered issues in their tenure reviews. What all of their cases have in common is that they had no indication or warning that there would be any issues and in fact, for Jamie and Abbi, were told that their cases were "slam dunks" and "sure things." So, one can imagine the stress that comes from surprisingly encountering trouble during the reviews.

Jamie was actually denied tenure the first time she went up for it, a surprise to everyone, especially her. As she explained,

> I had a very strong faculty vote here, I had very strong letters, and strong positive vote on the part of this…steering committee and our then [administrator] overturned it….so I got a letter saying my services would no longer be required.

Jamie decided to fight the decision as she was advised that she had a very good case and she should hire a lawyer. She detailed why she decided to fight,

> I was just mad enough on principal fighting also…out of despair. And the thing that we all do, right, in our heart of hearts, but of course they are right, right? We actually got as far as kind of a discovery phase where…I had actual notes of the [administrators] who…made comments and I was able to reconstruct a little bit what they were doing.

Jamie continued to explain that she believes the administrators were trying to get at her department leadership through her. So her tenure was overturned, possibly, not because of anything to do with her, but rather institutional politics. After discovering this and while in discovery of her case, she received notice that she had a book contract. So, Jamie continued to explain,

> We were sitting in the office of general counsel while we are looking up these documents, he goes back to his records and then goes back to the [administrator]. As quickly as that the [administer] said come up again the next year and they were going to drop the whole things. I came up the next year…this year different leaders and again glowing reports and the [administrator's] letter, this time the same [administrator] appeared as though…could have been written about a completely different person. I got tenure and there you go…well, it was…devastating and I think that subsequent years have demonstrated to me just how devastating it was, because it's been very difficult for me to get back, I don't know, sort of get back into the sort of cocky frame of mind.

When I asked whether the tenure trouble continues to affect her today, Jamie replied, "I think it does. There's just…a certain degree of confidence that's never fully regained, I

suspect." To this day, Jamie does not know why that administrator overturned her tenure but she does comment that "it was unbelievably cruel."

Abbi had unexpected issues in her tenure review process also, but in the end earned tenure the first time she went up. Like Jamie, she was told by everyone that she had a "sure thing" and every year her reviews were always unanimously approved for moving forward and due to that and all of the encouragement she received she said she was not nervous about the process at all. When she was in the official tenure review, her department review was unanimous and very supportive and then she received an email that her college vote was "mixed," except it was not mixed at all, it was clearly against. Her department leadership did not know what happened and when she received the letter from the committee who did not vote in her favor, she saw that it was because they did not give her credit for her work with the initiative. She ended up being counseled to let it go and let her portfolio speak for itself and she reluctantly agreed, though she struggled with that decision to willingly silence herself and not provide her an opportunity to respond to the committee. Eventually her tenure was approved but the stress of the experience was significant after not being nervous about the process because everyone, for the entirety of her career, told her she would have no problems. So, when her tenure passed, she explained,

> I had just gotten this random email like, "Congratulations, you've been approved for tenure," and I felt nothing…zero. I had zero emotion. I remember getting this…email, it just came through…and I was just sitting on my little porch and I was like, "Wow, this is it. I don't feel anything. I should be feeling something."

A process that should not have been stressful, was not expected to be stressful because of feedback from others that it would not be, turned out to be very stressful. So both Jamie and Abbi had no reason to be concerned and then encountered trouble, which makes their stories particularly frustrating and one has to wonder if either of those issues would have happened to them if they were male. Finally, Renee also had a tenure issue but the issue was a procedural error, which penalized Renee in that she had to wait an additional year for tenure.

Moving away from the rocky stories of tenure experiences, participants noted throughout their interviews the various ways in which having tenure helps in their identities and feeling more power in speaking up and against issues. Renee talked about the difference after tenure.

> Once I got on the other side of tenure, people would ask me, "So, is everything different now?" And I had to say, "No, I still get treated the same." But what's different is how I perceive myself knowing that I have the same credentials…I can walk a little bit taller and a little bit straighter and you can say anything you want now too. And that makes a huge difference. You don't have to bite your tongue. So it doesn't matter now as much how the environment perceives you...it can be water and just roll off you.

This freedom from the pressures of dealing with how others perceive her is significant to Renee as she talked at length about how she had to make sure she was always on top of her appearance, how she spoke, and when she spoke. May talked about restarting everything after tenure. For her, tenure meant not only job security, but also family as after tenure she was able to meet her husband. May also enjoys teaching more after

tenure, likely because she no longer has to worry about student evaluations as much. Clara shared,

> Now I just don't care what they think and that's kind of the beauty of tenure is that when you get it you can be like, "You know what, you may disagree with what I do, you may not think highly of me and quite honestly, I just don't care."

Samantha also added that, "Security comes from having tenure, frankly, because there's conversations that can be had [now]…I mean tenure gives a level of protection against…major repercussions." While participants mentioned benefits of tenure in relieving some pressure, many of the silences they shared in their interviews were not regulated to their pre-tenure days. So while tenure does provide much needed relief, the academic environment continues to foster the need to negotiate identities, silence, voice, and choose battles, particularly for women faculty.

Being a Female Academic: The Participant Perspective

The final question I asked each participant what what does it mean to them to be a female academic. Like the ideal career question, I present each participant's answer in this section.

> **Abbi.** I prefer to take out the [female] adjective before academic because I think it means very different things…I feel like, for me…as a female academic, not all female academics, for me, I choose to infuse care into the work that I do. Care with students. Care with my research. Care with my interactions with colleagues. That is, I think, something…that makes me a little different from my…male academics in my little world right here…I feel as though, as a female academic, I'm very concerned about the wholeness of things. The wholeness of being of

students, let's say. It's not just academic stuff. I worry when I see someone and they just look like shit. "Get some sleep, or do something." This concept that this just isn't everything that we do, this academic stuff isn't all [of it].

