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ACADEMIC WOMEN AT WORK AND AT HOME FOSTERING AN INTEGRATED LIFE OF PURPOSE IN CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

By

Kelli Jo Schutte

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to Michigan State University In partial fulfillment of the requirements For the degree of

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ABSTRACT

FOSTERING AN INTEGRATED LIFE OF PURPOSE IN CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

By

Kelli Jo Schutte

This research study was conducted with faculty women at a liberal arts institution of higher education. The study focused on the choices that these women made in managing relations between work and life away from work. Through in depth interviews the various components that influence these choices were investigated. The study focused on cultural demands, organizational demands and personal influences. The findings stress the importance of an individual worldview in strategy formation for work/life negotiations. Given that the study was done in a distinctively Christian environment the worldview development and expression was somewhat isolated and more accessible for exploration. The findings also confirm the importance of organizational climate in the attempts at balance. Finally, the study highlights the unique issues that arise for singles in their attempt to manage work and life. This study displays the need for a greater understanding of the individual and organization when designing and implementing work/life policies. The individual's unique views and issues along with their placement within an organizational context will significantly impact their ability to negotiate a satisfactory attempt at work/life management.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband Kevin and my children Abigail and Jeremy. Thank you for your love, support and excitement throughout this process.

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Identification and Inquiry -- Mom in the Middle

It was my privilege to speak with the academic woman represented in this study. Their struggles, choices and strategies have been a source of inspiration and encouragement to me. The conversations around work/life balance and the difficulties inherent in the choices that are made were insightful and real.

A unique aspect of their struggle was the context, that of a Christian institution. This posed interesting opportunities and challenges, which will be explored in the next few pages as I share my own story. I provide you with my own perspective to deepen the rationale for my inquiry.

Throughout my career I sought a place where I had a sense of purpose, where I could agree with the mission and where I could be a part of something that was larger than myself. I am a Christian so I also sought a place where my faith could be lived out. This did not need to find expression in a Christian context but rather in a place where I could grow in my faith and be true to my convictions.

I have worked in secular institutions, but the majority of my professional work experience was in an institution that was Christian. My experiences in a Christian context in regards to work and family were both encouraging and troubling. I found these experiences very encouraging in the fact that family was seen as a positive factor in my life, openly discussed and enjoyed. I was often asked about my family and encouraged to spend time with them. There were many faculty members, male and female, who left at the time of school dismissal to be with their children, or left early to coach the soccer team. This was accepted and encouraged.

The work/life policies at the college where I worked were somewhat revolutionary in

the sense that they had a reduced-load tenure track policy at times when other schools had not even considered it. This allowed a number of women to stay on the faculty, make progress towards tenure, and still have a reduced schedule to be home with their children. In addition, the scheduling policy was one where the chair often asked your preferred schedule. This was always very helpful when daycare and school schedules conflicted with class times.

These factors were helpful and supportive of my attempt to balance my life in its various forms. However, at the same time there was an underlying ethos that always left me a little uncomfortable. Given that I was in a context where family was highly valued, I often felt that my role as a mother was seen *before* my role as a faculty member. When people looked at me they saw me as a working mom and not as a colleague who had children. I was defined by my motherhood and not by my academic role. This often seemed to diminish my role as a faculty member.

Let me share a few examples of situations where this attitude came through. When I was up for review one of my colleagues, a wonderful man with a kind spirit, asked me how I was going to balance work and family now that I had two children. Granted, he meant no harm in this comment, in fact he was acting out of compassion. However, what lay behind this question, the unspoken thought, was shouldn't you really be home with your children because how can you possibly do both? And if you can't do both, the obvious choice is to be at home. That should be my priority. This very question indicated that one must chose between work and home and that doing both was not a valid option.

When I went through another review process, the letter of recommendation from my

department had to list strengths and weaknesses. The primary weakness that was listed was that I did not adequately balance work and family. When I discussed this with my chair, he indicated that they couldn't find many other weaknesses and they had to list something. Since in his eyes I was doing so much at work so well, he thought that my family was being neglected. This came at a time when I was on reduced load working two and a half days a week. My husband had returned to seminary so we were not using daycare, just sharing the load between us. I was actually utilizing a strategy of balance that seemed to work very well. However, in the eyes of my department if I was doing so well at work how could I be doing equally well at home? When I discussed this further with my chair, a very insightful and intelligent man, he began to see the underlying message he was sending regarding gender roles. This message was one that as a mother you can either work well or be a mother well, but doing both well was not feasible. This criticism of not balancing was not offered to males or singles in my department but rather was solely offered to me as a mother.

This consequence of my decision to do both and to openly talk about work and family led me to explore a new strategy. Up until this point I accepted the traditional role of a mother as someone who needed to be there for every game, make cookies (not buy them) for the school parties, and to be ready with band aids for all the bumps and bruises. I saw myself as a mother first and foremost, and I was proud of it. I conveyed this message to my colleagues in many ways as well. I talked openly about my children, discussed the challenges and joys of parenthood, left freely to go to school events, and portrayed myself as a caring mother. Along with this portrayal was the corresponding guilt that I was not doing enough or fitting the "mother" role as I should. Although these

goals and thoughts are valid they enforced the construct of the "ideal mother."

After these two events I began to look more closely at the academic culture I was in and my role in perpetuating it. I began to confront the traditional role in a more explicit approach. I proudly brought store bought cookies to the class parties and left them in the store container, I confronted colleagues when they would patronize me or see me first as a mother, but did not do the same for the fathers in the department. I became more assertive in sharing my abilities, ideas and perspectives to prove my validity as a contributing member of the department. I tried, with many failures, to display that I was both a faculty member AND a mother and that one was not at the expense of the other.

In addition, I began to analyze the college culture to more adequately assess what was driving these perspectives and spoke with colleagues in other departments to see if they were receiving the same message. The institution in which I worked during this time of discovery was a Christian college. This environment was wonderfully supportive of active scholarship, continuous improvement of teaching, community involvement and family. They did so much so well, that excellence was the norm.

The strong commitment to family did not come without cost. The family was seen as primary even to the extent that those who did not have family received a significantly smaller portion of the benefit dollars. One of the costs was that the best intentions of the college to support family unintentionally came with an underlying message -- the traditional roles of family were preferred. The college existed in a broader community, as it was denominationally affiliated, and this viewpoint was prevalent in this community as well.

This broader context creates a community where these roles are developed,

employed and carried out, often in inadvertent and implicit ways. This created an area of tension for me as I sought a professional life, but was always handcuffed by the fact that I never really fit into the broader context as I was a working mother and not just a mother or a professor.

In addition, I felt that, by utilizing the reduced load policy, I was not seen as a serious contributor because I had chosen a modified career path. It wasn't until later in my career when I more fully understood my contribution, that I was able to more fully understand my situation. When I began to critically analyze the messages I was receiving and my corresponding reactions, I began to see that I was a true contributor either as part time or full time. I began to see myself as a professor and not a mother who was a professor on the side. I began to define myself as a Christian, as a mother, as a professor, as a community member and realized that one did not negate or diminish the other. Nor were they mutually exclusive; rather they were integral to who I was. My sense of identity brought more balance to my situation than any other strategy I could employ.

I made choices in my balancing efforts based on my worldview as a Christian. I felt that I had been given gifts and abilities that needed to be utilized not just in the home but in the workplace as well. Based on this decision I had to deal with the competing voices that told me otherwise. In my efforts to find a sense of balance between my work life and home life, I chose to work on a reduced load basis. This brings with it critics who think I should be working full time and critics who think I should not be working at all. I was what I like to call a "mom in the middle." For my worldview I remain faithful to my God by living out my calling in my family life, my work life and my community life. It helps me to make decisions. I have to be who I was created to be regardless of organizational and social constraints.

With that choice comes many variables that need to be worked out on a daily basis. The struggles remain but the purpose remains constant thus offering me fuel for my journey. In this I realize that I am a part of something larger than myself and find my responsibility within that calling a source of energy and peace, even when turmoil surrounds me.

A guiding worldview is the enduring principle in this study. My hope is that readers can identify with the stories represented here and take encouragement, insight and hope from them.

Chapter One

Problem Statement

"The intellect of man is forced to choose perfection of the life, or of the work" W.B.Yeats

"The Choice" is an insightful poem where the poet sees a necessity to choose between "perfection of the life or of the work." This is a struggle that plagues women in the academy who accept the poet's dichotomous view of life.

This struggle is one that has been around for centuries. In Homer's *lliad*, the Greek hero Achilles has his fate laid out before him: If he stays to fight at Troy, he can become the greatest warrior ever known, but he will also be fated to die before the war ends. He is in love with a woman and adores his father – how tempting to leave the battlefield and enjoy the happiness of home. Achilles has a deep struggle as he agonizes over fulfilling his semi-divine potential to die young as a warrior or to go home to enjoy his family and grow old. As he reflects on the choice that is before him, neither target fully eclipses the other. Homer compresses all the tragic implications of this dilemma in a single line: "And yet I must choose." The choices women are making today are not between death and life, but this story still captures the idea of how one often has to choose between two competing areas of life.

The claims between work and family are often competing, but as illustrated with Achilles, one cannot easily replace the other, and sometimes both are not an option. The reasons for the choices made are often complex and multi-layered. Yet, the question remains how does that choice get made, how do the varying factors in one's life such as family history, education, work context, family situation and personal beliefs get

incorporated into the process of choice. This study attempts to delve into the choices made.

In this chapter I will begin with an explanation of the purpose of the study. There follows a brief discussion of worldview and the context of the study to provide insight into the uniqueness of the organizational setting. An overview of the various demands placed on the women I studied follows. By discussing these factors this early in the dissertation it may seem to offer a premature look at the discussion of the findings, however I believe these factors are central to the results. By briefly reviewing these aspects here, it will provide for a cursory understanding of the central issues and allow for a deeper reading of the literature review, methods and findings. Finally, in this chapter I will present a framework for the study, including an outline of the dissertation.

Purpose of the Study

This is a study of academic women in a Christian context and the choices they make in managing relations between work and life. The study investigates the various components that influence these choices. Embedded in the choices are issues such as worldview, cultural demands, organizational demands and personal demands.

This group and context were selected for a variety of reasons, with a primary rationale being that female faculty members have been identified as a group which struggles with work/life balance options. The increasingly demanding nature of their job and the illusion of a career that offers flexibility and control over time provide a unique context to study work/life choices (Ward & Wolf Wendel, 2003). More specifically, this study took place in a liberal arts college and it has been posited that liberal arts faculty members, in particular, have the largest gap between stated goals surrounding this issue

and realized options (Drago, 2002)

The Christian context was chosen to allow for a focus on a particular worldview. By isolating a group that has similar values, ideals, definitions of success and lifetime goals, an opportunity was provided to develop thematic connections. The women in this study are Christians in a Christian context seeking to live out their beliefs in an integrated and congruent manner. They are balancing competing claims on their lives and attempting to do so within a worldview that defines who they believe they should be. This provides a unique context in which to study work/life balance and the various factors that influence work/life choices.

Worldview and Context

The context was chosen because it offered a laboratory with some similarity of thought. Even though a similar worldview may be proclaimed, these women are not isolated from the general culture and its messages. They are reading signals from a variety of contexts -- social, institutional, familial and their religion -- in order to develop a way to keep the parts of their life separate but still hold the picture of their lives together. They are attempting to develop a worldview that allows them to hold many aspects of their lives in balance, observe the patterns, make decisions and accept the lives they have chosen.

This idea of worldview, the way one views the world, is crucial to understanding the results of this study. These women were all Christians who had chosen to give up money and status to work in a distinctively Christian environment. They were shaped by a Reformed Christian theology which emphasizes that every aspect of culture is fallen. Thus Christians are called to all aspects of life to influence culture in a positive way.

Therefore the role of an accountant or janitor is just as important as that of a social worker, nurse or minister.

This worldview encourages active engagement in the world in a way that effectively uses the skills and abilities of the agent. In this particular religious denomination, one will often hear about being an agent of change. Therefore this worldview is not just encouraging engagement in culture but it goes even further by saying that there is a responsibility to engage in culture and then to develop and change that particular context.

The institution in this study was shaped by this worldview and the women I interviewed were consistent in their agreement with this way of viewing life and how they defined a successful life. The context of the study and the worldview espoused became a central tenant of the findings. This consistency allowed a closer look at the worldview of the participants and the opportunity to assess the impact it had on their management of work and family.

Cultural Demands

In this section and the two that follow I offer a brief understanding of the struggles of the women within the context of organizational and personal demands.

In our current culture there is the constant demand for more. There is a Tantalus effect, the mythological character with a raging thirst. He was placed in the middle of a magic lake whose waters receded every time he tried to drink. He never had enough, he always thirsted for more. This is similar in our society today where we are always striving for more. The women in the study were attempting to balance the competing claims of work and family where each wants more of them and they were trying to find a way to offer enough for each aspect of their lives, without limiting who they are in the process.

The measures of enough are constantly shifting and more is often the goal. Shifts in themselves are not wrong, but constant shifting without some lasting value to balance is without purpose and ultimately meaningless. Without value and with so many goals competing for our attention, we lose all power to move forward with effectiveness. Instead the quest for more becomes flat and devoid of any value or satisfaction.

In an era that claims that there are no limits, it is easy to feel trapped between contradictory possibilities, paralyzed by shifting goals and unable to balance or even classify all the opportunities. The women in the study were not immune to the competing claims on their resources but the idea of an encompassing worldview helped them in the struggle. Each individual has a unique profile of what they deem as good enough. This framework helped to define the choices they made.

However, whether the dilemmas are about obtaining more wealth or being responsible with abilities, we all struggle with when to go for more and when we have enough. These competing demands of organizational culture, family responsibilities and personal needs are difficult. The women I interviewed understood these issues and were employing their worldview as they struggled through the demands they felt.

Organizational Demands

The organizational culture becomes such a critical component of this struggle as it a factor that is defined by outside sources. The organization places demands on you that are often easier to delineate than the demands of family and personal needs. They are more likely to be immediate, where the goals of family and self can get pushed off as

they are often more ambiguous and long-term in nature.

Personal Demands – Integration verses Segmentation

The women in this study were constantly negotiating the competing goals of family, self and community and saw each as equally important in their worldview of balance. This idea of multiple goals has implications for parents who cut back on their career for the sake of the children but do not become so lost in their parent role that they forsake all other aspects of their identity. The influence of multiple areas of life and their influence on the individual was central to this study and foundational to its results.

In this aspect more than any other of the study, the women were struggling with compartmentalization or integration. Should they separate out their aspects of life, particularly home and work, or is it possible to integrate them? They were utilizing their worldview that segmentation of the various pieces of life is not possible -- that somehow the pieces together make up the whole.

This worldview is somewhat different than we have seen throughout the research in the work/life arena. It becomes apparent in the literature review that many pieces of research reveal one aspect of life or segment off pieces of life. There are strategies labeled "separate spheres" (Kanter, 1977) and "career orientation"(Carlson, 2003) that look more specifically at one aspect of life.

Drago (2003) and his colleagues discuss the concept of bias avoidance behavior. This concept captures the fact that women are feeling as if they need to segment their lives. That is a growing number of female faculty members are deciding to delay having children until after the tenure decision, eliminating having children at all or denying partnerships in order to devote themselves more fully to their careers (Blair-Loy, 1999; Drago & Varner, 2001). When women in the academy fail to eliminate a life away from work, often they choose to hide activities that exhibit non-work commitments.

Framework

This study began with the assumption that the concept of work/life balance is multi-layered. Many factors influence how one goes about the daily balancing act. Not only are women balancing views we obtained throughout our childhood regarding women's roles around work and family, but we are balancing the views of role models in our lives (or lack of role models as you will see in this study). We are balancing our current home context in terms of support from spouse, children and extended family, as well as balancing the current organizational context in terms of the institution as a whole and the department in which they are placed. These factors all influence the complexity of the daily negotiations of where to spend time.

This study is designed to look at the complexity by investigating the various factors that influence the decisions women faculty make on a daily basis regarding work/life issues within a Christian context. With a better understanding of the various factors that lead to decisions, individuals and organizations can begin to work towards eliminating factors that send the message that female faculty members must choose between key influences in their lives. The primary research questions explored in this study are:

[1] What components are present in the underlying worldview that forms the strategy women faculty members in a Christian college use to manage issues surrounding work and life away from work? This question will allow for the possibility that no strategy is being employed.

[2] What are the critical factors that cause barriers to work/life balance for the women interviewed. This will explore issues of home life, organizational culture

and personal philosophies or ideologies.

[3] How does a distinctively Christian context influence work/life strategies and the way in which these strategies are employed?

Outline of the Study

In the second chapter I outline the theories and concepts that constitute the current body of the work/life literature base and frame the research questions outlined above. Many theories have been proposed on this subject, however, I will utilize the bias avoidance literature more extensively as it provides the framework for this study. This chapter provides a general sense of work/life balance, the key issues and struggles in this area, and a rationale for a study of this nature.

In chapter three I outline the methods used in this study. This is a qualitative study that allows the reader to gain a deeper understanding of the choices made by the participants. This chapter also discusses the location of the study to provide the reader with a deeper appreciation of the contextual issues, challenges and opportunities.

In chapter four the results of the study are discussed. This chapter utilizes case studies, participant quotes and research analysis to demonstrate the various findings that emerged. The chapter focuses on the problems encountered and the strategies utilized in the balancing act. The demands outlined previously – cultural, organizational and personal – are further explored in this chapter.

Chapter five continues with additional development of the institutional context and the unique challenges and opportunities that arise by working in a Christian environment. This chapter highlights a number of issues that are unique to the context, but by categorizing and analyzing underlying themes, it is easy to see how these can be applied to a number of other contexts that host alternative worldviews. Finally, this chapter ends by looking at a group that has often been ignored in this arena – singles. This group has not had a much of a voice in this knowledge base and they offered many interesting viewpoints. The rich data uncovered through the interview process is explored in this chapter.

Chapter six concludes this dissertation by providing a discussion of what transpired throughout the data collection and analysis. This discussion begins with a look at worldview development and its implication on work/life choices. This provides a new level of knowledge for the literature base. The chapter then develops the idea of institutional and personal demands that impact the work/life strategies used by women in the academy. Embedded into this section is a discussion on the impact of cultural messages. The chapter supplies a forum of inquiry -- an overarching worldview that guides choices in the work/life arena.

The conclusion of chapter six helps to further the development of policy in the work/life arena by offering some policy implications for institutions in fostering a work/life culture that is integrative in nature and effective in its use.

CHAPTER TWO:

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the literature review I will outline the major streams of thought in the work/life literature. I begin by offering a brief history of women in the academy to highlight past developments. An outline of the major perspectives that currently dominate the work/life field follows. After this foundation has been laid, a more detailed discussion of identified personal aspects impacting work/life management is presented. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the organizational factors that impact the way work/life negotiation takes place.

In this chapter, two areas are explored in greater detail -- bias avoidance and organizational climate/culture. These two areas play a significant role in the development of this research study and offer a ripe field for additional research.

<u>History</u>

Women faculty have had an interesting and tumultuous history in academe. In the beginning was exclusion, where women students and faculty were not allowed to participate in higher education (Solomon, 1985). Women began to gain access in the late 19th century and early 20th century both as students and faculty. At this point women were given limited access to faculty membership but were forced to choose either a career or to raise a family (Solomon, 1985). If female faculty members got married, they were forced to leave the academy. Later in the 20th century more and more women attempted to have both a career and a family. These women met institutional barriers and hostile climates. Often women employed strategies that removed them from the

mainstream by working in non tenure-track and part-time positions (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988) or attempted to balance both spheres at the risk of "personal sanity and professional progress" (Ward & Wendel, 2003; Glazer-Raymo, 1999).

This history still manifests today in the continuing gap between men and women and their patterns of family formation. In a recent study by Mary Ann Mason & Marc Goulden (2002), women academics viewed deciding to have children as a career decision. Academics having children within the first five years after the Ph.D. were 24% less likely than men to achieve tenure within twelve to fourteen years. Having children affected the careers of female faculty members in a negative way, whereas it did not have the same negative impact on their male colleagues. These results were consistent across disciplines and across institutional types (Mason & Goulden, 2002).

Women in the academy are employing strategies that limit non-career "distractions" at a rate that is not matched by their male colleagues. These strategies are a result of multiple factors that contribute to their perceptions regarding the limited ability of women faculty to successfully manage work and family. Before we look at some of these factors, a brief review of the theoretical streams in the work/life literature will add to our understanding of the issue.

Theoretical Perspectives

The work/life literature in higher education has focused on issues of work/life balance. The main findings can be summarized into four theoretical streams, however these streams are not separate so I have chosen to label them as perspectives. They are: tenure conflict, role conflict, integration of roles and the ideal worker. Each of these theories will be briefly reviewed in the following paragraphs. One stream of thought in the literature is based on the challenges of the mismatch between the biological clock of motherhood and the tenure clock. Many theorists have posited that the tenure clock is based on a male clock (Williams, 2002; Grant, Kennelly & Ward, 2000; Hochschild, 1975). Most women leave graduate school in their early thirties, often the prime childbearing years. If they have children within five years after graduate school, they are in the time of early career development. These are years of high demands and high job insecurity causing women in the academy to either choose between the career and family or compromising one to serve the other.

The trend towards choosing between work and family represents a second stream in the literature, grounded in the framework of "separate spheres" (Kanter, 1977). The majority of work/life literature focusing on the academy is based on a theory that suggests that work and family are mutually exclusive. The research on role conflict theory is used to explain the incompatability of the roles of professor and mother (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2003; Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Crosby, 1991; Fowlkes, 1987). Role conflict looks at an individual who has limited time and energy. With each new role comes new responsibilities and additional stress as tension arises and the competing demands create conflict (Marshall & Barnett, 1993). The belief that work and family loyalties require tradeoffs is commonly discussed in the literature (Becker & Moen, 1999; Cannon, 1998). Role theory looks at the expectations associated with work and family roles and finds that can often lead to physical and psychological strain (Cooke & Rousseau, 1984). This in turn causes feelings of overload in both spheres resulting in lower job and life satisfaction (O'Driscoll, Ilgen & Hildreth, 1992).

Often work-family conflict has been conceptualized as one with two dimensions

where there is work-to-family conflict (work interfering with home life) and family-towork conflict (family interfering with work life) (Frone, Yardley & Markel, 1997). Implicit in the idea that work and family are separate factors, is the fact that they also have separate antecedents and consequences. This means that high levels of interference from one role makes meeting the demand of the second role more difficult (Hammer, Bauer & Grandey, 2003). Since more time and attention have to be devoted to one role it limits the time that can be focused on the other. It is important to consider both roles of work-family conflict as they are critical in predicting the work outcome and strategy development of women.

Research thus far in work/life arenas largely portrays employment and family dichotomously. Schwartz (1989) posited in a very controversial argument that female executives would be either "career-primary" or "career and family-primary". She posited that the solution would be to allow women part-time solutions during child rearing ages (Maume & Houston, 2003; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1993). She implies that women need to choose between these two options; choosing both is not an option. Employed mothers are then described in terms of divided relationships (Garey, 1999). Working mothers are in a zero-sum relationship so that adding to the career must take away from your family and vice-versa. Marilyn Mangan argues that "We are caught in a stereotypical bind of careerist or nurturing mom, when, in fact, one can complement the other" (in Simon, 2000).

However, the concept of complementing roles has not yet been developed. We have failed to provide women a framework in which they can think about integrating a commitment to work and a commitment to family. Society has also not developed a

framework for which the two spheres can intersect and complement one another, thereby forcing women to navigate between one sphere or the other, or at least making it appear as if they have done so.

Some researchers have begun to propose this complementary framework, suggesting that there is a positive psychological and material benefit of having multiple roles. These theories are often labeled "expansionist" or "integrative" and focus on the positive ways that role combinations can benefit women (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2003; Schutte, 2000). Some of the benefits highlighted are increased income, an expanded view of work and family, social support networks and increased self esteem (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2003; Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Crosby, 1991). Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2003) recently found that women discussed both their struggles with managing work and family and the joys of doing both. The women they studied thought that multiple roles helped them to have a more realistic perspective on their work and helped them to find their identity in more than just their careers (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2003). The idea that one can engage in multiple roles in a way that allows them to live a more full and integrated life is in the early stages of development. Other researchers have questioned the availability of a synergistic approach to work and life away from work (Maume & Houston, 2003; Greenhaus & Parsuraman, 1999). The knowledge base is lacking research in this area and needs further exploration.

A fourth stream in the literature is based on William's (2000) insightful and timely literature on the ideal worker. An ideal worker in the academy is someone who is married to her work, always available, and works endlessly to meet the demands of tenure (Williams, 2000). If female academicians work in this way, there is little time left for family needs. The life of a faculty member often presumes a singularity of purpose that does not allow room for family (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2003; Williams, 2000; Hochschild, 1975). A faculty member looking to gain tenure will face significant time demands and cannot always afford to have conflicting demands of family that will not allow them to be an ideal academic worker (Ward & Bensimon, in press).

Given this information we can see that individuals are making choices between the two spheres of their lives with fear of career implications. These behaviors do not signify a dislike of children or other dependents. Rather female faculty members are avoiding or hiding their conflicting roles as they feel that the additional roles may send a message that they are not fully committed to the job.

Bias Avoidance

Engaging in behavior to hide or eliminate personal or family needs has been labeled bias avoidance by Drago and Colbeck (2002). Their recent study of faculty in over 500 postsecondary institutions found that approximately 75% of women and 50% of men engaged in bias avoidance behaviors. They broke down bias avoidance behaviors into two forms, narrow and broad. Narrow bias avoidance behavior "involves hiding and covering up caregiving commitments, regardless of work performance" (Drago & Colbeck, 2002, p 4). For example, calling in sick when you have to be home with a sick child or missing a child's performance or game for fear of later repercussions.

Broad bias avoidance behavior is defined as limiting family commitments and caregiving responsibilities to provide the individual with more time for the employer (Drago & Colbeck, 2002). Bias avoidance in this form can be found in the decision not to partner, not to have children, delay having children or limiting the number of children (Drago & Varner, 2001). For example, in a study at Penn State, Drago and Colbeck (2002) noted that during the period from 1992-1999 tenure track women faculty had an average of .57 children, while the tenure track men averaged .95 children. In that same period, the proportion of multi-child family for tenure track women was 19 percent. More significant to the discussion of bias avoidance was the fact that out of 500 faculty who became new parents while employed at Penn State, only 7 faculty members took leaves. All of these leaves were taken by women (Drago, Crouter, Wardell & Willits, 2002).

Female faculty members employ strategies to balance work and life that do not include utilizing policies available to assist them. Although not explicitly anti-natalist, these decisions exhibit that a bias is still in place (Drago et al, 2002; Williams, 1999). The perception of women in the academy is that the utilization of work/life policies may be viewed as raising the barriers to tenure and promotion even further.

Perception Development and the Perceived Usability of Policies

As noted above, researchers have shown that even the intended beneficiaries are loath to use work/life policies (Bailyn 1993, Williams 2000). Many factors play into the usability of work/life policies, including how they are structured, how they incorporate flexibility (Eaton, 2003) and how they are communicated. However, even when policies are well-defined and well-structured, employees are still not using them at rates that would be expected (Han & Wouldfogel, 2003; Kodofimos, 1995). The climate of the workplace can determine whether work/life benefits are available and to whom; in some cases, using policies is discouraged and can have negative career effects (Bailyn 1993, Williams 2000). Redding (1972) uses the psychological construct of selective perception to make the case that individuals in organizations will respond to messages based on their personal frames of references and not on the intention of the sender (Redding, 1972). Often an organization intends to structure policies to assist employees. However, if the message communicated is unsatisfactory or it is delivered in a hostile departmental climate the perception will be that the policies are not usable. Susan Eaton (2003) labeled this construct "perceived usability." She found that some employees did not feel free to use the policies they theoretically enjoyed. She found that even when valid and wellstructured policies/programs existed, perceived usability was significantly hindered when individuals felt that using these policies would inhibit their ability to move forward their careers.

The construct of perceived usability gets at the heart of the long observed gap between an organization's formal structure and the informal but structured patterns of behavior that are observed (Batt & Valcour, 2003). The relationship that exists between formal policies and employee perceptions and usage seems to be loosely coupled at best (Still & Strang, 2003).

The organizational communication literature can assist our understanding of how these perceptions are developed. When communicating with others within an organization, individuals will learn to accept the values and norms of the group. Through this process they will define the role they have within that group and act accordingly. The result of this interaction is a complex set of constraints that determine how an individual will act (Conrad & Haynes, 2001). Thus if the norm for the organization is an "ideal worker" performance, then individuals will realize that deviating from this norm will have adverse consequences. Individuals perceive career repercussions and role repercussions that remove them from the group, limiting their ability to fully engage as they did before. These external forces do not determine actors' choices, but they will create perceptions and ideas that will get incorporated into their behaviors (Schein, 1985; Barnett, 1988).

When trying to understand individual's behaviors, it is important to look at the underlying assumptions and perceptions. This understanding is needed in the context of the individual, meaning that in order to understand the "why", you must understand the "who".

Perceptions are created as a result of processing a variety of inputs. Individuals in an organizational context determine if a policy is truly usable based on more than the fact that the policy is on the books. Perceived usability of the policy will incorporate group norms, behaviors, values and messages beyond the stated intentions of the organization (O'Reilley, et al., 1987). An understanding of the various values and messages individuals are receiving is critical.

Contributing Factors to Female Faculty Member's Perceptions

As discussed above, many issues affect perceptions and become embedded into the strategies that individual faculty members choose to employ as they negotiate their time between work and life away from work. These perceptions are constructed on personal situations, graduate student experiences, policy structure, organizational support, organizational culture and departmental climate. These issues are discussed and developed with a framework for how perceptions of the usability of work/life policies might be constructed. This construction will add to the understanding of why women employ bias avoidance strategies. The following will be discussed: dual career couples,

graduate school experience, life course, program structure, program flexibility and organizational climate.

Dual Career Couples

Women today comprise a significant proportion of faculty in the United States. They are earning doctorates at increasing rates. Those with doctorates are more likely to be married and have children than in years past (Lomperis, 1990). In academe, both men and women typically have high commitments to work and career success as well as high commitments to family (Ferber & Loeb, 1997; Galinsky & Stein, 1990; Kimmel, 1993; Schultz, Chung & Henderson, 1988). Combine this high commitment with the tenure decision timing and it is easy to see why researchers have documented the difficulties in integrating family and work activities in ways that minimize stress and maintain productivity, career achievement and retention in the labor force (Ferber & Loeb, 1997; Ferber & O'Farrell, 1991). Work-family conflict can be particularly acute for dual-earner couples. If there is no one at home to care for needs, then the interference between the spheres of life is more prevalent. This conflict is typically more of an issue for women and an even greater concern for women with young children in the home (Roehling, Moen, & Bratt, 2003, Roehling & Moen, forthcoming).

Individuals are still required to conform to the norm of the ideal worker or one who is not encumbered with work at home (Williams, 1999; Appelbaum, Bailey, Berg & Kalleberg, 2002; Moen, 2003). This expectation forces individuals to make decisions to either hide their other commitments or employ a strategy to limit outside commitments (Drago & Colbeck, 2002; Judiesch & Lyness, 1999).

Life Stage

"The work-family interface in dual-earner couples consists of fluid, everchanging relationships: his job changes, her job changes, their family changes, and they both grow older (if not wiser)" (Moen, 2003, p. 9). The commitments associated with a couples' place in life can greatly impact their work/life strategy. This impact changes as responsibilities are adjusted throughout the life-span. It is a dynamic process of development and change as one moves from early career stages through mid-career and late-career. Typically families are growing and changing, an important factor to consider in the work/life analysis.

The *Cornell Couples and Careers Study* framed their research using the life stage model. They found significant implications to work/life strategy based on life stages of the participants. They found younger child-free couples, typically those under 40, heavily focused on work, often at the expense of time with their spouse or for themselves. The group they title "launching" were those with young children at home. This group was less likely to invest long hours in both partners' jobs. They found that couples with preschoolers were one-fifth as likely as those without children to adopt a high commitment to work strategy. This trend continued to a lesser degree with the "early establishment" group, those with grade school children being one-third as likely to adopt a high commitment approach maximizing both partners' careers. Those with highschoolers - "late establishment" -- are one-half as likely to adopt a high commitment to careers approach. Couples with children adopt different work/life strategies as they find child-rearing responsibilities affect their priorities, values and time availability (Moen & Sweet, 2003).

At the same time individuals are experiencing more demand at home, they are also experiencing changes in demands at work as there are significant life-stage differences in their load at work. The non-parents as described above often experience the highest workload, whereas those in the empty nest stage are the least apt to find their jobs overly demanding. In addition, the authors found that income level, not surprisingly, rises as couples move through the career-stage. As demands at home are rising, work load is still high and income levels are relatively low. Most important, as one moves through various life-stages resources and obligations fluctuate, causing strategies to fluctuate as well (Moen, Waismel-Manor & Sweet, 2003).

When analyzing the perceptions of faculty members, it is important to assess life stage issues to more fully understand the strategies the faculty employ. However it is also important to assess their natural tendencies or leanings towards their careers, which we will explore in the next section.

Career Orientation

Career orientation is an issue that has been understudied in the area of work/life. It is very important to assess the internal career orientation of individuals to gain additional insight into the rationale behind their strategy development. Recently Carlson (2003) and her colleagues took a look at internal career orientation and how that played out in the multi-dimensional world of work/life. Her classifications are helpful to our discussion and I will quickly review them here to inform the discussion. She has five classifications:

[1] *Getting ahead* – This orientation is characterized by upward mobility, seeking promotions within the status system.

[2] Getting secure – Individuals with this orientation are focused on long-term job security. So promotions and career success are aimed at respect, loyalty and

lifelong employment.

[3] Getting free – In this orientation individuals are not seeking upward mobility, rather they want freedom. They will seek out autonomy, loose supervision and responsibility for outcomes.

[4] Getting high – This is an orientation that is driven by excitement, action and passion for the activity. This individual will be in the center of the activity.

[5] Getting balanced – This orientation is focused around balancing three forces: work, relationships and self-development. They will focus on different aspects of their life at different stages, but overall seek balance for a life-time between the various spheres.

Each orientation or focus will impact a person's willingness to sacrifice personal life for success in their work life. Depending on their career orientation, different aspects will be emphasized and sought out. This will also help us understand why in a given context some individuals are very conflicted regarding their ability to balance various aspects of life and other individuals are very satisfied with their situation.

Graduate School Experience

Another factor that can impact the perceptions of female faculty members is their observations of junior faculty in graduate school. These observations seem to hold significant power in forming what graduate students can expect in a faculty position (Sorcinelli, Austin & Rice, 1999). In a study of graduate students and junior faculty member's, researchers found that graduate students recognized that the junior faculty members lived a "crazed" life and that they needed to work exceptionally hard to make tenure. They characterized faculty as individuals who were consumed with working and in particular making tenure. They did not observe a strong commitment to a life outside of the academy (Sorcinelli, Austin & Rice, 1999).

Timing of children is something that is observed in graduate school as well.

When to have a child can be strongly influenced by the spoken and inferred advice of others. Graduate school experiences as well as advisor's expectations and advice can play a significant role in shaping women's perspectives on their future ability to manage work and family effectively (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2003).

A recent study of postdoctorate students at Berkeley (2000) examined family and future career patterns. The results showed that 59% of women with children were considering leaving academia. One of the chief reasons for leaving was that respondents could not find a strategy for balancing work and family (Mason & Goulden, 2002).

These perceptions add to the picture, that to succeed in the academy (gain tenure), one has to be fully committed to work with as few distractions as possible. This can further the perceived necessity to engage in bias avoidance behaviors to eliminate the perception that one is not fully committed to her career.

Program Structure and Flexibility

Policy structure also influences work/life choices, in particular the amount of flexibility available in the job context and relevant policies. Polices are often categorized into two main approaches, segmentative policies and integrated policies (Grandey, 2001). Segmentative policies provide the employee with the ability to deal with family demands but continue to focus on work. An example of this may be sick childcare, which allows employees to find someone to watch their sick child while they are at work. The impact of the segmentative policies on worker outcome is somewhat tenuous. The ideology behind the policies would lead one to expect a decrease in turnover, a decrease in absenteeism and an increase in work performance. However, the few empirical studies provide ambiguous evidence for these claims. A few studies found a positive correlation (Perry, 1982; Auerbach, 1990) and others did not (Milkovich & Gomez, 1976; Kossek & Nichol, 1992). The mixed results signal that more research is still needed.

The second type of polices are integrative, allowing employees to restructure their work to focus on both the demands of work and family (Grandey, 2001). When the worker has control over the schedule, they often report increased satisfaction with their ability to mesh their work schedule with the needs of their family (Tausig & Fenwick, 2003). However, when this is done, the lines between work and home become blurry. The impact of integrative policies is also expected to be positive. One would expect that workers who have more control over their work hours would feel more positive about the organization, have lower turnover rates and less work/family tension. The research in this area is very policy driven and the results have typically met the expectations of the programs (Daltan & Mesch, 1990; Kim & Commpagna , 1981; Nollen & Martin, 1978; Pierce & Newstrom, 1983; Bohen & Viveros-Long, 1981; Lee, 1983; Dunham, Pierce & Castendenada, 1987; Rothausen, 1994; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998).

Mason and Goulden (2003) posit that the key factor that policies need to provide is time. It takes time to raise children. If policies don't afford their beneficiaries more time, then their effectiveness is null. They recommend leave policies such as active service with modified duties, delaying or stopping the tenure clock, and other solutions designed with the assumption that it takes time to raise children (Mason & Goulden, 2003).

The very nature of the academic career allows for flexibility and autonomy. Women in a recent study mentioned that flexibility and autonomy were extremely helpful in achieving some sort of balance between work and family (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2003). This notion of flexibility is an attractive option that attracts many into the profession in the first place. This is not to say that the workload is not heavy, rather, if one has control over the timing of work this allows for more flexibility with a family's schedule. However, this flexibility, is often dependent upon the organization and department. Even if the nature of the work allows for flexibility the environment may not.

Organizational Climate

The organizational climate is central to providing employees with the wherewithal to effectively negotiate work/life needs. This goal is easy to articulate but often difficult to enact. An organizational climate sensitive to the individual needs of employees requires support from the highest organizational levels. All actions must exhibit this commitment. The literature on postsecondary institutions is lacking in this area, therefore I have relied on literature from a business context. The findings seem transferable and can add to our understanding of work/life balance. In the following paragraphs, I will define climate and its impact on this study, and then provide a framework for distinguishing culture from climate.

A supportive organizational climate is necessary for policies to work effectively (Solomon, 1994; Dunham, Pierce & Castenada, 1987; Cutcher-Gershenfeld, Kossek & Sandling, 1997). Galinsky and Stein (1990) found that climate was the most important job condition predictive of a range of child-care related individual and organizational outcomes (Galinsky & Stein, 1990). Thompson et al. (1997) found that a supportive organizational climate was positively correlated with the use of work/life policies. Bailyn found that informal climate was more important than having formal policies in place (Bailyn, 1996). Often the climate creates many misconceptions of policy availability. The *Cornell Couples Study* (2003) found that seventy-one percent of the respondents were unaware or mistaken about at least one work/life policy or practice. Many (two-thirds) thought there was a policy in place that did not formally exist. It was clear that formal programs and employee's perceptions of the programs were misaligned. Policies must be embedded in the overall organizational culture for employees to feel validated and respected. Themes of respect, trust and employee empowerment are central to successful implementation of work/life polices. However, the policy itself cannot sustain these themes, they must be central to the climate in which the policy is placed (Valcour & Batt, 2003). DeMarr (1997) created a picture of a need–based climate, one where individual needs are respected and the climate responds beyond the person's inputs. She advocates this type of climate as one that would enhance family-friendly policies (DeMarr, 1997).

As climate is linked to work/life policies and their effectiveness, a brief description of the term climate is needed to further assess this connection. Organizational climate is a complex issue. It is defined by Tagiuri (1969) as follows:

> Organizational climate is a relatively enduring quality of the internal environment of an organization that (a) is experienced by its members, (b) influences their behavior, and (c) can be described in terms of the values of a particular set of characteristics (or attributes) of the organization (Tagiuri, 1968).

This definition implies that climate is part of the organization. Tagiuri emphasizes that the perception climate creates becomes the experiential reality of the workers. This

definition also states that this climate affects the way the workers behave at work, including work/life policies. Climate is thought to be the shared understanding of what is valuable in an organization. This definition is only valid if the understanding is internal, enduring, experienced by members and affects their behavior.

Kurt Lewin (1938) was one of the first to study psychological climate. He found a direct link between the organization's climate and the behavior of the workers. He claimed it was a powerful indicator of behavioral tendencies, performance and effectiveness (Lewin, 1938). This work was furthered by Litwin & Stringer (1968), who claimed that "the concept of 'atmosphere' or 'climate' was an essential functional link between the person and the environment" (Litwin & Stringer, 1968).

Climate is the lens through which one filters organizational experiences. If workers sense a supportive climate, then they will utilize policies that support them in their attempt to balance work and family. But if the climate is not supportive, it does not matter what type of policies are in place; they will not be utilized. Even though climate is subjective in nature it is a response to the actual characteristics of the organization. Reactions to those characteristics get played out in the effectiveness of organizational policies (Stringer, 2002). If the workplace climate does not incorporate values that will allow work/life policies to be successful, any range of policies will be sure to fail (Grandey, 2001; Kossek & Ozeki, 1999; Golden, 2001).

One important aspect of climate is departmental climate. There has been recent evidence to suggest that departmental support for the family commitments of subordinates is crucial to the successful melding of work and family (Lee & Duxbury, 1998). Thomson, Beauvais and Lyness claim that organizational and departmental support are distinct concepts and need to be treated as such (Drago, 2001).