Alexis. On the one hand, given my generation, I feel like I am a torch bearer and whether or not I succeed personally in my own challenges in research and what not. And the fact that I know that I have influenced other younger female [academics]…I think that's actually very important to me and I think that's made a difference in other people's lives. I know that teaching…the courses in which our department head put me in precisely because they have a higher proportion of women…and I have had feedback from a lot of female students who said things like, "I'm so glad you were my teacher because I felt I've always heard [the course topic] was supposed to be hard but you made it easy." Or, "You made it likeable and approachable." And I'm convinced that if I had been a male teacher they might not have had that same rapport so I think there's utility…because of this inherent biological nature [of] the difference between us, the sexes. There's a comfort level that we have with our own sex that isn't necessarily there with the opposite sex just by the natural tensions that are there.

Carmen. Being a first generation college person…it's something I wanted to do and I got to do it. I think there's plenty of sexism everywhere so it's better but not great. I survived in one job for [a long time] and I was able to do some stuff that made a difference. I'm proud of that. I'm not ashamed of it. It could have been easier if I made different choices. I don't think I would have been happy, though I've never been incredibly happy. But…I look back now…and I'm a lucky

person. I did get to do a lot of what I wanted to do. I was able to push around people a little bit. I created some cool things with friends.

Clara. It depends a lot on the day. Sometimes I get in there and I'm just doing research, working with people I love and doing things which I like. And sometimes it means that you're in a field that…no matter what your department tries to say and do about gender equity and everything…[there are] subtle ways in which you pay for it.

Jacqueline. It means you're the person they're gonna assign the service roles to…regardless of whether you're the minority or not…There's attrition at the higher ranks for women, so…if I make full professor then I have done what fewer women do. So from that sense it's something I'm proud of.

Janet. I think it [being a female academic] has been not as much of an issue here as I expected it was going to be. That's not to say that things haven't happened…I think what I found is being a female academic there's probably no one answer to that. It really depends on where you are and who you're with and what the culture is…I would say that outside the academy…I've had some really bad experiences…outside the work environment. Men tend to treat you differently if they know that you're a scientist or if they know that you're accomplished in different areas…And I'm not saying that everyone is like this…It's like you'll be fine as a colleague. You'll be fine as a friend. But…being a woman in science makes you appear mannish to some men. A lot of women, I think…choose to not actually follow that path because they're afraid it's going to make them less interesting to men. I found that's been the case a lot.

Jamie. Boy, that's a tough one actually. Maybe because I don't really consider myself [female], I mean, I am, but I don't [think of myself in terms of gender]. I guess what it means to me [is]…some students will, at least initially, try to see me as their mother or grandmother, god forbid. There may be some students who imagine there's going to be a little bit more nurturing than I intend to have happen. The kind of service thing that I'm often going to be asked [to do] simply by virtue of the fact that they need ovaries in the room to be in certain kind of committees. By and large, I don't see myself as a female academic at all…probably my identity as a scholar…is more fraught than being female…Similarly, the working-class part may be even more [present].

Lillian. We need more of us so it's important to have people like me around. Because I've had many men…ask me…"How do you manage to have kids and do this?" So [having female academics means you] have people to answer that [question]. You know, in some ways it's easier because you're flexible. You don't have anyone [watching], you can leave. If your kid's sick, you leave. As opposed to someplace where you're punching a time card…I guess I don't see myself [as gendered]. I'm just really…[in] a really privileged position…I'm in a field that's very equal…I don't feel like it [gender] defines me so much.

May. I like being [an] academic because I have a lot of freedom…being a female…it doesn't really affect [my career]…the two parts [aren't] too strongly correlated. But having kids really does make it a lot more difficult, being a female academic. Because this is your flexible academic life and there is this kid who is sort of a hard ball [that] just squeezes all the flexibility in your life. It's really

difficult. So generally, I'm really happy in some ways. [I'm] one of the…fewer [women] in this [department]. I am sort of proud of it. I'm glad I contribute to this small population. So I like it that way. I think overall I'm really happy with being a female faculty.

Nia. It means to carry a lot more responsibilities and to be accountable to a lot more people…One of the good things about being a Black woman [is] you can get away with being angry and non-conformist to a certain extent if you want to play that role. There is a role for that – to be that outspoken rebel-rouser. There is a role for that but that's also a role. I actually want to move beyond that and stop strategizing and negotiating. This is only supposed to be 30 percent of what we do. The teaching is 30 percent and the research is 30 percent. My life, everything else, is 90 percent and the creative writing and research is 10 percent…It means juggling a lot of different things. It means juggling a lot of different responsibilities, managing people's perceptions. That's a lot of labor to manage people's perceptions of you, to have to deal with when you don't manage them well.

Renee. Can you even talk about being an academic without adding female and/or African American? Or how do you separate that out? I don't think I can [separate]. It's what I do. I've always wanted to teach and I consider myself a teacher…And…I think because I work at a university, I get to teach more people because of it…I can teach a [student] who will teach [future] students and [with] that ripple affect you can reach more people. It's what I've always wanted to do and I can't imagine doing anything else…So I guess it defines who I am. And

because of who I am I can't separate it. It's mind boggling to think that there are lives, not just young lives, but communities that are going to be different because of the work that we do. And you know what? That's our reason for being on this earth.

Sadie. What it should mean is that I am part of the ecosystem of what makes a good, broad, functional, effective environment for learning new things, whether that be in class or research. That is the ideal. What it still actually means is constantly having to prove that I deserve…to be here on some level. Not always with everyone. There are plenty of people who I work with that is not something I have to prove to them, ever. Which is great. There is always going to be this residual group of people that I have to do this to and I never know where I am going to encounter them. They could be my colleagues. They could be industry leaders. They could be grant reviewers. They could be manuscript reviewers. They could be students. They are always going to be there. So I know that…part of that process will be proving that I deserve to be here by being better than. Sort of like that overcompensating to make sure that there's no question.

Samantha. I guess it's hard for me to do that because I think context matters. In general, I just think of myself as an academic. I think in some ways being the female academic, being a female and an academic presents challenges that my male colleagues don't understand. Like they are never going to have to arrange their schedule around pumping [breast milk].