A large part of the departmental climate can be attributed to the department head. He or she is the one who implements policies and monitors them. There has been evidence to suggest that "supervisory support for the family commitments of subordinates is crucial to the successful melding of work and family" (Lee & Duxbury, 1998). This support can significantly influence the perceptions of the bias that might be employed if the policy is utilized. Supervisory or managerial support has been included in researcher's definitions of supportive cultures and can significantly impact the strategies that female faculty members employ (Clark, 2001). Studies have shown that when men's opinions indicating work-family separation are known, women's using flextime work schedules as a tool for balance are negatively impacted (Kossek, Barber & Winters, 1999).

Organizational climate is not to be confused with organizational culture. Culture is distinct from climate in that culture emphasizes the unspoken assumptions that influence an organization. These assumptions are often deeply embedded and hold meanings, beliefs and values that permeate the organization's structures, actions and behavior. Climate, in contrast, represents the more accessible perceptions and experiences of the workers within an organization. This distinction is important for this research because organizations can quantify a collection of perceptions. With this understanding, organizations can begin to find ways to manage and change these perceptions so that policies can be utilized more effectively (Stringer, 2002). Many researchers have spent considerable thought on comparing and contrasting climate and culture. Peterson and Spencer (1990) provide an accurate and concise overview of their differences as outlined

in the table below:

Primary Distinctions of Culture and Climate

Climate	Culture
Common member perceptions of or attitudes toward and feelings about organizational life	Deeply shared values, assumptions, beliefs, or ideologies of members
Cognitive and social psychology and organizational behavior	Anthropology, sociology, linguistics, and organizational behavior
Pervasive, various organizational patterns, often focused on specific arenas	Holistic primary emergent patterns
Extrinsic: member control Intrinsic: member motivation	Instrumental: social interpretation, behavior control, and adaptation Interpretive: metaphor or meaning
Common views of participants	Super-ordinate meaning
Comparison among organizations or over time	Identifies uniqueness in relation to other organizations
Current patterns or atmosphere	embedded or enduring
More malleable, various direct or indirect means	Cataclysmic or long-term and intensive efforts
	Common member perceptions of or attitudes toward and feelings about organizational life Cognitive and social psychology and organizational behavior Pervasive, various organizational patterns, often focused on specific arenas Extrinsic: member control Intrinsic: member motivation Common views of participants Comparison among organizations or over time Current patterns or atmosphere More malleable, various

Summary

The perception of a supportive work/life climate has been linked to important work outcomes and employee attitudes. Perception of a supportive work environment has been tied to increased utilization of work/life benefits (Thompson et al, 1999: Allen, 2001) and have been associated with positive job outcomes such as commitment (Allen, 2001; Lyness, Thompson, Francesco & Judiesch 2, 1999); decreased work strain (Warren & Johnson, 1995) and decreased work-family conflict (Anderson, Morgan & Wilson, 2002); as well as decreased turnover (Thompson et al, 1999).

Definition of Key Terms

This section offers definitions of some key terms that are utilized in this dissertation.

Many terms have already been discussed such as climate, bias avoidance and career

orientation. This section provides a working definition of additional terms that are used

in this dissertation.

Worldview

Worldview is a term that is translated from the German word, "Weltanschauung",

used, for example, by Sigmund Freud in a 1918 paper. His definition is as follows:

an intellectual construction which gives a unified solution of all the problems of our existence in virtue of a comprehensive hypothesis, a construction, therefore, in which no question is left open and in which everything in which we are interested finds a place.

Bush (1991) goes on to define worldview in simpler terms as:

that basic set of assumptions that gives meaning to one's thoughts. A worldview is the set of assumptions that someone has about the way things are, about what things are, about why things are (p. 70).

Others extrapolate this to a group "worldview" is used to refer to the common concept of

reality shared by a particular group of people, usually referred to as a culture, or an ethnic

group (Jenkins, 1999).

These various approaches offer a definition of worldview as a way of making sense of the world around you. A system of beliefs and assumptions that guide your decision making process. This is central to the first category outlined in the findings and it also utilizes the uniqueness of the context of the study, women faculty in a Christian context. Gender Role Identity/"Good Mother"

The women interviewed were in a unique context that openly and honestly accessed worldview. A subset of the shared worldview of these women was the understanding of gender role identity. This term needs to be understood before the findings can be accurately read.

Gender identity is the psychological sense of oneself as a woman/girl or a man/boy. Gender roles are socially expected behavior patterns determined by an individual's sex. These roles frequently vary across cultures. Gender role identity looks at the way in which a person agrees with, approves and behaves according to the socially appropriate ways for his/her gender, that is, the extent to which a women acts feminine and a man acts masculine (Hawkesworth, 1997; Nicholson, 1994; Wiley, 1995). It is important to note the differences in these concepts. For example, it is possible to have a clear sense of oneself as a woman (gender identity) yet not identify with and/or refuse to act according to prevailing notions of femininity (Rathausen-Vange, Raskin & Pitt-Castsouphes, 2004)

Much gendering takes place in the context of family, where the feminine social ideals look at what makes a "good mother" or a "good wife" (Simon, 1995). With respect to gendered roles in the family, our society tends to define being a good wife and mother

as being continually available for emotional nurturing of the husband, children and other dependents. Also, she assumes primary responsibility for the physical and developmental care of dependents. While being warm and welcoming. Whereas our concept of a good husband or father is someone who provides economic goods to the family, and (secondarily) is a disciplinarian, authority figure, and plays with the children (Andersen, 1991; Cooper, 2000; Gerstel, 2000; Hochschild, 1989; Simon, 1995). In sum, although heterosexual couples conform to this norm to different degrees, women's roles in the family are socio-emotional, whereas men's roles are instrumental (Wiley, 1995).

Our society's expectations for "ideal worker ", a term already defined, are also gendered. Businesses often define the ideal worker through performance appraisals and promotion criteria as an employee who has aggressive characteristics, is independent and single-mindedly devoted to the firm or the profession often representing masculine characteristics (Collinson & Hearn, 1994; Williams, 2000).

Balance

The concept of balance is a vague and illusive construct. Often it is thought of in terms of time, but in reality it runs much deeper, rather it is the psychological negotiations that look at the impact and interference of work on home and of home on work. Men and Women are trying to find the time and energy to fulfill their various commitments to work, family and other demands. When they can achieve satisfaction and success in the different aspects of their lives they have found some sense of balance. However, this is often a goal that continues to move and hard to achieve (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2001). It is this psychological wherewithal under discussion in this dissertation.

<u>Guilt</u>

Guilt is a byproduct of the psychological approach to balance just defined. This concept of guilt is often discussed in terms of work/life issues, but it is an area understudied. Guilt often arises when there are two or more sets of pressures on one's life such as work and family. This was first identified as inter-role stress by Greenhaus and Beutell (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). The conflict arises when one role makes it difficult to meet the obligations of another role (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek & Rosenthal, 1964).

Guilt refers to the thoughts and feelings of regret and missed opportunities that often happen when one role is "interfering" with the other. This is often the case in work/life issues as guilt occurs when someone has an imbalance between two roles and has to choose one role over the other. (e.g., a faculty member has to go to a faculty senate meeting and miss his son's basketball game). If the individual feels that the choice was not fully justified and she may feel she is violating internally held values or ideals (such as a social pressure to be at all her of her child's games), guilt may ensue. This sense of guilt due to role-conflict is they type of guilt we see in the findings of this study (McElwain & Korabik, 2004).

These definitions should assist the reading of the findings of the study and the ensuing discussion. Allowing for a deeper understanding of the information presented in this study.

Chapter Three

Methods

Chapter three provides an outline of the methods utilized to conduct this study. The philosophical approach to the methods used in the framework for inquiry is discussed and continued with a section entitled the role of the researcher. Following the description of the methodological approach is an account of the context of the study. This section begins with a description of the current state of Christian Higher Education, followed by specifics of the site that was chosen for this study. Included in the context is a look at the participants themselves and their basic demographics. At the culmination of this chapter the specific tools of inquiry are present.

Framework for Inquiry

This study utilized a constructivist approach. The constructivist believes that, to understand the world of meaning, one must interpret it. The inquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors (Schwandt, 1994).

To facilitate this philosophical approach I have chosen to conduct the study using qualitative research methods, specifically interviewing. The nature of this study lends itself to the constructivist paradigm as the aim is understanding. Reconstruction of the beliefs that participants hold regarding the integration of their work and their life is needed. This understanding is needed to see how their life experiences have influenced the variables incorporated into their work/life strategies. Qualitative research is rooted in a phenomenological paradigm holding that reality is constructed through individual and/or collective definitions of the situation (Taylor & Bodgon, 1984).

Two etymologies help us to understand the rationale behind the methods selected for this study. The Greek word for method is "a route that leads to the goal" and the Latin word for conversation means "wandering together" (Kvale, 1996). When these words are looked at in the context of qualitative interviewing, we can see that interviewing is the route that leads to the goal, claiming that the method is the way the study's purpose is accomplished. The interview, taken as a conversation, signifies that the interviewer and the interviewee are on the journey together. Therefore, it is more important to be attuned to whom you are traveling with than to be concerned with the precise route for all to follow. This captures the very nature of qualitative research, where the journey is as important as the destination.

This study focuses on key components impacting female faculty members' work/life strategies. As shown previously, the literature base is just beginning to investigate this issue. Missing is a study that looks at strategy implementation in a unique context, Christian higher education. A distillation of the components is needed to see if there is a foundational aspect to strategy development and deployment. This study set forth to address this gap in the current literature base.

Interviewing allowed an appreciation of the stories of the women's lives, thus providing insight into their choices and strategies. Seidman (1991) states that "it is this process of selecting constitutive details of experience, reflecting on them, giving them order, and thereby making sense of them that makes telling stories a meaning-making experience" (Seidman, 1991; Schutz, 1967). Heron (1981) states that the original and archetypal paradigm of human inquiry is two persons talking and asking questions of each other. This method provides an in-depth understanding of why these women are making the daily choices they are. Seidman (1991) puts it this way: "At the root of indepth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience (Seidman, 1991, p. 3).

The way to understand their strategies is to put their behavior in context. In-depth interviews were used to explore the various factors that impacted their decisions and to explore the avenues they created to carry out their strategies (Shutz, 1967; Seidman, 1991).

Role of the Researcher

When interviewing, it is important to keep in mind that the interviewers are also part of the process (Seidman, 1991; Mishler, 1986). Interviewers must be disciplined and dedicated to keep the interviews as the participants meaning-making process. By recognizing this possible distortion, interviewers can use their skills to minimize its effect.

I came to the topic of this project with a great deal of interest as it is a path I have walked. I am a female faculty member who has balanced an academic career, a family and completion of my Ph.D. program as well as community involvement and extended family commitments. I attempt to balance daily as I live in a constant state of negotiation between time and priorities.

As a faculty member I have taken advantage of a work/life policy that has greatly enhanced my ability to balance the various aspects of my life. My institution and more specifically my department were extremely supportive in my attempts to balance. Thus I have thrived in a supportive and encouraging environment. However, I have recognized that many of my colleagues have not had the same type of supportive experience that I have had and I have recognized the toll this takes on their lives.

Given these experiences, I had to keep my biases in check. Even though I made every effort to eliminate my perspective when I interviewed a participant and more importantly when I analyzed the data, it was impossible to fully remove my perspective from the interpretation. However, my experiences provided depth to my interpretation of the interviews. I was able to quickly understand the interviewees, their context and their voice. In addition, this personal insight helped to check the accuracy of the responses as I have had significant dealings within the context that I studied.

Description of the site

The Religious College as a Setting

The context of this study was a religious college. Religious colleges are fighting for legitimacy in the arena of higher education. Thus the pressure on faculty members to assist in this struggle was acute. The following case reflects this struggle.

In 1987 Phillips Bishop was an assistant professor in physiology and physical education at the University of Alabama (Johnson, 1995). In one of his classes he explained to his students that he was a Christian believer, and that "bias" as he termed it, affected his approach to his academic duties. He also invited students to an after class, purely voluntary session where he lectured and led a discussion on evidences for God in human physiology. Professor Bishop's departmental chair sent him a memo in which he stated that the Bishop must refrain from such activities. The administration supported the chair and a legal battle ensued. Professor Bishop won the District Court battle but was overturned on appeals. The Supreme Court would not hear his argument so he was effectively muzzled. This incident is a not so rare an example of the belief that religion is seen as illegitimate when brought into academia. In 1988 a subcommittee of American Association of University Professors echoed the reasoning in this case when it argued that religiously based colleges and universities forfeit their "moral right to proclaim themselves as authentic seats of higher learning" and are not institutions in the same class as those without religious commitments (McConnell, 1990).

There are two strains of thought in the cultural attitude towards religious universities and colleges. The first is the no-aid-to-religion strain, where religion is viewed as a personal, private matter whose legitimate role in the public life of the nation, including higher education, is at best very limited. The second strain that is emerging is that of equal treatment or equal access. This strain would allow limited forms of governmental accommodation and assistance to religiously based groups and activities, as long as that accommodation and assistance is offered equally to all religious groups and activities and to religious and nonreligious groups and activities on the same basis. This is in direct conflict to the no-aid-to-religion strain as it takes religion out of private life and allows it as a valid perspective in the academy, allowing for its legitimization.(Monsma, 1996)

Institutions of higher learning with religious affiliations recognize that the emerging strain in legal and cultural thought may give rise to a second chance for religious education. That is, they see an opportunity, an opening that could result in a relegitimization of religion in academe. The message is being sent that the Christian community must take the lead in developing theories, principles, and concepts justifying and articulating the legitimate role of religion in academe.

Many Christian scholars feel called to faithful Christian scholarship that develops a clear theoretically sophisticated case for why Christianity and other religious traditions should have access to academe on par with other worldviews and systems of thought – why they deserve equal treatment – and then articulating that case in a persuasive manner. Thus many seriously religious colleges and universities are deeply engaged in developing compelling models of Christian scholarship and education.

Christian scholarship is difficult because the conflicting worldview that Christian scholarship is impossible or illegitimate is so deeply entrenched in our culture. It will take persistent, organized, coordinated efforts, and the commitment of resources to accomplish it (Monsma, 1996).

This tension sets forth a situation where Christian institutions of higher learning sit on the brink. They must take the reigns and be a place where a Christian voice is present in shaping social formations of contemporary society or take a back seat as a second class citizen where legitimacy is never gained.

This need for legitimization places Christian higher education in a tenuous position. They must work hard to provide acceptance of their cause or be satisfied with a second class status. Accepting the latter posits that religion and the academy are inherently at odds. This is a direct contradiction to what so many have dedicated their lives to – the concept of a Christian institution of higher learning. This is the context in which the women I interviewed worked. This offers a valid context to strive for, one that fits with their worldview albeit one that increasingly demanding.

The institution in which I conducted my study was actively engaged in "the concept of a Christian institution of higher learning." They were fighting for its legitimacy on all accounts, scholarship, teaching, community. In addition to the broader context, it was an institution that was involved in daily improvements. Internally, they were continuously seeking to provide a better experience for their students in the classroom, in the dorm room, on the courts and on the campus. They took the idea of learning seriously on all accounts.

Site Specifics

The site for this study was a liberal arts college with a strong identity and mission. Its mission articulates three purposes for the college: first, "to engage in vigorous liberal arts education that promotes lifelong Christian service. . ., education that is shaped by Christian faith, thought, and practice;" second, "to produce substantial and challenging art and scholarship;" and third, "to perform all our tasks as a caring and diverse educational community" (College Mission Statement, 2000).

The history of the college is of interest as well. It is classified as a comprehensive liberal arts college. It was founded within the Reformed tradition of historic Christianity. The college grew out of the literary department of a preparatory school that had been established in 1857 by immigrants from the Netherlands. It has been a four-year college since 1920 (Boonstra, 2001).

Over a century and a quarter of its existence, the college has prided itself on a strong record of teaching, learning, and scholarship, with particular attention to the Reformed identity of the college. It has been able to attract and maintain a dedicated faculty, administration, and staff who carry a deep sense of calling. It has alumni of 40,000 worldwide.

The college is set within a specific demographic context in the mid-west. It is in an

economically lively area. The city is growing at a rate of 16.1% which exceeds both state and national averages. The urban and suburban population is greater than 1 million (Area Connect, 2003).

The students currently number 4,330, with the vast majority the traditional undergraduate age of 18-22. They come from all fifty states and more than fifty foreign countries 54% of the student body is from the state in which the school is located.

The students rate highly in academic achievement. 26.5% of incoming students graduated in the top 10% of their high school class and more than half (52%) graduated in the top 25% of their class.

The faculty is currently at 291 full-time instructional faculty members and 83 parttime. Of the full-time faculty 199 (68%) are male and 92 (32%) are female, 141 of these (48.5%) are tenured. This group of tenured faculty members includes 120 males (60.3% of total male faculty members) and 21 females (23% of total females on the faculty). Nineteen full-time faculty members, or 6.5% belong to North American minority groups, including five African-Americans. 82% of the faculty have their doctorate, first professional, or other terminal degrees in their fields. Of the 83 part-time faculty members, nearly half (41) are women, and 4 belong to minority groups. Fifteen of these (18.1%) hold the terminal degree. In 2002, 148 faculty members were ranked at the full professor level (50.9%), 49 (16.8%) at the associate professional level, and 84 (28.9%) at the assistant professor level. Ten faculty members carried instructor rank (3.4%). The ratio of students to faculty is 14.75 to 1, having declined significantly from 16.6 to 1 in fall 1998.

According to the 2002 survey conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute

(HERI, 2002), the faculty members are slightly younger on average than their counterparts at other four-year private institutions nationwide; and they are more likely to be currently married, never divorced, and to have children.

The college has traditionally maintained a comparatively very lean administration and staff. The total staff numbers 616 people, including 325 non-faculty and 291 faculty. The non-faculty ratio to faculty ratio is 1.04 to 1 which is well below the national average (National Center for Education Statistics, 2003).

Of the 325 full-time, non-faculty administration staff, 169 (52%) are women and 156 (48%) are men. Twelve (3.7%) are members of North American minority groups and five are resident aliens (IPED, 2001-02).

Participants

In this study I interviewed female faculty members from the context described. My goal was to identify 15-20 female faculty members with relatively equal distribution between assistant professors, associate professors and full professors. This distribution was selected to incorporate the life stage influences that were discussed in the literature review. These women would be representative of those engaging in bias avoidance behaviors (Drago & Colbeck, 2002) from a single liberal arts institution, meaning that individuals with various life patterns would need to be included in the sample. Thus the sample was to include faculty members who are married, single, with children and without children.

The liberal arts context was chosen to gain an in depth look at the bias avoidance behavior that was identified in the original survey Drago and Colbeck (2002), because liberal arts colleges have one of the largest differentials between the men and women

faculty when it comes to the number of children they have (second only to colleges offering associates degrees). That is a surprising finding (Drago & Colbeck, 2002). This finding is somewhat counter intuitive as one might posit that the high demands of a research university would lend itself to more incidences of bias avoidance. By studying a liberal arts college I was able to look at the nature of bias avoidance in an identified context that fosters bias avoidance behavior.

I selected a single site to reduce the cultural aspects that influence policy development and policy utilization (Galinsky & Stein, 1990). Rather I wanted to isolate the culture and climate factors that vary significantly by departments. By selecting a single institution, the organizational culture was relatively similar for all, even though the departmental culture could differ significantly.

A religiously affiliated college was selected to see if a prevailing belief system would influence strategies of the women interviewed. By choosing a single site that employs people with shared vision and beliefs, I was able to see how that framework gets incorporated into the strategy decisions. This institution required their faculty to be those of a Christian faith and even more specifically a member of a certain strand of that faith. Thus the faith systems of the women I interviewed were of similar currents, albeit not identical.

The sample represented different career stages, disciplines, and life circumstances. This was done to further understand how different factors impact their work/life management. The sampling employed an emergent strategy to allow for reasonable additions if good candidates were identified. I sought participants who represented a diversity of demographics, disciplines and life course status. The focus was primarily on the following:

- Under the age of 48
- A solid distribution of disciplinary backgrounds
- Actively dealing with work/life issues

Secondary considerations were:

- A variety of life circumstances
- A variety of previous experiences at other institutions of higher education

The participants were made up of the following:

- N= 25
- 5 out of 25 were married with 12 out of 25 were married with children;
 8 out of 25 were single
- They represented 12 disciplines
- 16% were Full Professors, 32% were Associate Professors and 52% were Assistant Professors.
- They ranged in age from 27 51; 16% were in their 20's, 56% were in their 30's, 20% were in their 40's and 8% were in their 50's.
- 85% of those interviewed had worked in another professional context, with 75% being in another institute of higher education.

The Research Tool

Each individual was interviewed for 60-90 minutes. The in-depth interviews relied upon multiple methodological sources. They combined aspects of (1) the ethnographic interview in which social and cultural features of a topic were explored to gain insight into the informant's life (Spradley, 1979); (2) the biographical interview through which a conversation regarding the person's identity and life course are constructed (Levinson, 1978); and (3) therapeutic interviews in which people shared their problems and concerns in their current situation in an attempt to make meaning of their circumstances (Kaufman, 1994). The focus of each interview and some sample questions are as follows:

Life history: How did the participant come to be a faculty member? What was their graduate school like? Who were their role models in the field? What was their childhood like/parent's roles? A review of the participant's life history up until the time she became a faculty member. Category 1 from conceptual framework.

Contemporary experience: Interviews in this section focused on what it is like to be a faculty member. There were two streams. The first stream focused on her family life such as spouse's employment and flexibility, spouse's support, number of children, family support, child-care arrangements, etc. The second stream focused on work context issues such as supervisory support, policy availability and usage, factors at work that assist in balancing, etc. This section investigated the details of their present experiences in the context of their work and life balancing issues. Categories 2 & 3 from conceptual framework.

Reflection: This section allowed for an opportunity to see how her experiences shaped her view of her ability to manage work/life and the decisions she made regarding work/life issues? Reflection on the meaning, connecting the emotional and intellectual regarding work/life issues was the focus of this last section..

Ethical issues in the interviewing process needed to be explicit, anonymity was

crucial. Human subjects approval provided the formal requirements needed to insure protection of the participants. The release agreement and consent form provided the participants with assurance that their identity was kept anonymous. Use of pseudonyms in the analysis and the dissemination were used to insure that the participant's words could not be traced back to them. All processing of the data was done using the pseudonym, removing the identity of the participant from the data itself.

Data Collection and Analysis

As stated earlier, a constructivist method was utilized consisting of flexible strategies for focusing and expediting the collection of qualitative data and analysis (Charmaz, 2000). Typically a constructivist sees an interview as starting with the central problem but moving forward based on how the interview is co-constructed with the interviewer and interviewee. The information collected represents the various views instead of hard facts. It is imperative to a constructivist that their data is located in context (Charmez, 2000). This was done throughout the interviews. The data was then collected and analyzed inductively. The goal was to uncover the embedded information to make sense of the behavior or to make the information explicit (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The data collection process utilized the following steps:

- Each interview was tape recorded, reviewed at least two times and then transcribed. Notes were kept throughout the interview. This was done so that the actual words of the participants were used. In addition, this allowed for original data to prove accuracy and reliability. Finally, it honored the participants as they knew that there will be a record of what they said.
- 2. Memos were written following each interview summarizing key themes and questions the researcher encountered. This was done to inform future interviews and to allow for follow-up questions while the interviewer was on-site. These memos contained the following sections:

- a. Demographic: Brief description of the individual including age, race, marital status, number of children, academic rank, number of years at institution, degree and other pertinent information.
- b. Satisfaction: Brief assessment of the level of satisfaction of the individual with their current work and life situation.
- c. Strategies: An analysis of the current strategies or lack of strategies being used by the individual to maintain balance in their life.
- d. Context: Specific information given on the context of their workplace. This was done immediately so follow up could be done with administration, specifically human resources or department chairs.
- e. Framework: An assessment of their current framework that guided them in their decisions surrounding work/life balance
- f. Quotes: Useful quotes from the session
- g. Lessons learned: A synopsis of common themes, new ideas or other lessons that emerged throughout the interview.

When analyzing the data I employed the thematic connections framework.

Thematic Connections

Each interview was analyzed for thematic connections. The data analysis was inductive and attempted to identify common themes and emerging patterns using content analysis. With this technique "the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis" (Patton, 1980, p. 306).

The data collection and analysis conformed to the highest standards of qualitative research. Instead of demonstrating constructs appropriate to quantitative research – reliability, external validity, external validity – it employed a rigorous, parallel set of standards more applicable to qualitative research. Qualitative research establishes the trustworthiness of its findings by demonstrating that findings are credible, transferable, dependable, and confirmable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The passages were marked with a coding system that categorized and prioritized the excerpts to allow for tracing of the information (unitizing). A system was designed that stored the themes in a filing system (categorizing). This allowed for presentation of excerpts that were thematically organized in the final report (Seidman, 1991).

Memos were written to link themes (coding) to the writing of the first draft of the analysis. By writing memos that began to synthesize the data the common themes were raised to conceptual categories. Memo writing helped to join the data with original interpretations of those data and thus helped to avoid forcing the data into extant theories (Charvez, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

Themes were identified by utilizing the following guides (Love, 1994).

- Representation within and across interviews. Themes developed when there was
 a consistent representation of ideas, concerns, issues and beliefs that arised
 repeatedly within the interview and across interviews. These patterns were
 deemed significant.
- 2. Levels and nature of affect. When emotion was evidenced through non-verbal
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cues such as facial expressions, nervous laughing or fidgeting, sudden rise in vocal volume or other bodily movement, all noted concomitantly with participants content, lent significance to that subject or theme. This was noted in the memos.

- Historical experience, description or interpretations. Stories about the past offered explanations and justification for present behaviors and meaning. These stories were deemed significant if they lend insight into the interviewee's actions or beliefs.
- 4. Explicit and implicit interpretations. When there were connections between thoughts and activities and the corresponding meaning ascribed to them, they were seen as significant. This occurred when the connections were both obvious and direct or implied and metaphoric.
- 5. Serendipity. Behavior and experiences of the participants that represented a variance from what was expected based on my readings and experiences. These surprises were significant because they offered additional sources of insight and allowed the researcher to recognize areas in the field that were yet to be investigated.

This allowed me to utilize the recordings and memos to identify the themes that emerged throughout the study. By listening to each tape at least twice, transcribing the tapes and then drafting memos on the interviews, the themes emerged with relative ease.

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is a general term representing what positivists think of as internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity. (Rudenstam & Newton, 1992). Qualitative research needs to examine the concept of trustworthiness that includes truth/value (internal validity), applicability (generalizability), consistency (reliability) and neutrality (objectivity).

In a constructivist paradigm, the criterion for truth/value is credibility. This was established by conducting member checks. By returning to the field after a period of time, member checks with participants can be conducted to check and reconsider interpretations of data made by the researcher. (Rudenstam & Newton, 1992). This was done through emails of the findings to those who participated and responses from participants as to the interpretation of their responses.

The second criterion is applicability and is measured by transferability of the inquirer's results. This was addressed by comparing the findings with other studies in the field and by utilizing a purposive sampling technique as done in this study. This was accomplished through reading broadly on this subject and seeing similarities in findings. Also the sampling method assisted in gaining access to the views of those most relevant to the topic of this research.

The third principal is consistency and this refers to the replication of the study under similar circumstances. Rudenstam & Newton (1992) suggest that consistency is derived through the coding of the data. If this process allows another individual to be able to make sense of the themes and arrive at similar conclusions, then there is consistency in the study. This was done by having others test the themes by reading the transcripts and thematic samples to see if consistent methods of interpretation were applied.

Finally, the fourth concept is neutrality. As discussed earlier given my experiences and my understanding of the field, my neutrality is of utmost importance, albeit very difficult if not impossible to remove biases. The data collection and analytical process helped to reduce the presence of bias and helped to ensure an adequate level of neutrality.

Summary

The methods were used to ensure reliability in the results and to respect and honor the participants in the study. The great lengths taken to assess and analyze the themes that emerged allowed for a more accurate description of the ideas presented in the interviews, further removing the possibility for bias.

Chapter Four

Findings

This chapter is presented in four sections: strategies utilized, problems encountered, religious context, and issues for single faculty women. The sections are organized around the research questions. The section on strategies utilized is framed around the first research question: "What components are present in the underlying worldview that forms the strategy these women use to manage issues surrounding work and life away from work?" Worldview is defined as the way one views the world, the beliefs and assumptions that give meaning to the way one approaches the world. This section identifies the interaction of work/life management strategies developed and the worldview of the participants.

This development of strategy is viewed in light of the passion these women have toward their careers and the corresponding link to their sense of calling within their current context. Various issues will be explored around this theme, but the central link is the sense of calling and the implications that has in strategy development.

The second section, on problems encountered, expresses the information gathered that addresses the research question: "What are the critical factors that cause barriers to work/life balance for women." This section takes a look at themes that arose regarding the various barriers encountered when attempting to manage work and life. Some of the issues highlighted are the role of expectations, role models and a supportive spouse. These factors are shown to impact the way women employ the strategies they have developed. Embedded in the strategy deployment is a corresponding guilt. This is looked at and identified as a factor in the way the women behave on a daily basis. Finally, the climate of the organization is looked at and found to greatly influence the way the women in this study balance their lives.

The third section on religious context gets right at the heart of the third research question: "How does a distinctively Christian context influence work/life strategies and the way in which these strategies are employed?" This section discusses the uniqueness of this particular context as well as its generalizability to other contexts that host a variety of worldviews.

The unique nature of a religious context brought forth some contextual issues. These women were committed to their vocation as they saw it as a distinct sense of calling. This calling was a derivative of their faith. This construct is explored in the following pages. The college also provided a unique setting for understanding a commitment to excellence coupled with service. Both of these components lead to high work loads, strong commitments and extensive expectations. The work load for these women caused much angst and role confusion. The role confusion was heightened by the role of women within the religious framework of this particular organization. The women often felt role conflict when they were assessing work life and church life, something unique to a Christian context. These issues will be discussed in the following sections.

Finally, a section on the particular issues for singles is offered. Throughout the research the participants who were single brought forth unique issues, perceptions and contextual dilemmas. The findings will show that the experiences of singles are different, the climate for singles is different, and the challenge for balance is greater.

These findings will be explored in this final section of this dissertation.

Each section is introduced with a portrait of a participant in the study who exemplifies the subject matter of the themes presented in the section. While each section discusses and highlights a variety of themes, there is consistency of context in the subjects. The portraits are meant to provide a representation of the various issues while providing a continual reminder that there is consistency from subject to subject, the fact that these are all women faculty members in a Christian context struggling with work/life management. However, the richness of thematic connections is expressed across the broader questions to highlight the complexity and interrelatedness of work/life management issues. The division of the issues into categories within sections is meant to simplify the reading of the findings. The portraits are included to offer insight into how the various categories make up a whole person.

Strategies Utilized

Case Study – Mary

Mary loves her work and has been recognized as a gifted teacher on campus. She has won several awards for her teaching. She has a husband who maintains a professional career and she has three children between the ages of 8 and 14. Mary thinks a lot about managing work and her life away from work. When we discussed her strategy she defined it as her philosophy and not a strategy. She says "A strategy seems too generic, too cold." And she asked: "How do you define managing two things you love in that manner, you must look at it as a philosophy or worldview."

Mary feels that although her spouse and her department are supportive she struggles with daily negotiations. She works hard to find congruency in her life as she tries to be both a mom and a professor. She feels the two are interrelated. Her kids are proud of the fact that she is a college professor and she readily shares the joys and struggle of the job with her family. However, she has recently noticed that she is sharing her home life less in the workplace. As she has gained some status on campus, she perceives that people want to see her as a professor and that seeing her as a mom limits her in some way.

After she received the award for being an exemplary teacher someone asked her: "What gives at home so that you can give so much to work?" This struck her and she realized that people could not see her as a mom and professor simultaneously, if one was emphasized the other needed to be deemphasized. This caused her to change her practices a bit where she did not talk about her children as often. When she left campus she did not always state it was for home issues rather she just quietly slipped out. She is not happy with such a strategy but keeps finding herself slipping into this mode.

Mary does feel that she is doing well in both areas of life, but worries that she is giving up something of herself, that she is not taking time to just "be" as she is always "doing." This is something she feels is not sustainable in the long run; but she is willing to maintain in the short run as she gains so much satisfaction from her work and her family.

Mary is representative of some of the women I interviewed. Strategies are being employed whether they can articulate them or not. A guiding worldview seems to be particularly relevant to these women. This will be discussed below with elements of the guiding theory and perceptions that are distilled into a daily strategy.

The first concept is that of bias avoidance as discussed in the literature review.

Bias Avoidance Behavior

Almost all participants expressed some type of behavior that would fit under the bias avoidance construct outlined earlier in the literature review. Many individuals said they had fewer children than they would have liked and often they described how they tried to time their child birth for the summer so it would not disrupt their work obligations. Some took great pride in the fact that they had accomplished that feat!

Many participants, when asked if they had made family choices based on their careers or if their career impacted their family, were quick to say no. But it often slipped into the conversation at a later time that some of their choices were based on career issues. Even though they did not readily admit to the impact of their career on their personal decisions bias avoidance behavior was evident.

In contrast, a number of women felt as if they experienced bias because they did, at times, choose family over career.

I lost out because I made it clear that my family was a priority. Yeah we are supposed to be good parents and we are supposed to value family, but when you really do, you give up real opportunities. You lose out on some opportunities to be involved in some of the powerful committees or exposure to the administration. They view me as a good worker, but not one with immediate potential – your potential becomes limited by your family.

They look at me as less serious. . . my teaching evaluations are equally as good, my research agenda and accomplishments are equal, my service to

the institution is just like everyone else, but yet I am viewed as less serious. I contribute that to the fact that I leave to get my kids and I don't play the face time game. I think that limits their perception of my contribution.

These results perpetuate bias avoidance behavior for they provide evidence that it is necessary to minimize your commitment to family in order to appear serious on the job. There was a message being sent that focus on family had real implications. That ethos of the organization, the cultural undercurrent, most likely played into the responses I received when I asked if they had engaged in bias avoidance behavior. They did not want to label it as such or maybe they were unable to see it as such because they have done such a good job at hiding so much of their personal life for so long.

Many expressed angst over this issue and appeared unsure how to express both aspects of their life.

I love my family and it is a very important aspect of my life. However, if I show that commitment I am seen as weaker, less committed, you know the type who is here in body but not really fully invested in the job. I don't want to come across that way, but I struggle with what to do. So many times I, unfortunately, hide my family life so when people look at me they don't see a mother, they see a professor.

Some expressed this as a byproduct of being in an environment that highly valued family because it was a Christian organization.

I think that I am supposed to be a mom first around here. That is great, but at times I feel that it may diminish my contribution or at least the

perception of my contribution. I don't quite fit the traditional view they (men in the organization) have seen modeled by their parents, wives and siblings. Since I am a woman who has children and works, my children naturally are seen to take priority over my work. I am not sure this would be true in another institution.

One participant felt this was particularly acute for women, and men were actually given a break.

In my department we had a man whose wife had a baby. The chair really protected him from night classes, late labs or early classes. In a meeting the chair said well you really shouldn't do that because it would take time away from your family. This would never happen to a woman in our department. It is like men are assumed to be more serious about their careers, they never have to prove it. Where I feel that we (women) always have to prove we are serious.

Bias avoidance was more narrowly defined, whereas the broader types of bias avoidance were minimal. However, the undercurrent was one that was felt clearly and the message was strong. In spite of the struggles expressed, many women were focused and energized from doing something they love to do. They had a passion for their work. Passion

Throughout all these struggles, frustrations and guilt, these women were driven. They had passion for what they did and a sense of calling about their work. They were much further along than fulfilling merely job requirements or expectations; they saw their role as a responsibility they took seriously -- they were internally driven.

Those with a strong sense of purpose were more committed to the organization and seemed to have a better sense of balance. These next participants share this in the following quotes:

I love my job, it means something. It gives me a sense that I am part of something bigger, something beyond myself. What I do is a piece of a bigger picture and there is a lot of meaning in that – at least for me there is.

I absolutely love my job, when the students eyes light up and I know they are learning, there is nothing like it.

They key is to know who you are and what drives you. When you have that it is all so much easier.

This seems to be counter-intuitive; it would seem that if one was driven in a job one would focus on that at the expense of other areas. But my participants presented another perspective. They viewed their job not as a career but as a vocation, this will be explored further in a later section discussing "calling." They saw their jobs as part of the whole and not the complete picture. Even though they saw themselves as incomplete without their job it was still just a part of them. The other aspects of their life were also part of their calling and fit into their overall vocational view.

I am a mother and a professor. These are two parts of me and two roles I play. I am not complete without both parts, they are central to my being. I will make both work as I don't want to entertain the possibility of the alternative.

I do what I do because it is an expression of who I am. I am very passionate about my field and I absolutely love the classroom. I have given up things in life, but I haven't given up a part of myself.

This passion, however, does cause conflict for these women as they want to be able to do more but realize they cannot. They have to scale back but they are barely willing to do so.

The pressure for me is I really like what I do so I want more of it. I would love to be a top rate philosopher at 20 hours a week, but it is not possible so I have to scale back what I am striving for.

This is a direct consequence of the sense of calling. We see that given their sense of responsibility they were driven to do well. This was not just a sense of being responsible. It was incorporated into a passionate interest in their lives. Their passion is coupled with a sense of purpose that included a willingness to give up things for themselves in order to work for the broader issues.

Stripped Down Version of Self

Many women talked in terms of choices when they discussed their strategies. They spoke of "weighing alternatives", "options", "variables", " negotiations", "zero-sum games" and other terms that signified making a choice. What they were relaying is that if they had to make choices -- they couldn't have it all and they had to give up something.

My head is too busy – I have chosen this way and I will live with it, but my head is just too busy. I am always thinking of what's next, always

looking ahead, always wondering what I forgot. I am a constant mental state of figuring it all out. It gets tiring.

I have given up a lot and I think about it -- money, prestige. However, we both want to be home and my son benefits from having both of us involved

This sacrifice often manifested itself in the giving up of something for the faculty members I interviewed. They found that there was not time for self and they lamented this.

I don't have time just to be and that bothers me. How can I really be me if I don't have the time to reflect on what that is? I often feel like I am surviving day to day and doing ok, but without time for reflection and just the down time I worry that I won't be able to reach my potential, you know, truly express who I am because I may lose sight of who that is.

We need wellness where there is a time and space in life just to be and you can't do that when you live life in 10-15 minute segments. It is hard to find space for relationships when you mind is always racing to the next thing.

The most difficult part in all of this for the women was the feeling that they were "satisficing."

One way I do it is that I have to settle for good enough, because I can't do it all well. As you mature and age it is easier to say it is good enough because you have a broader perspective.

When you are good at it, it is hard to do good enough. I am banking on the fact that there are seasons of life.

This was most poignantly captured in the following quote.

The biggest challenge is being a whole person and having time for Sabbath. I have given up all novel reading, music and running. I live a stripped down version of myself and that isn't long-term sustainable. I worry that I will become a stunted person. I want to do more than just hold on with white knuckles and hope I don't fall.

The women were extremely talented academicians and more than capable in other aspects of life as well. But they lost time for themselves and this concerned them. It wore on them and it was a key issue of strain and stress in their lives. But they were still driven to make it work.

Strategy Development

When asked how they made it work, managing the various aspects of their lives, multiple strategies emerged. There was not one way identified, but rather many variations that brought purpose and a sense of control to their lives. The answers vary greatly from no real strategy to identification of the defined methods of working it through.

Strategy? I make it up everyday

I have a great pediatrician who is also a working mom and she realizes my

struggles. She knows what I need in terms of information for daycare and works with me on that.

My husband and I plan for all contingencies, we are very aware of our schedules and always have backup.

Some defined strategies do emerge that help people navigate their way. Readily apparent was the idea of separation and integration that was defined earlier in the literature review. Many intentionally engage in these two disparate approaches to managing life and work.

I try to separate my work and home. I don't bring anything home, work is at work and home is home.

I do work at home and home at work. It all mixes together. That way I can be more flexible with my time and hours at work. If I need to leave to go on a field trip I can, knowing I can grade those papers at home in the wee hours of the night. My life doesn't allow me to only do work at work, it just isn't that neatly wrapped up.

The strategies that people employed seem to emerge out a survival mode. They find ways to separate because there is no natural separation. As mentioned earlier it is a job that can consume all of you.

I plan for large blocks of time that I am not here. I separate physically so I am away from it. I have a very high sense of entitlement to my time. I have also created another world outside of my work. I socialize with people who are not from here, I go to a church were there are very few colleagues, I have a boat. All these things get me away and broaden my perspective.

Even when they find strategies they don't always feel good about the methods they have chosen.

I set up a ½ day just for me, for some type of balance. I feel guilty about having the kids in day care so I can have some time for myself, but that is one way I deal with it.

One strategy that was of particular interest was the incorporation of a sense of purpose or passion that was different from their profession. They expand their sense of vocation.

I keep other things in my life, so work can't consume me.

My department climate is so bad that I need to get out to realize I am part of something bigger. I make sure I eat lunch with colleagues outside of my department to get a sense of the big picture. To realize that my microcosm is not what I am about, it is just a piece of the whole.

I make it because I know that at the end of the day my job is part of who I am but not all of it.

I take Fridays off to get the things done. I have a friend who is an intellectual colleague and we meet weekly to share and pray. It helps me

to step back and get the big picture and view things from a different perspective.

This sense that there is more to who they are than their career seems to drive a strategy for managing work and life. This becomes even more obvious when you see those who don't have that broader sense of purpose and they let work define who they are.

My job engulfs me. I find my identity in my work – it is who I am. I am a scholar, a teacher a department member. So to get away from it, to leave it behind is impossible for me because it is me. That means that I don't have a strategy for nurturing the other aspects of my life, because in reality there are no other aspects. I guess that isn't good is it? I never really grappled with that. . . until now.

Those who had been faculty members for a longer period of time seemed to have a broader sense of purpose and a corresponding need to get away from work. It seems to come over time. The more sure of your competencies and gifts the more sure you are that it is acceptable and necessary to have outside interests. That confidence also afforded these women a better sense of balance.

As I aged it became easier, the first years were tough. I think I am finally getting it. I had to recognize what was energizing and what zapped me. Once I knew what motivated me I could fit things together better.