Some of the participants responded that they do not want to be seen as women academics but rather as just academics. A number of participants commented that the appreciate

their being able to be present in academia as women faculty as they believe their positions are influential in making a difference for others, particularly women students. Further, some explained that being present as women in their departments and in academia allows a different viewpoint into the gendered organization. A few participants explained what it means for them specifically and others talked about what it means for women faculty generally. Each answer provides interesting insight into how the participants think about their roles and the roles of women faculty generally, and highlights some of the burdens placed on women, like service work and expectations to be nurturing, in academic cultures.

Conclusion

The ways in which participants' identities and backgrounds influenced their approaches to the careers, roles, and responsibilities was outlined in this chapter. While participants did not focus on their identity of woman very often in terms of how that identity influenced their approaches, that identity was integral to how they approached many of their roles and responsibilities and substantially to how they experienced the academic environment. The identities outside of woman that participants highlighted as influential were their identities as mothers, their identities as women of color, their working-class background identities, and the influence their bodies have on their experiences. All of these identities were influential to how the participants viewed academia, experienced their careers, and approached their roles and responsibilities.

When the women in this study talked about how they approached research, teaching, and mentoring, they shared many positive experiences and highlighted how their identities influenced their roles. Research was on the top of participants' minds

when asked about their academic identities. Their research topics and focuses are critical to their understandings of who they are as women academics. Further, many participants talked about rejecting traditional notions of merit in their research and doing their research on their own terms. And, unsurprisingly, the majority of participants wished for more time for their research as there are too many "pulls" (Terosky et al., 2008) on their time from other roles and responsibilities. In their approaches to teaching, participants expressed passion and being strategic about how they presented themselves and helped students understand and learn the content. Most of the participants remarked that they enjoy their teaching roles and duties and are therefore strategic about being effective teachers. Finally, the role participants talked most about being strategic toward was mentoring. This is the role that participants' educational experiences, identities, and backgrounds seemed to influence the most. All participants expressed desire to not only be effective mentors, providing students the information and guidance they need for success, but also helping women students succeed and earn careers in academia. While, certainly, not all women academics are this intentional or thoughtful about mentoring, the fact that all of the participants in this study are is likely one of the reasons they said yes to participating.

The role of the faculty career that participants felt the most conflict with was the service element. The social science participants talked much more about the burden and joys of service, likely because they are often tasked with more service as STEM faculty must spend more time writing and applying for external grants. While participants felt overwhelmed by too much service, they also expressed enjoyment and desire to do service as they often saw service as the part of their career where they could affect the

most change and positive influence. Further, many of the participants talked about the increased burden women faculty experience with service because there are fewer women in academia and committees need diversity to be most effective and influential. So, the service burden falls on the shoulders of few women, particularly in departments that have very few women to choose from.

Discussions on tenure and their experiences with the tenure process were either very short or very long. The majority of the participants experienced the pre-tenure period of their careers as stressful but the reviews as smooth. However, a few discussed tenure battles or issues that were particularly influential to how they felt about their careers and their institutions. What is common in the three participants' stories who had trouble with tenure is that none of their issues were due to lack of meeting the criteria for tenure or anything that they did incorrectly. Although they all earned tenure, the after effects of their experience continue to touch them today.

Finally, the participants' responses on what it means to them to be a female academic provides insight into the variety of ways in which women faculty think about their positions, experience their careers as women, and understand what it means to be women in an academic career. Their responses reaffirm that higher education continues to operate as a gendered organization, marginalize women and other minoritized faculty, expect women faculty to obey gender roles and norms, and encounter obstacles and barriers to satisfaction and success. However, participants also highlighted how much they appreciate being women academics as they see their positions as influential to both higher education and future women faculty.

Chapter Eight: Discussion

Onwauachi-Willig, (2012) wrote, "the decisions surrounding silence are deeply personal." This sentiment proved true in the participants' narratives about their career experiences, strategies, and choices around silence. Indeed, silence came through in their stories as an important element in their career strategies, successes, and satisfaction. The data highlight that Acker's (1990) five interacting processes of her theory of gendered organizations produced many of the pressures and reasons why the participants' experienced or chose silence. The primary processes that influenced the participants' experiences and strategies were gendered divisions, or the outlining of labor, behavior, power, and expectations, and gendered symbols, or which identities are valued and which ones are not valued. Overall, the data showcase that the women in this study utilized the elements of strategic silence in negotiating and managing their careers, often due to the perpetuation of sexism, racism, patriarchy, and gender norms. Participant's narratives proved why they felt the need to choose silence in particular situations and contexts, how the academic environment and the gendered culture broadly influences decisions to use silence, and the ways in which they strategize identities, silence, and voice to benefit their career success and satisfaction.

The majority of the findings support the literature on women academics' experiences. However, there are elements of the participants' experiences and strategies that refute aspects of the literature on women faculty. The ways in which the participants negotiate and manage their identities supports the literature on identity management (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Lester, 2008, 2011a, b; Ropers-Huilman, 2008). Further, many of the participants spoke of suppressing feminine attributes or wanting their gender

to be invisible completely in their academic world (Clegg, 2008; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012; Thomas, 2005). This suppression and wish for invisibility is a result of participants' experiences and knowledge that academia judges women differently than men, devalues their work, and burdens them with teaching and service (Gardner, 2013; Hogan & Masse, 2010; Ward, 2008). Indeed, the data support Cress and Hart's (2009) study describing women faculty playing on a different field altogether than their male colleagues. A few participants, in fact, described moments when they were just with their women colleagues as contexts in which they can "let their hair down" and not have to translate their language or thoughts.