I am comfortable with where I am at, so I know when enough is enough When the decisions made were calculated it appeared as if there was more satisfaction in the results. The expectations were clear verses those who fell into situations without any sense of a plan or some intentionality. The latter group came through as often feeling 'less than satisfied'.

If I don't process it, it just all becomes work. I need to process more.

You know, I just didn't have a plan, I didn't have it figured out. My expectations were that it would just all fall into place, but I never thought through exactly how that would happen. Now I wish I had taken more time to figure it out.

I gave up a lot of other things to have this flexibility. People don't get that, I made choices to be here, it didn't just happen. I got here because I intended to.

People don't see what I give up or what I gave up along the way. I could have been in industry making a lot more money, but I knew the flexibility wouldn't be there. I entered this profession and this particular institution because I knew that it would provide me opportunities for balance that I couldn't realize in another setting. I was very purposeful.

Included in these choices is the specific context these women were in. They purposefully chose this institution for a variety of reasons. The various implications of their choices are outlined in the next section.

Problems Encountered

Case Study - Susan

Susan is a well respected professor in a professional field of study. She has been in her current position for the past ten years. She is married and has 3 children. Her husband works out of the home and is very supportive in helping out with the children in terms of picking them up for school, making supper, and other various household duties.

Susan describes her move from practicing her profession to teaching it as a "Godthing." She felt called into teaching and loves it. Her eyes light up when she talks about her students and the myriad of projects she is currently working on. She works in a female dominated department where she feels a lot of support for her attempt to balance work and life away from work.

Susan came to the academy after 10 years in industry, with kids in tow, experience, and expectations of a "better life." She looked at the academy for a chance to "balance better." This expectation did not play out as she had hoped. She did have a great deal of flexibility, but she found the work load heavy and "very difficult to leave at the office" She found herself "constantly thinking about work" and having to force herself to put it aside when she got home.

This caused Susan to have a great deal of guilt. She states "I wish I was the homemade cookie mom." She buys into the traditional role of motherhood and feels she doesn't measure up because she doesn't fit that mold. Susan is also trying to model something different for her children, "I hope I am modeling for them a strong woman." She is fighting the ideal mom role but feels guilty about that choice.

While Susan's husband is supportive, he doesn't anticipate what she needs. He is

always willing to help out when she asks but he only does it when asked. This frustrates Susan and she wishes he would anticipate her needs. He doesn't seem "to understand my work or my passion, so while he is helpful, he really isn't a real source of psychological support."

The department, albeit supportive, sends a mixed message. If she stays late she will get comments like "it is time to go home" or "you shouldn't be here." But these are all received from others who are staying late and work late on a regular basis. While they are telling her to go home, they are there working and she wonders about this message.

Susan chooses to work everyday until 3:00. She is very happy she can drop off her kids at school and pick them up most days. She states "my kids don't know what I am doing while they are in school. They know I work, but they never really see it." She works at separating her life at work and her life at home by hiding it.

At work she works hard; she has a hard time saying no to new projects as they all excite her. She wants to show she is committed so she takes on additional committee assignments and projects to "help out the department." She is sending a message that I am fully here!

Finally, Susan is driven by her sense of calling. She recognizes her giftedness in teaching and sees the impact on her students. She has a sense of fulfillment in that. She has a deep passion for what she does and that is what drives her when days get tough. She states that she "fits here, it is where I am supposed to be." This keeps her going especially when things fall through the cracks. Susan recognizes trials but states "I can't imagine life without my kids or life without teaching, so what do you do? (Pause) You make it work because that is what I am called to do, make it work on a daily basis." Susan represents many of the women I interviewed. Even though she felt she was doing the right thing in the right place she still had daily struggles she had to negotiate. This section will focus on some of the problems encountered by the women in the study. Various issues will be covered including expectations, role models, feelings of guilt and department climate.

Expectations/Choice

During the conversations it became apparent that many faculty members entered academe because they anticipated that it would offer some type of balance in comparison with other professional options. They viewed the academic role as demanding and challenging, yet flexible. This was not true in all cases, but for those who were intentional in incorporating family issues into their professional choices, there was the allure of flexibility.

I became a faculty member because of the flexibility – I had my radar out because I wanted some sense of balance. I knew that engineering jobs didn't offer that, so I looked at the academy.

However, many quickly noticed that their expectations were not realized. Life in the academy wasn't quite what they had thought. They found that the job had some flexibility to it but it was the ambiguity of the job and blurring of the lines of responsibility that made this job all encompassing.

I perceived it as more flexible than industry, but I forgot that class time isn't flexible. Also the vague lines of responsibility often make this job a black hole, there is always more you can do.

This caused some dissonance for faculty members and led to some discontent

because their expectations did not match up with the reality. Misalignment between expectations and realization caused some disillusionment in the beginning.

I thought I had it all figured out, I would choose a flexible career, have a family and you know (pause) have it all, as they (referring to society) told me I could. But it didn't work that way, the job never ended and there were no lines or boundaries to tell me when enough was enough. I was never done. I had to stop and rethink what I was going to do. My plans fell through and here I was in a job that didn't match up to my goals for balance. I was in a state of confusion for, well, (pause) a long time.

Thus it took some time to take a step back and make new plans. Many thought they had a strategy in place, choosing a flexible career, but then realized they needed to reevaluate their strategy and redefine its deployment. This caused some rocky times early on in the career and caused many to begin their careers with some frustration and confusion.

Expectations played a crucial role in the selection of careers even though those expectations were based on many variables that had no real correlation to the academy. Many important decisions were based on these perceptions. Even though they turned out to be misperceptions in many cases, the women were still utilizing these to develop a work/life strategy. These expectations were misaligned once again when the women reflected on their role models.

Role Models

Throughout popular literature we see the call for coaching, mentoring and rolemodels. These terms are being used to describe the need for someone to come-along side

us, to help us navigate our way through the various issues and to find our voice in the midst of so many competing voices. This was something that the participants longed for and expressed with significant emphasis.

There was surprisingly little evidence of role models to help the subjects through the process, but there was strong evidence for the need for it.

Now that you ask, there was no one, I really needed some help but there was no one. I wish there was someone.

This was a consistent message that I heard. Many echoed this participant's sentiment. Many felt that even though they didn't have positive role models they had negative examples that did help them process how they would balance themselves by showing them how not to go about a life of balance.

I had a very poor role model in terms of work/life balance. She failed miserably and it showed me that I needed to take a hard look at how I would do it and how I would handle it. My mentor tried to do it all and couldn't. I learned from her that you can't do it all so you better have a contingency plan.

As an undergrad I had a prof with young children, but she didn't do it very well and I almost gave up on the idea. That is why I choose this place because of the availability of flexible options. When I looked back I realize the one faculty member I looked to had tenure first, that hit me hard. How was I going to do it? How would I get to tenure with kids? It was a huge blow because all of sudden my assumption that I could do it all was blown apart and I had to figure how I was going to do it.

There were some who had positive experiences, but the number was very limited. A few participants found some mentoring in unlikely sources.

I had a male advisor and he did a great job of balancing family and work issues. We talked through a lot of the issues. In fact when I was interviewing I felt compelled to share with them [the interviewers] that I was trying to have kids. He told me it was o.k. to just get the job and then figure it out. 'It isn't any of their business he said'.

I didn't have any real role models in terms of work/life balance. I just didn't notice that aspect in my mentors. At least until I was in graduate school, then my dissertation chair was going through the process of adopting a child. Watching her and how she made the choices was interesting to me. She was a single woman and I am too, it opened me up to the fact that it was possible for me.

The longing for a guide or some help in the process was very evident. I had no role models, women offered no support, because of that I was not prepared for what was coming. I made a lot of 'choices' not realizing I really had options. I long for someone to show me how it all works, to give me the answers or at least to say that it is doable.

I really wish I did have a good role model, I didn't know what was in front of me so I didn't think through all my options. If I would have had a road sign or some indicator of the issues I may have made better choices, the problem was I didn't even know there were choices.

Most of the people I interviewed asked me tongue and cheek if I was going to share the "right" way to do this, they all wanted an answer, something to show them they were doing well and making the right decisions. Unfortunately there is no formula; people make it up as they go along. One participant expressed it best.

You know I didn't have anyone I could talk to about my decisions. I felt that I was on my own. I wish there would have been someone to tell me I wasn't the only person in the world who was struggling with the tension, the constraints, the feeling of inadequacy in all facets of my life ... I wish I understood that I wasn't the only person in a constant state of negotiation between conflicting demands all constrained by time and energy. (Pause) But there wasn't anyone.

This participant expressed her thoughts with considerable discouragement and regret. I am unable to fully convey her words, as words on the paper do not fully capture the sense of loss she felt.

This last participant was not alone. There was a deep longing for someone to show them how to do it. They were ready to speak with me because they wanted someone to speak with. Role models are something that are greatly desired, but not often found. This component, or lack thereof, was incorporated into the choices made. Many felt that by the time they realized this career path may be too difficult, it was too late to change the career path they were on.

I felt stuck. I always thought that I very purposively and carefully chose

my career because it offered me options, options that would fit with my family. But by the time I was almost through grad school I realized that those around me, my professors and other grad students, were not living the life I thought I had chosen. Their lives were frenetic and not the way I had pictured it at all. But by then I had invested too much into it all and there was no turning back. This greatly impacted me. I went into my first job with keen eyes to find ways and to plan so I didn't end up like the people I had seen in grad school. I became very purposeful.

This is a powerful message. This participant was not unlike the others I had interviewed in that the early choices and decision greatly impacted the way, the reasons and the implementation of their careers in the academy.

Many wanted to see how it was done not just in the workplace but at home as well. Role models were missing in both arenas. The next section looks at the importance of balance on the home front by looking at the concept of a supportive spouse and his ability to assist in this challenge.

Supportive Spouse

When asked about their home life most women went immediately to their spouse and labeled him as either supportive or not. The definition of a supportive spouse provides insight into the expectations these women had as they made work/life choices. These women defined a supportive spouse not only as someone who was emotionally and/or physically supportive but rather someone who "got it". When this was explored it seemed to signify that spouses who understood the demands of the job and the fact that their job was not only a job but a calling were the ones who "got it". Women with this

type of spouse expressed more satisfaction in their managing of work and home. I have a spouse who 'gets it' he agrees with my career and thinks it is great that I work. He tends to anticipate what I need so I don't always have to ask.

My husband's boss asked him when he found out that I worked if we were happy with having someone else raise our kids? My husband's response was very encouraging to me. He said it isn't that she needs to work, it is that she has a valuable contribution to make and the fact is she should work. That was very powerful for me.

My spouse and I work it out, we both help out and recognize each other's needs.

Those who didn't have spouses who "got it" seemed to have a much tougher time with balance. There is a sense that they are in this by themselves and they shoulder most of the burden of making it work.

My husband is very supportive and helpful, but he doesn't truly understand. When I ask for help he is very agreeable, but he never anticipates that I need help. He doesn't seem to understand my passion.

I have a supportive spouse, but I really want a partnership, where he understands my issues and not just does it when I ask. My spouse is an academic but I still carry more of the load at home. It is not equivalent and that is a source of stress.

Pscychologically my spouse is very supportive. He thinks it is a great idea that I work and it is part of who I am. He doesn't think I am selling out on motherhood. With that said, he does precious little to facilitate the daily logistics. It is an ugly sticking point in the marriage. On the everyday logistics I am running the show.

The impact of home life is very influential on the ability to balance as seen through these quotes. When spouses were supportive, both practically and psychologically, there was a positive impact on the effectiveness of the strategy employed.

<u>Climate</u>

Throughout the interviews there was a validation of the importance of workplace climate on the work/life strategy development of employees. It came up over and over again even when the question being answered wasn't directly related to the issue of departmental climate. One faculty member put it succinctly when she stated:

The department you are in makes all the difference. Higher administration can set the policies and they can make them available, but your department tells you if you can use them. Sure they are available to all, but in some departments if you use them there are consequences, you know what I mean? You can always 'use' (she makes quotation marks with her fingers) the policies, but the department decides if they are really available. This isn't stated, but you just know. There is an undercurrent that tells you that you better not if you want to be deemed as a serious faculty member.

Many of those I interviewed felt they had a positive working environment and that work life balance was encouraged. They were comfortable bringing kids to work or leaving to attend a soccer game. This sense of support was very real for those who were married with children, in most departments.

I feel that my work environment is very supportive, my son comes to work a lot. I feel blessed to work here because of the flexible options available. I have a strong commitment because I know they work with me. Because of their commitment to me I am very willing to work harder.

This was not the always the case with faculty who did not have children. In addition, the women I interviewed who were single felt that they were afforded no "right to balance". This caused a great deal of frustration with the fact that those with children had more of an "excuse" than they did. This will be discussed in a later section of this study.

One area in which many people felt supported was the process of scheduling courses. The faculty members I spoke with were very complimentary of their chairs and their willingness to schedule around their family issues. This was a consistent theme throughout the interviews.

The college where I conducted my interviews had a unique policy for helping people strategize about work/life issues. They allowed a reduced load tenure track policy. This policy allowed faculty members to reduce their teaching, research and service loads to some fraction of a full load. Many who utilized the policy balanced their time with family life, grants and research, and life style.

Many women that I interviewed were utilizing this policy and cited it as the reason they were still with the college. They saw this as a way to more effectively balance the various issues in their life. Some saw it as providing freedom for them to truly strategize about life away from work.

Reduced load allows me the freedom to do other things in my life. It allows me to be home with my kids, to pursue a hobby and to still have a life at work. I am very appreciative of this option.

Basically if they didn't have this policy I wouldn't be here anymore. I can't do it all and I am ok with that. This policy allows me to do some of it all.

This policy helped many of the faculty members I interviewed and it also brought out a unique issue regarding the climate in the workplace.

I am on a reduced load, but you know it is not really reduced. I teach less, sure, but I research just as much and I am on as many, if not more, committees than anyone else. The real thing that reduced load does is offer me the ability to work at home without having to justify it to anyone else --- and of course the ability to make less for essentially the same amount of work.

I only do reduced load because then I am not supposed to be here everyday. It gives me the flexibility to be away from the office a little bit

because I can always say you are not paying me to be here everyday. I utilize it because it gives me the right to be away from this place once in awhile without having to feel guilty about it.

Some said they didn't use the policy because they felt it wasn't really available to them. They either felt that the climate didn't allow for it both on a department and administrative level.

The dean once identified one female faculty member with young children as high maintenance – that made me want to make sure I didn't fit into that definition. I don't use the policies because I don't want to be described that way.

In my department policies are optional. Even if they are available, my department doesn't always seem to see it that way. I had to figure out what was worth fighting for. I hope I made it easier for those who follow me.

An interesting tension arose in the dialogue regarding colleagues who took advantage of the policies that were available to them. Those who worked with someone on reduced load felt that they were picking up the slack for those who were availing themselves of this policy. One faculty member I interviewed stated:

When others in your department are on reduced load that means someone else has to pick up the slack. There is some tension there.

This contributes to the departmental climate regarding the usability of these policies. I am on reduced load but I get comments on how lucky I am to have fewer advisees and that I don't have handle the daily issues of the office because I am not here everyday. They don't seem to realize that I am getting paid less for being on reduced load and that I am supposed to do less. There is a sense that I am privileged that I can take advantage of this policy, but it is not special treatment, it is not even fair treatment it is just an option. I don't broadcast that I am on reduced load because it creates a tough environment.

They don't get it. I work well at home, I work well at 12-2 am, I get it all done. However, it is often not in the same time frame as others, nor does my work process look like theirs. They seem to think if I am not sitting in my office doing the work, it is not happening. Well, some of my most productive thought times are when I am rocking my child to sleep or sitting in traffic. These are the times when I get the ideas, thoughts and processes that create a great class or a new article. But it is not in my office so it doesn't seem to count.

The climate creates a sense that if you are on reduced load you are not carrying your weight unless what you do looks just like what everyone else does. There is not much room working in such a climate for a different approach or workload.

One other factor that came out very clearly was the sense that there wasn't sufficient flexibility in their jobs. Participants felt that they were always on the hot seat. This finding was something that continued to surface is various departments.

I always have the sense that someone is watching. If I work at home I

keep a mental list of the things I have done, just in case someone asks I can tell them what I have done. There is nothing overtly said about this but I hear colleagues say to some 'Oh you are leaving again' or 'Wow, I've seen you three days in a row.' Some leave lights on in their office so people think they are there. That is the culture and that is the portrayal of the kind of commitment one must have to work to succeed here.

One colleague monitors me by keeping track of what I am doing. He does this with reduced load faculty and women in general. I do feel like someone is always watching.

There is a sense that there are these unwritten expectations and that people are watching to make sure you meet up to them. This creates a climate of ambiguity and ultimately distrust as is readily seen in this quotation.

I am nobody's fool. I pay attention to expectations written and unwritten and I meet them. I make sure that I have a good understanding of what they want from me. My department took it for granted that I would stay because they had offered me flexibility. When a tenure track position opened up they gave it to someone else and when I said I might leave, they were surprised.

The last phenomenon deserves some discussion responding to the climate of an organization. The construct of support and flexibility seemed to be a part of the ethos of the organization. There is a sense that there should be support for the non-work life, but that it is somewhat empty. I call it the "time to go home badge."

People often say it is time to go home, but they are still there, so what message do I receive? Normally it is more often men saying it to the women, or older women saying it to younger women. The younger women understand that it is time, but it doesn't always work out that way. They get the dual pressures and they know that the comment 'time to go home' is laden with guilt and therefore refrain from saying it.

Many people spoke platitudes to me about doing less, but it was empty because when I asked them what I should give up they were speechless. It is an empty attempt at support, but it is just that – empty. The expectations are such that there is nothing to give up.

There is something that says you need to be here to do work. The stuff of the office is work. I write a lot and I will get the comments from others such as 'what a luxury that you can take a day to write, I need to do that.' Or 'you're right that I need to vacation more or spend more time with my family' -- but they never do, the message is still clear. The words and platitudes can't overcome the unspoken messages.

In theory they are very supportive of family, but it is the top researchers who receive the recognition and it is research that most interferes with family. The value of research is very up front, but the cost to the family is a hidden cost. Others view this encouragement to "go home" as a judgment on where they should be.

They tell me when I am in the office after 5 that I should be at home. It is as if I only parent if I am at home. What if my kids are at a friends or my husband has them out for a special night at the movies – dad time? They don't consider that maybe by staying late one night I am freeing my self up to go to the field trip tomorrow. Or maybe by getting this paper out the door to the editor I am able to be a better mom tomorrow. They just assume that I am neglecting my parenting role when I am at work instead of enhancing it.

This provides insight into the cultural aspect once again. The traditional roles of parenting are utilized without any real thought given to them. The culture fails to see an integrative approach to work/life balance; rather a segmented approach is more readily applied and accepted. This will be discussed in more detail in the next section

The question of the climate of the workplace brought out the greatest intensity in the conversations I had. It was an area that brought out the greatest diversity in perspectives, covering the range from believing that "everything is great" to the inability to work in the current climate.

The climate at home and work are important aspects in the physical, logistical and psychological elements of maintaining a career and life away from work. The next section focus more on mothers and the guilt they have when attempting to manage well.

Guilt/Fork in the road

When discussing how these faculty members are doing it would be negligent to leave

out the feelings of guilt that were expressed to me through words, looks, tears and body language. These women were gifted teachers and scholars and committed mothers, daughters, wives, siblings and friends, but yet struggled so much with the guilt of not doing it all.

On my way from work there is this point in the road where I am leaving work and the guilt switches from 'I am leaving work too early' to 'I am getting my daughter too late.'

This woman eloquently summarizes the daily negotiations of a working mother. I will discuss some of the comments and the sources of the guilt that emerged throughout the conversations, focusing mainly on motherhood in this section as that is where the guilt surfaced with the most poignancy.

One cause of guilt may be related to the phenomenon we see throughout the literature on the cultural understanding of roles as was briefly highlighted in the previous section under climate. Williams (2000) describes the ideal worker perspective while Crichton (2001) identifies the current construct of motherhood in our culture. The women I interviewed held to a historical construct of motherhood (Crichton, 2001), as if mothers' roles were still represented by staying home, baking cookies and always "being there." Many of the women I met with were still holding to a traditional definition of motherhood. They were propelled forward by the hope that they were contributing to a new definition. The voice within them, however, still lent legitimacy to the traditional definition. They worry a great deal about meeting the expectations and fitting the role of a traditional mother, especially for their kids. They want their kids to remember them as a mother who was there after school, baked cookies and helped out at school functions.

They wanted their work life to be invisible to their children. They worried a great deal **about** what their children thought about them as mothers.

I pick up my kids from school every day so I can be there for them. I am sometimes there just in body as my mind is on work, but I am there. I want them to know I am there. I don't have fresh baked cookies waiting for them, but I am with them. I wish sometimes that I was that kind of mom, you know, the kind that bakes cookies.

I set up a $\frac{1}{2}$ day just for me, for some type of balance. I feel guilty about having the kids in day care so I can have some time for myself, but that is one way I deal with it.

I am not a chutes-n-ladders kind of mom. I have some guilt about that. I wish I were.

I sometimes get frustrated with my son if he doesn't nap because then he is cutting into my work time.

Others worry about the impact they are having and how it will all play out in the end. I hope that when it is all said in done my kids look back and they can say I was a good mom. I worry about that.

I remember the day my son realized that those cookie mixes weren't really homemade, you know the ones that are already made up and all you do is cut and put in the oven. I was overwhelmed with guilt. What is my kid missing out on when he has a mother who doesn't even bake cookies with him? But, I am trying to develop a new construct of motherhood. Will he be hurt by pre-mixed cookies, pizza for supper and store boughten cookies for the class party – I don't know. But I think it will be worse if I do not provide an example of using my gifts to be all I can be in all aspects of my life. I hope I am providing an example of how to be a good mom to him, a good teacher to my students, a good community member to my community and to be true to myself. I think he will be better off for that. I just hope it all works out.

At the end of the day I hope I don't look back and regret it.

It was primarily mothers who expressed these intense feelings. Their strategies were directly influenced by their feelings of guilt. Within the scope of this study it is too difficult to determine what causes that guilt. It appears it is constructed through some combination of personal, institutional and social pressures. It is however, easy to conclude that it is present and a very important component of the strategies women employ to facilitate the various aspects of their lives.

Religious Context

Case Study – Elizabeth

Elizabeth is a gifted teacher and scholar and is highly recognized as such. She was identified in her college days as someone with intellectual capabilities that would work well in the academy. She found her passion was in ideas and she found her place in the humanities. She went to a top tier graduate school at the encouragement of colleagues and returned to her alma mater.

She is married with 3 children and her husband is a professional with a very demanding career. He works long hours, although he is emotionally supportive of her desire to work. But he does not handle any of the logistics of home life nor is he willing to change his schedule to accommodate hers.

Elizabeth feels a strong sense of purpose in what she does. She loves her field and creating new knowledge within her area. She thrives in the classroom and gets excited when she talks about her students. She is one of those rare individuals who is able to connect with students through teaching as well as contribute to her field as a researcher. She is very efficient and effective. She believes that she is in the place she is supposed to be and deems it as a good fit with her goals and worldview.

Elizabeth feels overworked in her personal and professional life. She handles all the details with the child care, schooling, carpooling and household duties. She is also overworked in her professional life as her talents get her key committee assignments, extra advisees, and projects to which she "just can't say no."

Even though Elizabeth feels she is well matched to the institution on an intellectual

level, socially Elizabeth feels she is caught between two worlds. She can't seem to find a support system or anyone "like her" in the larger community. Her colleagues are supportive but don't understand her life, nor do they live it, as most of the men in her department have wives who stay home. The other women are either single or have a stay at home husband to manage the details.

When asked what her strategy is she just laughs. "I make it work, whatever it takes." She claims that she gives it her best shot and is hopeful that there are seasons of life, so she won't be in this constant state of "doing so many things, but doing so few well." She claims that her strategy may be summed up as "satisficing." Doing the best she can with the time and resources she has and trying to not let any of the balls in the air fall.

Elizabeth seeks support systems outside of her community and with older women. "These women seem to understand me better and offer more grace in my choices. They don't deem their way as the only correct way and they give me room to express myself as I need to."

She identifies who she is with both her work and her family and states that they are both so central to who she is, she can't let either go, so it will just have to work, somehow.

When talking with Elizabeth she so clearly articulated a sense of calling and purpose that it permeated all her decisions. She seemed to have some of the most difficult struggles but her determination to make it work was moving. Elizabeth spoke for many of the women that a sense of calling and fit with the organization was central to working out professional and personal problems. This was the foundation of why these women were engaged in this daily struggle. This sense of calling was pivotal in this research.

Calling

A large percentage of participants indicated that they felt a sense of calling to enter their given careers.

I felt that this was what God had for me. I really felt called to this field and particularly to teach in this field.

I just knew this was the right place for me. It was in a Christian context, teaching a subject I loved and I had the ability to influence young adults – intellectually and spiritually.

Although not surprising that this concept would emerge in a Christian context, what is illuminating is the degree to which it impacted the strategies utilized within this context. The fact that they felt called to a particular context/profession appeared to drive a greater commitment to doing the job and doing it well.

I know this is what God had for me, so I can't just give it up. I need to give it my best shot and really make it work. At least until He (God) releases me from this calling.

Hey, when you feel called to something, when it is bigger than you, it takes on more purpose.

This is the place for me. I can't explain it necessarily, but I know in my heart that I am supposed to be here – it is a sense of calling. My worldview fits with the worldview of this place and that is rewarding. I know I work harder here because I am part of the mission, the mission drives me. I agree with it and am committed to it so I want to see it work as I know it can create change – real change in this community and others. I can't leave that – do you see? I am committed to making it all work. I am not sure everyone gets that. When I share that with colleagues who don't share my faith, I get a blank look. But when I share it with others who share my worldview and are in a place where they are well matched, they get this knowing look and we understand each other without even speaking.

This was a common theme throughout the campus, the deep faith I found in so many of the participants was something that stood out and drove them in their quest for "making it all work." They didn't really see what they were doing as a choice but rather as a responsibility. They spoke of it in the language of calling and vocation, meaning something that is from their heart, something they were made to do. This component of their choices was revealed in strategies that were employed and disappointments that were realized, both of which will be discussed below.

The context of this study was a college that was making a strong effort to accept the calling to be a premier institution of learning and scholarship within the context of Christian higher education. They were working diligently and successfully to move forward in this mission to provide high quality and respected teaching and scholarship in a Christian environment. These goals were bold and often competing, so to "embrace the tensions" (Statement of Mission, 2000) of Christian higher education is difficult and demanding.

Sprezzatura

It was apparent that the faculty members I interviewed took their vocation seriously and they were in a professional culture that was guiding the college. They felt that the organization often defined who they were and thus they needed to make a decision regarding which direction they were headed. This translated into many different foci drawing their attention so that they were in a state of self-inquiry.

This was coupled with the fact that the college found its roots in the Dutch and Protestant ethos of a strong work ethic. The faculty that I interviewed viewed hard work as a part of the ethos of the organization. They felt that a strong work ethic was deeply embedded in the culture.

The work ethic around here is very high and it creates a work-a-holic type atmosphere. I don't mean that in a good way.

The rules here are not written down but they are very clear, there is a primacy of work and it (work) must be done well, very well.

These two demands of taking one's job very seriously and maintaining a strong work ethic prompted me to apply the idea of "sprezzatura," the heading of this section. It is a 16^{th} Century literary term, that captures the idea of doing all things with ease and grace, so it looks like hard things just flow out of one's finger tips.

This demand for working hard, both internally and externally, is coupled with the college's goal and strength of doing so much with excellence, but this also leads to conflict within the membership of the community. This idea of excellence is so carefully

constructed and has been so deeply ingrained in the philosophy of the organization that it is difficult to sort out for those struggling to "do it all."

The message that one must be an excellent teacher, an excellent researcher, an excellent community member and an excellent family member permeates the college. Many faculty members expressed the importance of determining what needs to be excellent and what is simply "good enough."

The college had enough people who were excellent in multiple areas and these individuals were highlighted. Thus the perplexity came when one had to balance the many roles and decide when excellence was required and when good enough was acceptable. This message came through so clearly that it was a definite shared experience throughout the organization.

I feel I need to be a good mom, wife, daughter, teacher, researcher, community member it all needs to come together and that is tough.

There is so much pressure to do well at everything. In principle they are supportive, but it becomes a zero-sum game so it is more and more difficult to do all with excellence. The expectation of excellence creates the need to be working – all the time. This is a tough balance, you don't want to give up on the idea of excellence, but you need to encourage the ideal of downtime and relaxing without giving up excellence.

"Sprezzatura" is not only the idea that everything must be done with ease, but also that everything done must look like a work of art. That was the goal in this Context, but it is not possible without giving up something. One way I do it is that I have to settle for good enough, because I can't do it all well. As you mature and age it is easier to say it is good enough because you have a broader perspective.

There was a definite tension on how to live out the mission of the college, pursue one's passion and keep it all in balance.

<u>Service</u>

Given the religious nature of the college there was a strong sense of service embedded into their culture. The idea of being a part of something bigger, as discussed earlier, reappears in this discussion. The individuals that I interviewed felt that they were serving others in their field, their institution and their classroom. But while they adhered to the fact that this was one of the benefits of their chosen vocation, it also caused some conflict in their struggle to balance.

If you are offering your work as Christian service to God where does that line end? If it is all an Act of Service when do you stop?

It is about sacrifice and martyrdom, you have to martyr yourself for the cause because it is a mission.

How does it all fit together? If we are serving others and we see that as a good and noble, how do we draw lines? There will always be another class that needs more work, another committee that needs my expertise, another student who needs to be mentored, another book that can be written. When it is service, is it ever ok to stop? The demands don't stop,

rather time just runs out. We have to think carefully about priorities and boundaries because they are not given to us.

The women I spoke with felt increasing time demands without increasing resources to deal with these demands. They were having a difficult time sorting through these from a psychological standpoint of knowing when their 'duty' was fulfilled.

Woman's roles

The particular denomination with which this college was affiliated only allowed women in pastoral positions within the last decade. This delay in giving women a voice in the church influenced the way women faculty perceived their voice in the academic setting.

Women in our denomination are not given a voice. Thus when we have faculty meetings no other women talk besides me. When I am asked about that I tell them it is because you don't allow them a voice in church why should they have a voice at work.

This theme is related to the fact that many women in this particular denomination have chosen not to have a career outside of the home. While this is a valid option, the traditional view of women's roles once again impacts the women I interviewed in terms of how they should view their role.

In our circles daycare is seen as a bad thing, even students look down on

it. Many girls are anxious to see how I do it, but don't feel they can do it themselves, this changes from their freshman year to their senior year. As they progress they give up more and more of their dreams.

I want to use my gifts but not as an excuse for shirking responsibility to support American careerism, so I struggle with the Christian sense of selfsacrifice. It is hard to shift between church and work culture. I have no Christian role models to help me choose pieces of each voice.

There is conflict between the work ethic at the college and churches. At the church you feel the primacy of family and at school the primacy of work, how do you balance these two? So you live in this constant struggle of who to satisfy. I am an alien at church because very few are critical reflectors on culture and almost all stay home. The women I get along with are 20-30 years older than I am.

This view manifested itself in yet another format, in the way men are viewed in terms of their family role and work role. A few of the participants in the study recollected times when they felt that men were afforded more privileges when they had young children than the women in the same department did.

When my colleague had a baby (male colleague) our chair made particular notice. He (the chair) afforded him scheduling privileges, committee privileges and just general acknowledgment of the difficulty of balancing a new child and working. It seems as if the chair felt he needed to let him know it was OK to be at home with his new child. I did not get that attention when I had a child nor did another female colleague when she had a baby. It seems to me that men are assumed to take their work role seriously and women are not. It is as if they (men) need to be reminded of

their family obligations because they will naturally first focus on work. Whereas we (women) don't need that reminding because naturally we first think of family, and of course are not as serious about our work as the men are.

Given the religious nature of the organization these issues may be unique to this context. However, they offer some insight into how different cultures will play out in the ability of faculty members to balance work and life away from work. The finding remains that culture plays a significant role in the perception of work/life balancing options and cannot be ignored or whisked away without much thought.

These cultural issues are not just relevant for mothers. Throughout this study it became evident that those who have chosen a single life also receive significant cultural messages. This will be discussed in the next section.

Particular Issues For Singles

Case Study - Diane

Diane is a single faculty member who grew up in a family who were high achievers. Education was highly emphasized and she never even considered not getting an advanced degree, it was always just included in her mindset. She had a highly accomplished parents, with a mother who didn't work outside of the home, but volunteered for "everything – she did it all."

Diane is a well respected teacher and has been nominated for teaching awards. She has published a great deal and is editor of a journal in her field. She is known as a faculty member who always has time for her students and she maintains an open door policy.

Diane chose this institution for a number of reasons. First she loved the family feel and Christian environment. Second, it was a place she could pursue her scholarly interests and teach. Finally, she is in a field that has more people seeking jobs than openings and she was happy to find a position at a good school. But the college is far away from her family and that is difficult for her.

Diane has a drive to "do well at it all." When asked where this comes from she recognizes some of it is institutional but she claims most of it is internal. However, she clearly indicates that when colleagues tell her she needs to give up something, she offers to give up their projects and they quickly back off. She finds some fulfillment in being busy, and in accomplishments, and she readily recognizes this.

She has some discontent with the organization as she feels the family atmosphere overly values family and narrowly defines what family is. She states that she has "a family, it just doesn't look like anyone else's family." She says taking time to exercise doesn't seem as valid an excuse for missing a meeting as having to go to the kid's soccer game. This message has been given to her in various ways, but in particular in scheduling of courses (8:00 and 2:30 courses seem to come her way), meeting students on the weekends or taking on a mentorship for a campus club as she states "because my weekends aren't as important as those who have to spend it with family."

Many of Diane's colleagues and students have tried to introduce her to single men. She says that she would "like to get married, but I just haven't found the right guy yet and I am not willing to compromise my standards on this issue." She sees the attempts to "find her a husband" as kind but realizes it sends her a message that her life is not "normal." Their attempts are to make her whole or happy thinking she can't be complete or satisfied if she is not married.

Diane's strategy of balance is self-proclaimed as "not very developed. I am terrible at it. I think about it, but I am really bad at this balancing thing!" She seems to strategize by diving into her work and finding her accomplishment in it.

In an attempt to minimize her life that is not "normal" she hides her personal life, as it is "not work." She had a family member die and at the end of the semester the chair offered prayers for those who had a hard semester, her chair neglected to include her. When she asked him later why he did that, he stated that he had forgotten. She had done such a good job of not letting it affect her work he had forgotten that she went through that tough time. Diane was troubled by this. She wondered if she really wanted to hide her personal life to such a great extent that the loss of a family member would go unnoticed. Diane was reconsidering the message she was sending and trying to figure out

a way to send a message that more closely resembled who she is.

The issues discussed thus far have encompassed single faculty members, married faculty members with children, and married faculty members without children. Throughout the interviews, single faculty members expressed perspectives that seemed to be unique to being single in this context. The work/life literature base has not given significant attention to singles in its focus and findings. Given the uniqueness of their issues it is important to discuss their insights and perspectives in a dedicated section of the research findings.

Image Portrayed

I found that singles were very worried about the image they portray to their departments. They have a sense that they have a lot to prove. Within this thought pattern is the idea that there is a greater expectation of their availability.

I want to portray that I am always available – not look too busy, but doing so makes me very busy.

I want to portray that I am a team player and that I am willing to give to the team. I don't want my personal life to get in the way.

This is something they take very seriously and think deeply about.

Do I want to be seen as falling into that ethos (work as primary) or do I want to confront it? How do I want people to view me? I often make my choices around maximizing my work, but is that the image that I want to portray? Is my image one of an ever busy person always running frantically between events or do I want to portray an image that I am

someone who is always available? I think about that a lot.

I fight the battle to leave the image that I am always working – I really fight against it.

They often want to portray the image that they are team players and always available. Often community is found in their work and they have more of a stake in how they are portrayed there.

This is a big part of my community. I moved here from my family, my friends and really my home. I had to establish a new community and in the first years you spend so much time at work, so it naturally becomes a community for you. That is why I think so much about who I am here. I don't want to lose this community.

Although this issue of portraying an image of seriousness was a theme throughout all interviews, this issue was particularly acute for singles. As a result, many of the single faculty members have set up boundaries so balance is required. They found if they didn't they would work all the time.

I set up boundaries to make myself leave. I have no 'reason' to leave so I have to create reasons. I walk with a friend every night and that makes me leave.

I try to make my time away from here good. But I often feel like my home is a place of rest and not a place of living because I am just so tired. I worry that it all gets worse as time goes on, the spinning just gets faster. I need to set up healthy patterns now so that I don't just spiral into chaos. So I am trying to put some structures into place to make some good decisions. I am refocusing so my life is not secondary to my work. When asked how she was doing she replied: The structures are coming into place, it is the execution that is a little weak.

However, even though they set up these boundaries, they didn't feel they were seen as legitimate.

The Primacy of Family

Singles often expressed that they don't have a built-in excuse to go home. They felt that the ethos of the community had a primacy of family incorporated deeply into its culture.

If my colleague says they have to go to a soccer game they can miss a meeting, but what excuse do I have? There is a tension between singles and married faculty members because of the belief that family is primary in our culture. They have a built in reason to go home, to miss a meeting etc. I don't have that and it sometimes frustrates me.

They said that family was narrowly defined as mom, dad and kids, extended family and friends were not included. It was as if community was encouraged, but family took precedence over a sense of community. Singles often felt that their family and community were not included in the definition of family. Their community was not as important as that of those married with children.

You know I have a mom, sister, nieces, nephews and friends who need me. But they are never seen as a legitimate excuse. My community is important but I can't say I need to go to my nephew's game or my friend and I want to eat dinner together, that doesn't measure up. Even though they provide me with the same benefits as a family and I have a sense of responsibility within those relationships. However, I am still not given any legitimacy in the workplace for my responsibility towards those groups. It is a frustration for me.

Expectations

The singles feel a disparity in treatment between those with families and those without. They felt they had to take on more and carry more of the burden because they were looked at as those without real responsibilities.

I do feel that the college has higher expectations for me to do more.

I have a sense that people here think my life away from here is just fun and obligation free so I need less of it because I have less pressure.

I also feel that they think there is more I can do because I don't have someone waiting for me. This is internal and external pressure, I feel it is my duty to help out.

There is a subtle message that I have to put in more hours because I am single.

There were explicit messages that I needed to do more because I was single. They wanted me to take on more responsibility.

There seemed to be a different set of expectations for singles, at least the perception

was there. The single women I interviewed thought this was unfair because in reality singleness brings with it its own unique balancing issues.

Reality of the difficulties

Singles by and large had much more difficulty with balancing than those who were married with children. They readily admit that it is an issue they need to work on, even given the fact that many of them have given it significant thought prior to our interview.

I am terrible at balance – I have no peace about it.

Married colleagues often forget that I don't have anyone to share the work with, to share decisions with, no support or encouragement. There isn't anyone to go home to and say, Wow! my chair was a real jerk today. I don't have that person who can download and process my work, it brings with it its own unique struggles. Many of my colleagues just don't understand that aspect of my life.

It is so much harder to balance because no one is waiting for me. When I am working on something late or 'extra' I often think I wouldn't be doing this if someone was waiting for me – I would learn to balance better.

Singles seem to feel isolated within the institution even though they are the ones most often seeking community from the workplace. There is a stated need that is left unmet because of a lack of understanding.

The single women express a sense of being at odds with the culture in which they were placed. They felt they were misunderstood and their viewpoints were not adequately represented.

Summary

This first section of this chapter offers insight into the way women in the academy organize and strategize about their lives in a way that complements their sense of calling. The examples and quotes offer a unique look at how these women are making it all work in a way that is congruent with what they want out of life.

The understanding of bias avoidance assists us in our understanding of some of the choices made in daily attempts at balance. The construct of career stages offers some guidance in understanding of strategies utilized but falls short when issues of worldview and calling are identified. This will be explored further in the chapter five.

The second section provided the themes surrounding the various barriers women encountered when attempting to manage work and life. The concepts of expectations, role models and supportive spouses are central to this discussion. This section highlights how the various factors impact the way they lived out the strategies identified earlier. One of the key issues is that of guilt and the proverbial fork in the road. These issues bring forth an additional layer of understanding of how the negotiations of work and life take place. Finally, as identified in the literature review and confirmed in the findings of this chapter, climate plays a significant role in the ability of these women to manage both aspects of their lives.

In section three, we found the uniqueness of the Christian nature of the college studied and the distinct issues that brought forth. This section developed a further understanding of the roles of women in this type of context, their struggles and their pressures. This will be developed further in the next chapter.

Finally, section four provided a look at the singles in the study, their needs and

issues and the conflict they feel in their current attempts at managing work and life. This section offered a look at a group that is often ignored in this area of research.

In the following chapter the findings of this chapter will be developed further as I relate these findings to the literature and develop explanations of the thematic connections identified.

Chapter Five

Discussion

The thematic connections that emerged through this analysis readily fall into three categories: Worldview, institutional factors, and personal factors. These categories provide a different representation of the findings than we saw in chapter four. By reshuffling the deck, so to speak, a new set of principles of analysis can be seen across the cases. This explanation may appear inconsistent with the organization of the previous chapter but it is done so to amplify the results and more adequately explain the thematic connections, offering a meta-view of the findings.

This chapter focuses on a theoretical approach to categorizing the various themes and ideas that emerged throughout the research. The research questions are used to frame the discussion, but the themes will diverge from those in chapter four, providing the meta-view discussed previously.

The first and primary focus of this discussion is the interaction of the prevailing worldview of the participants with work/life management decisions. Following the worldview section is a discussion of critical factors that influence work/life strategy. This will offer a discussion of both institutional factors and personal factors, highlighting how they play into the issue of strategy deployment. This chapter then moves into a discussion of the context of the study. The distinct and purposeful influence of an explicitly Christian mission driven organization is explored. Finally, a summary of the relationship of these factors is made at the end of the chapter to pull the various pieces under an encompassing umbrella.

Worldview surrounding work/life balance

A focus of the study was the underlying components present in the worldview that formed the strategy these women used to manage work and life. The analysis of the data and the corresponding discussion of the findings in chapter four conveys that there are significant factors embedded in one's worldview that support a strategy.

The women in the study were guided by their worldview in the decisions about their careers, family and the integration the two. Throughout the interviews it was evident that the women were driven by their Christian faith, and this faith was clearly integral to their work/life strategy development. Their faith tradition emphasized one's vocation as a calling. This came through clearly in the interviews. Their faith was central in their decision making process, their strategy development and their daily negotiations.

These women were passionate about their jobs and worked hard to make their college and discipline better because of their involvement. However, these woman cannot be described as having a career orientation of "getting high" or "getting ahead" as we saw in the literature base. Albeit, there was a general desire to do their best, but it was always couched in the understanding of their college's mission and overall objectives. They saw their passion as fitting so well with the organizational mission that it often wasn't about the individual; it was about the community. They adhered to their worldview a sense of responsibility -- not just to self but to others.

This phenomenon is not captured in the classifications outlined by Carlson and her colleagues (2003), discussed in the literature review. What I observed could not be neatly classified as a career orientation, but more adequately classified as a vocational calling. It was when giftedness, sense of purpose, and organizational mission all came together that vitality was given to their pursuit of balance. They were driven to make it all work, because to let one piece go was to give up on their sense of calling and ultimately on their sense of purpose.

This construct of purpose was particularly important when work was discussed. So many of these women had such a deep passion for what they did; they were definitely driven by intrinsic factors. The issues of money and benefits rarely even entered the conversation. Rather it was evident that these women were striving for a sense of contribution, making a difference and being a part of something that was bigger than themselves. When these things were present, there was a stronger sense of satisfaction. When this was in place these women were willing to go through multiple hoops to "make it work."

This strong drive to find purpose and meaning in their work does not offer the complete picture of their sense of calling. Although they were extremely passionate about their careers they claimed it "was a part of them – but not all of them". They had a sense of being more than just a professor, they were also called to be a mother, a wife, a daughter and they took this very seriously. This worldview that encompassed both their personal and professional life assisted them in their understanding of how to do both with some degree of satisfaction.

This does not mean that they were relieved of the daily struggles of making it all work. There were still only 24 hours in a day for these women. They still worried about losing themselves in the process. In fact this was the one area in which these women

struggled with the most. They were plagued by thoughts that they were living lives that had purpose but still lacked the depth they needed. They expressed a great desire for more time just "to be". This came about when the women had the hardest time expressing themselves, when there were tears, looks of regret and fears about the future. These women realized that something had to give and most typically it was something of themselves.

These women felt they were "satisficing" and this worried them. They didn't want to become "a stripped down version" of who they were meant to be. This sense of calling in all aspects of their lives, including time for themselves, greatly impacted their willingness to make it work. However, their worldview gave them meaning and purpose in daily struggles as they were guided by a sense of purpose in the midst of the chaos, confusion and failings. It was as if the worldview offered a safety net. The purpose it gave these women provided safety in making mistakes in their daily endeavors, because it was the overarching principles that they used as a measure of success, not the daily dealings.

Many were working with developing worldviews and still unsure how to live it out on a daily basis. Others worried they were not living it out well. And each woman I interviewed lived out their worldview a little differently. However, within the daily struggle they seemed to have a bigger picture of what it all meant.

This idea of a worldview, as defined earlier, was foundational to the strategies women employed. It cannot be simply classified as a contributing factor, rather it was the very framework used to develop a strategy. This is not to say that other factors are not important or of minimal significance, but with the women I interviewed the sense of calling and their guiding faith was the most significant influence on the strategies they utilized. In fact it was central to their decisions even when they weren't thinking about it. The following quote is an example of this:

I used to feel like I fell into this state, balancing work and family, without much thought. I wanted a career and I wanted a family and I just made it work day by day. I was going along with the ups and downs. Then a crisis hit and I had to more closely look at what I was doing. I had to decide why I was doing it and if it was all worth it. I realized that I was a professor because I was called to be one and gifted as such and I was a mother because I was called to be one and honored to be. I had chosen this life because it was the right one for me and I was going to keep making it work. I was guided by my own philosophy even though it wasn't fully articulated as such, but it was still there, you know, guiding me in my decisions.

This quote is helpful in seeing that a guiding framework has assisted these women in **making their decisions throughout the process even when they couldn't fully express their worldview**.

This approach provides a philosophy that utilizes a holistic approach to all of life. These women had an understanding of their calling and they worked diligently to achieve **congruency** of that calling in both their life at work and their life at home. This holistic **approach** was clearly defined by their Christian faith. This furthers the ideas in the work **done** by Carlson et al. (2003) regarding career orientation and broadens the landscape to **the** idea of life orientation. Thus, there are not just philosophies of work and of family,

but rather there are guiding principles that can provide a congruency between both spheres of life.

Critical Factors

A second focus of this study was to look at the critical factors that influenced the strategy development of women in the academy. This was done to highlight factors that enhanced or hindered the work/life balance. These factors easily fall into two main categories – institutional factors and personal factors. The discussion of the key institutional factors lends insight into how the strategy is deployed, whereas the personal factors provide insight into the overall satisfaction with the strategy chosen. This vantage point allowed another layer of understanding in the strategy formation and deployment.

While the worldview approach to life drives the way women approached work/life balance, the institutional factors play a significant role in how that gets worked out on a daily basis. Throughout the research there was a sense of what their strategy or goals should be, but the context in which the women were placed limited or enhanced their ability to use their chosen strategy. While the institutional factors are of significance in the choices the individuals made on a daily basis, they seem to impact the long-term strategy on only a limited basis. The largest influence was on the daily interaction of that strategy and the contextual culture in which they found themselves.

Climate played a significant part in the determination of the person's approach to **work**/life balance. Those in supportive climates felt that they were most effectively able **to strategize about work**/life balance without career repercussions. They said that their **colleagues** were more likely to put pressure on them to go home than to stay late.

Supportive climates were often characterized by various factors. First a

supportive chair was critical in providing an accepting climate. When the chair was willing to work with faculty members on their class schedules, meeting times and overall requirements, there was a general consensus that the climate was supportive. If the chair was difficult to approach, didn't understand the policies that were utilized, or created a dictator type atmosphere, then the climate was described as non-supportive and even hostile.

One participant, when pushed to discuss the climate said "it is tough, I just hope that by pushing the envelope it will help those who come behind me." This woman was trying to pave the way for women in her department, as she was its first female member. She worked hard, experienced some bumps along the way and was willing to do so in order to make the path easier for those who would follow. However, this woman couldn't say the climate was in fact better, she just hoped it was.

This woman's experience highlights a second factor that the number of women in the department can help to create a more supportive climate. Other participants mentioned that they had a lot of women in the department, so work/life balance was a natural phenomenon and part of the expectations. Those who only had one or two women in the department felt like they had a responsibility to show that women could do it, that they were serious and even felt a sense of competition at times.

There seems to be a critical mass of women needed to create a supportive climate that is safe to express work/life needs. When that number is too low, it becomes very **competitive** and there is a need to prove you can do it. When the number gets high **enough** there is a stronger sense of camaraderie and support.

A third factor is the opportunity to utilize a reduced-load tenure track policy.

While the availability of this policy signals a supportive organizational climate, this policy was most often utilized in response to a departmental climate that was less than supportive. The participants who utilized this policy almost uniformly claimed that it was utilized to allow for more flexibility in their work. They said that they worked as hard as they did before, but now they just felt free to do some of it away from the office. This policy freed them up to change their work context but not redefine their work.

The majority of women who used the policy did not feel it stigmatized them in any way or at least not overtly. But some felt it did make them appear somewhat less serious. This is a risk they were often willing to take to find more balance. Thus, even though the intentions of the policy were distorted, it still served as a tool to succeed in a climate that was not readily acceptable of work/life balancing strategies. It was a tool that did not facilitate balance in the sense it was designed to, rather it was used to provide a license to balance. This is a misuse of the policy as it should not only reshuffle work and its context, but it should help to eliminate work.

This trend is of significant interest as it gets at the heart of the issue in Susan Eaton's work on "Perceived Usability" (2000). Even though the policy is being utilized, employees don't feel free to utilize it as intended because they don't perceive its intentions as sincere. The belief that there was an absence of flexibility brings this to light. This policy was utilized to legitimize attempts at balance, but did not offer any real relief in this area. So there is still a perception issue and the policies are not being used effectively.

Another aspect of the climate is the interaction of worldview and the climate in **which** this worldview was to be lived out. At times these two driving factors were in

conflict as we see in the ideal mom/ideal worker dichotomy.

In her landmark work, Joan Williams (2000) uncovers the cultural development of the "ideal worker syndrome," as discussed in the literature review. This finding was relevant to the study in the significant way it plays out in the lives of the participants. The women in this study, gifted as they were, expressed such a high degree of guilt for not "doing it all."

These women wanted to be great mothers, great teachers and great scholars. They did not afford themselves the luxury of failing in any area. This amount of pressure was brought on by the culture around them both societal (Williams, 2000) and institutional (College Mission Statement, 2000). They talked about the proverbial "fork in the road" where the guilt turned from not working enough to not being with the children enough. This picture accurately describes so many of the participants I listened to. It rang especially true with mothers as they expressed a desire to be the cooking/baking kind of mom who could be at every field trip. They were worried that by not doing it all, they were harming their children.

This dichotomy of focusing on the family and being told what a good mother is and bias avoidance, hiding family, causes a significant amount of tension for the individual. Thus, they are always balancing these two aspects of their lives not just physically, but emotionally and even more so psychologically. They were always Positioning themselves in certain ways and in different contexts to send the message they felt was appropriate. This constant sense of self portrayal limited their ability to be themselves.

Thus the perception of the individuals is that they needed to be all things to all

people. If they felt that their chair/department is demanding more from them, they engage in bias avoidance behavior to signify that they are serious and are very committed to their jobs. Their choices are significantly influenced by their feelings of guilt and the impact of the climate on that interaction.

In addition, the findings showed that many women felt that if the way they worked wasn't similar to their male colleagues, then it wasn't perceived as work. This fits well with the ideal worker mentality that one needs to be physically located at a desk or in the office to be working. It does not allow for a variety of work contexts, styles or effectiveness.

The conflicting messages caused these women to exist in a state of tension between what is seen as the perceived role as an ideal worker and their perceived role as an ideal mother. This tension is central to the emotional and mental constructions that these women utilize to find purpose and meaning in their daily strategies.

This intermingling of climate and personal worldview brings us to the discussion of personal factors. An understanding of these factors lends insight into the degree of satisfaction with the choices made and the willingness to employ those choices within their current context. However, they are not the key determinants of the strategy itself. Personal experience and history do influence one's worldview. But the foci of this section are the personal situations and experiences that take place after worldviews have been developed. Thus these personal factors are influential at a secondary level, how the strategy gets deployed. These issues are outlined below.

The first area addressed is expectation development. It is evident that the expectations of many faculty members did not match up with the reality they

experienced. This created a great deal of dissonance for individuals, thus setting them up for disappointment. These misperceptions were developed through numerous variables. Most occurred in reaction to their view of "industry" and contrasted with the academy as offering a viable alternative. Others dreamed of what life would be like, but had no real basis for their set of expectations.

This mismatch of expectations and their actual experiences caused many to question their understanding of their worldview and reconfigure how they were to deploy the strategy they had developed. The dissonance they felt often led them to reevaluate their expectations and find new ways to make their strategies work. Many were looking for help along the way.

However, what is interesting is the obviousness of the absence of role models as a component of their decision making. So many of the participants looked at me blankly when I asked them to discuss a role model they had in their lives regarding work/life balance. It was an area that was so lacking examples it was alarming. One of the few positive examples offered was a male advisor who worked hard at balancing issues of work and family. The absence of role models in this field, particularly women, is troublesome and provides a challenge for those engaged in this topic of inquiry.

This gap would be consistent with the bias avoidance behavior labeled "narrow bias avoidance." Women in the academy are unwilling to disclose this area of life for fear of not being taken seriously. The difficulty with this issue is that when women fail to pass on their struggles, challenges and triumphs with their own work/life balance, they are failing the next generation in assisting them in the same regard. When the lessons learned are not shared, the situation perpetuates itself and the learning of those who have

gone before is wasted. The phenomenon of bias avoidance creates this gap at the very time we should be working to eliminate it. This creates a continuation of the bias avoidance phenomenon.

As women who have worked through the difficult years of preschoolers and young active children discussed their strategies it was evident that they were confident with their ability to balance. They are more willing to ask for concessions and/or to admit they needed some help. But they are not sharing what they have learned with those who are going through it currently. They are failing to bring the lessons to a forum where they can be addressed and shared more effectively.

These women to some degree were tired from their battle and not willing to engage in the battle for others. Some felt they had done their job by paving the way, but the message was being passed silently and within a system that maintained its barriers.

The findings of this study provide evidence of the need for mentors in this field. The growing field of research is significant; but we need also to provide practical hands to help those who are struggling through the day to day issues. It is a unique request as those who need the mentoring will be those who struggle with finding the time for one more thing, no matter how valuable it is. But those who have traveled the road have so much to offer if they could just step back and help those who are currently traveling it. The journey needs to be more explicitly shared so the load is lighter. The destination needs to be expanded so it is not simply a matter of 'getting through'. A voice needs to be given to the women who have worked on developing a work/life strategy. We need to move beyond identifying the struggle and move towards providing a framework for negotiating it.

Another key area in this section is the degree of support that was offered from home. This concept of support was defined in greater depth than we have traditionally seen discussed in the literature. The women who were experiencing some type of "balance" from their perspectives, classified their husbands as those who "got it". This type of husband was not only supportive in words, but emotionally understood the demands of the job and the need for these women to work -- not a need in the sense of financially, but an emotional and spiritual need to fulfill a sense of calling.

The best example of this was the quote shared earlier where the woman's husband defended her working as "a valuable contribution . . .she should work." This seems to exemplify the supportive spouse. There were many who said their husband was fine with the fact that they were working, but yet failed to "get it" or really understand. These women had much more angst about their balancing efforts and were struggling daily to figure it out.

Women with husbands who had a deeper understanding appeared less burdened about what they were doing, experienced less guilt and seemed to hold to a greater sense of purpose in their work. It seems that these relationships were quite possible and examples of them filled the interviews. Just short of half of the women I interviewed, who were married with children, expressed this type of relationship. The dichotomy between this type of marriage and the remaining marriages was so apparent in the discussions, that it would not be possible to leave this out of the findings.

When we look at the research base in the field it is primarily made up of women, with only a handful of men contributing to the literature. This is a special issue that goes beyond women scholars. Some work on fathers has begun (Blodgett, 2002), but the research is limited. The primary focus of this research is how men can balance the competing demands on their lives, however there is very little on how men can be supportive of wives who are attempting to do the same.

This study highlights the fact that men's support goes beyond helping to do the dishes, picking up the kids or sharing in the laundry (though these are important). There is a sense of emotional support that is necessary as well. This emotional and cognitive understanding is something that is very supportive in the processing of working out one's life at work and one's life away from work. This link helps to further define the roles these women take on, their willingness to follow their passion and their overall purpose in their work.

Christian Context

A third focus of this study was the exploration of how a distinctively Christian context influences work/life strategy development and deployment.

To begin with one must understand that in a religious context the term institutional culture may mean something altogether different than you would find in a different context. The values and beliefs are deeply embedded into the culture and they become more implicit than explicit. This causes the culture to exhibit characteristics that may represent the Christian faith or represent the tradition of the particular fathers of the faith that have shaped the institution. In this particular climate the religiosity of the institution was strong both explicitly and implicitly. The ethos of the college was widely recognized and accepted, even though articulation of it in a succinct fashion was limited. Rather it was something that was deeply understood, but not often communicated verbally.

I will focus this discussion on the following two themes that were deeply

embedded in the culture of this institution. The first is the idea of doing all with excellence because of the fight to legitimize Christian higher education. The second is the consequence of women forging a strategy of balance within a Christian context and the unique challenges that provides.

Many rationales for separating faith and learning offer solid motivation for doing so, such as a high view of reason, affirmation of academic freedom, and an ontological grounding to secular fields of learning. Often these rationales provide room for a dialogue between the gospel and the law, robbing the Christian account of any epistemological status. It does this narrowly as a doctrine of justification but not a gospel or a Christian account of reality. This kind of separation, where all substantive knowledge is given to autonomous reason, while Christian accounts retreat to the margins of university life cause a split between faith and knowledge and lead to a marginalization of Christian perspectives in the classroom (Benne, 2001).

This perspective is in fact what this college was fighting against and with some vehemence. They found themselves at the forefront of creating a place where Christian Scholarship and the integration of faith and learning were taken seriously. They were looked at by many as the forerunner in this agenda and they prided themselves on just that. Along with that agenda came immense pressure to continue in that regard and not to simply continue but to accelerate the process.

Being the forerunner and striving to stay there brings about difficulties for the faculty members who are fueling the journey. It required a serious research agenda that is trailblazing in nature as few other scholars have gone before them. In many fields the integration of faith and learning scholarship is minimal. In addition, the college maintained its college status as primarily a teaching college and teaching was primary. So the pressure was to be a great scholar and a great teacher. In fact, when I read an address by the Provost, he expressed the recognition that people were working hard and great things were being done, but they knew their faculty and staff were stretched thin (Fall Faculty Conference, 2002). Although he expressed thankfulness and a job well done, no plan was laid out to ease the tension.

This was the context in which the participants in this study found themselves. The context is one of increasing pressure on all accounts with no real avenue for relief in sight. Couple this with the value of the college that you are there 'as a service to God and your fellow man', and you come up with a difficult situation for those involved.

In addition, another value of the college is one of excellence, that all is done very well. Heroes of the college are held up as great teachers, outstanding scholars and often both. This is a hard act to follow and a hard role to fill.

Religious colleges, at least those who take their mission seriously, have unique challenges --balancing the goal to maintain legitimacy, achieving excellence and doing this all in the context of service to students and community. This is an exceptionally difficult vision to sustain.

The idea that sacrificial giving is consistently applied in this context causes unique conflicts for those trying to balance work and life. This was expressed consistently throughout my interviews, with no regard to the situation of the women I interviewed. Things such as married vs. single, departmental context and views of work fell silent in regards to this topic. This was a universal belief across all lines.

This particular issue didn't influence the ideals these women had regarding work/life

balance; rather it influenced the ways in which this strategy could be employed. This was distinctly identified in the area regarding women's voice and the traditional view of women's roles.

Sue Monk Kidd (2002), in her quest for finding her feminist voice in the context of organized religion, states:

By blindly following the script, we tend to become what Ursula K. LeGuin calls "male constructs" or, in Madonna Kobenschlag's words, "formula females". It is sort of like filling in a paint by number canvas, creating ourselves within the outline of stories, wishes, and mindsets projected onto us by a faith and culture that have been shaped and regulated by men. By blindly following the script, we forfeit the power to shape our own lives and identities (Kidd, 2002).

Traditionally women's voices in religious contexts have been stifled, although the women in my study didn't feel they weren't heard. Rather they felt that the past experience of women in the denomination caused many to not feel free to share their voices. Thus the expression of a variety of perspectives was not offered. Some participants discussed how few women spoke in department or meetings due to the silencing of women in the past which was evidenced by the only recent recognition of women as elders and pastors in the denomination and the low numbers of women with tenure in the organization (College Mission Statement, 2000).

The women I interviewed often felt some disconnect between their role at work and their role at church. The college had a requirement that faculty members attend a church within their denomination or one within ecclesiastical agreement. This particular denomination has a fairly traditional view of women and their roles. Thus when these professors met up with other women in their church of their age and their children's ages they often were confronted with a different view of women's role with work and children. This often was in direct conflict with the views they faced at work and were trying to promote as an option with their female students. These women didn't feel this conflict from men or other women in the workplace, rather it was more the churches (which they were required to be a part of) that promulgated this viewpoint.

Finally, there was an underlying message that became crystal clear throughout the conversations that even in this organization where women felt valued, encouraged and supported at some level there was still an underlying message that they were women first (and even more explicitly for mothers, they were a mom first) and professors second. This came through in examples, stories and through both direct and indirect comments.

This message, whether explicit or implicit, caused the participants confusion. This was particularly acute for the mothers I interviewed. They had to sort through what their role was at work, at home and in the community. They struggled with guilt, frustration and feelings of being less than they were created to be. This is a cultural phenomenon but emphasized to a greater degree in a religious context. The traditional view of family and woman's roles caused these women to not only fight the stereotype of what they can do, but it also forced them to fight the stereotype of what they should do.

Singles

Singles are our last area of discussion. This subject matter does not fit nicely into one of the three categories. However, given that it spans across all three foci of the study I have chosen to give it more attention by placing it in a category by itself. The most significant concept to consider within the framework of singleness is climate. The climate in this context sent a message, that if you were single, you had a greater responsibility to the organization and that the expectations of your work/commitment appeared to be higher. Thus the single women I interviewed thought a great deal about what image they portrayed. This image was most often characterized by seriousness, but also availability. These women didn't want to appear as if they were busy all the time; they wanted to be seen as available for others. This may have been in reaction to the colleagues with families who always seemed so unavailable and busy.

The climate issue is particularly acute for singles. There is a strong message that single faculty members don't have the same "right to balance" as afforded to those whom are married with children. The women I interviewed who were single felt that there is an implicit and at times explicit requirement that they work harder, work longer hours and take the class times that are less desirable to help those who do have a 'right to balance'. This is all under the guise of the primacy of family. But it is a family very narrowly defined.

I did not interview any single faculty members, nor could I identify any who were utilizing the reduced load policy. This is surprising given the fact that they were very concerned with balancing issues and greatly desired more time for travel, research and for self. When questioned about this, most had never thought of using it as they perceived it as a policy for mothers. One faculty member expressed it best as follows:

That policy is really not available to me. That is for mothers. If I was to utilize that policy people would wonder, I mean, why would I use that policy. Wouldn't people believe that I was less serious, lazy or not

motivated. I don't believe people would take me seriously if I went on a reduced load position. Time for self is not an excuse for more balance, only family is a legitimate excuse for balance. That is a really distorted view isn't it? But that is where it is at.

The perception was that balancing policies were not available to them. There was a different climate, if you will, for those who are single and those who are married. So even though we think of climate as contextual to the department, we also have to contextualize it to the individual. The perceptions will vary as we saw in the literature review.

The participants I interviewed who were single invariably said that their families were seen as different and less important, that their time for self was not equal to colleagues' time for their children. They felt that they did not have an excuse to leave the office, at least not a viable excuse. This caused significant stress. I interviewed some who were working in excess of 90 hours a week, others who had gone through significant stress both physically and emotionally and many who were very distressed and angry about this climate.

There seems to be an unwritten rule that if you are single, you have more to give, less to lose and should therefore be willing to make your job your life. In, fact it was with the participants who were single that I found very little evidence of any attempt to balance, any real strategy or even the belief that they had the right to balance. This group had the greatest need to develop strategies for balance but had the least amount of encouragement or legitimization to engage in the process of developing a strategy for their lives.

The organizational expectations seem to have created this expectation that if you were single you were there for others, while if you were a "family" member (narrowly defined) you had a viable excuse. The women I interviewed quickly fell into this role and accepted it with grace. When asked to reflect upon it, although they have thought deeply about the image they portray, they were not able to articulate why they wanted to portray that image. They grasped at ideas such as expectations and culture, but couldn't find their own voice in their portrayals.

Given that the site I used was a religious college and placed significant emphasis on family, it is not surprising that it posed an exceptional challenge for those who were single. The issues they faced were very similar across departments, but there didn't seem to be a forum for them to discuss their experiences.

Summary

This chapter has provided a meta-view of the findings. I have categorized them around the research questions, the finding of the study and the "so what" of the study in a holistic way. The worldview development provided a philosophy of work/life balance that allowed the women to create a strategy towards their life of work and their life away from work. This strategy deployment was influenced daily by the institutional factors and personal factors. A look at this interaction provided insight into the satisfaction these women had with the strategy they were utilizing.

The Christian context both highlighted the worldview construct and emphasized unique challenges. Finally, the unique challenges of those who are single offers insight into specific issues to be addressed by this group.

CHAPTER SIX

IMPLICATIONS

This dissertation was framed by current research in the field of work/life studies. The research in this area is extensive and the depth and breadth of the base of knowledge is impressive. This concluding chapter will link the findings of the study back to the current literature base, identify limitations of those findings and then offer suggestions based on the literature base and study findings for policy development and future research.

Findings Summary

The findings in this study provide affirmation of existing knowledge, expansion of current theories, and possibly new theory development. This section will link the findings in these three areas back to the literature review in Chapter Two to highlight the significance of this study.

First, the findings provided affirmation of the literature that framed this study. The most poignant area was that of climate and its impact on work/life issues. The research affirms that a supportive climate is very important for effectiveness in work/life balance (Galinksky & Stein, 1990) and that informal climate is also a key factor in how individuals view their ability to balance work and life issues (Bailyn, 1996). In this study the informal climate was defined by supportive or non-supportive colleagues. This was influential in the individual's view of work/life issues.

The findings furthered our understanding of the perceived usability construct set forth by Susan Eaton (2001). It became evident throughout the research that not only does one decide whether to use the policy or not based on perceived usability, but it also dictates the manner in which one uses the policy. The study showed that many of the individuals utilized the policies, but did not feel they were able to utilize them in a manner that met with the intentions of the policy. Thus, they still utilized the policies, but the effectiveness of the policies fell short because the individuals did not feel free to use them in a manner that would achieve the desired results.

The concept of bias avoidance (Drago, 2002) was also affirmed and expanded upon in this study. We saw that bias avoidance occurred at many levels, but individuals did not always realize they were participating in bias avoidance behavior. It became apparent that many of the issues listed above influenced the degree to which bias avoidance occurred. The concept of bias avoidance played into the strategy employment of the individuals, not the strategy development.

The idea that a supportive chair is needed (Lee & Druxbury, 1998) for policy effectiveness was affirmed in these findings. The participants posited their chair was an essential factor in their willingness to utilize policies within their department.

Embedded in this result is the idea that departmental climate and organizational climate are distinct (Drago, 2001) and play out differently in work/life management. This concept was investigated in this study and the interaction between department and organizational climate definitely offered distinct impacts. However the encompassing idea of worldview allows for more interaction between these two factors than seen in the literature previously.

This concept of worldview offers additional insight into the current body of literature that we have not seen before. The importance of worldview and its link to career orientation (Carlson, 2003) needs to be discussed. The career orientation schema set

forth by Carlson et al. (2003) falls short of offering a category for the worldview definition that was so central to this study. This schema needs to add an additional category to take this into consideration.

The concept of worldview also played out significantly in relation to the singles interviewed in this study. Their worldview also shaped their work/life strategy formation but in different ways that than of their married colleagues. This is not taken into account in the previous literature on life stage (Moen, 2003) or in other findings in the work/life literature base. The unique needs and issues of singles with regard to work/life strategy development and the interaction of worldview on these needs is an important finding in this study.

Another significant finding is the importance of one's construct of motherhood and the impact of this construct on strategy deployment. The perceived role of these women, both as professors and mothers, significantly influenced the way these women lived out the strategies they had developed. The women were very conscious of who they thought they should be, who culture told them they should be and how the organization viewed them.

Finally, a very significant factor in this study was the uniqueness of a Christian context on the development of worldview, role definition and sense of calling. The fact that this context offered a very distinct worldview and setting allowed a look at how a worldview can influence the various factors listed above. A study in a context such as this has not been done before (to my knowledge) and allows an isolation of worldview to develop its impact. As we saw above, it influenced the intensity of the worldview and the role definition of these women. However, not yet identified is the impact on their sense

of calling or responsibility or what they do. This increases the intensity with which they do their jobs, and their desire to do well for the organization. It is not just for self gain. Their strong work ethic and sense of mission are the reasons they work through many obstacles to continue to be able to manage both aspects of their lives.

An area that offers some possible development of policy is the framework for understanding the broader themes that were offered in this study. By looking at a distinctively Christian context we can gain insight into the worldview employed by this group of women. This allowed a look at how the worldview itself shaped the way one will strategize work/life management. It is this overarching approach, a holistic viewpoint, that drove these women to do so much so well.

The very nature of the context also brought with it some unique challenges for the women. As we looked at the institutional factors and how they influenced the strategy deployment, it became obvious that a religious context will have some significant set of values. When they are highlighted so vividly, it is impossible to get away from looking at the values and how they influenced the strategies of these women. This became apparent when I reviewed the data for the study and saw the difficulty for many of these women in balancing conflicting views. These institutional factors, albeit not significant in developing a holistic approach, were very significant in the way in which the strategy was utilized on a daily basis.

Finally, the personal factors influenced not the strategies they chose, but their satisfaction with the way in which these strategies worked. This was significant as it became obvious that women did not develop strategies based on personal factors, but rather these personal factors influence the satisfaction level with their current strategy.

Thus, these three levels of strategy development, strategy deployment and strategy satisfaction offer a framework for understanding the work/life negotiations in the women studied.

Limitations

There are limitations to this study and additional research is needed to further the findings offered here. The primary limitation was the fact that it was a single site study. Expanding the number of sites in the sample would allow for a greater depth of discussion on the generalizability of these findings. Two areas that would benefit in particular are the findings on worldview and the findings on singles.

Secondly, while interviews offer a wonderful look at the thoughts and ideas of the individual, they only offer the insights of that particular individual. Thus everything is self-reported and seen through their individual lenses. It would be interesting to expand the study by a 360 degree approach. By interviewing colleagues, chairs and deans, reviewing tenure decisions and personal observation there would be a check on self-reporting and self-analysis offered with the other factors of input.

A third limitation is the small sample of singles in the study. The singles were readily willing to be heard and their voices came through loud and clear. It would be interesting to expand the study to a much larger pool of single female faculty members across different contexts. Given that the number of singles interviewed was limited and that the context was singular, it is difficult to assess the extent to which this can be applied to singles in other contexts. It may be that the climate and culture of this organization was very distinct for single faculty members. On the other hand, we may find that the context may not be the primary variable and the findings are consistent

amongst singles in the academy overall. An expansion of the sample size would help to increase our understanding of the issues singles face when they seek to balance work and life.

Future Research

Many of the limitations of this study provide guidance for areas of additional research. The gaps in the findings provide a research agenda that would further the results of this study. The primary areas that need additional research are: worldview, singles, expectations, fathers, and the construct of motherhood.

The worldview of these women greatly influenced their philosophy of work/life balance. The context in which these strategies were utilized impacted the way in which the strategies could be employed and the personal factors in these women's lives determined how satisfied they were with their current situations. The idea of an overarching philosophy that is influenced, but not, determined by the organizational context is significant to the literature. This result must be heightened in the context of this study, a Christian liberal arts college. However, these findings may be found to be true in other settings. It would be beneficial to the work/life field to expand the investigation of this idea within a variety of contexts.

The need for singles to be heard in the work/life agenda came through very clearly. These women were very willing to talk as it seems they have never had the forum or the permission to discuss issues of balance in the past. They felt neglected, forgotten and somewhat taken advantage of around the issue. Their voices have been ignored and they were ready for them to be heard.

Expectations of the academy and the corresponding realization of the position was an

area of dissonance for many of those interviewed. It would be constructive to do a longitudinal study on graduate students and their expectations of what life will be like in their role as a professor. It would be helpful to interview graduate students and then follow them through the early years of their careers in the academy to assess how their expectations are matching up, identify where the areas of dissonance occur and assess how the factors identified are impacting their levels of satisfaction.

The work/life research agenda has been expanding into the role of fathers over the past several years (Blodgett, 2003; Drago, 2002). However, much of the research is on defined roles, physical aspect of "helping out" and involvement with children. This study identified the need for the fathers to psychologically connect. When the participants spoke about the husbands who "got it", they were discussing the fact that their husbands understood their sense of calling to their work and the guiding worldview to which they were adhering. The research in this area seems to be limited and it would be helpful to measure the various achievements of balance identified by couples who fall within this category.

Finally, even though there has been some solid research in the area of the construct of motherhood and the link to role-conflict and guilt, it would be helpful to do additional research in this area in Christian contexts where the role definition reaches different levels. The intersection of this construct and worldview would be an area that is ripe for additional research.

Policy Implications

The impact of this study may be greatest in the implications for policy development in an academic setting. This is true not only for administrators in a Christian context, but in organizations both of a religious and secular nature. Some of the key policy implications are outlined below.

Understanding Worldview

This emerging theory of a holistic approach or worldview that shapes strategy development is at the heart of the motivation of these women. Can we take these different spheres of life and legitimately claim a holistic approach to them all? Can we claim guiding principles that offer a life of integration and congruency, at least on a philosophical level? The results of this study would offer these guiding principles as a theory but how do these principles get incorporated into the culture of an organization and particularly that of an academic setting?

In order for work/life management to occur effectively and with some degree of satisfaction, it is crucial that the organization understands the worldview of those employed and how that matches with the organizational culture and norms. When there is a great deal of dissonance between what is prescribed and how people are allowed to live within their organizational context, dissatisfaction follows. It is important that the prevailing worldview or worldviews are incorporated into the way an organization functions.

This problem offers a new layer to the idea of career orientation (Carlson, 2003). Many women were driven internally, causing them to follow their sense of calling, something altogether distinct from a career. The concept of career finds it roots in the French word "carere" that signifies a track or circular racing venue. The latin word 'vocar' is the origin for vocation and means something of the heart. These etymologies offer insights into the "career orientations" I found in these women. Understanding this

as an administrator and developing policies and cultures that adhere to this rich understanding of vocation can provide woman faculty members more satisfaction. <u>Climate</u>

As discussed above, a supportive climate is essential for policies to be used effectively and for individuals to feel free to use the policies available to them as they were intended to be used. Some aspects of a supportive climate are a supportive chair, a critical mass of women in the department and an organizational culture that allows for flexibility both informally and formally. However, the role of colleagues, the history of the department and the implicit messages are areas that emerged as well.

An organization needs to be aware of the organizational climate as well as departmental climate (Drago, 2002). It is often the unspoken or implicit messages within the department that cause one to become dissatisfied (Bailyn, 1996). This dissatisfaction and messages are the key components in bias avoidance behavior (Drago, 2001). The best designed policies do not alleviate the perceived usability issues outlined in this research (Eaton, 2001). In order for a policy to succeed or for balance to be gained, the administration needs to have a solid understanding of the climate in which the policy will be put into place.

Surveys, focus groups or casual conversations need to be utilized with those currently using work/life policies and those who choose not to use the policies. It is important to understand the perceptions of the policies of both groups in order to determine if they are meeting the stated objective. If the policies are not being used effectively, it needs to be determined if the issues are structural, the way the policy is set up, or cultural, the context in which the policy is being used.

Additional training on the factors making up a supportive climate is needed. Colleagues must realize that their passing comments often send a greater message than the stated message the organization may be trying to send. The climate is an aggregate of individual actions and not merely organizational structure or lip service.

Role Models

Many of the older women who have worked through years of balance expressed that they had learned many lessons. However, there has been no systematic way of sharing these lessons with others who are currently in the thick of their struggle. This is an area that needs both organizational and systemic research focusing on role models, what a good mentor program would look like, and the effects of role models on individuals trying to manage work and life. A solid mentoring program would be helpful to those starting their careers as well as to those who are ending their careers.

Worldview Development

Not only should an organization understand the worldviews of the individuals who make up the organization, but the individuals themselves need to understand their own worldviews. This is not always the case. Some mentoring or assistance in individual articulation of their worldviews would be helpful to the organization and the individual. By furthering their understanding of what drives them, they may be better equipped to assess, analyze, integrate and communicate their prevailing goals. It would be helpful to include this in performance evaluations, tenure reviews and/or orientation meetings.

Singles

One area that was significantly highlighted was the difficulty that singles have in maintaining any type of balance in their lives. The organizational expectations, ethos and

demands work together to make this an issue that is more evident in singles than those who are married with children, at least in this context.. Throughout the interviews no real strategy was offered by singles even though there was significant thought given to image portrayed, life issues and the culture of the organization in this regard.

In addition, the perceived usability of policies for those who are single and those who are married with children is significantly different. There is a gap that is based on cultural, organizational and individual aspects. Each organization needs to analyze its policies and culture to understand how decisions are perceived by individuals within the organization who are single.

<u>Summary</u>

The stories shared in this study offer unique insights into the body of research and present an important research agenda for the future. However, these findings also capture the lives of so many who are struggling in daily negotiations to make it all work. These stories are about real people who are dealing with real issues and that must not get lost in all the conclusions. This is the motivation that propels us to continue to seek unique ways to help make this journey somewhat lighter. I leave you with this following quote from one participant. It provides both a sense of purpose in the research and a sense of what motivates us who seek to find meaning in our lives.

Big picture I feel great and it is a day to day battle of exhaustion and feeling torn. I've decided that there are these two things (work and family) that I can't live without so I need to work it out. I love these two parts of my life and I won't give an inch on either one, so I have to learn how to be ok with good enough – for now.

APPENDIX A - Interview Protocol

Section One:

Life History: Purpose is to gain insight into the participant's role models and choices that would influence her philosophy of work/life balance.

- 1. Why did you choose to become a faculty member? (Sorcinelli, Austin & Rice, 1999)
- 2. What was graduate school like? Did you have a role-model in graduate school? How did they manage work/life issues? (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2003)
- 3. What was your parent's roles in your household growing up? (Moen, Waismel-Manor & Sweet, 2003)

Section Two:

Contemporary experience: The purpose of this section is to look into the details of their present experiences in the context of their work and their home life. Home

- 4. What do you feel are the challenges in managing both a job and home-life?
- 5. How much support do you get from your spouse in balancing the two spheres of your life? (Kim, Moen & Min, 2003; Vinick & Ekerdt, 1989)

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- 6. How do you feel about the amount of time you spend at home? (Moen, Waismel-Manor & Sweet, 2003; Becker & Moen, 1999)
- 7. How much does your career impact the choices you make regarding family life? (Drago & Colbeck, 2003)

<u>Work</u>

- 8. How do you like your job?
- 9. Describe an ideal worker in your department? How do you think you measure up to that standard?
- 10. What factors at work help you effectively manage work and life away from work? (Moen, 2003)
- Do you feel that your supervisor is supportive of your life outside of work? (Valcour & Batt, 2003; Lee & Druxbury, 1998).
- 12. What policies are available for you to use to assist you in balancing? Do you utilize these policies? Why/Why not? (Still & Strang, 2003)
- 13. Define the climate in your workplace. Does this assist you in managing work and life? (Still & Strang, 2003; Grandey, 2001; Golden, 2001)
- 14. How does the Reformed theology/traditions at Calvin College hinder/assist you in balancing work and life away from work?

Section Three:

Reflection: The purpose of this section is to reflect on the meaning of the "information" she has given me in the previous sections. It is also to connect the emotional, intellectual and practiced aspects of her work/life philosophy. Looking at how much of bias avoidance is just accepted or expected and how much is actually strategic.

- 15. How do you manage work and life away from work? Do you feel successful?
- 16. What have you given up because of your career? Why have you done so? How do you feel about this?
- 17. Do you feel you are capable at managing work and life away from work? Why/why not?

APPENDIX B A Study of Work/Life Balance in Practice

Interview Orientation Survey and Informed Consent

Interview Conditions

We are asking you to participate in a research project on "work/life strategies of female faculty members" conducted by Kelli Schutte, Michigan State University, HALE Doctoral Program. This research project was developed to further understanding of the rationale individuals use when creating work/life balance strategies. I am asking for your permission to interview you concerning your perceptions of work/life balance including work context, home context and strategies you use to obtain balance between work and life away from work. I begin by explaining the purpose of the project and gathering some basic information about you. All research projects of this type are governed by regulations set by the federal government as well as the universities involved.

If you agree to participate in this research project, I will ask you several questions concerning your general experiences. Your identity will be confidential-- so your employer or any member of your institution will not know what you say. Identities related to the project will be kept in a locked cabinet with the researcher, and only identifying code numbers I will be to match up the appropriate interviews.

PURPOSE: The purpose of the study is to examine female faculty members and their perceptions surrounding work/life balance. I am investigating various factors such as role models, home life, work context, policy availability and climate issues to better understand the link between these variables and work/life strategies that are currently being used.

TIME COMMITMENT: Faculty members who decide to participate in the study will go through a 60-90 minute face to face or telephone interview concerning their perceptions.

BENEFITS: The research in this area is just beginning to grow. This study will help advance our understanding of the variables that play into one's decision to manage work and life away from work in a variety of fashions. This knowledge will be put back into the literature base in the form of journal articles and presentations, as well as some dissemination if possible to the institution. This information will help to inform policy development and create more effective policies as well as influence the type of climates that allow for successful managing of the various aspects of our lives.

WITHDRAWAL: Taking part in the study is voluntary and no one will hold it against

you if you decide not to participate. Further, if you do agree to take part, you may stop at any time without penalty or prejudice.

QUESTIONS: If you have any questions you can email at schuttek@stmary.edu or you may call Kelli Schutte (913-791-0046). If you have any questions about your role in this research project, please call Ashir Kumar, MD, Chair, Michigan State University Human Subjects Committee.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY **Department of Higher Adult and Lifelong Education Pre-Interview Orientation and Informed Consent Document**

Please print the following information.

Name:

Organization:_____

Phone:

FAX: _____

Email*:______(*if you would like a summary of findings)

I, _____, have read the informed consent document and hereby grant Michigan State University permission to interview me. I agree voluntarily to take part in this study under the conditions described above.

Signature:

Date:

If you are willing to participate, please sign the form above, and return it by fax or mail to Kelli Schutte, the principle investigator.

FAX to Kelli Schutte @ ### #### ####

You may also email the following orientation survey to your interviewer at worklifestudy@yahoo.com

To facilitate scheduling your interview, please tell us:

The best times and dates in the month of October/November that you are available to complete the interview:

The best phone number(s) to reach you at work:

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