The participants' motivations to manage and negotiate identities varied but were mostly in reaction to bias experiences or perceptions of bias they might experience. The women of color in this study felt that their race could not be negotiated or masked and that most of their identity negotiations and managements were working with their other identities to confront the biases, stereotypes, and perceptions individuals place on their skin color (Glenn, 2012; Moffitt, Harris, & Forbes Berthoud, 2012). This aligns with research on women of color faculty as Glenn (2012) wrote about women of color academics, "we must negotiate our sense of self and merge it with images projected onto us by others" (p. 135). The women of color participants work to negotiate their identities and attempt to alter how individuals perceive them much more than the White participants. This is not a surprising finding as having multiple intersecting minority identities affect women academics' experiences (Shields, 2008). Several of the White, heterosexual participants voiced that they do not need to negotiate their identities or simply do not want to engage in identity management. This mindset and ability to not feel

as though there are consequences to not negotiating identities is layered in privilege and was highlighted more so by STEM participants than social science participants. However, there were many ways in which several of the White participants negotiated and managed identities too, just not in reaction to as many multiple layers of bias, stereotype, and discrimination.

When considering the mother identity, all participants negotiated and shifted these identities in some way (Ropers-Huilman, 2008). Some kept their children out of the classroom, some kept them out of conversations with colleagues, some worked to never let their children be reasons for missing meetings, and a few blended their mother identity partially or completely into their academic careers (Fothergill & Feltey, 2003; Seher & Iverson, 2015; Stitt, 2010). The feeling that they needed to hide their children was motivated by potential bias on their credibility and ability to produce, all aspects of academia for women faculty with children supported in the literature. However, a few participants chose to reveal their children in specific ways and contexts to help other students realize that women scholars can do both jobs. This is also supported in the literature (Childers, 2015). Childers advocates that academics who are mothers should disrupt the silence around motherhood in academia to bring more attention and education to that identity and the experiences that come with the dual roles of academic and mother.

What was perhaps most encouraging from those participants with children, particularly in STEM, was that their stories about having children and being academics were more positive than negative. Although they discussed the decrease in time and flexibility in schedule (Kmec, Foo, & Wharton, 2015), they also talked about the increase in organization and productivity, something also supported in the literature (Leyser,

2007; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Additionally, participants shared that having children offered them something else in their lives, which was a significant positive influence to both their careers and to their lives as a whole (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004). Further, some of the participants with children had their children either before they entered their tenure-track careers or just as they were beginning their academic careers. The fact that they all earned tenure, without problems counters literature that there is a negative correlation between women who enter tenure-track positions with children and earning tenure (Mason et al., 2006). Participants also did not share, overall, that they have been penalized due to having children, which could be because they negotiate this identity well enough that they do not feel significant consequences.

The strategies around and use of self-preservation silence both supports literature on silence (Acheson, 2008; Keating, 2013) and presents something new on focusing on women faculty and their motivations and use of self-preservation silence. Participants chose self-preservation silence in reaction to power dynamics, discrimination, sexual harassment, and protection of the self in terms of mental health and ability to continue moving forward. The participants with intersecting minority identities often engaged in self-preservation silence as the instances of racism, homophobia, and sexism happen so frequently that they are sometimes disturbed but not surprised by the bias and discrimination (Thandi Sulé, 2011). The emotional labor involved in self-preservation silence was highlighted in the participants' experiences (Hochschild, 1979, 1990, 2003). Further, a few participants engaged in what Hochschild called surface acting, which is attempts to hide the outward display of emotion. The motivations to engage in self-preservation silence and do the work of emotional labor came from the gendered

academic environment that produced gendered components of identity messages of how women academics are expected to perform and act. Showing emotion, particularly for the women of color as three of them noted they work to not look like the "angry Black woman" in the room most of the time, is frowned up in academia. Both the portrayal of the angry Black woman and the expression of emotion through tears caused participants to work to manage their emotions so that they could preserve their selves and their careers. While some of the self-preservation silence is utilized to protect mental health and stability, it also damages mental health by causing stress, sadness, depression, and the buildup of suppressing emotions and reactions (Pugliesi, 1999). Further, Everett and associates (2015) talked about the effects of racism and how "racism-based trauma" can cause depression and low self-esteem, particularly since racism is something regularly endured.

Although only a few participants discussed masking, those who did supported the literature on reasons why women faculty might mask identities and emotions and how they use masking. Masking was used to cope and control presentation due to poor student reactions to one participant's performance of her identities (Gilmore, 2003; Montoya, 2013). Further, masking was used to cover emotions and to minimize or suppress all identities outside of the academic identity so that colleagues and students might only see a competent academic who belongs in that faculty role. Most of the participants did not express a need or a feeling that they needed to conceal or silence, completely, emotions or identities to reveal emotions and identities that fit the norms of the institution and department more. Further studies with additional interview time might elicit more

masking strategies as it was the most difficult one to understand and reflect on for the participants.

The silence that included the most elements of agency in choice was situational silence as this silence was not always chosen in reaction to the gendered organization but rather to the participants' own internal reasons. However, most of the chosen silences, within the strategic silence concept were reactionary silences due to the gendered organization and stereotypes and biases placed upon women in academia. Participants struggled with choosing silence and learning how and when to "pick their battles" (Baez, 1998). Often, situational silence was chosen out of fear of saying something unintelligent or not feeling as though anyone would support what they might say. Further, there were certain contexts or situations in which participants always chose silence because they feared the power dynamics, felt they needed to learn more before speaking, or simply did not want to put forth the energy and effort speaking might require. Situational silence was chosen and utilized often due to lack of confidence in abilities and sense of belonging, a result of the devaluing of women's work, and due to lack of credit and respect the participants felt in their careers (Baker, 2012; Bilimoria & Liang, 2008; Ward, 2008). Many of the women in this study also felt significant frustration with silence (Lorde, 1984). Sometimes, however, participants chose situational silence to give themselves a break. Carrillo Rowe and Malhotra, (2013) call this chosen silence "space of possibility," or "space to breathe." This motivation for situational silence was to protect time, energy, and mental health and stability.

When participants strategized around how to use their voices and identities effectively they engaged in strategic voice. Using their voices as a form of empowerment

and a challenge to silence is supported in the literature (Bowen & Blackmon, 2003; Lorde, 1984; Luke, 1994). Further, when using their voice and projecting their identities they often did so for the sake of other individuals, particularly students (Onwuachi-Willig, 2012). This is the element of strategic silence that is most absent in the literature, particularly the literature on women faculty. While the scholarship on women faculty discusses the use of voice to push for change, to support and speak for those with less power, and to project identities and support colleagues and other individuals within a same identity group, it does not attend to the strategic choice to reject silence for specific contexts, situations, or identities and the absence of perceived significant consequences to the career of women academics. A more focused study on strategic voice might reveal more motivations and consequences to this strategy.

Beyond strategic silence, the data highlight how the participants negotiate, manage, experience, and approach their careers as women faculty. A few stressed the importance of knowing the rules and playing by them to facilitate career success (Baker, 2012). What was not prevalent in the literature was the influence of beginnings and backgrounds on the participants' careers. While research has discussed the stigma for women who are spousal hires, absent, seemingly, is discussion on how being recruited provides substantial power in feelings of negotiating hiring, salary, and resources. Further, not enough research discusses women faculty from working-class backgrounds and how their backgrounds influence not only how they strategize their education and careers, but also how they experience the privilege in academia (Haney, 2015; Stricker, 2011). For the participants who identified as having working-class backgrounds, those identities were the most uncomfortable and most invisible in their careers. The fact that

they did not talk about negotiating or silencing these identities speaks to how invisible the topic of class is in academia, particularly at research-intensive institutions. These were the identities that made them most uncomfortable and influenced the way they approached teaching, mentoring, and service heavily but were identities they did not negotiate or manage or talk about in that frame of reference. Further, empirical research on the experiences of working-class faculty, particularly those with intersecting identities, would help considerably in increasing attention to class issues in higher education.

One of the most important elements in the findings of chapter six is the importance of support systems for women faculty. Having quality mentorship in the early career stages and colleague and department support substantially increases career satisfaction and success (August & Waltman, 2004; Metcalfe & Gonzalez, 2013). Support is particularly important for those participants who identified as women of color or lesbians as not having as many colleagues with the same minority identities can cause isolation and often means lack of mentors and role models (Rosser & O'Ner Lane, 2002; Smith, 2003). Further, without support participants felt isolated in their departments lessening their satisfaction with the institution and their colleagues (Gardner, 2012; Gardner & Blackstone, 2015). Although many of the participants struggled with feeling supported, the majority of them spoke positively about their supportive environments and the influence that support had on their career satisfaction and successes. Even though some participants discussed feelings of isolation and frustrations with lack of support, they still expressed satisfaction with their careers. The fact that all participants expressed satisfaction with their careers refutes research that career satisfaction can be low or difficult to attain for women academics (August & Waltman, 2004; Metcalfe &

Gonzalez, 2013). Satisfaction sometimes required compromise but overall the participants have moved through their careers largely doing the work they want to do, even if much of it is not valued or respected within their departments.

Finally, chapter seven focused on how the participants experienced and approached their roles and responsibilities as women faculty. The data in this chapter highlighted divisions of labor (Acker, 1990) often and while heavier service loads and demands align with the literature, participants did not discuss too burdensome teaching loads or student advising and also did not express overt penalties to having children, all elements that refute the literature (Gardner, 2013; Hogan & Masse, 2010; Mason & Goulden, 2004). This could be a result of the pool of participants in this study or it could be a result of being faculty at a research-intensive institution where teaching loads are often lighter and student advising is often at an acceptable level because departments are often bigger and have specialized advising staff. However, participants who represent one of the few women or one of the few faculty of color in their department may experience higher demand in advising, particularly advising women students and students of color.

Further, while the obligations of children did cause stress, participants did not share many negatives in children causing a work imbalance beyond time to conduct research or decrease in flexibility of time to work. The lack of negatives the participants talked about when discussing their children and their careers disagrees, somewhat, with the literature (Mason & Goulden, 2004; Metcalfe & Gonzalez, 2013; Philipsen, 2008; Wolfinger, 2008). In addition to the mother identity, participants who identified as women of color discussed how they experience their race within academia. These participants discussed being less respected and valued than their peers as whole

individuals, their research not being valued or respected, and not being seen as credible or authority figures without having to engage in identity negotiations to heighten identities other than race (Stanley, 2006). Further, the participants expressed frustration with having to constantly be teaching White students, faculty, and staff about privilege (Stanley, 2006) And while these negative experiences ran throughout these participants' narratives, they also talked positively about the importance for them to mentor and be role models for students of color, to helping their communities, and to be one of the few present as tenured women of color faculty (Stanley, 2006; Wilson, 2012). The level of silence the women of color participants felt the need to choose or the motivation to choose was substantially higher than the White participants. Additionally, the emotional and mental toll their negotiations and silences had on their well-being and satisfaction was significantly higher than other participants. While more representation of women of color faculty, particularly Black or African American faculty, would be helpful, the racial hostility described by two of the women of color was so constant and pervasive that a real cultural shift would have to take place for their experiences to significantly improve. However, while these participants had more obstacles and barriers to their success, for the most part, they described their current roles as satisfactory or good enough.

An interesting find in the data was the affect bodies had in the participants' experiences. Hirshfield (2015) suggested that bodies can affect authority and power, and this study highlighted just that. However, the data also revealed that bodies can decrease power and authority and create vulnerability and stereotypes of laziness, approachability, and perception that they can be taken advantage of easily. While some participants rejected the expectations of being approachable and nurturing, other embraced those

attributes (Lester, 2008). Further, while many of the participants expressed joy for teaching, a few explicitly teach in what is perceived as a more feminized approach, which is a collaborative approach (Hirshfield, 2015). And while many of the participants shared their appreciation for teaching and service, the literature suggests that they might not reach promotion to full professor (Marsh, 2015). While that has yet to be determined, what was promising in the data was that all participants earned tenure no matter their approach and alignment to traditional notions of merit.

Finally, one of the biggest areas of conflict for the participants was with their service work. While many enjoy and continue to choose to do their service work, they also acknowledged a burden of too much service (Hogan & Masse, 2010; Terosky et al., 2008). Additionally, they expressed frustration with the lack of respect for their service and constant comments from their departments that they were doing too much service (Broido et al., 2015; Pyke, 2015). The suggestions that they should decrease their service but no offers of assistance in how to lessen the service was a major frustration for the participants. The idea that they could just say no to the service requests was especially troubling as, often, the same individuals making those suggestions were also assigning the service work or rejecting the no responses (Pyke, 2015). Lastly, a few participants were burdened with substantial service early in their careers, something typically not done during the pre-tenure time as that is the most important time for research productivity. This work was likely assigned to them because of their status as women as well as their willingness and slight preference for service (Pyke, 2015). However, their lack of time for research productivity from the very beginning of their careers is something they continue to wrestle with as they continue to search for time within all

their other responsibilities now. Faculty who have more freedom in their pre-tenure time to build their research portfolio still felt frustration with lack of time for research but not to the degree that these individuals felt.

Overall, this study highlighted how these women faculty experienced their careers, strategized, used, and experienced silence, the influence their identities, backgrounds, and bodies had on their careers and approaches to their roles, and simply how they navigate, negotiate, and manage their careers as women in a gendered organization that continues to favor men and male lives. While the majority of the findings, piecemeal, are supported by the literature, what this study contributes to the literature is the concept of strategic silence as an overall strategy that women faculty employ to achieve career success and satisfaction. Further, this study encourages reimagining of how silence is viewed, experienced, and utilized in academia. Finally, this study adds to the literature how women faculty think about, learn about, and use silence to facilitate maintenance, success, and satisfaction of their careers.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion, Future Research, and Implications

Audre Lorde (1984) wrote, "where the words of women are crying to be heard, we must each of us recognize our responsibility to seek those words out, to read them and share them, and examine them in their pertinence to our lives" (p. 43). This study sought out the words and experiences of women associate professors to be able to share their stories and the silences involved in their careers. Participants in this study supported the literature and my concept of strategic silence in highlighting the variety of ways in which they utilize and experience silence and negotiate and manage their careers. The reasons women faculty utilize strategies of silence in their careers are multifaceted and a result of academia continuing to perpetuate a patriarchal and androcentric climate and culture that supports the success of male-centered lives and voices. All participants agreed that there is value in utilizing silence and identity negotiation but that there is also a struggle not only in learning how and when to use silence, but also in feeling comfortable with silence. The women in this study learned through their own experiences and those of other women faculty that silence is something they would both use and experience in their academic careers. While participants struggled with choosing silence, all acknowledged the importance of using silence as a strategy in their careers. Indeed, engaging in and utilizing strategic silence proved to be integral to the management and negotiation of the careers of the participants.

Strategic silence and negotiation of the academic career requires considerable time and energy from the women faculty in this study. If the climate and culture favored and supported the work, scholarship, teaching, and service the participants find important in their careers, the participants might utilize silence considerably less and feel more

confident about their work and careers. Further, many of the participants in this study commented that many of the negotiations and silences they utilize in their careers is simply to maintain a level of sanity and internal safety. While the silences are viewed integral to success, they come with a burden and an expense in time, energy, and satisfaction.

Future Research

There are many ways in which future research can aide in further understanding how silence and strategic silence is utilized and experienced by faculty. From looking at specific populations of faculty like women of color, or faculty of color generally, to comparing women faculty use of strategic silence with men faculty, to focusing on women in non-tenure track positions and how they use and experience strategic silence, to talking to faculty at the end of their careers versus those at the beginning of their careers and comparing the differences, the options are unlimited. Further, a larger scale study on women faculty and the use of strategic silence could elucidate more evidence of masking and greater understanding of how women faculty generally understand, use, and experience silence in their careers. And a larger scale study including both STEM and social science faculty would likely allow for greater understanding of the similarities and differences between those groups.

Some of the most interesting options of where to go next with strategic silence, for me, are focusing on non-tenure track women faculty as they are a significant majority in higher education institutions currently and do not have the protections of tenure or, even, the tenure-track. Would non-tenure track women faculty use silence more, less, or in different ways? Would the concept of strategic silence be different for non-tenure track

women faculty? These questions and more could help those in higher education, particularly those deciding on how to fill faculty vacancies with tenure-track or non-tenure track faculty, understand the experiences of this group, the silences they experience and use, and how they view their careers as a whole.

Another direction I think would be valuable to the scholarship on women faculty is a national study on women of color faculty and strategic silence. Several potential participants who are women of color declined to participate in this study because with it being localized at just one institution, that has few tenured women of color faculty, they were fearful their experiences would identify them too easily. However, they suggested that if the study were done on a national, or even regional, scale, they would be more likely to participate as their anonymity would be better secure. Similar to the questions for non-tenure track women faculty, I wonder if the concept of strategic silence would change as a result of a study on women of color faculty. Certainly, the five motivations or elements that currently make up strategic silence would likely emerge, but would there be additional motivations or elements? Further, a study on women of color faculty and their experiences with and strategies for silence could help those in higher education understand their experiences and the amount of effort, time, and energy that is required to maintain their careers as well as to negotiate and manage toward success and satisfaction. What are the sacrifices this population must make that White faculty do not? How are the silences they experience different than White faculty? And how could higher education better serve and support women of color faculty? All of these questions are important to answer in academia as the US population continues to see an increase in diverse identities and populations. More representation of people of color and other minoritized groups will

enter into faculty careers, but higher education institutions have a long way to go before the academic environment will be fully supportive and productive for women of color faculty.

Further, a study focused not necessarily on strategic silence, but more specifically on how faculty with working-class background experience academia and how those backgrounds motivate and influence the ways in which academics in this group approach, negotiate, and manage their careers would be beneficial to the scholarship on faculty. This study suggested that working-class backgrounds are salient to the participants in how they experience academia and how they approach certain aspects of their careers, like mentoring. Further research on this topic is critical to higher education as more students who come from working-class backgrounds will likely be moving into careers in academia, an environment that continues to be saturated by privilege, within the next decade. Therefore, understanding experiences particular to working-class faculty, especially those with intersecting minoritized identities, is crucial to furthering understanding of how different identities affect experience and approach to the academic career in higher education institutions.

Finally, while the findings chapters answer the first three research questions that guided this study of how women academic use strategic silence, the fourth question about differences or similarities between STEM and social science participants' experiences was sporadically mentioned but not detailed. This is because while differences did appear, many of them were subtle and intermittent. Specifically, my last research question sought to find out if women academic's career experiences and need for strategies that include silence would be different or similar between STEM and non-

STEM disciplines. While there are differences that were presented by the participants and some assumptions can be made from the data, for the most part the participants in this study did not present significant differences in experiences or uses of silence in their careers between STEM and the social sciences and humanities. There are some potentially interesting findings in the data that would require further research to really label as a theme but I present them here to highlight some of the potential differences, as they can be gleaned from the available data.

Of the 13 participants, eight identify as mothers and of the six STEM participants five of the participants are mothers, while only three of the seven in the social sciences and humanities are mothers. Further, those participants who highlighted the productivity and organizational benefits and having family as providing something outside of their career to go home to were all in STEM. While the three participants in the social sciences who are mothers noted some positives, by and large their experiences with having children and being an academic were more about managing that identity and having less time to produce research. A possible reasoning for this could be that research in the social sciences and humanities is more often solitary work, while research and lab work in STEM is often a collaborative effort (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Looking more closely at whether or not that difference emerges in a study focused on the benefits of academic motherhood for academic mothers in STEM and non-STEM disciplines could be beneficial.

Further, all of the five participants who identified as having working-class backgrounds were in the social sciences and humanities and all those participants who revealed that they have academic parents were in STEM. This could be a result of girls

being directed away from science early in their lives and so the advantage to having parents in academia is that the exposure to research and science remains. Further, the STEM participants talked about their experiences in their careers somewhat more positively than the social science participants. This could be due to greater privilege the STEM participants had growing up and have in their identities (five of the six are White and all are heterosexual) or it could be because they have become so acclimated to the male-dominated disciplines that make up most of STEM and therefore do not highlight it as a negative to their experiences because it has become normalized. Further research focuses on class and identity in STEM and social science faculty would be beneficial to identifying whether or not these subtle distinctions are just due to the draw of participants in this study or if they would emerge in a larger study.

In terms of performance of gender, the STEM participants felt more pressure to dress in a professional manner and look feminine but not too feminine. Social science participants discussed dress and mentioned they like to look professional when they teach or shift how they dress depending on the class they are teaching. However, this seemed to be more of an internal choice with some slight pressure from academic and broader culture, and not as much of a direct pressure that some of the STEM participants felt.

Finally, four of the five participants who had spouses also in academia were in STEM, which aligns with the scholarship that women in STEM often have academic spouses (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). The participants in STEM did acknowledge the importance of their presence and having women colleagues as support more so than the social science participants. Additionally, the STEM participants talked about STEM broadly while the social science participants talked more narrowly to their discipline.

Each of these things could simply be due to the draw of my participants, however, in future studies looking further into the benefits of being a mother in STEM versus social sciences and the proportion of academics with working class backgrounds in the social sciences and humanities versus STEM could be beneficial.

Future research should focus directly on the differences between women academic's experiences in STEM and social science and humanities disciplines as the data in this study suggested some possible differences that could benefit higher education scholarship and those in higher education's understanding of how women experience the different discipline categories differently and similarly. If the data in this study on the differences and similarities between the STEM participants and the social science participants emerged in a larger study focused on finding these differences and similarities, the findings could counter some of the beliefs about women in STEM faculty positions and women in the social sciences and humanities in terms of experiences, satisfaction, and what backgrounds and identities are typically represented in those discipline categories.

Implications

The goals of this study were to find out how women faculty were experiencing, strategizing, and utilizing silence. This study highlighted many of the issues women faculty encounter in their careers and how women faculty use strategic silence as a tool for career maintenance, success, and satisfaction. The concept of strategic silences assists those in higher education in understanding how women faculty are finding ways to maintain, succeed, and find satisfaction with their careers in academia. While many of the reasons the participants chose silence were motivated by sexism, racism, homophobia,

and dominance of privilege, this study shows how women faculty adjust to those motivations to continue moving forward in their careers. While most of the participants avoid pushing against the status quo within academia too much, some of them take on battles, often, and continue to exist and maintain their careers. So while advocating for swift change or pushing toward improved environments for women and minoritized groups on college campuses might be dangerous for women faculty, the women in this study provided a glimpse into how pushing against the status quo can be balanced with finding success and satisfaction in the faculty career.

Most importantly, this study provides a glimpse into the daily silences the women participants encounter, the ongoing battles with choosing silence, and the strength to when they choose their voice or make visible their identities. These women are changing higher education for the better, by being present as women faculty, by mentoring future women scholars, and by nudging the status quo a little here and there. Many of the participants chose faculty careers because they wanted to have an influence in the world and, without a doubt, they have succeeded. While many of the aspects of their careers continue to be frustrating, their positions provide them opportunity to help others and show academia that women faculty are important to the successes and improvements of higher education.

Recommendations departmental leaders should consider toward improving the climate and culture within their departments for women faculty include:

- In meetings, notice who takes up the vocal space and who takes up the silent space. In this way, department leaders can proactively invite those whose voices

are not often heard to either participate more actively in meetings or make contributions to the department in other ways.

- Pay attention to the function of the silences women faculty use. Understand that many faculty choose silence for reasons that are seen as both positive and negative. Provide multiple ways for the faculty in the department to communicate and value those multiple, differing methods of communications. Some faculty will be vocal in meetings, while others might choose e-mail or writing as a method to convey ideas and opinions. Further, some faculty might be comfortable discussing their ideas and opinions in large groups, while others might be more comfortable and willing to share in small groups.
- Due to the variety of reasons silence is chosen and used, provide multiple ways for the faculty in the department to communicate and value those multiple, differing methods of communication. Some faculty will be vocal in meetings, others might choose e-mail or writing as a method to convey ideas and opinions. Further, some faculty might be comfortable discussing their ideas and opinions in large groups while others might be more comfortable and willing to share in small groups.
- Ensure that faculty who are thoughtfully silent or choose varied methods of communication are represented in positions of authority. Honoring different communication strategies and methods in positions of power signals to the department faculty and staff that those strategies and methods are respected.

Beyond the department level recommendations from this study toward improving the climate and culture of academia broadly for women faculty include:

- Increasing the value placed on teaching and service work. Increased appreciation of this work would decrease some of the silences women faculty choose.
- Ensuring the tenure criteria is clear and transparent and that junior faculty members, particularly minority faculty members, have consistent and strong mentoring.
- Increase support for women faculty who have children. While the participants' experiences were generally positive, they still felt anxious and fearful of the consequences of being viewed as mothers in certain contexts. Men are not penalized for having children. Women should not be either.
- Increasing the value placed on scholarship on diverse issues and topics rather than penalizing faculty for doing important diversity work.
- Increasing representation of diverse faculty including women of color faculty, LGBT faculty, and more women in STEM fields and foster a climate that aids in their success.
- Increase and value more recognition and appreciation of the work and efforts of women faculty. Higher instances of appreciation and recognition of women faculty's work and efforts could increase confidence, satisfaction, and highlight the level of influence women faculty have on their institutions and to the individuals they encounter in their careers and could decrease some of the silences they choose.

Understanding how women faculty manage their careers within higher education is important to higher education broadly and to the discipline. And improving the climate and culture for faculty who represent minoritized identities would not only help those

faculty, but also higher education broadly as the more diverse an environment is, the more compassion and understanding that can develop for difference and diversity. Finally, reframing understanding of silence and how individuals utilize silence as a tool to navigate within an environment that is often unwelcoming, critical, and hostile to the success of minoritized groups, including women faculty, has the potential for those working in higher education to consider ways to reduce the necessity of strategic silence. The silences, after all, cannot be diminished if they are never heard. While women faculty continue to negotiate the necessary silences, this study sought to celebrate the power in voicing the silence and understanding how women faculty strategize how to achieve success and satisfaction in their careers using strategic silence.

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APPENDIX A: IRB Approval

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Twin Cities Campus

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January 13, 2015

Leah J. Reinert
Org Leadership, Policy & Development
WullH, Room 110
86 Pleasant Street, SE
Minneapolis, MN 55455

RE: "Silent Strategy: Women Faculty and the Academic Profession"
IRB Code Number: 1411P56327

Dear Leah J. Reinert:

The referenced study was reviewed by expedited review procedures and approved on January 9, 2015. If you have applied for a grant, this date is required for certification purposes as well as the Assurance of Compliance number which is FWA00000312 (Fairview Health Systems Research FWA00000325, Gillette Children's Specialty Healthcare FWA 00004003). Approval for the study will expire one year from that date. A report form will be sent out two months before the expiration date.

Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval of this study includes the following documents:

- Consent Form, received November 21, 2014
- Email Solicitation, received November 21, 2014
- Interview Protocol, received November 21, 2014

The IRB would like to stress that subjects who go through the consent process are considered enrolled participants and are counted toward the total number of subjects, even if they have no further participation in the study. Please keep this in mind when calculating the number of subjects you request. This study is currently approved for 16 subjects. If you desire an increase in the number of approved subjects, you will need to make a formal request to the IRB.

The code number above is assigned to your research. That number and the title of your study must be used in all communication with the IRB office.

As the Principal Investigator of this project, you are required by federal regulations to inform the IRB of any proposed changes in your research that will affect human subjects. Changes should

not be initiated until written IRB approval is received. Unanticipated problems and adverse events should be reported to the IRB as they occur. Research projects are subject to continuing review and renewal. If you have any questions, call the IRB office at 612-626-5654.

On behalf of the IRB, I wish you success with your research.

Sincerely,

Clinton Dietrich, MA
Research Compliance Supervisor
CD/bw

CC: Rebecca Ropers-Huilman

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

Silent Strategy: Women Faculty and the Academic Profession

You are invited to be in a research study of women faculty and the use of strategic silence in the academic career. You were selected as a possible participant because of your status as a woman associate professor. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by: Leah Reinert, PhD candidate, Organizational Leadership, Policy, and Development, University of Minnesota

Background Information

While academia continues to see increases in women's participation, the upper-most positions continue to be dominated by men. Within the importance in women academics reaching parity with their male counterparts in the highest positions includes the necessity of understanding how women academics are navigating and negotiating their careers within an environment that continues to privilege men. The purpose of this study is to seek understanding on how women faculty use strategic silence in the navigation and management of their careers within male-dominated and non-male-dominated, STEM and non-STEM disciplines.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:
This study includes a commitment of a semester in length including interviews, observations, reflective recordings, and document analysis.

- Participate in at least two in-person interviews lasting 60 to 90 minutes in length within a six month period. Follow-up interviews may be added to facilitate member-checking of initial analysis. With your permission, each interview will be audio recorded.
- Share with me documents related to your career (C.V.s). Of course, you can control which documents you wish to share with me.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study

Risks:

Benefits: The benefits to participation are: possibly developing a deeper understanding of the ways in which you navigate and negotiate your career leading to more awareness.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report I might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a participant.

Pseudonyms will be assigned to each participant and maintained throughout the study, dissertation writing, and subsequent publications. Research records will be stored securely and only myself and my advisor will have access to the records. Study data will be encrypted according to current University policy for protection of confidentiality. Audio recordings of interviews and observations will only be accessible to me and will be transcribed and held for 365 days before being destroyed. Only myself and my advisor will have access to the transcripts of which will be labeled with pseudonyms and protected digitally. The transcripts will be used for my dissertation and any following publications following graduation.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is: Leah Reinert. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact me at reine192@umn.edu or 330-605-4100. Additionally, you may contact my advisor, Rebecca Ropers-Huilman, at 330C Wulling Hall, 612-624-1006, or ropers@umn.edu.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature:_____ Date: