THERE'S A POLICY: NOBODY BATS AN EYE AT BABIES BEING BORN, A CRITICAL FEMINIST POLICY DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF A PAID PARENTAL LEAVE POLICY

by

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ABSTRACT

Research has continued to suggest high institutional costs of not accommodating work-life balance, and institutions of higher education are recognizing the importance of formally addressing these issues in the increasingly competitive labor market. However, there is concern whether faculty members 1) are actually aware of policies; 2) feel safe in using work-life policies, particularly if they perceive them to be contested 3) and actually use policies. The research surrounding flexible tenure policies has also indicated that policies that lack the support of administration and academic colleagues have the propensity to serve as catalysts for hostile or overt bias for faculty who opted to utilize these policies.

This study aims to spotlight how the discursive framing of childbearing and caregiving within the ideologies of tenure may disrupt or sustain the status quo of the committed, productive, present, and collegial ideal tenure track faculty member. The results are framed within a critical feminist policy discourse analytical framework with particular attention paid to the social, historical, and political contexts of the academy, including assumptions about the ideal worker norms of the tenured professoriate within research institutions. The method for data collection and data analysis was situated within a critical feminist policy discourse framework.

The historic structure of the tenure track has been positioned as inconducive to balance and life integration, particularly for women. The policy and individual level

discourse constructed caregiving in a way that may prove problematic for both male and female faculty parents, and even more problematic for the (re)production of the ideal tenure faculty cultural model. Nonbirth mothers and fathers who serve as primary caregivers must document and attest to their role in order to be eligible for the benefit. Consequently, the framing of the policy problem against the rhetoric of *women in the academy* results in institutional policy solutions and practices that focused on one category of faculty (read: women).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am a mother-student/mother-professional transitioning into a mother-scholar/professional identity. Therefore, it is essential that I recognize the value and insight that my children and husband have brought to my graduate, scholarly and professional experiences. Having a strong and balanced support structure has been crucial to my successes throughout the pursuit of my doctoral degree. When I entered graduate school, I went in with the assumption that having teenagers would make it much easier to balance professional, academic, and personal roles. However, similar to what I found in this study, life blips are not one-time occurrences. They follow you throughout your entire professional career, and just when you think you have attained balance, grades slip, teenagers wreck their cars, and then there are the school performances, homework, and helping them navigate their own lives. They allowed for me to develop my own strong theoretical grasp of what balance presumes to be as opposed to what balance truly looks and feels like. I recall laughing at my naivety, and the moments where I just thought we would all be best served if I stepped off the academic track altogether. There were days when I was wavering on the edge, contemplating whether the time, energy, and exhaustion were all going to be worth it.

Every day, no matter what time I would arrive home after long weekends and nights spent on campus, my family was there, having managed to feed themselves, the family pets, and ensure that the house was still standing. They were my motivation for

deciding to pursue this path as a nontraditional, mother-student nearly 10 years ago, and have remained steadfast at my side through the multitude of ups and downs of graduate study and writing this dissertation. I am so grateful to have strong, independent, and thoughtful children and an equally strong, committed, and unwavering partner who never questioned the value of this journey over these past 5 years. They were my champions, my cheerleaders, and my reason for beginning and completing this journey. This project would not be complete without acknowledging what my children (Rikki, Colan, and Allyssa) as well as my best friend and partner (Darby) have brought to this professional and personal journey. For their support and belief in me as a scholar, a professional, partner, and a mother I am eternally grateful.

Furthermore, this work would have not been possible without the strong and caring support of my advisor, Professor Andrea Rorrer, for her thoughtful and careful review of the many versions of this final product. I recognize that the time she spent working with me also impacted her own sense of balancing her professional and personal roles. While the numerous hours she spent with me working with and interpreting the data in this study were incredibly important, Professor Rorrer was instrumental in opening the possibility for me to view myself as a professional, but also as an academic. When I first began my doctoral journey, I went in assuming that the outcome would be a stronger professional identity, armed with the necessary skills and knowledge to bridge theory, research, and praxis. As a first-generation college student I had never envisioned myself as part of the professoriate. I had always presumed that while I had the potential to do good work in the academy, that work was often envisioned in terms of administrative work. However, over the course of the past 4 years, Professor Rorrer

challenged me to think past this model, and begin to conceive of myself as having a legitimate place within the academy as a scholar. This work, and my own individual sense that my research agenda goes past the praxis component would not have been possible without the guidance, direction, and support of Professor Rorrer.

In addition, my dissertation committee members, Dr. Amy A. Bergerson, Dr. Paula Smith, Dr. Ann Darling, and Dr. Susan Olson each offered a unique contribution and perspective to this dissertation.

Finally, the completion of this project could have not been done without the kind support and encouragement from my "village" (Hotchkins, 2009), or my colleagues from across the campus of the University. I was incredibly fortunate to identify a strong set of peers who were more than happy to take the necessary time to brainstorm and read through various iterations of this final product and pull me back from the cliff when it seemed easier to jump than continue. I am truly grateful and blessed to have such strong sustained support and look forward to many long years of collaboration with future Drs. Natalie Brown and Bryan Hotchkins and Sweeney Windchief.

In addition to the support of my peers, I would also like to acknowledge my colleagues in the Health Sciences and School of Medicine Office of Faculty Administration over these past 5 years. Balancing personal and professional requires having a strong support for both roles, and I was fortunate to have a strong network of colleagues as well as incredibly supportive leadership who fostered my success over the course of my graduate studies. I could not have done any of this without the support of my husband, my children, peers, colleagues, and the excellent mentors that guided me through this journey.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 2005, the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) at the Western University presented a formal request for and draft of the Western University parental leave policy to the Academic Senate. The Academic Senate approved Western University Policy 6-315, Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence, on May 1, 2006 following a series of discussions and debates (Legislative History, 2007). The Board of Trustees subsequently approved the policy on May 8, 2006. Work-life policies similar to the parental leave policy adopted by the Western University are components of the larger discussion of rethinking the structure and culture of earning tenure in research institutions (American Association of University Professors, 2001).

Western University's Parental Leave Policy took effect July 1, 2006 and provided tenure-track faculty on a nine-month appointment (or equivalent twelve-month appointment) the option to request "modified duties" for one semester. As stated in the 2006 Parental Leave Policy, the ability to modify one's duties following a birth or adoption event allowed "[t]he faculty member [to] be released from professional duties during this period, but may choose to continue some professional activities (e.g., meeting students, doing research, participating in hiring or RPT decisions)." Eligible faculty could receive two such leaves and may be eligible for subsequent leaves with the

approval of the cognizant University Senior Vice President. Moreover, eligible faculty were provided the option of receiving an automatic extension to their tenure and promotion review clock for 1 year per event (up to two birth/adoption events). Additional leaves could be negotiated and were subject to the review and approval of the Senior Vice President. The parental leave policy adopted in 2005 expanded upon existing institutional policies which already provided faculty with the ability to request tenure clock extensions for medical reasons and formalized the benefit of modifying one's duties following a birth or adoption while maintaining 95% of their salary. In addition, the University Central Administration committed to providing $3000 to departments to defray the costs associated with teaching replacements needed while faculty are on leave.

As the Director for Health Sciences Faculty Administration, I had interacted with several pretenure faculty women both prior and postadoption of a formal parental leave policy. On multiple occasions, pretenure women faculty members stopped by my office seeking input on the policy, the expectations, and whether or not they should go ahead and request the leave of absence and extend their tenure clock. I would routinely describe the parental policy, how it was intended to work, and what faculty members should expect from their departments while on leave.

While my description of the policy itself often seemed relatively straight forward, it was the discussion about the implications for earning tenure and the extending the tenure clock that often caused the most anxiety for these faculty members. Most of the women that I spoke with were in their fifth year, moving closer to their award of tenure decision, and were reluctant to go ahead and stop the tenure clock. Upon further discussion, what always seemed to emerge was this notion of being perceived as *not*

committed. Many faculty parents left my office assuming that they could continue to plow through their pretenure probationary period, and manage the life-blip while staying on the tenure clock.

However, on more than one occasion, often just as these faculty members were preparing for their seventh year up or out decision, they would return to my office seeking guidance on how to extend their clock. What they had found is that while they thought they could maintain the same tenure momentum while on formal leave, the reality of balancing and integrating professional and personal roles set in. As these faculty members left my office I routinely would jot down questions regarding why policy adoption alone was not enough? What was it about the culture of tenure that resulted in many faculty members opting to not use the entitlements provided to them following the birth or adoption of their children? Finally, what could administrators and faculty mentors do to mitigate these conflicts between the ideal tenure faculty norms and the expectations for work-life integration? These challenges and questions resulted in my offer of assistance in conducting the institutional policy evaluation, with the guidance of my advisor through the Utah Education Policy Center.

The results of this study provide insight into organizational policy processes by attending to the various levels of institutional, individual and policy discourse that frames tenure expectations at Western University. Specifically, how institutional and individual texts may (re)construct what it means to earn tenure to allow for and value both personal and professional obligations. This study aims to spotlight how the discursive framing of the parental leave policy may disrupt or sustain the status quo of the culture of tenure,

primarily how policy discourse (re)constructs the ideal tenure track faculty member (Williams, 2000).

The results are presented within a critical feminist policy discourse analytical framework with particular attention paid to the social, historical, and political contexts of the academy. Particular attention was paid to the institutional and individual discourse surrounding the ideal worker (faculty) norms as well as the ways in which this discourse sustains or challenges our gendered construction of caregiving within the historic male model (Williams, 2000).

In this chapter I will provide an overview of the direction of my research, providing an overview of national data that outlines the need for this level of analysis of parental leave policies for tenure track faculty in research institutions. Next, I will explain the research questions that guided this study, and the critical feminist policy discourse framework, which grounded and guided the data collection, analysis, and interpretation of the corpus of texts. Finally, I will conclude this chapter by addressing potential limitations of this study.

Topic and Purpose

In 1974, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) first identified the need to provide mechanisms that allow faculty to balance their academic and family roles (p. 11). Many of the issues outlined in the 1974 statement, Leaves of Absence for Child-Bearing, Childrearing, and Family Emergencies have been addressed through formal legislation (Family and Medical Leave Act, 1993; The Pregnancy Discrimination Act, 1978). While many of the issues regarding balancing family and an academic roles have been addressed through institutional and legislative policies, the

rigidity of the tenure structure, particularly within research institutions, continues to be a challenge for mothers on the tenure track (S. Acker & Armenti, 2004; Armenti, 2004a, 2004b; Bhattacharjee, 2004; Bracken, Allen, & Dean, 2006; Colbeck & Drago, 2005; Cotterill & Letherby; Drago et al., 2005; Drago et al., 2006; Finkel & Olswang, 1996; Finkel, Olswang, & She, 1994; Fisanick, 2006; Fothergill & Feltey, 2003; Leonard & Malina, 1994; Mason, Goulden, & Frasch, 2009; McElrath, 1992; Monroe, Ozyurt, Wrigley, & Alexander, 2008; Patterson, 2008; Phillip, 1993; Phillips & Garner, 2006; Pribbenow et al., 2010; Schoening, 2009; Stockdell-Giesler & Ingalls, 2007; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004a, 2004b; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2005; Williams, 2004; Williams, Alon, & Bornstein, 2006; Wilson, 2005; Winkler, 2000; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006; Wolfinger, Mason, & Goulden, 2008, 2009; Young & Wright, 2001),

In 2001, the Committee on the Status of Women in the Academic Profession (a subcommittee of the AAUP) revisited the 1974 statement and issued and approved the "Statement of Principles on Family Responsibilities and Academic Work" (American Association of University Professors [AAUP], 2001). The 2001 statement recommended that postsecondary institutions consider formal policies and institutional supports to address the challenges that integrating personal and academic roles created for women across the various life stages (i.e., pregnancy as disability leave as outlined by the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (1978) ; family care leave; emergency care; long-term leave for child rearing or other family responsibilities). Formal work-life policies aimed at reframing the structure of tenure often include the option of stopping of the tenure clock and allowing faculty to modify their duties, either partially or fully paid, to care for a newborn or adopted child (AAUP, 2001). The 2001 statement noted that the "conflict

between work and family obligations…is more acute for women faculty than for men" and therefore, the focus of their statement focused on creating flexibility within tenure track careers to allow women tenure track faculty members the ability to integrate their academic and caregiving roles.

Work-life policies, including paid parental leaves, are positioned by the AAUP (2001) and the American Council on Education (ACE) (Baer & Van Ummersen, 2005) equity measures (i.e., leveling the playing field for women on the tenure track), however, it is important to note that the rationale for adopting work-life policies is also framed within the larger sociopolitical context of the need for universities to remain competitive in recruiting and retaining talented faculty. Specifically, given the changing demographics (e.g., increased number of women, faculty of color, and shifting generational values), universities need to strategically position themselves as family-friendly workplaces in order to attract and retain the next generation of faculty.

This study is a result of interactions with faculty and institutional leadership as part of the institutional parental leave policy evaluation conducted in 2009-2010 (Rorrer & Allie, 2011). Over the course of meeting with individual faculty and policy officers the discourse surrounding what it means to "earn tenure" including themes of commitment, productivity, and collegiality began to emerge. Across the institution, the culture of tenure interacted with policy including defining who was perceived to be eligible, who should use the leave, what it meant for productivity and visibility, and why one should or should not stop their tenure clock, and finally what it meant for the eventual award of tenure. The focus of my inquiry into the impact that these policies have on the climate of

the academy, particularly for research universities[1] was grounded in the findings from the institutional policy evaluation, as well as the institutional policy texts.

The institutional policy texts signaled the need for a parental leave policy at Western University 1) as a necessary institutional response to the competitive faculty market; 2) to address the "inhospitable climate" (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004; 2005; 2006) for mothers on the tenure track. During analysis of the institutional surveys and group and individual faculty interviews, something struck me about how on one hand the parental leave policy was presumed to be perceived as creating legitimacy for faculty parents while on the other hand also serving to maintain the values, beliefs, and assumptions about what it means to be a tenure track faculty parent and how the construct of the parent-scholar competed with the long embedded institutional construct of the ideal worker (Gerson, 2010; Williams, 2000). This tension between a culture emblazoned with ideal worker norms and the ways in which the policy process challenges or sustains these constructs may provide insight into why even when institutions adopt work-life policies similar to the parental leave policy adopted at Western University faculty still report a reluctance to use all of the entitled benefits provided to them via these policies.

Significance of Study

> *Raising a child takes 20 years, not one semester. American women…will not achieve equality in academia so as long as the ideal academic is defined as someone who takes no time off for childrearing…(AAUP, 2001, p. 220)*

[1] The Carnegie Classification (2010) has defined Western University as a "RU/VH: Research University (very high research activity)." For the purposes of this study reference to research institutions is limited to similarly situated institutions within the RU/VH Carnegie Classification framework.

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) women earned over 50% of the PhDs, yet hold only 35% of the associate professor and 25% of the professor ranks (NCES, 2008). One of the many theories regarding the paucity of women in senior tenure ranks within research institutions is the conflicting tenure and biological clocks. Typically, the average age of a female PhD graduate is 33 years of age (NCES, 2008). If we assume that these faculty members are entering into tenure track positions immediately post-PhD with a standard 6 to 7 year pretenure probationary period, and choose to delay childbirth until posttenure, women are looking at their early 40s before they even begin to consider having children (American Association of University Professors, 2001; Cropsey et al., 2008; Finkel & Olswang, 1996; Mason & Goulden, 2002; Wilson, 2005; Wolfinger et al., 2008). Consequently, the competing demands of earning tenure within the rigidly defined 6 to 7 year probationary period and the concurrent ticking of women's biological clocks is presumed to result in 1) women opting out of the tenure track pipeline or 2) women exiting the pipeline at the transition from assistant to associate professor, which is often tied to the tenure award (Cropsey et al., 2008; Finkel & Olswang, 1996; Finkel et al., 1994; Mason et al., 2009; Menges & Exum, 1983; Rosser, 2007; Wilson, 2005).

This theory of the biological versus the tenure clock within the culture of tenure is assumed to have more of an impact on women than men, based on not only biology, but the established gendered division of labor (J. Acker, 1992; Gerson, 2010; Williams, 2000). As a result of the tension created from the biological and tenure clocks, more women are presumed to opt out of the tenure track all together. Mason and Goulden (2002) found that generally women are 43% more likely than men to have adjunct jobs

and nontenure track positions and women with children under 6 are 24% less likely to move into ladder-rank jobs compared to their male counterparts. There is no lack of individual narratives about navigating tenure and parenthood whereby women consistently signal to the culture of the academy as not being conducive to balance or integration of their personal or professional roles. Interestingly the narratives have not shifted much over the past 20 years and the rhetoric of producing books or babies but not both seems to still pervade the discourse.

Eighty-six percent of research universities have formal policies allowing tenure-track faculty members the option of extending their tenure clock. Thirty-two percent include formal policies allowing faculty partial-leaves of absence which include the option of modifying their academic duties (e.g., teaching, service, and research) and 22% of these institutions provide paid dependent-care leave (Figure 1.1). However, the research on the effectiveness and implementation of these policies has shown that they are not effectively communicated or promoted to faculty members (Hollenshead, Sullivan, Smith, August, & Hamilton, 2005; Kirby & Krone, 2002; Quinn, Lange, & Olswang, 2004; Quinn, Yen, Riskin, & Lange, 2007). More troubling is the perception that the use of work-life policies may result in career penalties for faculty parents who request time away or tenure clock extensions for childbearing or caregiving (Colbeck & Drago, 2005; Finkel & Olswang, 1996; Finkel et al., 1994; Fothergill & Feltey, 2003; Hollenshead et al., 2005; Mason, 2001; McElrath, 1992; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Pribbenow et al., 2010; Quinn et al., 2004).

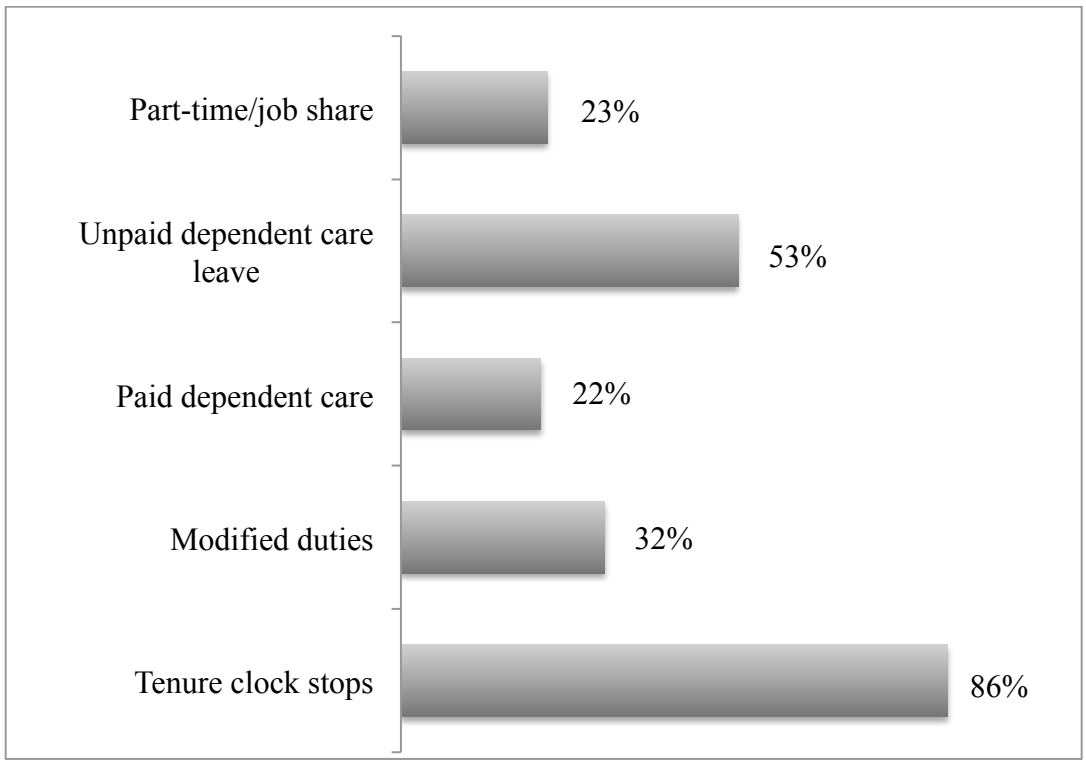

Figure 1.1 Research Institution Family-Friendly Policies[2]

This study does not presume to hold parenthood as solely an activity of women. However, the research has indicated that it is women who bear most of the responsibility for primary caregiving, as such these types of policies do primarily serve to benefit women (Hochschild & Machung, 2003; Rhoads & Rhoads, 2004). Furthermore, in terms of progression on the tenure track, research on the progression of women within academia has found that the tenure probationary period makes it difficult for women to achieve tenure while balancing childbearing and childrearing roles (Armenti, 2004a; Colbeck & Drago, 2005; Cotterill & Letherby; Finkel & Olswang, 1996; Finkel et al., 1994; Fothergill & Feltey, 2003; Menges & Exum, 1983; Patterson, 2008; Schoening,

[2] Adapted from Hollenshead et al. (2005).

2009; Stockdell-Giesler & Ingalls, 2007; Winkler, 2000; Wolfinger et al., 2008; Young & Wright, 2001).

Overview of Research Strategy

Research Questions

Lazar (2005) has suggested that the construction of the identities of father, mother, or professor are ontological effects produced, reproduced and regulated through discourse. The research questions examine the discursive framing of the parental leave policy at one public research university (Western University) throughout the policy process including how institutional, and individual discourse shaped, (re)produced or contested the social realities of parent-scholars in research institutions. The following questions guided data collection, analysis, and interpretation:

1. How do institutional parental leave policy discourse and individual faculty narratives shape the construction of tenure and/or parenting?
2. How do the institutional parental leave policy discourse and individual faculty narratives confront the culture of tenure in research institutions?

To answer these questions regarding the construction of institutional and faculty subjectivities, I employed a critical feminist discourse policy analysis research strategy. A critical feminist policy discourse framework allows examination of and interrogation into how language functions as an expression and a creation of organizational power structures associated with our parent-scholar identities and how

these power structures (re)construct and define the social reality for tenure track parent-scholars in research institutions.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Feminist Policy Discourse

Feminist theorists assume that gender is one of the primary frames of difference used in framing social relations (J. Acker, 1992; B. J. Allen, 1996; Carli & Eagly, 2001; Lather, 1992; Ridgeway, 2009; Valian, 1999; Weedon, 1987; West & Zimmerman, 1987). The social construct of gender assumes that certain characteristics are inherent to males and females, subsequently differentiating male and female bodies in terms of their assumed gender roles and schemas, including professional and personal roles (J. Acker, 1992; Ridgeway, 2009; Valian, 1999; West & Zimmerman, 1987). These constructs of roles and schemas then frame gendered expectations that govern behavior across social and institutional structures, including constructing women as nurturers (primary caregivers) and men as breadwinners (J. Acker, 1992; Ridgeway, 2009; Valian, 1999).

A critical feminist analysis positions gender as one of the central focuses of the analysis, and requires that policies and discourse be critiqued against the sociohistoric, gendered, and political assumptions about parenting and our assumptions about what it means to earn tenure in a research institution (Bensimon & Marshall, 1997; Lather, 1992; Lazar, 2005; Marshall, 1997; Sallee, 2008; Weedon, 1987). Feminists, whether liberal, cultural, or postmodern, have posited that the labor market has been "unfettered by ties of motherhood childcare, and domestic labor" and that "women seeking inclusion" into the public sector have had to negotiate the conflicting demands made upon them by these

dual roles" (Weedon, 1987, p. 2). A critical feminist policy discourse framework allows for the critical interrogation of the institutional and cultural barriers that have been identified as impeding women's success in the academy (B. J. Allen, 1996; Bensimon & Marshall, 1997; Lather, 1992; Lazar, 2005; Marshall, 1997; Sallee, 2008).

Critical feminist policy discourse analysis of work-life policies in the academy requires interrogation of how these types of policies exist and are represented within the culture of the academy and how faculty parents experience and navigate the existing institutional and cultural structures. Lazar (2005) posited that the merging of feminism with a critical discourse policy theoretical and analytic framework allows for the critiquing of social structures and processes which may "sustain a patriarchal order" that may systematically maintain the status quo of privileging male faculty members and excluding and disempowering women faculty mothers in the academy.

Furthermore, a critical feminist theoretical and analytical framework allows for thoughtful and thorough interrogation of language and discursive practices and aims to uncover organizational and societal sources of "oppression, domination, or marginalization…of women and others…" (Marshall, 1997, p. ix). Thus, a critical feminist policy discourse analysis is essential given the discourse surrounding why these policies should be adopted in the first place (e.g., tenure vs. biological clock and recruiting and retaining the most talented faculty in the highly competitive higher education market) (AAUP, 1973, 2006; Baer & Van Ummersen, 2005; Sallee, 2008).

This framework should provide for a more comprehensive analysis of how parental leave policies are situated within the historic male-centric model of the ideal worker norms, including the construction of tenure within this model (Lather, 1992;

Lazar, 2005). This analysis should expose and illuminate the structures that may limit the agency that faculty parents feel they have in using these policies. Finally, as noted by Sallee (2008), organizations more often than not use a feminist lens during the formulation and adoption stages of work-life policies; therefore it seems reasonable that the theoretical and analytical framework guiding the evaluation of a paid parental leave policy process also be situated within in a critical feminist perspective.

Policy Analysis of Texts and Narratives

Policy discourse assumes that organizational documents "not only record but also actively contribute to shaping culture" and subsequently contribute to the construction of the faculty member's reality within the academy (Allan, 2010, p. 5). Therefore, this study uses institutional policy texts, as well as small group and individual interview transcripts to understand institutional culture and the sociocultural contexts behind the adoption and implementation of the paid parental leave policy at Western University. In addition to these institutional texts, analysis included open-ended responses to the 2009 evaluation survey distributed to all tenure-track faculty members as well as all department chairs. More information on the methodology and texts is outlined in Chapter 3.

Limitations of Study

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP, 2001) and the American Council on Education (ACE) (Baer & Van Ummersen, 2005) have identified several work-life policies to be considered by postsecondary institutions. This analysis is limited to the analysis of one particular policy and its subsequent programs, namely paid

parental leave, contextually bound to one public research institution (Western University). The focus of this study is on the institutional and individual discourse surrounding this single policy which aimed to assist tenure-track faculty parents in balancing caregiving and tenure track obligations.

This qualitative critical feminist policy discourse analysis focused solely on the discursive construction of tenure within a research institution and interrogated how this construction also served to (re)construct or sustain the culture of tenure for parent-scholars through the adoption, implementation, and utilization of the paid parental leave policy at Western University.

Analysis included review of institutional policy texts, transcripts and narrative analysis of the small group and individual interviews with institutional tenure track faculty members, and analysis of the open-ended responses to the 2009 policy evaluation survey from tenure track faculty members and department chairs. Group and individual interview participants were respondents to the larger institutional policy evaluation conducted in 2009-2010. These faculty members self-selected into the study. As a result, faculty interviews and survey responses are not assumed to be a comprehensive view of the larger faculty and leadership experience with the policy. Finally, as suggested by Allan (2010), policy documents as well as interview transcripts are bound to their historical moment and cultural context and while they can provide insight into the discursive framing of tenure and parenting within the population studied, they are not readily generalized to other sites or populations.

Conclusion

This study explored discursive construction of tenure and parenting within the adoption and implementation of a paid parental leave policy at one research institution. The study was informed by my lived experience as a faculty administrator responsible for working with and advising faculty through their recruitment, appointment, retention, promotion, and tenure actions, and more recently, advising faculty considering if and how to use the institutional parental leave policy. My interactions with faculty over the past 3 years, coupled with the information and empirical research on parenting on the tenure track indicated a need for this study.

To understand why faculty parents continue to question the legitimacy of their use of paid parental leave policies, and their legitimacy in using these policies, the method for data collection and data analysis was situated within a critical feminist policy discourse framework including analysis of all available institutional policy texts compiled as part of the policy drafting, adoption, implementation, and utilization processes for the *Paid Parental Leave Policy* at Western University. The critical feminist policy discourse analysis allowed for interrogation of institutional and individual level discourse that may sustain the status quo or confront and challenge the existing culture of research institutions creating space for the requisite culture change needed for these policies to be successful.

This study has implications for practice and policy and also contributes to the continuing discussion of work-life policies in the academy, and the potential impact on the careers of tenure-track parent-scholars. First, the purpose of this study was to garner an understanding of how institutional policy discourse surrounding the culture of tenure

may affect the framing and reframing of tenure track parent-scholar subjectivities in research institutions. In assessing the adoption, implementation and use of work-life policies for tenure-track faculty parents in postsecondary institutions it is essential to begin to unravel the underlying cultural assumptions regarding how personal and professional roles for tenure track faculty are defined within the discourse of the tenure culture, and how we can disrupt these historic assumptions to create the structure change needed for the shift in the organizational culture to allow for a more fluid and individualized approach to navigating the tenure track and childbearing and caregiving roles.

Chapter 2 provides a review of existing literature regarding the culture of higher education, namely the literature on the construction of meaning behind what it means to earn tenure. In addition, I will provide an overview of the literature regarding parenthood on the tenure track in the academy and how women's place within the tenure track is complicated by the discourse of the competing biological and tenure clocks. Finally, a synthesis on the existing literature regarding work-life policies as described broadly in the business sector, as well as the emergence and evolution of these policies within the academic realm. The literature review provides guidance for the development of the critical feminist policy discourse analysis by centering the study within the context of previous research on these aspects of culture, tenure policies and processes, and the construction and meaning of tenure for parent-scholars (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

Chapter 3 explains the critical feminist approach to the policy discourse and narrative analysis and outlines my personal biography. Selections of texts that constitute the corpus for this study are outlined as well as an overview of the data collection and

analysis procedures. Chapter 3 concludes with an overview of how trustworthiness and ethical considerations were considered over the course of the study. These first 3 chapters center this study as a qualitative critical feminist policy discourse research study that is informed by the existing literature and grounded in epistemological, theoretical, and methodological strategies to answer the specific research questions of this study.

Across the texts, several themes emerged as to why institutions must attend to the rigidity of the tenure track career path, and particularly why they must do so at this time including 1) the shifts in the demographics of the academic professoriate, 2) equity (i.e., leveling the playing field for women in the tenure track) and 3) the need for institutions to sustain their level of preeminence and competing for the best and the brightest faculty in the field. Although the texts presume that there is an organizational imperative to provide structural support for the new generation of faculty scholars who are seeking balance between personal and professional roles, the faculty narratives suggest that the employment of this strategy to recruit faculty members has not been fully realized.

The descriptions of the historic tenure track, as well as how policy authors framed caregiving within the tenure structure, were back-grounded by notions of the tenure track as a lock-step process with an expectation for adhering to a set review schedule (e.g., 7 years pretenure probationary period). What began to emerge across the texts were the tensions between the integration of childbearing and caregiving roles within the existing construct of the ideal tenure track faculty member (e.g., committed, productive, and visible). As I explored this further, what I found were the internal and external pressures to compartmentalize roles. Specifically, the organization may be able to create structure(s)—namely via paid parental leaves of absence policies—which allow faculty to

integrate caregiving and professor roles. However, the deep-rooted culture resulted in faculty feeling that the only way they could be successful in the academy, was by sustaining the full speed (productivity, commitment, and visibility) approach to earning tenure.

The discourse surrounding the construction of legitimacy in the primary caregiver role focused mainly on limiting misuse of the policy by parents who were presumed to not be as adversely impacted by the care of a newborn (read: men). The core assumption behind the discourse of the primary caregiver was that faculty might take advantage of the paid parental leave policy to boost their level of productivity (read: research) instead of using the leave to care for their newborn child. For women, the physiological impact of childbearing is noted to significantly limit their ability to continue to be productive scholars during their parental leave. For men, it was presumed that caregiving would not impact their tenure trajectory to the same extent. It is via the discourse of caregiving that the subdiscourse of policy abuse emerged.

I argue that within the discourse of the ideal worker/faculty norms, the discourse of the committed, productive, and visible scholar results in a discourse whereby time taken off the tenure track for caregiving is not readily accounted for. These values become important predictors in whether faculty feel that they can fully take advantage of their entitlements to modify their duties following childbirth or adoption as well as their perceived sense of agency to extend their tenure clock via the formal paid parental leave policy.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The interrogation of the culture of tenure must pay particular attention to the historic and contemporary construction and framing of tenure, which have the potential to impact and shape the policy process for family-responsive policies as well as constructing the realities for faculty and administrators. Given the highly professional and decentralized organizational structures of the academy (Kuh & Whitt, 1998; Tierney, 1988), analyzing the implementation of family-responsive policies as well as the needed culture change within the academy, requires that we pay attention to the context and discourse surrounding family and the academy. In particular, the culture of tenure and its discursive construction must be interrogated. The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) (2001) indicated that the enactment and successful implementation of work-life policies, including paid parental leave policies, requires that institutions of higher education confront and reconstruct their existing cultures and move towards a more family-friendly campus climate.

To fully understand how tenure and parenthood are discursively framed within the academy a review of empirical research and narratives was conducted focusing on the discourse(s) that frame the culture of tenure, namely what it means to be a professor and earn tenure. In addition to a review of empirical research , a review of articles posted in

the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, which has given considerable attention to work-life balance issues over the past several years, was included in the literature review in an attempt to identify contemporary discourse surrounding tenure and parenthood within the context of research institutions. Including the discourse from the *Chronicle of Higher Education* as part of the literature review was beneficial in determining how both institutions and individuals are currently defining their roles as mother-scholars within the academy as well as how these subjectivities are discursively framed within the professional discourse.

The review of literature begins with an overview of organizational culture and socialization research. Following the overview of the research regarding organizational culture, broadly as well as within the context of postsecondary institutions, I will provide an overview of the research regarding the culture of tenure within the academy including research surrounding the construction of tenure-track faculty roles, expectations, and parenting within the academy. Understanding the discourse surrounding what it means to be a tenure-track faculty member and a parent at a research institution is crucial in helping us understand how the values and beliefs of the academy are communicated, particularly to tenure-track faculty parents, and how these may trickle down through the policy process for a paid parental leave policy in a research institution. The way that these values and beliefs are discursively framed throughout the institution may affect, if not constrain, the culture change necessary for embedding these policies into the institutional culture, particularly since the paid parental leave policy specifically aims to restructure and reconstruct the ideals of tenure. Finally, research surrounding the tensions between the tenure discourse and the parent discourse is reviewed, concluding with an

analysis of current work-life policies within the larger community as well as within the academy.

Existing Organizational Culture in Higher Education

> *If there is anything that people do naturally, it is that they live culturally, in groups, with goals, rules, expectations, abstractions and untold complexities. Culture…gives all we know and all the tools with which to learn more. (McDermott & Varenne, 1995, p. 331)*

The AAUP (2001) noted that while family-friendly options for tenure track faculty were needed, changing the academic culture to allow faculty to feel free to use these policies would require significant attention and effort (AAUP, 2001). The literature also discussed the on-going challenge of shifting the culture of tenure to allow these policies to become embedded in the culture of research institutions. Specifically, the culture and ideologies of what it means to earn tenure continues to be a factor in how work-life policies are drafted, implemented, interpreted, utilized, and valued by institutions and individual faculty members.

The literature regarding organizational culture, particularly as it relates to research institutions highlighted the way that tenure is often situated as an organizational structure and process used to socialize tenure track faculty members. In addition, research on tenure has shown how the construct of tenure has become an ideological component of research institutions whereby it is defined as a symbol of the profession.

Due to the fluidity of an organization's culture, it is sometimes difficult to pin down exactly what the culture of an organization is and how that culture may affect the

individuals in the organization. Defined broadly, organizational culture is described in terms of the rules, language, or ideologies that govern and shape everyday experiences of the members and is the product of observed actions and consequences, which results in shared organizational beliefs and assumptions (Maanen, 1976; Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985; Schein, 1980, 1992a, 1992b; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Schein (1992a) promoted the use of a broad definition of culture, whereby culture includes not only the organizational assumptions and practices that are created over time, but also includes the often hidden and complex shared assumptions of the social groups within the organization. Schein describes this definition of culture as:

> A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration that has worked well enough to be considered valid and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (p. 12)

This definition allows for us to envision culture and the socialization of new members as not only a product of the organization, but also a process that is subject to the learning processes of individual social group members over time. The organizational culture and processes behind tenure result in the culture of tenure serving as both a process and a product of the organization whereby organizational rules, as well as the discourse, language, symbols, and ideologies of tenure all contribute to the framing of individual subjectivities within the organizational structure. This view of organizational culture and socialization within the structure of tenure situates both the product and the process of organizational culture and socialization as a dynamic and continual process being shaped by the people within and surrounding the organization, as reflected in the more concrete expressions of rituals, traditions, history, etc.

Culture is the product of a continual molding of new members to ensure that they adopt cultural expectations and values. McDermott and Varenne (1995) liken this to the process of "hammering a world" into compliance (p. 326). According to Van Mannen and Schein (1979), it is through acculturation, or "hammering" that members learn how to navigate the system, what to aspire for, and how to interact. Through the constant attention to the organizational structure, values, and culture, new and current members are "hammered" into the system. Through the constant attention to the organizational structure, values, and culture, new and current members are then normalized into (or removed from) the system (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). However, it is only after individual members violate the established codes and conventions that the power of the organizational culture and socialization strategies emerge (Maanen, 1976; Schein, 1992b; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979).

Schein's (1992a) definition of organizational culture allows us to account for both the top down dissemination of values, beliefs and assumptions, through formal organizational structures and policies, as well as accounting for the influence of individual values, beliefs, and behaviors which are then accepted and translated as valid. Schein's model provides a framework for considering how organizational culture is embedded and changed within highly decentralized and democratically governed organizations such as higher education institutions (Kuh & Whitt, 1998; Tierney, 1988).

Organizational Socialization

From a sociological perspective, people in all cultures establish norms and expectations to develop members into those who conform to the societal assumptions

(McDermott & Varenne, 1995). It is through the dissemination and embedding of these norms and expectations that organizational members are socialized into the group and learn how to navigate the system, what to aspire for, and how to interact. As assumptions and values are deliberately modeled, members of the organization are both formally and informally coached and socialized into the organization. The processes of embedding culture requires that the organization balance the management of meaning and the management of social integration for each of the individual members of the institution (Dill, 1982; Tierney, 1988).

The organization must encompass a strong culture if individual behaviors are to align with the organization's goals, mission, and values (Fine & Novak, 1996). However, more often than not, culture is not communicated in what the organization espouses, publishes, or preaches, but rather is conveyed through the practices of the leaders and social groups within the organization (Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985; Schein, 1992a; Trowler & Knight, 1999; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Consequently, in order for culture to be disseminated, the leader's values, beliefs, and assumptions must be established and embedded. The daily practices of the leader result in an embedding of culture that transcends all levels of the organization, and requires that the leader's assumptions and values are both disseminated and accepted as rules of behavior (Schein, 1992b). The practices of the leaders and social groups then result in an embedding of the values, beliefs, and behaviors on individual organizational members.

Organizational stability requires that new and current members learn the "right skills at the right time in the right format," especially if they plan on succeeding and attaining higher status within the system (McDermott & Varenne, 1995, p. 335).

Consequently, in order for culture to be disseminated, the leader's values, beliefs, and assumptions must be established and embedded. The embedding of culture is the product of education, where the leader's assumptions and values are taught to the group via the dissemination of the accepted rules of behavior and the assumptions behind them (Schein, 1992b). The embedded culture then serves to produce ideologies of how members should act, as well as establishing systems to identify those who fail to conform to the accepted culture (McDermott & Varenne, 1995; Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985; Schein, 1992a, 1992b; Trowler & Knight, 1999). Organizational culture is something that is produced and influenced by internal power. Once the culture has been established, responses to general or specific incidents are viewed as natural responses, and thus, culture serves as a way of making sense of the environment (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979).

Culture facilitates socialization as it determines how individuals "acquire the social knowledge and the skills necessary to function effectively" (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979, p. 211). Likewise, socialization has been shown to have a remarkable effect on the productivity of employees (D. G. Allen, 2006; Schein, 1980). Organizational socialization is a complex process comprised of multiple processes and tactics that continue throughout the various stages of employee development (Ashforth, Sluss, & Saks, 2007; Chao, O'Leary-Kelly, Wolf, Klein, & Gardner, 1994; Jones, 1986) Organizational socialization has been discussed from a variety of perspectives including socialization stages (D. C. Feldman, 1981; Nelson, 1987; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), socialization tactics (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), socialization content (Chao et al., 1994; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), outcomes and self-efficacy (Jones, 1986), newcomer sense making (Louis, 1980), newcomer proactive behavior (Ashforth et al.,

2007; Chao et al., 1994; Gruman, Saks, & Zweig, 2006; Tae-Yeol, Cable, & Sang-Pyo, 2005), stress (Nelson, 1987), and effectiveness (Anakwe & Greenhaus, 1999). Inevitably, over time people develop socially prescribed ways of doing things.

Process of Socialization

The process of socialization essentially looks at the stages a member of an organization passes through en route to becoming socialized. According to Van Mannen and Schein (1979), organizational socialization can be seen as a series of boundary movements. Several conceptual models have been put forth as to how the socialization process occurs including Van Mannen's work regarding the 3 stages of employee development and the various processes and content/tactics used in organizational socialization which will be covered in depth in ensuing sections. "Indeed, from the time individuals first enter the workplace to the time they leave their membership behind, they experience and often commit themselves to a distinct way of life complete with its own rhythms, rewards, relationships, demands, and potentials" (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979, p. 210). This commitment is a foundational component to maintaining and perpetuating the unique culture of an organization.

Van Maanen and Schein (1979) posited that members of an organization experience movement along three boundaries relative to their function in the organization. First, employees are selected to be in a functional role. The functional role primarily addresses learning the expectations and requirements of their task. Second, employees are hired at a certain hierarchical level. Although each organization will have a unique hierarchical structure, each employee will have his or her place in the hierarchy. Finally,

employees are confronted with the need to interact with the social tapestry of the organization, which is part of the inclusionary boundary. This is a give and take process occurring within these 3 boundaries simultaneously.

Newcomers test the boundaries of the social norms and processes as they understand them and experienced members will restrict or grant movement along the boundaries mentioned previously accompanied by an unavoidable period of adjustment (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). As a member of an organization moves through the 3 boundary systems: functional, hierarchical, and inclusionary, he or she is granted more rights and privileges afforded to veteran members of the group. In addition, the new member is motivated to learn the culture of the organization because it has been suggested that this process reduces the anxiety as they become more socialized into the institution. Although analyzing the complexity of organizational socialization from independent variables may facilitate the knowledge we have of the concepts on an individual level, the process of socialization does not happen independently; therefore, this type of measurement may not yield the most accurate results.

Socialization Stages

Feldman (1981) and Van Maanen (1979) both put forth ideas about what constitutes organizational socialization, both using a three step design, measuring similar concepts. Feldman's three stages include 1) anticipatory socialization, 2) accommodation, and 3) role management. The three stages as described by Van Maanen as guiding the socialization process include: the anticipatory, encounter and metamorphosis stages. The first stage, in both cases, acknowledges that each individual arrives with their own values

and expectations where both the organization as well as the individual must set realistic expectations. During the hiring process this stage is characterized by selecting individuals who seem "to fit in" with the organization. Two variables are proposed for this stage: 1) realistic assessment of the organization which includes an assessment of the degree to which a complete and accurate view of organizational goals, climate and philosophy is held by the newcomer; and 2) realistic assessment of the job including an assessment of the degree to which "a complete and accurate view of the new job responsibilities is held by the newcomer" (Nelson, 1987, p. 313).

The second stage occurs after the individual has been introduced into the organization and the personal expectations either collide with reality causing potentially disastrous outcomes or the individual is able to reaffirm his/her perceptions gained during the first stage. During this stage, the roles are clarified and the new member begins to build relationships. "Encounter, the second stage of socialization, begins on the first day of work, and is thought to encompass the first 6 to 9 months of the job" (Louis, 1980 as cited in Nelson, 1987, p. 314). Finally, the employee must work out any problems encountered during the second stage and adjust to the job which Van Mannen (1979) described as the metamorphosis stage. In this final stage, the newcomer has "learned the ropes" and can now adjust to the organization in a healthy way (Nelson, 1987). Clearly, if an individual leaves the organization, the organization has failed to effectively socialize the member into the organization.

How socialization manifests itself as content can be seen from a variety of standpoints, but the commonality found among many researchers is that the process of socialization will show what members in an organization actually learn as they pass

through the socialization process (Anakwe & Greenhaus, 1999; Chao et al., 1994; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). "Any given tactic represents a distinguishable set of events which influence the individual in transition and which may make innovative responses from that individual more likely than custodial (or vice-versa)" (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979, p. 230). The content of the socialization process focuses not on how the information is conveyed, but rather on what information is conveyed to members.

Another, more recent study of organizational socialization as it pertains to content comes from Chao et al. (1994), whose quantitative study examined the relationships between learning particular features of an organization and the content and outcomes of socialization. The focus of organizational socialization centers on the learning process that occurs as newcomers are socialized in the form of socialization domains. A factor analysis indicated 6 domains: individual task roles, organizational goals and values, people, history, politics, and language. The researchers found that there is significant evidence linking the socialization process with specific dimensions of organizational content. Chao and colleagues (1994) found that overall, "people who are well socialized in their organizational roles have greater personal incomes, are more satisfied, more involved with their careers, more adaptable, and have a better sense of their personal identity than people who are less well socialized" (p. 741). They further discuss the need to analyze each of the dimensions of socialization independent of one another.

Gendered Nature of Organizational Culture and Socialization

Embedding of cultural norms and behaviors requires the shared assumptions of all individuals within the organization, and these assumptions are often translated via stories,

special language, norms, institutional ideology, and attitudes (Tierney, 1988). However, socialization of new members rarely considers how bodies have been gendered, and how expectations and norms may be framed from a gendered perspective that assumes a male-dominated competency model (J. Acker, 1992). Organizational culture rarely addresses the environmental forces that have shaped the culture, but rather focuses on the structures, patterns, and processes that guide employee behavior (Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985; W. G. Ouchi & A. L. Wilkins, 1985) .

Organizational culture and socialization assume absolute gender neutrality, whereby within the walls of organizational structure, bodies have no feelings and possess no gender (J. Acker, 1992; Alimo-Metcalfe, 1993). However, there is a long history of practices that establish a gendered pattern of jobs, roles, and positions and while legally managers cannot advertise based on gender and role, there remains strong stereotypes that assume that roles and gender coincide (J. Acker, 1992). In the case of academia, we could assume that the assumptions about caregiving coupled with the historic exclusion of women from the academy would be interwoven into the structure of earning tenure, which may work against members who are not part of the majority. It is these systems that have the potential to exclude members who are not part of the majority, thereby producing and reproducing difference that maintains hegemonic systems of power, authority, and bases of knowledge. By assuming a feminist-theory standpoint, we have to acknowledge that hierarchies are gendered and gender based assumptions are integral in the maintenance and reproduction of these hierarchies within organizational structures, including the socialization of new members (J. Acker, 1992).

Many have demonstrated that people hold one another accountable for cultural assumptions about gender-appropriateness of our performance, and people perform to gendered expectations because they know they will be held accountable to those standards (Biernat & Fuegen, 2001; Burns-Glover & Veith, 1995; Carli & Eagly, 2001; Carr et al., 2000; Dukes & Victoria, 1989; K. A. Feldman, 1992, 1993; Foster et al., 2000; Heilman, 2001; Miller & Chamberlin, 2000; Ridgeway, 2009; Rubin, 1980; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Sinclair & Kunda, 2000; Siskind & Kearns, 1997; Sprague & Massoni, 2005; Statham, Richardson, & Cook, 1991; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001; Tatro, 1995; Tedrow & Rhoads, 1999; Todd & Bird, 2000; Valian, 1999; Wenneras & Wold, 1997; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

According to Joan Acker (1992), gendered practices may be as open as managers openly selecting men over women for certain positions or deeply hidden within the organizational processes and structures so that decisions or practices appear to have nothing to do with gender. Alimo-Metcalfe (1993) found evidence of women feeling themselves under "close scrutiny" of their male colleagues and bosses, "constantly aware of a suspicious audience" looking to exploit any faux pas (p. 72).

Power relationships and the ability to impact the behavior of subordinates are well documented within both organizational literature as well as gender theory literature (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1993; M. T. Allison, 1999; Buono & Kamm, 1983; Carli & Eagly, 2001; Harper, 1990). Madden (2005), rearticulated the ability of those holding the power to utilize stereotypic information to affect the behavior of their subordinates. Because the leadership within academia is heavily dominated by men, if stereotypes are activated in any of the above processes outlined by Alimo-Metcalfe (1993), women will continue to

suffer from gender-based assumptions and stereotypes about their competency, ability, and commitment to the organization.

The maintenance of gendered structures and socialization processes occurs throughout the faculty member's career, beginning with initial recruitment efforts. Female faculty run the most risk of being negatively evaluated for not meeting the gendered expectations placed upon them for competency. Stereotypes have been shown to affect our perception of ability, competence, and skills (Aleamoni, 1999; Alimo-Metcalfe, 1993; Arnold & Peterson, 1998; Bachen, McLoughlin, & Garcia, 1999; Baker & Copp, 1997; Basow, 2000; Bennett, 1982; Dukes & Victoria, 1989; Fernández & Mateo, 1997; Freeman, 1994; Kierstead, D'Agostino, & Dill, 1988; Kjeldal, Rindfleish, & Sheridan, 2005; Martin, 1984; Miller & Chamberlin, 2000; Perna, 2001; Rubin, 1980; Siskind & Kearns, 1997; Swim et al., 2001; Tatro, 1995; Todd & Bird, 2000). Research has found that men hold specific stereotypes perceiving women as dependent, passive, illogical, less competent and less objective (Valian, 1999). Furthermore, these stereotypes have also been shown to have an effect on the evaluation of female faculty in the recruitment process as well as the formal review process (Siskind & Kearns, 1997; Todd & Bird, 2000; Winkler, 2000). Research has shown that when stereotypes are activated, small biases against women may result in large consequences in terms of distribution of women and men in senior positions (Carli & Eagly, 2001; Wenneras & Wold, 1997; Wenninger, 1995; Winkler, 2000).

In addition to meeting the competency expectations, which are typically defined by masculine characteristics, women face the additional challenge of meeting expectations for maintenance of femininity. Interestingly, the research also suggests that

women who attempt to balance the masculinity and femininity scales are more successful than those who adopt a purely masculine leadership style (Carli & Eagly, 2001; Madden, 2005). Women's curriculum vitas have been shown to hold a higher standard of competence, letters of evaluation often speak to nurturing characteristics as opposed to focusing on skills and competency, and finally, students have shown the propensity for holding their female professors to a different standard in regards to course content and presentation, as well as access. Women who lean too far towards the femininity scale run the risk of being perceived as incompetent, while those who adopt more masculine traits are considered "not nice" and unlikeable (Carli & Eagly, 2001). This dichotomy results in women attempting to create "the correct gendered persona" while attempting to hide unacceptable aspects of one's life (J. Acker, 1992, p. 452). In reviewing the numerous "how to" guides for female faculty, we can see how this transcends the graduate school experience, into the recruitment, and review process of female faculty (Dion, 2008).

Toren (1993) pointed to the previous literature surrounding the advancement of women within the academic pipeline and the assumption that the slower pace for women is correlated to the family and reproductive obligations placed on women, arguing that these assumptions underplay the organizational structures and cultures of institutions that may account for these trends. Creating organizational cultures and socialization practices that ignore these assumptions relegates those who have been excluded to the margins, and demands that they assume responsibility for their failures to succeed within the organization, let alone ascend the organizational ladder (Toren, 1993). More recent studies demonstrate similar productivity rates for women regardless of their motherhood status and explore the temporal framework of faculty progression which may indicate that

faculty progression may be more of an artifact of gendered assumptions and stereotypes, and the use of gender schema to justify the underlying structures and socialization processes (Toren, 1993). It is these covert practices that place women at a disadvantage within academia.

Organizational socialization attempts to place bodies into the organizational structures outside of the sociopolitical contexts that shape behavior and perception of others, including prescribed gender schemas. Furthermore, organizational socialization processes often fail to address the mechanisms that work towards maintaining the status quo of authority and power of the tenure structure. Consequently, in order to succeed within the established structure, women tend to adopt styles that incorporate gendered expectations that others have of them (Dion, 2008; Foster et al., 2000; Valian, 1999; West & Zimmerman, 1987)

This gendered substructure has constructed workplace behavior and has established two sets of rules for men and women. Women are expected to acculturate into the organization, but the literature surrounding how evaluations are impacted by gender suggests that they do not get to leave their female identity at the door. Rather, they must juggle the expectations of the organization as well as the expectations surrounding their role of femininity, because the role within the organization assumes a male-oriented model (J. Acker, 1992). The historical tenure system within any university provides an excellent example of how this affects women's lives.

Tenure as a Process

The Pretenure Probationary Period

Tenure as a process includes the formal evaluation structures built into the pretenure probationary period. Most research institutions follow the long ago prescribed AAUP suggestion about length of the probationary period and expect pretenure faculty to earn tenure within 6 to 7 years. The AAUP recommended that the probationary period conclude with a high stakes evaluation and for those successful, the award of tenure should suppose an indefinite appointment with guaranteed continuation of appointment and procedures for dismissal from the tenured appointment anchored in due process (AAUP, 1970).

A few studies have explored the structures and history of the academy for pretenure faculty (Alenzi & Salem, 2007; Doost, 2000; Olsen & Crawford, 1998), including the assumed contractual relationship between the academy and its tenure-track faculty, the prescribed completion of the pretenure probationary period (Ableser, 2009; Budd, 2006; Fairweather, 2002, 2005; Fogg, 2006a, 2006b; Lewis, 1980), and the process of peer-review evaluation of faculty at the end of this probationary period (Cohen, 2003; Hardre & Cox, 2009; Verrier, 1992, 1994), at which time pretenure faculty are accepted into the tenured professoriate (Verrier, 1994).

Historically, tenure track faculty were viewed as the backbone of the institution, and their experience and credentials assumed a certain level of professionalism that warranted policies and practices that demanded faculty participation in decision making and institutional governance(Bland, Center, Finstad, Risbey, & Staples, 2006; McConnell & Mortimer, 1971).Tenure was provided by the academy in exchange for long-term job

security and academic freedom, and it was presumed that tenure-track faculty would be of benefit to the institution by meeting its educational, service, and scholarly missions. Faculty would be expected to "use their intellectual capital for achievement of institutional objectives…and assume responsibility for academic decision making in a shared governance system" (Gappa, Austin, & Trice, 2007a, p. 132). However, as Gappa et al., (2007) noted, this mutually beneficial relationship, at least in the early days of the academy was typically reserved for white men.

The granting of tenure requires significant scrutiny of one's academic record and credentials, which results in tenure not only serving as a "reward" for committing to the work, but also as a sign of acceptance within the institution as well as the larger academic community (H. L. Allen, 2000; Baldwin & Blackburn, 1981; Baldwin & Chronister, 2001; Bland et al., 2006; Ehrenberg & Rizzo, 2004; Ehrenberg & Zhang, 2005; Parsad & Glover, 2002). Institutions define tenure track positions in a manner that requires faculty to actively engage in all the critical missions of the university including teaching, research, administration and public service (H. L. Allen, 2000). Faculty who are able to successfully contribute to these missions are subsequently promoted and tenured into the system.

The pretenure process serves as a socialization strategy where the institution (namely departmental faculty and leadership) provides cues to pretenure faculty about what is valued and rewarded. The tenure track system, along with the varying levels of expectations for research, teaching, and service has become the standard to which many up-and-coming academicians are socialized into. Institutions treat the tenure system as a means for motivating consistent high performance, and faculty view the attainment of

tenure as the final mark of acceptance of their work by their peers along with the security of academic freedom (Bland et al., 2006; Caison, 2002; Ehrenberg & Zhang, 2005; Parsad & Glover, 2002).

Faculty report that the process of tenure often requires them to perform to the standards of their peers within their discipline, produce publications and funding, and be good team players (Mitchell, 2004; Verrier, 1992; Youn & Price, 2009). Youn and Price (2009) further described the traditional tenure and promotion processes within the academy as rule-based actions, where tenure as a process includes a sequence of decisions that involve multiple actors operating in complexly structured temporal cycles, and represents acts of major commitment that are costly and unsettling to the organization. As rule-based actions, promotion and tenure decisions are thought to be central features of the existing academic organizational culture and Youn and Price (2009) suggested that considering alternatives to these processes is often constrained. Typically, evaluation of faculty during the pretenure years includes a peer evaluation of faculty contribution in 3 areas: 1) teaching; 2) scholarship; and 3) service or administration. According to Fairweather (2002), it is during these crucial pretenure evaluation processes that junior faculty seek "clues about the value of different aspects of their work" and it is during these formal pretenure reviews that "productivity" and contributions are most "meaningfully defined and evaluated" (p. 27).

However, the literature also indicated that the criteria for evaluating faculty during their pretenure probationary period time is shifting, and while the calls for flexibility may assume a downward shift, what appears to be occurring is a "ratcheting up" of expectations, with several senior faculty suggesting that not even they would have

been successful based on these new models for "excellence" in the tenure culture. Philpsen and Bostic (2010) also found that junior faculty members perceive that the requirements for productivity require "if not more output…certainly more research than previous ones" (p. 3). Faculty interviewed in their study felt that "[p]revious generations…were under less pressure to publish and had more time for family and outside pursuits than the [current] generation" (p. 4).

While teaching has always been a key expectation of professors in higher education, many professors see themselves as primarily researchers (Alenzi & Salem, 2007). Light (1974) pointed out that "by definition, research time conflicts with time devoted to teaching" and that these conflicts create a tension for junior faculty attempting to balance the competing internal and external pressures to teach and focus on their research (p. 5). Greene, O'Connor et al., (2008) also found that while teaching consumed the majority of faculty time, research productivity was listed as the major factor in promotion and tenure decisions. However, in terms of how pretenure faculty members view the expectations for their performance, Fogg (2006a) found that tenure-track professors were most clear about their performance as teachers and slightly less clear on their performance as scholars or advisors, with men indicating a greater sense of clarity about what their institutions expected from them. Trower and Gallagher (2008) also found that junior faculty women and minority faculty often were less clear about the expectations for meeting the tenure expectations.

Verrier's (1994) study of pretenure faculty found that faculty describe the tenure system as an exclusive club in which pretenure faculty go through an initiation, which if they successfully navigate a system where often the rules are not clear, then they are

welcome into the "tenure club" (p. 95). Faculty described an internal and external tension to engage in social and administrative activities in order to maintain visibility and presence within the discipline. The discourse of tenure has been described as a reward or recognition for loyalty, engagement, and commitment, with tenure being the reward for the "good village elder who would be loyal and willing to be involved in village affairs" (Youn & Price, p. 227). Namely, pretenure junior faculty suggested that there is an "expected behavior of junior faculty that influences not only their behavior but how they perceive senior faculty might react to that behavior" (Verrier, 1994, p. 95).

The values and expectations for tenure, particularly within research universities indicate that promotion and tenure decisions may largely be a "numbers game" where success is linked to the discourse of quantity over quality (Wilson, 2001). Tenure track faculty felt that institutions value teaching, but in terms of recognition and rewards, it is frequently the number of articles in the dossier that translates to a successful tenure application (Fairweather, 2002). Youn and Price (2009) found that faculty perceived the publications used for promotion or tenure were "just counted, not qualitatively measured" (p. 218). These practices compete with the discourses of the values of the profession (e.g., teaching, service, and quality) and in comprehensive colleges and universities, the tenure structures represent characteristics of an organizational form "that are shaped in direct response to environmental conditions" and the standards for rewarding faculty are conforming to appropriate professional norms and credential requirements (Youn & Price, 2009, p. 233).

Hardre and Cox (2009) noted that the institutional values and expectations for faculty are bound to the expectations for faculty performance, and how these activities

are rewarded often becomes part of the promotion and tenure processes. However, the research surrounding faculty productivity and expectations also suggests an ambiguity between institutional, departmental and individual expectations (Trower & Gallagher, 2008). Individual faculty reported that in terms of earning tenure, "what really counts is money and papers" (Wilson, 2001a, p. A12), and that subsequently, teaching and service activities were maintained at some minimally adequate level.

As indicated earlier, in addition to the pressures to navigate the ambiguous and dual messages surrounding how faculty should spend their time, research also suggests that faculty feel that the feedback they do receive requires them to read into what is said (or not said) and balance contradictory messages regarding their productivity and trajectory (Greene et al., 2008). These processes often result in faculty using previous tenure decisions within the discipline as the gauge for their own tenure decision. The result is a comparative analysis of their record to others, as opposed to focusing on their contributions against the existing criteria. In addition to being described as "something that one must pass in order to prove themselves worthy," the research surrounding the process of tenure also points to discourse of being fixed, rigid, and ambiguous (Fogg, 2006b; Olsen & Crawford, 1998; Verrier, 1994).

While tenure as a process presumes to have a certain degree of structural certainty, the research suggests that there is no one set definition for navigating the process. This often results in multiple definitions and interpretations of expectations for what it means to be tenured. While the AAUP (1970) set up the need to protect faculty both pre and posttenure, how these protections are established, what is valued, and how institutions financially support tenured faculty varies by institution, and often varies at the discipline

level within the institution (McPherson & Morton, 1999). Ableser (2009) offered a series of steps for junior faculty to employ as they begin to traverse the "daunting and overwhelming" tenure probationary path. Using her own tenure journey as a starting point, and then using focus group interviews with fellow junior faculty, she described the tenure path as a unique journey that must be necessarily "intentionally and deliberately" planned (p. 45).

The process of tenure, namely the structures and practices associated with the probationary period are thought to provide tenure-track faculty as well as the institution with protections to teach and engage in research without fear of reprisal. However, the literature regarding faculty perceptions and experiences with tenure indicates that somewhere along the way the process of tenure has been codified as an induction, if not hazing.

Tenure as a Symbol and Ideology

> *Tenure is often seen as the pot of gold at the end of the academic rainbow, a well-deserved reward for years of working at a fever-pitch. (Schoening, 2009, p. 77)*

One of the challenges in discerning how institutions and individuals shape the culture of tenure is the numerous definitions and values associated with the symbol of tenure in postsecondary institutions. Schein (1992b) argued that a major key in embedding culture is establishing mechanisms to reward and value those activities and behaviors that are integral to the culture. Within research universities, tenure is typically the key mechanism used to reward faculty members for their years of service, contribution to the profession, as well as to the institution.

Interestingly, even within the construct of tenure as a process, it is not uncommon to find tenure to be simultaneously situated as a symbol or ideology, where as noted by Youn and Price (2009), the rules of tenure become signifiers for aspects of the organizations members' processes and shared values including the guarantee of "status in the academic profession" (Youn & Price, 2009, p. 212). Consequently, the challenge in defining tenure as an overarching process and ideology within the academy is the local level influences that affect behavior. Faculty significantly attend to and care about the values and norms of their own academic discipline and their own standing in the profession. In the end, there are discourses that situate tenure outside of the notions of academic freedom and due process, and create meaning that relies heavily on subjective determinations of being committed to both peers and students, producing whether it is through scholarship, grants, or other tangibles that contribute to the stability of the department and collegiality or being a good team member.

Tenure is often referred to as the predominant rite of passage in academic life whereby tenure as a symbol and ideology serves as the predominant norm of the academic community and the higher education system at large (Verrier, 1994). According to Mumby (1988), ideology "articulates a view of reality which maintains and supports the interests of dominant groups and suppresses those of subordinate groups" (p. 73). Ideology of tenure often points back to organizational norms of the ideal worker (i.e., faculty member). Namely, part of the ideology and process for tenure signals to the awarding of tenure as linked to the ability to prove one's self "among their peers" where difference in "status and prestige are reinforced and propagated through overt and more subtle departmental practices" (Verrier, 1994, p. 114).

Tenure as "Power"

The establishment of tenure in the academy is thought to have been a means to certain ends. Namely, tenure historically served as the protection for faculty to teach and conduct research as well as provide a "sufficient degree of economic security" to make the professoriate attractive to qualified men and women faculty (AAUP, 1970, p. 3). The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) principles for tenure were seemingly based on the belief that institutions of higher education "are conducted for common good and not to further the interest of the individual teacher or the institution" (AAUP, 1970, p. 3). Subsequently, the rhetoric of academic freedom, and the symbol of tenure are often situated within the larger discourse of the essential need for the free search for truth, and protection for the professoriate to disseminate knowledge and truth without the intrusion of government.

As noted by the AAUP originally in 1940 and again in 1970 (AAUP, 1970), the protections of academic freedom also included the obligation of tenured faculty to actively participate in faculty governance and assume some authority over the missions of their university (e.g., teaching, service, and research). According to McPherson and Morton (1999) the role of tenure is "best understood in terms of its impact on the authority structure of the university" (p. 86). They indicated that faculty authority as it relates to tenure includes decisions about who is able to teach, conduct research, subjects taught, teaching loads, and research expectations (p. 92). This authority extends to issues of curriculum and governance, and often includes the obligation to actively participate in the decision about who should join the faculty, who should be promoted, and who is deserving of tenure. McPherson and Morton (1999) explored discipline and institutional

levels to determine how tenure is constructed and established as a part of the organizational structure and authority within universities and colleges. While tenure does not provide absolute authority to the faculty, McPherson and Morton (1999) suggested that the symbol and ideology of tenure does constrain who is believed to have the traditional managerial authority or power to make decisions and enact policies within the academy.

Tenure as an ideology frames faculty as highly professional and autonomous members as well as part of the democratic governance structure of the organization. Through participation in university governance the power associated with faculty authority reduces the level of traditional administrative influence. According to McPherson and Morton (1999), through their authority linked to tenured appointments, faculty can "veto any arrangement they do not perceive as making them immediately better off" (p. 97). However, it is important to note that this power to veto decisions is typically reserved for faculty who are posttenure. The existing research on faculty pretenure signals to the culture of earning tenure and most pretenure faculty reported the pressure to be silent until after they had earned tenure (Fairweather, 2002, 2005; Verrier, 1992, 1994)

Tenure and power are not limited to institutional faculty governance, but extend to the entire culture of higher education by bolstering the discourses of competition and status. Light (1974) suggested that burgeoning sizes of undergraduate and doctoral students during the 1970s resulted in an intense competition, particularly among research universities. Light (1974) further argued that these pressures breed competitiveness as institutions seek prestige. This competition is translated down to the individual level with

faculty vying for what seems to be a scarce resource—the coveted tenure line. The competitive nature of the academy is thought to have resulted in the emergence of the value of excellence in scholarship as the dominant basis for rewarding faculty (Youn & Price, 2009).

Robin Wilson routinely publishes a column for the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. She suggests that the "bar for tenure is rising at major research universities" where disciplines and institutions are requiring more published research, with some institutions accelerating the tenure process (Wilson, 2001a). Wilson (2001) posited that the expectations are ratcheting up as junior faculty, senior faculty, and administrators point to a higher bar for excellence and quantity of scholarly publications for earning tenure at both research universities and teaching institutions. In a 2005 column, Wilson (2005) found that many senior tenured professors indicate that they would have not earned their tenure with their scholarly record under the current tenure criteria and expectations for excellence and quantity. The higher bar for excellence and quantity of scholarly productivity is thought to be related to the competitive nature of the academy, where disciplines or institutions are taking peer institution's promotion and tenure guidelines and adapting them for their institution, thereby creating a culture across academic institutions that is requiring more productivity in the same amount of time.

Parenting on the Tenure Track

The American Council on Education in their 2005 report, "An Agenda for Excellence: Creating Flexibility on the Tenure Track" noted that addressing the conflict created by the existing tenure clock and the ticking biological clock is "particularly germane to women…" (Baer & Van Ummersen, 2005, p. 5). The conflicting tenure and

biological clock was noted to "frequently result in the permanent loss of talented scholars who have the potential to contribute significantly to teaching and research if given the opportunity to return to tenure-track or tenured positions" (p. 5). Mason and Goulden (2002) examined the effects on the professional lives of women and faculty members from time of doctorate degree through 20 years postdoctorate. They found a gap in the rate of achieving tenure between women and men who have babies early on in their tenure careers. Men who had babies early (prior to 5 years after parent completes the PhD) are more successful in earning tenure than women (Mason & Goulden, 2002). They also found that 59% of married women with children indicated their consideration for leaving academe. Mason and Goulden (2002) further argued that in terms of creating organizational climates that are responsive to families, the academy has "done a better job of opening up the competition to women than…leveling the playing field" (Policy Considerations, November 2002, para. 3).

To understand how faculty members may experience work and family issues, O'Laughlin and Bishcoff (2005) conducted a quantitative analysis of female and male faculty perceptions regarding balancing of work and family obligations. They found that there were differences based on gender, but that tenure status did not seem to impact the level of academic and family stress and balance. To examine the experiences of women faculty mothers, Fothergill and Feltey (2003) conducted a survey of full-time tenure-track women faculty regarding balancing motherhood and post-PhD academic careers. When asked whether women faculty had taken advantage of existing institutional work-life policies, Fothergill and Feltey (2003) found that the majority of women did not ask for reduced teaching loads, parental leave, or stopping their tenure clock. Sixty-seven percent

of the faculty mothers who responded indicated that being a mother and having a tenure-track job is a stressful combination. They found that women agreed that they have "had a less productive career than if they did not have children" (p. 12). However, for the majority of these women, the "less productive" academic career was not translated to mean that they "were or are unproductive" (p. 12). However, as noted by Philipsen and Bostic (2010) the ability to find balance between personal and academic roles is difficult and typical for "most faculty members, and affects men as well as women" (2010, p. 2). Therefore, moving forward with thinking about creating structures that allow balance on the tenure track, it is important to remember that both men and women's roles in the private sphere need to be taken into account.

> Married women with a child under six are 50 percent less likely to enter a tenure-track position than married men with a child under six. Women are 20 percent less likely to achieve tenure than men. (Baer & Van Ummersen, 2005)

Research continues to show an incompatibility between motherhood and academic life (Leonard & Mailina, 1994 p. 29). The conflict between developing one's academic skills, particularly during the pretenure years, and managing motherhood roles is often cited as one of the main causes of women's attrition out of the academic pipeline. The AAUP has noted that "the resolution of pretenure family-work conflicts is critical to ensuring that academic opportunities are truly equitable" (AAUP, 2001, p. 222). The research indicates that the "demands of motherhood, coupled with a lack of family friendly policies…make life in the academy less desirable for a new generation of female scholars" (Schoening, 2009, p. 77). Thus, given that the expectations for research and publication during the pretenure years "are most onerous" (AAUP, 2001, p. 222) when young faculty members

are also balancing childbearing and childrearing, female tenure track faculty members may opt or drop out of the tenure (Baer & Van Ummersen, 2005).

According to Fothergill and Feltey (2003), "mothers in academia…have entered a career where the workload and evaluation criteria assume an open-ended commitment of time, energy, and personal resources" (p. 16). This model of commitment feeds into the discourse and ideologies of the ideal worker norm, which assumes a steady progression up the organizational ladder. Gerson (2010) also described the committed worker as "someone who works full-time and overtime for decades, with no timeouts or even cutting back" (p. 167). The ideal worker presumes that the worker (read: male) could count on a partner (read: female) at home and the employer would reward loyalty with loyalty (Gerson, 2010 p. 193).

Hardre and Cox (2009) posited that an ideal faculty member at the research university is excellent at both research and teaching; however, they also note that there is an inconsistency across institutions, disciplines, and even across individuals. The ideal tenure-track faculty member is assumed to enter the tenure ladder shortly after completing their PhD and move through the pretenure probationary period without delay. The ideal worker ethos (Williams, 2000) assumes an uninterrupted dedication to work, and the dedication to the organization leaves "little room for the ebb and flow of personal responsibilities" (Gerson, 2010, Chapter 8, Notes 12).

The assumptions behind the ideal worker norms result in creating a "maternal wall" for women (Williams, 2000), while leaving men with a shrinking "window for sharing at home" (Gerson, 2010, p. 167). The ideal worker construct presumes that individuals and organizations assume that employees are willing to work long hours, with

few breaks in service, including time away for childrearing (Gerson, 2010; Williams, 2000). The ideal worker norm has several aspects, including behavior, expectations, and promotion and reward structures. Individuals are socialized into their professions with the expectation that they and others will engage in and embrace ideal worker norms. The traditional framing of the ideal worker is centered around the male model, and the expectations surrounding paid work within these norms excludes caregivers from performing as "ideal workers" (Williams, 2000 p. 1). Contesting these norms and expectations is viewed as a deviation from the organizational and societal values and caregivers are subsequently penalized (Williams, 2000).

Leonard and Malinea (1994) suggested that "[s]urviving in the institution meant not only developing our own academic skills and knowledge, but making decisions on the status of our motherhood roles" (p. 30). They identified several concepts regarding how women experience motherhood and academic identity including: silence and isolation; the public/private divide; sexuality and the body; choice; power; and intellectual space and play. The Family Track (Coiner & George, 1998), a series of essays from senior scholars whose children are now grown as well as narratives from graduate students, offers personal accounts of how faculty navigate their professional and personal roles in the academy. The collection of narratives raises important questions about how those within the profession should advise pretenure faculty as well as undergraduate and graduate students as they navigate the academy, including their consideration of a tenure-track position.

Female faculty, and even graduate students, who chose to have families were assumed to be uncommitted to academia, and anecdotal evidence suggests that many

female faculty were fired from training programs because of their pregnancy. Regina Morantz-Sanchez (1998) began by asking a core question regarding parenting, flexibility, and resources within the academy: "Why have we had such difficulty bringing about change in the organization of work and family life?" and ends with her advice to graduate students on practicing "how to endure" (p. 19).

Colbeck and Drago (2005) found that while institutions may adopt work-life policies, a bias against caregiving "may lead gatekeepers to discourage faculty members, particularly male faculty members from using them" (p. 12). They posit that organizational members who accept the caregiving bias within the academy have accepted the taken-for-granted ideology surrounding the ideal worker. Their findings suggested that the message sent to faculty in the academy is that it "is too difficult to be a productive academic and an involved caring parent at the same time" (Colbeck & Drago, 2005, p. 12). Faculty members described several tactics used to handle this caregiving bias, including acceptance, avoidance, and resistance strategies. Faculty often positioned their use of these tactics as necessary in order to maintain the perception of commitment to the scholarly and academic culture (Colbeck & Drago, 2005).

Acceptance strategies were illustrated in a couple of ways. First, several women faculty members report timing their pregnancy for either posttenure or timing the arrival of child for the summer semester (Armenti, 2004; Colbeck & Drago, 2005), remaining single (Colbeck & Drago, 2005), as well as hiding personal obligations from colleagues (e.g., not pointing to their children's events or illnesses as a reason why they could not be present at work). Armenti (2004a) found that senior women faculty routinely pointed to the May baby phenomenon, where faculty report timing babies for late spring or summer

months to avoid the conflict of shifting teaching expectations during the normal semester or planning for posttenure babies. For senior women, their experiences coincided with an academic culture that translated openness about pregnancy as a lack of commitment and subsequently, many of these women withheld and hid their pregnancy for as long as physically possible (Armenti, 2004a).

Against the discourse of what it means to be tenured, many faculty mothers adopted avoidance strategies, including remaining single, delaying childbirth until after tenure decisions, or limiting family size (Colbeck & Drago, 2005). In addition to these strategies, women also reported returning to work sooner than they would have liked to following the birth/adoption of a child. Colbeck and Drago (2005) also found that women missed some of their children's important events out of fear of not being taken seriously. Of course, as many of these senior women point out, their experiences occurred prior to many institutions having anything close to parental leave. For junior women faculty members, the trend points to planning for posttenure babies, where women faculty wait until they are firmly established as credible, legitimate, and committed via significant research portfolios and earning tenure before they consider becoming parents.

Alicia Ostriker (1998) recounted her experience coming up through the tenure ranks within a culture that assumed a universal truth: that a woman "might produce books or babies, but not both, just as she might organize her life around marriage or a career, but not both" (p. 3). Ostriker (1998) described thinking through her position in the academy as a way to provide an alternative model for the students and offering up a new discourse for thinking about women, tenure, and parenting: "I was an intellectual and a

mother. Perhaps my boy students could marry one like me. Perhaps my girl students would see my option as possible for them" (Ostriker, 1998, p. 4).

This culture of the academy often resulted in women faculty actively avoiding conflict between their academic and personal roles. As faculty mothers attempted to navigate these tensions between work and family, they indicated that they avoided providing family reasons for missing work activities. This assumption resulted in a masculine definition of what an authentic academician looked like. Males were more likely to have wives at home tending to the care of the home, children, and ill or aging parents. The historic traditions and culture within academia assumed that in order to meet the expectations of the tenure clock, faculty had someone else at home to handle the personal aspects of their lives. Colbeck (2005) found that faculty "deliberately separated their parent and work roles," oftentimes opting to "never talk about work stuff at home and vice-versa" (p. 449). Female faculty reported telling their colleagues that they themselves were ill as opposed to disclosing the care of a sick child to avoid being perceived as uncommitted or not serious.

Women continue to report "hiding" their family obligations from their peers to avoid the perceived backlash for being a mother which Hoschild (1989) coined as the *cultural cover-up*. Female faculty report having fewer children, or putting off having children until posttenure, for the sake of their careers (Marcus, 2007). Finkel and Olswang (1996) suggested that women in academia attempted to make a quick return to work after childbirth, with minimal or no interruption to their teaching, scholarly, or service loads to create the perception that there has been no impact on the professional

career due to the childbearing and childrearing expectations of the new faculty mother's life.

In addition to the discourses surrounding what it means to be an ideal tenured professor, women faculty also struggled with the cultural norms and expectations of what it means to be an ideal mother. Karen Brodkin (1998) turns the spotlight on how the tensions between personal and professional lives in the academy are both internally and externally driven. Professor Brodkin's young son was injured shortly after she accepted a tenure-track position. In an attempt to balance both her professional and her personal roles, she and her husband worked together to juggle teaching and time at the hospital. It is not necessarily the juggling act that is most striking about her story, but rather the response of a senior faculty member's wife: "[s]he said she was pleasantly surprised that I was such a nice person. She had surmised that I must be a monster to go calmly about teaching while my child was at death's door" (Brodkin, 1998, p. 42). As this narrative highlights, it is not just the discourse of the academy that frame these women as mothers and professionals, but there is a significant influence from the larger social whole that assumes and expects women to uphold a certain image. In this particular instance, it was impossible to understand that this mother was caring for her child, but also continuing with her professional obligations. One was not being sacrificed for the other; she was just fortunate to have a spouse who was willing to share in the caregiving time at the hospital.

Charlotte Holmes' (1998) account of facing a miscarriage during the middle of a semester highlights how the discourses of parent and professor often collide. Following a miscarriage in the middle of the semester, and the subsequent rescheduling of some

assignments to accommodate her need for medical care postmiscarriage, a male student who had been denied his opportunity to present his project for class discussion as scheduled due to this intrusion of the private was visibly upset with her. She noted that it was not just necessarily anger at having to miss class, but that somehow she had "let him down morally, fallen from some pinnacle" (pp. 126-27). The internalization of this anger then resulted in her being resentful of not only having to share her very private experience with this student, but also resenting the guilt that she felt, because he was right, "I had missed class." When her department chair asked whether she needed a semester off to recover, her immediate reaction was not to take the opportunity to recover and heal, but rather one of panic, where she had to balance the competing discourses of motherhood and professional roles. She recalled wondering that "if I took the time off, would they think I was weak? If I didn't take it, would they think I was heartless?" (pp. 126-27).

Perhaps in response to the tensions created by the constant juggling act, as a response to the guilt of having to leave their small children for significant periods of time during the day, or of somehow failing to meet the expectations of the academy, many women faculty pointed to instances of challenging the existing culture and discourses surrounding work and family by employing a different discourse which included their framing of their work-life issues as integrative as opposed to separate (Fothergill & Feltey, 2003). These women did not take grand stances within their departments, but rather positioned themselves and their families as part of the same sphere. These strategies often included both male and female faculty respondents attempting to resist the departmental and institutional cultures surrounding family by making explicit their

commitments and obligations to family as part of normal workplace conversations, or by pressing their departments or institutions for policy programs to assist families in balancing their home and professional spheres.

The literature regarding motherhood during the pretenure years indicates that the existing tenure culture and structures are problematic, if not inconducive to allowing faculty to develop their academic skills while simultaneously managing their motherhood roles. However, as previously noted, what these narratives and empirical findings highlight for the purposes of this study is how our own subjectivities and ideologies surrounding tenure, the academy, and parenting may influence and frame our options for how we construct balance within the tenure structure. In addition, they also remind us of the significant role others perceptions and values of the categories of wife, mother, and professor may play in the construction of our own social realities.

Work-Life Policies

Work-life policies have become increasingly prevalent within the private sector as well as within the academy. According to Bailyn, Drago, and Kochan (2001), work-life policies are typically divided into two types. The first set of policies serves to maintain the construct and expectations of the ideal worker. The second type of policies, such as parental leave, flexible work arrangements and telecommuting aim to provide more flexibility to employees and lay the groundwork for rethinking our work schemas (p. 18).

Given the nature of work-life policies and their dissonance within the existing culture that expects a separation of public and private spheres, these policies exist as contested policies and struggle for legitimacy within the organization (Kanter, 1993). In

a review of two case studies of adoption of work-life policies, Callan (2007) found that while organizations might assume that adoption of these policies will replace the ideal worker with an integrated worker, what seems to occur is that the integrated (or balanced) worker exists as a "latent model acquiring salience under certain conditions, without completely supplanting the ideal worker type" (p. 687).

Lewis (1997) posited that a low sense of entitlement to these policies as well as the "organizational discourses of time as representing productivity, commitment and value" limit the level of organizational culture change necessary for successful implementation and utilization of these policies (p. 13). For the success of these policies, employees must feel a sense of entitlement in modifying "traditional working practices for family reasons" (Lewis, 1997, p. 15). She further argued that a "major barrier to cultural change in organizations with family-friendly policies is the ways in which time, productivity and flexibility is…introduced…by the family-oriented policies" (p. 16). Namely, "[w]omen who work reduced hours…are defined as less productive and less committed than other staff" (p. 16). Commitment is described as "finite and nonexpandable, implying that if someone has commitments outside work, this inevitably reduces their level of commitment at work" (p. 16). Lewis (1997) concluded that "[t]he discourse of time as productivity, commitment and personal value thus serves to obscure the actual or potential positive impact of the family-oriented policies on individuals, and on the organization" (p. 17). The notion of thinking about organizational time put in against measuring one's level of productivity and perceived level of commitment may have potential implications in thinking about shifting the traditional structure and culture

of tenure, which is heavily laden with the discourse of time, productivity, and commitment.

Callan (2007) suggested that "highly conservative cultures" grounded in notions of the ideal worker norm may need to rely on an explicit public campaign where "walking the talk accompanies talking the walk" (p. 687). Kirby and Krone (2002) explored the role of communication in work-life policy implementation as well as coworker discourse involved in the policy implementation process. They asked organizational members to talk about their experiences with work, family and work-life policies. During implementation the discourse of work did not go away, and the business requirement to continue to get the job done created feelings of "resentment toward those who utilized the benefits" (p. 59). In her study of parental leave policies in a private corporation, Fried (1998) found that women who used leave were subject to the culture of the organization as well as the subculture of the women colleagues who had also used the parental leave policy. Within this private corporation, gender and hierarchical status within the organization affected use of these policies, where neither men nor women in the upper levels used the parental leave benefit, middle-level managers used the leave sparingly, and use of parental leave policies was most saturated with female nonmanagers (Fried, 1998).

However, according to Kirby and Krone (2002), it may be the "daily discursive practices of individuals" that reinforce or challenge the implementation and utilization of these policies (p. 50). In regard to how coworker discourse structures the policies and their implementation, the discourse of use versus abuse contributed to perceptions of feeling pressured not to utilize the benefits (Kirby & Krone, 2002). The discourse often

signaled to the rhetoric of inequity, where those who opted to use the existing policy were often perceived as getting time off simply because they had children (p. 59). For coworkers, one person's use of leave translated to more work for other employees as noted by the following quote by one of the female respondents:

> All the single people in the office used to talk and say we all understood and what a great program it is…what are we getting in return for that...we felt that we needed to be compensated…because maybe we will never be able to have kids…so we will go through our whole careers never using a benefit like that. (Kirby & Krone, 2002, p. 60)

Fried (1998) found that while colleagues may voice their support for peers who are out on leave, this is routinely juxtaposed by hopes of a quick return. In fact, many of the employees as well as managers indicated that peers who returned to work quickly were felt to be more committed. Returning to work following a parental leave also resulted in managers being pressured to judge employees on whether they had "returned to full productivity" as well as their willingness to work overtime (p. 38).

Interestingly, the discourse of unfair burden on other employees extended past the initial leave to the days that parents took off to care for sick children. Again, coworkers pointed to the perception of having to pick up the work of absent parents. However, Kirby and Krone (2002) also found that there seemed to be more leniency for mothers staying home to care for a sick child than a father, as illustrated in a comment from a male respondent "…taking time off as a male is much more difficult as a male parent" (p. 62). Employees reported feeling pressure from coworkers, not overtly, but through subtle discourse that results in employees not using the benefits provided to them as parents.

Additional research also suggested that adoption of these policies results in some organizational members struggling with the notion of assisting other employees with their

personal lives and challenges the presupposition that nonwork issues should broach the boundaries of the public work environment (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2002). Fried (1998) suggested that the U.S. corporate overtime culture creates a tension for employees who may wish to use institutional work-life policies, where "…if giving extra time to the job is lauded, taking time away from the job to parent a newly arrived baby challenges the norms that drive an overtime culture" (p. 37). The discourse of the ideal worker norms within the private sector continued to frame employee subjectivities as separate from personal subjectivities, where it is assumed that one was fully committed to the organizational mission.

The research on work-life policies within the context of the American business sector indicates that simply putting policy on paper does not ensure that the policy will be utilized as intended, nor that members of the organization are willing to confront the existing organizational cultural standards regarding commitment to take time away to care for family and personal responsibilities. The perceptions and discourse of organizational members often become primary factors driving employees' perceptions about whether it is safe to use these policies. While policies may have been drafted as equitable and open to all employees, the individual and organizational discourse situates these policies as primarily benefitting parents at the expense of the time and efforts of nonparents.

The research surrounding adoption and implementation of work-life policies within the American corporate sector signals to the larger organizational culture of commitment, collegiality, and presence. Time away from work to care for family was constructed by peers as "time away from real work" (Kirby & Krone, 2002, p. 67), which

may be reflective of other macro societal discourses including the traditional separation of public and private spheres, gendered expectations for primary caregiving responsibilities, and meritocracy. While there are nuanced differences between private sector business models and academic personnel policies, there are some areas of overlap in terms of employee benefits and policy processes.

Work-Life Policies in Postsecondary Institutions

Over the past several decades, the academy has seen an increase in the number of public research institutions adopting various forms of family-responsive policies, including paid parental leave policies aimed at helping faculty balance personal and professional obligations (Wilson, 2001;Wilson, 2008). To attend to the issue of the leaky pipeline, higher education leadership is charged with enlarging their "thinking about the appropriate progress of an academic career" (Baer & Van Ummersen, 2005, p. 1). As noted by Spalter-Roth and Erskine (2005), institutional activists for these policies rely on two main arguments: 1) needs-based and 2) recruiting the best and the brightest faculty. The needs based argument signals back to the discourse of the leaky pipeline, whereby "policies should cover all faculty who have new babies…because successful academic employment requires long days and weeks of work…" given that "academic parents cannot do it all within constrained time periods" (Spalter-Roth & Erskine, 2005, p. 20). The "recruitment of the best and the brightest" argument signals to the shifting demographics of the academic pipeline:

> …notably, the percentage of women faculty has increased: in 1975 women full-time faculty made up 22.5 percent of full-time faculty, while in 2000-01, women constituted 36 percent of full-time faculty…Although increasing numbers of women

> have entered academia, their academic status has been slow to improve. (AAUP, 2001, p. 220)

As more women enter the tenure pipeline, work-life policies are positioned as an institutional imperative if institutions wish to "attract and retain those who are most talented…" (Spalter-Roth & Erskine, 2005).

Research on work-life balance in the academy has suggested that faculty (of both genders) are seeking institutions which allow them to effectively integrate their professional and personal obligations (Rice, Sorcinelli, & Austin, 2000). Research universities need to address their existing policies and practices and move towards a more family-responsive environment if they wish to attract and retain top faculty (Mason et al., 2009). Work-life policies and programs for postsecondary institutions typically include the option for tenure-track faculty to stop their tenure clock following a birth or adoption event, or serious illness of the faculty member or immediate family. In addition to stopping the tenure clock, work-life policies allow for faculty members to negotiate a modified teaching, research or service load.

Philipsen and Bostic (2010) noted that these policies are often "put forth by women and the recommended solutions are for women" (p. xi). Philpsen and Bostic (2010) further argued that men are often "left out of the discussion and solutions because they are not considered to have a problem. They rarely complain about family balance and they seem to be doing just fine in their careers" (p. xi). The tension of the gendered expectations about caregiving and professional roles results in women being cautious about using policies that set them up as different. Conversely, men view these policies as "women's policies" and therefore, do not use policies that would allow them to balance their personal and professional roles. This tension is described by Mary Ann Mason

(2011) as the "vicious cycle of culture change" whereby "[f]athers are reluctant to use parental relief when offered because it is contrary to the ethic of the male breadwinner. Mothers are afraid to use the policies that only women use for fear they will be treated as less serious about their work than men."

These politics and processes behind work-life policies may contribute to the recurrent theme across the research which suggests that for both private and public postsecondary institutions there is reluctance of tenure-track faculty members to use these policies as intended (Drago, 2005;Hollenshead et. al, 2005;Lester, 2009). While many institutions have begun to recognize the importance of adopting policies that allow for flexibility on the tenure track, research on the culture of higher education institutions for tenure-track faculty and the effectiveness of work-life policies intimates that the history of the academic culture may result in a resistance to family-friendly policies and initiatives (Finkel & Olswang, 1996; Hollenshead et al., 2005; Kirby & Krone, 2002; Quinn et al., 2004; Quinn et al., 2007).

In an analysis of work-life policies, including the option to extend the tenure clock for new parents, female faculty tend not to utilize the tenure extension out of fear of being penalized for being mothers (Drago et al., 2005; Finkel, 1994; Hollenshead et al., 2005; Mason, 2001, 2011a). Faculty parents are reluctant to extend their tenure probationary period out of fear of being perceived as less committed. In addition, Connelly and Ghodsee (2011) suggest that many parents who do use the modified duties benefits, view their time off as time "to get more scholarship done" (p. 31). In reality, this assumption rarely holds true for women who cannot fully remove themselves from the baby "without having to pump breast milk every two hours" (p. 31).

Use of work-life policies has been situated as a choice that is made by parents which assumes individual agency. O'Meara and Campbell (2011) examined how faculty made decisions about work and family. They found that faculty look to departmental role models, leaders, and cultural norms in determining whether to use parental leave policies (O'Meara & Campbell, 2011). Women tenure-track faculty members point to the culture of the research enterprise, which as one woman faculty mother poignantly notes, "only look at performance; they can't look at potential" (Armenti, 2004, p. 221). In their survey of tenure track faculty at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Pribbenow et al. (2010) found that both men and women tenure faculty members who used the tenure extension policy were less satisfied with the tenure process compared to faculty members who had not used policies allowing them to extend their tenure probationary period. Women reported that the compilation of family obligations, stress of the tenure process, and overall lack of support were barriers to their achieving tenure (Pribbenow, et al., 2010).

In addition, if women are to take advantage of the tenure clock stop or modified duties policies to care for their infants, it is assumed that this time away will result in fewer publications, which then may be viewed negatively by the larger research enterprise as well as the departmental committee reviewing their portfolio for tenure. Armenti (2004a) found that senior women faculty who had children prior to tenure opted to not use maternity leave because "it was too 'risky' to take time off" (p. 72). Armenti (2004b) examined the messages that senior women academics send to junior faculty regarding parenting and tenure. Junior women assistant professors hear from their more senior women colleagues that "taking time off from work for childcare can be harmful to their career progression" (p. 76) and that "having children before tenure can reduce the

likelihood of achieving tenure" (p.76). Armenti's (2004b) findings indicate that "[w]hile the mere fact of being pregnant is no longer a deterrent to career success, the consequences of being pregnant and having children may very well be because…women are not allowed 'a different career path'" (Armenti, 2004b, p. 70). Armenti (2004b) posited that "younger women entering academe are virtually as likely as their predecessors to encounter ideology that one must sacrifice a personal life in order to have a professional life" (p. 80). Consequently, for the junior women faculty, many are heeding the warnings of their senior colleagues and opting to have children in the spring (May babies) or postponing childbearing altogether until they have attained tenure.

The research on parenting on the tenure track reinforces the challenges of balancing parenthood and tenure (particularly pretenure) and how these challenges result in a high degree of stress for women. Specifically, as a result of the socialization of pretenure faculty members, many women receive messages that one can be a professor or parent, but that doing so at the same time, and doing so pretenure may be dangerous. However, the challenge is that the message received by junior faculty attempting to navigate this terrain is that "being a mom and a professor is so hard that it might not be worth doing" (Connelly & Ghodsee, 2011, p. 6).

Connelly and Ghodsee (2011) argued that the academic and caregiving roles could be combined. Citing Mason and Goulden (2002), Connelly and Ghodsee (2011) noted that "half of the women in the sciences and 38 percent of women in the humanities and social sciences do have children in their households when they receive tenure" (2011, p. 4). The paucity of research on women's successful advancement in the academy may be because the women who are successfully balancing professional and personal roles are

"simply too busy to attend meetings on work/family issues or to write about their experiences and offer advice and mentorship to their younger colleagues" (p. 3).

There are several prevalent myths that affect how women tenure track faculty members view their ability to successfully navigate parenthood and tenure. The first is the notion that "an academic job will allow [faculty] to spend more time with [their] kids" (Connelly & Ghodsee, 2011, p. 23). While faculty may only be slated to teach 6 credit hours a week, presumably leaving 34 hours of the week to manage other professional duties, faculty jobs require faculty to spend "at least fifty hours a week on other professional responsibilities" (p. 23):

> Faculty women between the ages of thirty and fifty who had a least one child in the house claimed to spend 101 hours a week on [professional work, housework, or caregiving], reporting that 51 of these hours were spent on professional responsibilities. Men with children reported an average of 80 hours per week...with 56 hours dedicated to professional responsibilities. (p. 23)

The second myth that impacts women's perception of balance is that "[b]eing smart and working hard is enough" (p. 25). Connelly and Ghodsee (2011) posit that while "academia is founded on admirable meritocratic principles, it is not always a meritocracy" (p. 25). Success in academia requires that faculty attend to networking and collegiality. Establishing oneself as a scholar in the field requires that faculty spend a great deal of face time ensuring that they become known in the field, "[b]eing smart is not enough. You have to be visible as well" (pp. 25-26). Coupled with this myth, is the notion that "getting and being pregnant will be easy" (p. 30).

Connelly and Ghodsee (2011) also claim that the myth that "there is no longer sexism in the academy" needs to be dispelled, and faculty mothers need to be aware that

"young mothers…may face discrimination from both men and women who fear that greater workplace flexibility will undermine the tenure system" (p. 29). Which leads to the next myth: "[l]iberal academics will let tenure standards slide for family reasons" (p. 38). This myth points to the fact that "many academics have devoted their entire lives to intellectual pursuits" (p.38) and many of the women academics "have chosen the career route over the mothering route" (p.38). Being aware of this myth includes focusing on getting one's research written and published, but Connelly and Ghodsee go on to recommend that faculty be on "guard" in terms of what family obligations are openly presented to one's peers:

> If you are leaving at 3:00 p.m. to pick up the kids, perhaps you don't want to mention that. We are not in favor of completely hiding your kids, but there is nothing wrong with being careful with appearances when you are pretenure. Yes, you may see photos of children in the offices of the junior men in your department, but remember that men get extra credit for being involved parents and are less likely to be viewed as slackers when they rush off to tend to a sick kid during a faculty meeting. As a woman, our society grants you no special recognition or heroic honors for being an involved parent. The important thing is to pay careful attention to the institutional culture of your department. If your colleagues don't talk about their children…you should exercise some discretion. (p. 39)

Finally, faculty parents need to be aware of and dispel the myth that "[a]ll senior women on campus are your allies" (p. 39). "[A]cademia is a competitive business" and the women on campus who you may perceive to be your allies have had to make certain choices regarding family and career without the benefit of stopping their tenure clocks or receiving paid time away to care for their newborn children. As a result, these women "may be even more critical…than some of [the] senior male colleagues" (p. 39).

Research has illustrated how the socialization of faculty sends messages to junior faculty parents that presume that balancing work and family are incompatible. However, as Connelly and Ghodsee (2011) suggest, it is possible, but not necessarily an easy venture. Wolf-Wendel and Ward (2006) found that tenure track faculty with small children "perceive that their institutions are not overly supportive in terms of policy and role modeling, but for the most part the roles of mother and professor were reconcilable…because the expectations for tenure…were clear" (p. 511). Spalter-Roth and Erskine (2005) noted that pretenure women faculty graduating from prestigious institutions and completing their PhD with publications may not face the same career penalties when balancing parenthood and tenure. Spalter-Roth and Erskine (2005) found that mothers who have used existing policies are "academics who are perceived as the best and the brightest before they go on leave" (p. 19). Pribbenow's et al. (2010) study found that 20% of the faculty that felt they were eligible to extend their tenure clock but did not, because they were concerned about how others would view them (2010, p. 32). Thirty-seven percent of those eligible to use the policy but did not, noted that they were overconfident and did not feel that they needed to extend their clock at the time.

The number of peer-reviewed publications does appear to be a factor in faculty member's decision on whether to take leave. Spalter-Roth and Erskine (2005) found that having an increased number of "peer-reviewed publications…boosts the odds that mothers used at least one work/family policy by 9 percent" (p. 23). They found that mothers who use these policies are the "highest average producers of peer-reviewed publications among women faculty" (p. 23). The question raised by Spalter-Roth and Erskine (2005) is whether this is a result of the articles encouraging "allocation and use

of these resources" or whether the policy use "increase[d] the mothers' publication rate by giving them more control over their time" (p. 23). They found that academic mothers who had more peer-reviewed publications from their time in graduate school coupled with the "prestige of the mother's PhD granting department" significantly increased the use of policies. Wolf-Wendel and Ward (2006) also found that institutional type impacted the ability to effectively balance work and family:

> For faculty at striving comprehensive campuses that are upwardly mobile, combining work and family could be tenuous given never ending demands to be all things to all people... tenure demands at these institutions seemed more intense than even at the research universities. (p. 511)

The "traditional norms about parenting and housework still guide and shape what goes on in the home" and thus, "most academic women with young children…found themselves attempting to respond to both greedy institutions" (e.g., the academy and motherhood) (Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006, p. 513). For faculty at research institutions, "the intersection of motherhood and academic work [is] exacerbated by different pulls on [faculty] time" (p. 513), particularly the "unending research expectations."

When the policy is used, the expectations for meeting the tenure and promotion criteria have already been met, and thereby there is no threat to these women's tenure decision. Spalter-Roth and Erskine (2005) noted that while use of these policies was linked to the mothers' scholarly record, "this does not appear to have been the case for…academic fathers…who used at least one work/family policy" (pp. 23-24). Connelly and Ghodsee (2011) also acknowledged the challenge for new "young male academics…who face similar problems with work-family balance" and would benefit from work-life policies that recognize their contributions to childrearing (pp. 8-9).

However, they argue that women are the ones who "get pregnant and gestate…give birth, and breastfeed…and more specific to academics, is the fact that the timing of tenure track coincides exactly with the woman's most fertile reproductive years" (p. 8).

While the academy does offer certain advantages for faculty parents, including the potential for organizing their home and work in more flexible and fluid ways (Gappa et al., 2007b), this flexibility and fluidity often translates into little or no sleep as highlighted in one faculty member's recounting of juggling professional and personal roles (S. Acker & Armenti, 2004; Fothergill & Feltey, 2003; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004a; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2005). Faculty are socialized into the academy and are exposed to the work norms that "guide faculty life" including the construction of the "ideal worker norms" (Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006, p. 515). Consequently, the choices that faculty parents perceive to have in balancing parenthood and pretenure careers are regulated by the institutional discourses. More flexibility did not necessarily translate into more time for balancing these roles, and did not impact the level of guilt that faculty mothers faced when confronting having to drop their small children off at daycare early in the morning and leaving them for more than 8 hours a day (Fothergill & Feltey, 2003).

A supportive environment including department chairs, effective role models, and structural supports impacts the degree to which faculty use work-life policies (O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004b). Department norms and messages received from colleagues affects how faculty interpret their own ability to navigate tenure and childbearing and childrearing (Armenti, 2004a; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011). In terms of work-life policies, the research indicates that faculty are more prone to take advantage of policies that are well advertised and appear as an accepted part of the

department and institutional culture (Hollenshead et al., 2005; Marcus, 2007; Quinn et al., 2007; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004b). However, it is not enough to just have a top-down communication strategy, but rather these policies need to be embedded into the existing culture. Quinn et al. (2004) found that by solely depending on department chairs to communicate policy, the probability of negotiation tactics increased, leaving many women faculty feeling tension between meeting the needs of the department and placing their personal obligations on the back burner.

Conclusion

Parental leave policies may potentially create a tension for both the faculty member as well as the institution resulting in implementation challenges and inequities, and faculty peers then tend to be the mitigating factor in how parental leave policies are viewed, discussed, and utilized. Understanding the tensions between organizational norms and individual values surrounding parental leave policies positioned against or in contrast to the discourse of the ideal faculty member within postsecondary institutions is critical in analyzing how these policies are interpreted, implemented, and utilized in the highly decentralized, democratized culture of postsecondary institutions.

In a recent column in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Mary Ann Mason (2011a) posited that despite the existence of the UC Family Friendly Edge program for over 20 years, the culture of the academy has limited the freedom that faculty perceived they had in using the policy. Mason (2011) argued that the culture of the academy has essentially remained the same and that the culture of teaching releases, and productivity result in, men faculty members competing with the "ethic of the male breadwinner" and

women indicating that use of these policies may signal to a lack of commitment or seriousness. When we talk about balance, or even juggling of professional and personal lives, it is important to critically reflect on the strategies that women employ, which, as the research highlights, are not reflective of balance, but rather require women to make either/or decisions.

Work-life policies within postsecondary institutions challenge cultural norms of the professoriate including the culture of overtime, significance of face-time and the commitment ideals of the ideal worker. To overcome the potential for bias, university administrators must implement a mechanism to broadly communicate available policies to all faculty members. In addition to the challenges that the academic culture may impose on these policies, research also indicates that implementation of policies without the support of administration and academic colleagues has the propensity to serve as a catalyst for hostile or overt bias for faculty who do choose to use these policies (Quinn et al., 2004). In order to achieve the culture change needed for work-life policies to become embedded into the academic culture we must critically interrogate the existing tenure culture and disentangle the discourse(s) that shape, construct, or reconstruct this culture as well as the discursive framing of the subjectivities of parent-scholars in research institutions.

CHAPTER 3

DESIGN AND METHODS

Work-life policies in the academy are historically and socially constrained by the discourse of the U.S. market economy, namely the assumed separation of personal lives from the public domain (J. Acker, 1992) and the construct of the ideal worker norms (Williams, 2000). The gendered substructure of organizations and individual behaviors are supported by the assumption that work is separate from personal lives, and that organizations have first claim to the worker (J. Acker, 1992; Williams, 2000). As noted in the previous chapter, academic culture has a striking history of what the ideal faculty member looks like, which is often enveloped in the historic male-centric discourse of uninterrupted commitment, productivity, and visibility.

Contemporary framing of the tenured professoriate continues to signal back to the historic construction of the ideal faculty member. The discursive framing of the ideal tenure-track faculty member presupposes a commitment to all of the academic missions of their institution, including teaching, faculty governance (service), and research. Historically, the ideal faculty member is assumed to enter the tenure ladder shortly after completing their doctoral degree and move through the tenure probationary period without interruption. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 2, the level of research productivity is often perceived to be measured more by quantity than quality and tenure

as an ideology results in faculty feeling that tenure is linked to collegiality, commitment, and being a good team player (S. Acker & Armenti, 2004; Armenti, 2004; Clark & Corcoran, 1986). For postsecondary institutions, these substructures and their associated discourse coupled with the decentralized and democratic governance structures of the academy have the potential to significantly affect the culture change needed for successful implementation and utilization of work-life policies (Quinn et al., 2004; Quinn et al., 2007).

Understanding how policies that require institutions and individuals to change their culture requires that we disentangle how the institutional and individual discourse may shape or be shaped by the policy process. While institutional implementation strategies are important in legitimizing and embedding policies as part of the organizational culture, I argue that the discourse surrounding the integration of the academic (tenure) and personal (childbearing/childrearing) roles directly affect the utilization, and legitimacy of work-life policies in research institutions. As organizations and social groups start to shift the discourse surrounding work and family (i.e., defining mother scholars as legitimate and part of the taken for granted structure) the available subject positions within the discourse (i.e., mother scholars) change as well (van Dijk, 2008).

A critical feminist discourse policy analysis of work-life policies allows for the critical interrogation of how Western University (re)constructed what it means to be an ideal tenure-track faculty member, parent, and colleague via a paid parental leave policy. Namely, a critical feminist analysis of the parental leave policy across the various institutional levels allowed for a critical interrogation of how existing power relationships

and structures and ideologies impacted the framing of the policy and its related solutions, and how the policy and individual narrative discourse impacted the adoption and implementation of the paid parental leave policy at Western University.

This chapter outlines the design and methodology of this study, beginning with the delineation of the research questions that guided this study. These questions guided data collection and the critical feminist policy discourse analysis and interpretation of the institutional policy texts and faculty narratives gathered as part of the institutional policy evaluation in 2010. Next, I outline the critical feminist policy discourse analytical framework that guided the analysis of the policy texts and faculty narratives. I then move into the methodology, including addressing issues of trustworthiness and rigor as they relate to a qualitative critical feminist policy discourse analysis.

Finally, as a researcher using critical feminist policy discourse analysis and within a qualitative genre, I recognize and address my role as researcher, including how my own values, assumptions, and epistemologies impacted the analysis of the texts in this study. Thus, I will provide an overview of my personal biography and address how my own experiences may have influenced the data collection and interpretive discourse analysis processes.

Research Questions

The following questions served as a guide in the examination of the discursive framing of a parental leave policy at one public research institution (Western University) including how institutional discourse shaped, (re)produced or contested social realities

regarding the integration of academic (tenure) and caregiving roles for tenure track parent-scholars in research institutions:

1. How do institutional policy discourses sustain the existing culture of tenure and/or parenting throughout the institutional policy process of adopting a paid parental leave policy?
2. How do the institutional discourses through the policy process for parental leave policies confront the culture of tenure and caregiving in public research institutions?

Critical Feminist Policy Discourse Analysis

A critical analysis of policy discourse "needs to start where the conditions for discourse are formed" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 96). The purpose of this study was to understand how institutional policy discourse surrounding a formal paid parental leave policy constructs or reconstructs tenure while parenting in research institutions. Work-life policies continue to struggle for legitimacy in both the corporate and academic realms (Callan, 2007; Fried, 1998; Hollenshead et al., 2005; Kirby & Krone, 2002; Pribbenow et al., 2010; Quinn et al., 2007; Williams 2000), with faculty continuing to report perceived fears of a negative impact on their scholarly trajectory.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is defined as a qualitative methodology that challenges and redresses perceived social inequality (Fairclough, 1993). Fairclough (1993) defined CDA as a form of discourse analysis that explores "opaque relationships of causality…between discursive practices, events, and texts" and the social and cultural structural relations and processes (p. 135). Critical discourse analysts must interrogate

and critique the taken-for-granted assumptions embedded within the discourse by asking questions specific to how language and discourse may be used in the production, reproduction, and reshaping of social power (Fairclough, 1993). CDA is useful in spotlighting hidden values and assumptions behind a text, and Allan (2010) argues that CDA is useful in examining the effects of a policy, as well as allowing for a critical interrogation of the policy discourse.

CDA aims to identify who uses language, how, why and when, and how the use of language serves in the communication of values, ideals or beliefs, images, and actions. van Dijk (2001) argued that the task of CDA is to provide for an "integrated analysis of how these…dimensions interact and influence beliefs and interaction, how interactions influence how people speak, or how beliefs control language use and interaction" (p. 3).

Analysis and interpretation will rely on van Dijk's three dimensions of discourse which focus on language use, how beliefs are communicated, and the interaction of language within the social context. This framework allows for the integrated analysis across institutional texts and faculty narratives to garner a better understanding of how discourse constructs tenure-track faculty realities. Consequently, CDA requires that analysis include an eye towards these discursive practices through which the texts are created and interpreted paying attention to the potential hidden meanings and ideologies that exist within the discourse (van Dijk, 2001). This allows for analysis of the texts with an eye towards political and cultural aspects of discursive manipulation, which should be one of the primary aims of this type of analysis (Huckin, 2002, p. 157). In sum, the following summarizes the main tenets of critical discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2009):

1) Addresses social problems

2) Assumes that power relations are discursive
3) Discourse constitutes our society and culture
4) Discourse does ideological work
5) Discourse is historical
6) Link between text and society is mediated
7) Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8) Discourse is a form of social action

The focus on the role of society as well as the social structures and interactions lends CDA to subsequently viewing language as social practice and as noted by Fairclough (1993):

> Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structures…The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them...Discursive practices may have major ideological effects…they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between…social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. (p. 6)

By viewing language as social practice, it is implied that language is a mode of action that is always socially and historically bound. It is subsequently socially shaped and constitutive of our identities, relationships and systems of knowledge and beliefs (Fairclough, 1993, p. 134). However, these realities and subjectivities are always reflective of the existing systems of values, beliefs and social practices, and are often subject to the influences of social power as well as deeply embedded cultural ideologies (Wodak, 2008).

The focus on how text and talk reproduce or resist social power, dominance, and inequality results in methodological and theoretical approaches that are problem-oriented, with a focus on "de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 3). For the purposes of this study, a critical discourse analysis of parental leave policies moves analysis of these policies past the institutional implementation strategies, allowing for a deeper analysis that specifically addresses the organizational culture(s) and structures that affect the policy process for work-life balance policies in the academy.

Conversely, Luke ((1995) outlined the critical and constructive exploration of how dominant discourse(s) may interact with the structural and ideological sources of power and how they are then embedded in social discourse and subsequently treated as natural. Luke (1995) posited that the historic, social, and cultural histories of power relations may present within the discourse as if they were a "product of organic, biological, and essential necessity" (Luke, 1995, p. 12). This type of analysis allows for an exploration of how institutions and individuals "negotiate and challenge dominant ideologies and power structures, opening the door for possibilities for change" (Lazar, 2005, p. 20). Subsequently, the purpose of a critical discourse analysis is to "disarticulate and critique" texts as a way of disrupting this naturalization of social power (Luke, 1995, p. 20).

Critical feminist discourse analysts interrogate the role of discourse in society, and how these discourses are influenced by social structures as well as social interactions (van Dijk, 2001). A CDA strategy "…enriches analysis further by insisting that such close reading be done in conjunction with the broader contextual analysis, including

consideration of discursive practices, inter-textual relations, and sociocultural factors" (Huckin, 2002, p. 157). This perspective also allows for the potential for challenging, contesting and changing the culture of tenure for tenure-track faculty parents in research institutions. A critical feminist policy discourse analysis of the paid parental leave policy at Western University may provide further insight into how institutions and individuals may frame these policies in ways that maintain the cultural norms of the ideal tenure faculty member which implies compartmentalization versus integration strategies for balancing academic and caregiving roles.

Feminist Critical Policy Discourse Analysis

Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a "type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Lazar, 2005; van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). A feminist CDA framework assumes that discourse is both "socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 6) whereby, language does not merely describe reality, but that reality is produced and identified through language (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

The merging of feminism to a critical discourse analysis allows for the critiquing of the institutional discourse which may "sustain a patriarchal order" that may systematically maintain the status quo of privileging male tenure-track faculty members potentially excluding and disempowering women tenure-track faculty mothers in the academy (Lazar, 2005). Marshall (1997) argued that equity and gender blindness cannot

be attained in postsecondary institutions regardless of the claims of liberalism and egalitarianism and that policies not critically interrogated may actually serve to maintain historic systems of power that continue to marginalize women. Furthermore, as Lazar (2005) noted, "the relationship between discourse and the social is a dialectical one…discourse constitutes and is constituted by, social situations, institutions, and structures" (p. 11). This dialectical relationship then contributes to the (re)production and maintenance of social culture, but a feminist lens also allows for us to recognize the ability to resist and transform culture through discourse (Lazar, 2005).

As noted in the previous chapter, a Feminist Critical Policy Discourse Analysis focuses on the ways in which "social power, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by talk and text in the social and political contexts" (Teun A. van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). In particular, this approach to analysis of the institutional policy process of a formal paid parental leave policy seeks to examine how institutional and individual discourse may confront the values and assumptions of what it means in this case to be a tenure-track parent-scholar.

Moreover, the critical feminist approach to discourse analysis suggests that analysis should be oriented towards "critiquing and changing society" with a particular focus on gendered structures and substructures that have constrained women's access to research institutions (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 6). Therefore, this analysis includes references to linguistic and social concepts of ideology, class, interests, reproduction, and institutions (Fairclough, 1993).

Finally, as noted by Sallee (2008), organizations more often than not use a feminist lens during the formulation and adoption stages of work-life policies; therefore it

seems reasonable that analysis and evaluation of the policy processes for work-life policies should also be grounded in a feminist analysis. A critical feminist perspective coupled with an analysis of existing social, historical, and political contexts should allow us to move away from the "women and men are just different" argument towards an understanding of the how social and institutional contexts shape and construct the culture of tenure for faculty parents including gender schemas, parenthood, and the tenure culture. The following sections provide an overview of how I theoretically and conceptually frame critical discourse analysis for this study, including the concepts of discourse and power.

Discourse

Broadly defined, discourse refers to both spoken and written language use and the study of discourse (Discourse Analysis) includes examination of both talk and text and their relationship to the social context in which they are constructed (van Dijk, 1993). Discourse forms the objects of which they speak and this in turn serves as a site for social construction of meaning for social reality as well as a sense of self within these realities (Wodak, 2008, p. 5). Wodak (2008) describes discourse as "anything from a historical monument, a lieu de memoire, a policy, a political strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversations, to language per se" and that is particularly useful in exploring the various levels of discourse involved in this policy study (Wodak, 2008, p. 1).

Pointing back to the social contextual nature of critical discourse, for the purposes of this study, van Dijk's definition of discourse (2001) which describes the study of

discourse as the examination of both "spoken and written language use and its relationship to the social context in which it is constructed," will allow for critical analysis of the institutional policy texts as well as critical analysis of the individual faculty discourses obtained through focus group and individual interviews (p. 3). The challenge for individuals, social groups, and organizations is that at any given moment there are a finite number of discourses in circulation and many of these discourses are in competition for meaning.

Texts are the product of an attempt by a writer to communicate meaning, including propositional content, metalinguistic and interpersonal content (van Dijk, 2001). However, these texts are subject to interpretation, and interpretation of a text and creation of meaning are subject to social values, goals, and purposes (van Dijk, 2001). Discourse operates both consciously and unconsciously to construct social identities and institutional arrangements and subsequently reflects and shapes the culture as well as our own sense of self (subjectivity) (van Dijk, 2001). Jager and Maier (2009) noted that the discourse is constructed at the macrolevel (institutional/organizational) but that these also occur at a particular time, place and with particular participants (micro). It is presumed that through the engagement and entanglement between social actors that discourse takes on a life of its own and transport more knowledge than the single subject is aware of (Jager & Maier, 2009).

Framing

Framing is a central discursive strategy that occurs in virtually all genres of discourse and may be used as a very powerful method of persuasion, often having

profound political, social or behavioral consequences. Framing within discourse is described as an interactive process via frame alignment and resonance (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Lakoff (2004) posited that "every word evokes a frame" whether it is in the form of an image or other kinds of knowledge. Language carries the ideas, values, and our worldview forward situating the issue always within these frames. In order for the truth of our worldview to be accepted, the "truth must fit people's frames" (Lakoff, 2004).

An essential part of framing is attending to the "preconceptions, prejudices, and pre-existing beliefs" of the person on the receiving end (Luntz, 2007, p. xiii). Authors invoke particular frames to connect with the interests, values and beliefs of those who they seek to motivate or mobilize. However, the effectiveness of the frame alignment is always dependent upon the individuals and groups response (i.e., resonance). Thus, analysis focused on how the policy problem and potential solutions were framed through language which legitimatizes or delegitimizes certain potential solutions or avenues available for parent-scholars via the parental leave policy (Lakoff, 2004).

Power

Critical discourse theorists draw from a variety of social theorists including Aristotle, Hubermas, and Foucault (Fairclough, 1993), with many theorists primarily drawing on Foucault's (Foucault, 2009) work on reconceptualization of power as a productive force rather than a primarily repressive one (Fairclough, 1993). Questions of power are closely linked to discursive practices and these discursive practices have "major ideological effects" by (re)producing unequal power relations through positionality and representation of subjects (Huckin, 2002, p. 163). Bensimon and

Marshall (1997) articulated the need for critical feminist analysis of postsecondary policies given the importance of understanding how institutions, "despite professing liberal values" may actually serve to maintain historic systems of power that continue to marginalize women in the academy (Bensimon & Marshall, 1997, p. 5).

van Dijk (2001) defined social power in terms of control where groups have more or less power if they are able to control the acts and minds of other groups. He positioned this power in terms of those groups "who control most influential discourse also have more chances to control the minds and actions of others" (p. 355). According to van Dijk (2008), "discursive power is often directly or indirectly persuasive, and therefore features reasons, arguments, promises, examples of other rhetorical means that enhance the probability that recipients build the desired mental representations. One crucial strategy in the concealment of power is to persuade the powerless that wanted actions are in their own interests" (p. 63). Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for "establishing differences in power in hierarchical social structures." (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10).

While there are many definitions of power, CDA typically assumes that power is a "systemic and constitutive element/characteristic of society" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 9). CDA is particularly interested in investigating how social power may be represented as natural or taken for granted across the macro, meso, and micro levels. From an organizational perspective, Mumby (1988) described power as a "structural phenomenon" that is not only a product of but also the process by which organizational members engage in the organization. This, then, allows for power to function structuring the "systems of interests" at the organizational level (Mumby, 1988, p. 55). Power rests with the groups within the organization who are best able to insert their interests into the

structure of the organization where they are taken for granted as the social reality (p. 67). Therefore, CDA requires that analysis include exploration of "who controls the topics…and topic change" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 356).

Control is linked to the degree of access that both dominant and marginalized social groups may have to the discourse where: "members of more powerful social groups and institutions, and especially their leaders (the elites), have more or less exclusive access to, and control over one of the more types of public discourse" (van Dijk, 2001, p. 356). Controlling the topics within a policy context is particularly important in examining how discourse is used to challenge or sustain the construction of faculty parents in a research institution. The issue of control within a policy framework is particularly important given that this power serves to (re)produce social domination as well as explore how dominated groups may discursively resist such power (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Power is produced and transmitted through discourse situated at the microlevels of society and from this perspective, power and knowledge are joined through discourse and subsequently, discourse influences individual behaviors (van Dijk, 2008). The joining of knowledge and power results in discourse exercising power through institutionalizing and regulating societal ways of talking, thinking and acting (Jager & Maier, 2009). However, a critical feminist discourse analytical framework also presumes that power not only derives from language, but that language can be used to challenge, subvert, or to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term (Lather, 1992; Lazar, 2005; Marshall, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

A critical feminist policy discourse framework assumes that policy texts are politically, socially, and historically contextualized. Policy texts are assumed to be the work of multiple people, and differences are negotiated and governed by the differences in power that is "encoded and determined by discourse and by genre" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10). The policies are seen as sites of struggle. Policy studies focused on discourse start with the premise that policies do not simply respond to problems whose occurrence is natural and real, but the very process involves identification and prescription of problems (Bacchi, 2000). Policy problems are created and given shape via the policy process including the drafting of language.

As noted in the literature review, tenure-track faculty in research universities require the support of departmental tenured faculty. This construct of power within the academy is particularly relevant for junior faculty members attempting to navigate the tenure clock and balance parenting responsibilities.

Data Collection and Analysis

Using a critical feminist policy discourse analytical framework, this study provides a multilevel analysis of institutional and individual discursive framing of parent-scholars during the paid parental leave policy process at Western University. Through a critical feminist approach to policy discourse analysis it is assumed that we can shed light on how policy texts constitute and manipulate social relations including how categorization (e.g., woman, professor, and parent) produces social realities about those who are categorized (Luke, 1995).

Data Collection

This critical feminist policy discourse analysis study follows the institutional policy review and evaluation of the Western University Faculty Parental leave Policy (Rorrer & Allie, 2011) conducted in 2009-2010. During the policy evaluation, the discourse surrounding what it means to balance both the role of parent and the role of scholar against the discourse of commitment, collegiality, and productivity seemed to dominate the discussion. I became particularly interested in how these discourses interact with or interrupt the construction of tenure and parenthood simultaneously. As noted in Chapter 2, the challenge for faculty wishing to use these policies is the long-standing history of the academy treating tenure and parenthood as dichotomous.

A faculty member was assumed able to easily exist within one of these subjectivities at one given moment. However, merging the parent-scholar roles are described as problematic, if not dangerous to the careers of women. The current analysis specifically explored the discursive framing and shaping of the subjectivity of parent-scholars via these types of policies in a public research university, and how the institutional policy discourse may create space to disrupt the existing culture of tenure for parent-scholars.

Given that the purpose of this study is to explore how existing ideologies surrounding tenure may frame both the policy language and individual subjectivities of parent-scholars, analysis was limited to an institution that has adopted and implemented a formal parental leave policy that allows faculty to be released from professional obligations as well as provides the opportunity to stop or delay the tenure clock in conjunction with a qualifying birth/adoption event.

This study is particularly interested in the institutional and individual discourse surrounding parental leave policies for parent-scholars; therefore, a purposeful sample based on specific criteria was utilized (Fontana & Frey, 2008). This allowed for an in-depth analysis related specifically to the concepts of parental leave policies and the construct of tenure for parent-scholars within public research universities. Therefore, sampling for this critical feminist policy discourse analysis of both institutional policy texts and faculty narratives was based on the following purposeful sampling criteria (Fontana & Frey, 2008):

1. Public Research University that relies on a tenure system.
2. Public Research University that has adopted and implemented a parental leave policy allowing tenure-track faculty to modify their responsibilities and/or stop or delay their tenure clock as a result of a qualifying birth/adoption event.

For this analysis, primary data sources (Allan, 2010) included institutional parental leave policy texts and archives, and group and individual interview transcripts gathered as part of the institutional policy evaluation completed in 2010-11.

Policy and Archives

A critical feminist discourse analysis of organizational policies uses policy documents and texts as the primary data source (Allan, 2010). As Ball (1993) noted, policies are "processes and outcomes" are encoded via "struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and reinterpretations" and decoded via "actors' interpretations and meanings in relation to their history, experiences, skills, and

context" (p. 11). Policy as text is the product of compromises at points of "initial influence, in the micropolitics of legislative formulation, in the parliamentary process and in the politics and micropolitics of interest group articulation" (p. 11).

From an organizational perspective, policy documents are key in disseminating ideas, values, and norms to the larger organizational audience, and the positions "discursively produced" via these policy documents shape perceptions of "self and others in relation to the social world" (Allan, 2010, p. 11). Policies allow for us to construct our social reality and "we are spoken by policies, we take up the positions constructed for us within policies" and consequently, the effect of policy is "primarily discursive" in that it changes how we conceive of the problem, limits our responses to the problem, and may lead to our misunderstanding what the policy does (Ball, 1993, p. 15). For the purposes of this study policy texts and archives includes policy texts gathered through institutional web-based search for "Parental leave" as well as policy texts gathered from the Office of Academic Affairs including:

1. Policy text drafts
2. Memos sent to institutional stakeholders regarding policy rationale, process, and policy recommendations
3. Parental leave Policies from Institutional Regulations library
4. Correspondence between PCSW subcommittee and Faculty Senate subcommittee
5. Correspondence and Minutes from Faculty Senate subcommittee
6. Group and individual interview transcripts

7. Open-ended responses to institutional parental leave evaluation from tenure track faculty and department chairs gathered in 2010 as part of the larger university evaluation of the parental leave policy

As part of the institutional policy discourse analysis, it was imperative that I used all available institutional policy documents regarding the drafting, adoption and implementation of the institution's parental leave policy (Allan, 2010). Institutional policy texts were collected through a web-based search on "parental leave." In addition to the web-based search for policy documents, I made contact with the Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs who was responsible for shepherding the parental leave policy through the policy process. The Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs was instrumental in working with the President's Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) in the drafting, adoption, and implementation of the policy in 2006. As a resource for the purposes of this study, the Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs shared copies of policy drafts, internal correspondence between the Academic Affairs office, the PCSW, and Faculty Senate.

Faculty Narratives

In addition to analyzing the institutional parental leave policy documents, which helped situate the organizational values and beliefs regarding tenure and parenting, analysis included group and individual interview transcripts gathered as part of the institutional policy evaluation conducted in 2010. Faculty group and individual interview participants were solicited in follow up to the institutional evaluation of the parental leave policy. A semistructured interview protocol was prepared following the initial analysis of

the survey responses gathered during the formal policy evaluation completed in 2010 (Fontana & Frey, 2008). The faculty interview transcripts constitute the faculty narrative component of this study.

As noted by Krzyanowski (2008), a core element of group interviews is the communicative dynamics that present during the social interaction of the members. The interview protocol established the group and individual interviews in a semistructured interview format (Fontana & Frey, 2008); with priming questions specifically addressing individual awareness, perception, and experience with the parental leave policy (Appendix A).

Use of small group as well as individual interview narratives allows me to explore individual and social group attitudes, beliefs, and presuppositions surrounding the parental leave policy within their social and historical context as well as explore collective and individual discourses about what it means to be a parent-scholar at an institution that has adopted policies governing these dual subjectivities.

For the individual and group interviews, I conducted purposeful sampling of participants based on the following criterion (Fontana & Frey, 2008):

1. Tenure-track faculty members who were eligible to use the institution's parental leave policy between 2006 and 2009 (i.e., have had an eligible birth or adoption event) who used the parental leave policy
2. Tenure-track faculty members were eligible to use the institution's parental leave policy between 2006 and 2009 but opted to not use the policy

3. Tenure-track faculty members not eligible to use the institution's parental leave policy between 2006 and 2009 (i.e., no eligible birth/adoption event or otherwise excluded from eligibility due to caregiving role definition

Additionally, this sampling was limited to only those faculty members who had indicated their willingness to participate as part of the larger institutional policy evaluation.

Three group interviews and 6 individual interviews were conducted with faculty. Group one included a mixed group of 3 faculty, 2 of which were eligible and had used the parental leave policy and 1 faculty member who is currently not eligible but interested in potentially using the parental leave policy. The second small group included 2 faculty members who were eligible and had previously used parental leave. Group three included 5 participants of whom all were eligible and had previously used the parental leave policy. Individual interviews were scheduled with faculty who were unable to attend scheduled group interviews. Two individual interviews were with faculty who were eligible and used the parental leave policy, one interview was with a faculty member who was eligible but did not use parental leave, and three interviews were with faculty who are not (yet) eligible to use the policy. Interviews ranged from 30-90 minutes depending on individual awareness, perception, and experiences with the parental leave policy. Of the group and interview participants, 63% were female, 50% were assistant professors, 44 % were associate professors and 6% were full professors.

Table 3.1 provides an overview of the demographics of the small group and individual faculty members who were interviewed as part of the larger institutional policy evaluation conducted in 2010. Table 3.1 provides information on individual level

academic discipline and closeness to the Western University Parental Leave Policy (e.g., eligibility and actual use of the policy) as listed at time of interview. As outlined in Table 3.1, 17 faculty tenure track faculty members volunteered to be interviewed (65% female; 35% male). Small group interviews were conducted with participants based on their closeness to the policy (e.g., those used parental leave (*n=9*), those eligible but did not use (*n=3*), and those not eligible (*n=5)*).

The faculty narratives gathered through these interviews provide context for each of the faculty member and their individual discourse surrounding the construction or reconstruction of the parent-scholar subjectivity within the tenure culture at Western University.

Table 3.1 Characteristics of faculty narrative participants

College Type[3]	**Gender (% Female)**	**Eligible: Used Parental Leave**	**Eligible: Did Not Use Parental Leave**	**Not Eligible**	**Total Participants:**
Humanities	67%	67%	16%	16%	6
Social Sciences	71%	43%	16%	43%	7
Science	33%	33%	33%	33%	3
Other	100%	100%			1

[3] The colleges were categorized in the following ways to protect the anonymity of the participants: ***Humanities*** = College of Humanities, College of Fine Arts; ***Social Sciences*** = College of Social and Behavioral Science, College of Education; ***Science*** = College of Science, College of Engineering, Mines and Earth Science; ***Other*** = College of Law, College of Business, College of Architecture, Health Sciences (COP, CON, COP).

Data Analysis

This study analyzed data from the institutional policy documents and faculty narratives derived from individual and group interviews as well as the open-ended responses to the 2010 Faculty and Leadership Surveys. The policy texts and archives and faculty narratives were gathered into a collected corpus of texts, which served as the primary data source for the critical feminist policy discourse analysis. The methodological approach to critical feminist policy discourse analysis does not lay out a predefined analytical protocol, but rather relies on interdisciplinary backgrounds and methodological tools based on the research agenda (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Critical feminist discourse frameworks (Fairclough, 1993; Huckin, 2002; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2008; Wodak and Meyer, 2009), as well as the policy discourse analytical frameworks (Allan, 2010), describe data collection similarly to Glaser and Strauss's (1967) description of grounded theory, whereby data collection is not delineated as a "specific phase…completed before analysis" but rather becomes coupled to the analysis (p. 27). This allows for the use of various approaches and considerations in the analysis of both policy texts and faculty narratives (Perakyla, 2008).

Analysis of texts in this study began with the analysis of the institutional policy texts and archives and then proceeded with analysis of the faculty narratives and open-ended responses to the faculty and leadership survey (2010) and concluded with an integrative analysis across the texts. Data collection within a critical feminist discourse framework is described as an iterative process with the reading and rereading of texts to identify concepts, expanding these into categories, and if needed collecting additional data (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). A critical approach to discourse analysis requires that

analysis situate the texts within the social and historical contexts (Fairclough, 1993; Huckin, 2002; Wodak, 2008; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Therefore, it was imperative that throughout the analysis of both policy texts and faculty narratives that the various texts were not detached from their sociocultural and historical moments (Allan, 2010).

Framework for Analysis of Policy Texts and Archives

The analysis of policy texts and archives as well as faculty narratives proceeded using a twofold process, including both inductive and deductive coding (Allan, 2010; Huckin, 2002; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). However, within a critical feminist policy discourse analytical approach, it was important to remember that each text analyzed for this study was situated within discursive and social contexts. As such, it was important to remember that people were involved in creating, interpreting, and adding meaning to these texts and that these people are influenced by their own social context(s) (see Figure 3.1). Analysis was mindful of the way that meaning was attached to texts through authorial intent, reader response (Huckin, 2002), the discursive community (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) and the institutional governing structures.

Both inductive and deductive processes were informative of the other through a multilayered approach that became more focused through multiple iterations of reading, coding, and interpretation (Allan, 2010; Huckin, 2002). Inductive and deductive approaches expanded the analysis and required a return to texts for additional readings, collection of additional data, additional interpretations, as well as analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). It was important to allow for this fluidity as part of the analysis, and account for the messy discursive contexts and the analytic strategies employed in the

critical feminist analysis of this particular policy within the bounds of a public research institution.

Finally, while the above delineation of a two-tiered analysis of the texts implies a linear process, discourse analysis is not a lock-step methodology; rather, analysis and interpretation were situated as an analytical approach that built on itself throughout the entire process. In the presentation and interpretation of the texts in Chapter 4, the framing of the policy problem was contextualized across the texts to determine how the texts worked together to frame the policy problem and related solutions, and where these texts may contend with each other to construct a new model for thinking about the integration of academic and caregiving roles in research institutions.

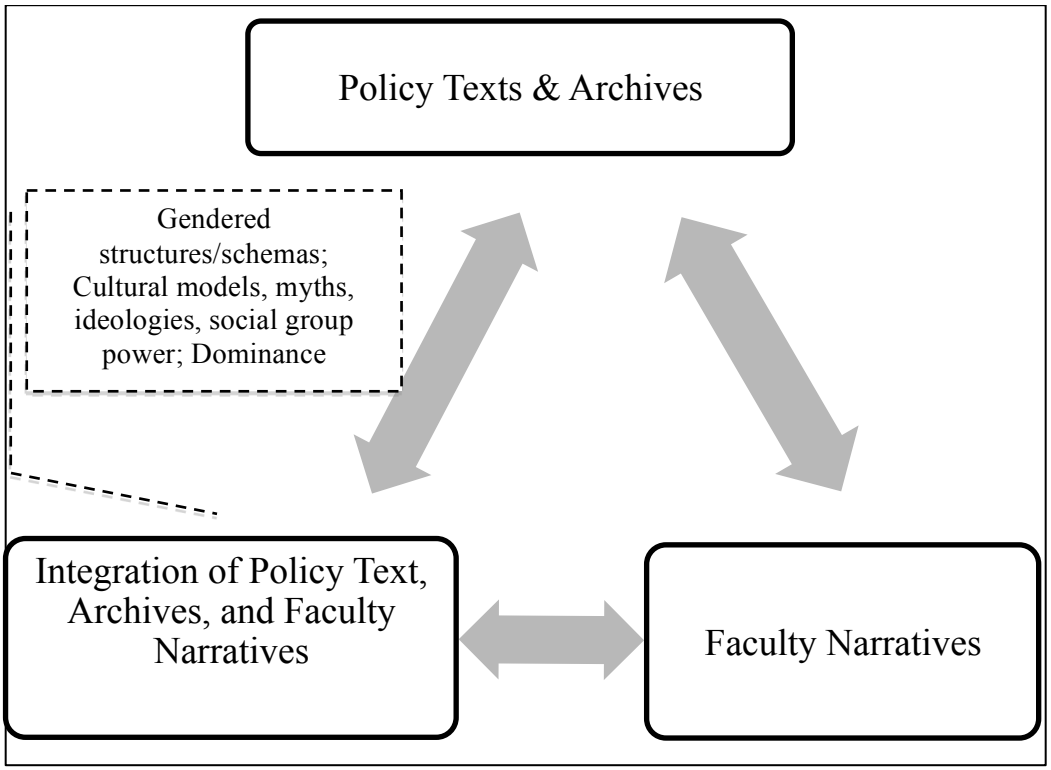

Figure 3.1 Data analysis framework

First-Layer Analysis

Huckin (2002) outlined a series of linguistic and discourse concepts used to guide the two phases of textual analysis. These concepts were used selectively as various ways of engaging with the policy texts (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Analysis of policy texts and archives occurred simultaneously to the collection of institutional policy documents. This initial process of data collection served as the first-layer of analysis (Allan, 2010; Fairclough, 1993; Huckin, 2002; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

This first layer of data analysis included a reading and rereading of the collected texts. The goal of this first layer of analysis was to take in and comprehend the texts with an uncritical eye (Huckin, 2002), exploring what interests and background knowledge readers of the texts might have in common as well the purposes of the texts (Huckin, 2002, p. 158). According to Huckin (2002), this first layer of analysis includes a reading of the text to try to simulate "how an intended reader might read and react to the given text" (p. 158). This required situating myself as a potential target reader for these texts, and then situating myself within this "intended reading position" (Huckin, 2002, p. 158). This reading and rereading of texts allowed me to identify key themes and categories and "draw a picture of the presuppositions and meanings that constitute the cultural world" for the integration of academic and caregiving roles for parent-scholars at Western University (Perakyla, 2008, p. 352).

Subsequent to this initial uncritical reading, the analysis moved towards a more critical reading of the texts including stepping back from the text and approaching it, with subsequent readings, with a more critical lens (Huckin, 2002). This included an analysis of both the text as well as my initial reaction to the texts. In particular, analysis focused

on what has been left out of the text, what could have been said, but was not. Huckin (2002) noted that if information is typically included as part of the larger genre but the author of the text being analyzed did not include similar information, it is reasonable to suspect that the author has deliberately left this information out of the text. At the larger text level, analysis explored how the policy problem and related solutions were presented as well as what angle (or slant) the writer took via framing, foregrounding/backgrounding or omission strategies (Huckin, 2002, p. 161).

Second-Layer Analysis

The second-layer of analysis required extensive immersion with data applying both inductive and deductive approaches to coding. In the second layer of analysis, I focused on sociocultural practices that may have influenced the discursive framing of parenting in the academy by focusing on word/phrase and sentence level concepts, including strategies such as use of presuppositions and omission (Huckin, 2002).

Presuppositions are another word/phrase level linguistic device that Huckin (2002) argues may be used to manipulate readers. Huckin (2002) defined presuppositions as "words or phrases that assume the truth of the statements in which they are found" (p. 159). Presuppositions signal to the things we must know in order for a sentence to hold true as well as the presupposed existing knowledge of the reader/listener (van Dijk, 2001). Presupposition triggers routinely used in discourse strategies include definite descriptions, the use of factive verbs, implicative verbs, change-of-state verbs, iteratives, verbs of judging, temporal clauses, cleft sentences, implicit clefts with stressed

constituents, comparisons and contrasts, nonrestrictive relative clauses, counterfactual conditionals, questions, or possessive adjectives.

The use of presuppositions requires interrogation into what kind of knowledge readers need to be able to process policy texts, and what can be revealed from the level of effort required of the readers in addressing power in knowledge and constructing meaning from the policy texts (Allan, 2010). Analysis included interrogation of identifiable ideological reasons behind the use of both fair and unfair presuppositions across the policy texts (van Dijk, 2001).

By analyzing and critiquing the policy texts and archives at the word/phrase level with these concepts, I attempted to identify the dominant ideologies and discourse(s) surrounding tenure and parenting in research institutions. This included how these concepts may have shifted between the organizational policy texts and the faculty narratives and analysis of the (re)construction of the social realities available to parent-scholars, which may point to the feasibility of the required culture change for these policies to be successful.

Framework for Analysis of Faculty Narratives

First-Layer Analysis

The research questions guiding this study provided a general framework for the initial and subsequent reading of the faculty narrative texts. This allowed for themes to emerge through data collection but also grounded my analytical and interpretive readings of these texts within my existing understanding of gender, tenure, parenting, and work-life policies in the academy (Krzyzanowski, 2008). The first-layer analysis of faculty

narratives occurred concurrent with data collection. Group and individual interview protocols allowed for flexibility in the facilitation of the discussion in order to yield relevant and rich data regarding the parental leave policy at the individual level. This flexible protocol allowed for preliminary identification of salient themes across the small group and individual interviews (Krzyzanowski, 2008).

Second-Layer Analysis

Much of the analytical framework for first- and second-layer analysis of the institutional policy texts was also applied to the faculty narratives, including focus on word/phrase and sentence/utterance level concepts as outlined previously. Analysis of faculty narratives included extensive immersion with transcripts applying both inductive and deductive approaches to reading and coding the faculty narratives as outlined above for the policy text and archive analysis. Second-layer analysis and interpretation of the faculty narratives was attentive to the social constructs which they reflected, (re)produced, and challenged (Huckin, 2002), moving towards an investigation and critique of local meanings regarding the integration of academic and caregiving roles, particularly for tenure-track faculty members in a research institution (Fairclough, 1993).

Bridging Policy Texts and Faculty Narratives

A critical feminist policy discourse analysis is particularly interested in disentangling social group power with a focus on gendered relations within discourse. Thus, the third-layer analysis of institutional policy texts and faculty narratives included an in-depth analysis of the discursive strategies used to challenge or sustain the status quo

of the tenure culture for parent-scholars across the corpus of texts. All policy texts and faculty narratives were initially uploaded into a qualitative software management system (HyperRESEARCH) to allow for initial identification of categories, themes, and patterns within and across the various texts (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Once the texts had been initially coded, the third layer of analysis required that I returned to the original texts and faculty narratives in hard copy to place texts within their related sociohistoric and political contexts.

This third-level of data analysis sought to identify dominant ideological themes that were present across the texts, highlighting prominent interests that "motivate the text producers" (Huckin, 2002, p. 163). The analysis of policy texts and faculty narratives allowed for investigation and critique of the sociocultural practices of the academy, including a critique of any social practices that may reinforce or challenge the discourse of tenure and caregiving. This third-layer of analysis focused on integration of sociocultural and historical practices across the corpus of text. Analysis included a critical reading of discursive strategies, how discursive strategies and the texts served to (re)construct the meaning of parenting on the tenure track. The integrative analysis across policy texts and faculty narratives attempted to identify cultural models, myths, and ideologies that may have contributed to the (re)construction of parent-scholar subjectivities (see Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3). The goal of the analysis across the texts was to identify the dominant ideologies and themes and allow for interrogation of how these ideologies and themes confront or challenge the status quo of the academic tenure culture and parenting on the tenure track.

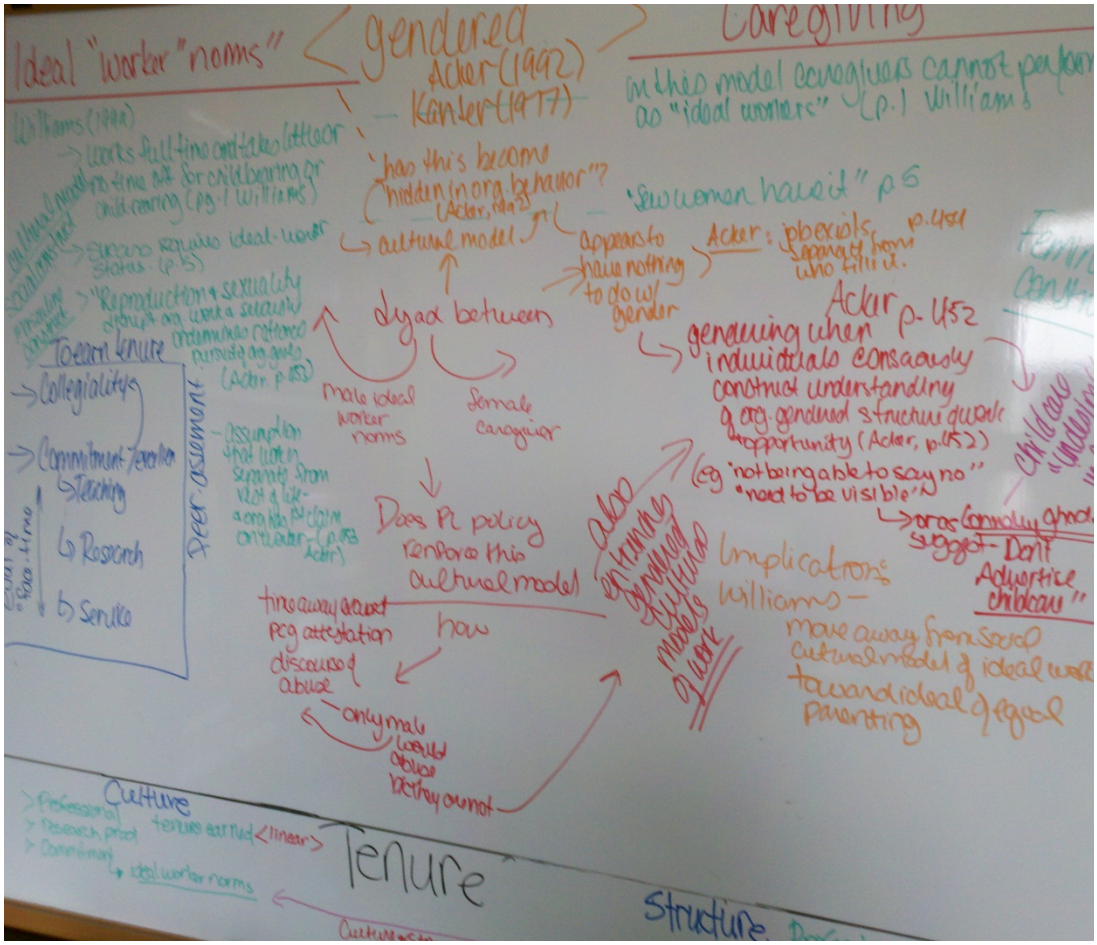

Figure 3.2 Bridging policy texts, faculty narratives, and cultural contexts.

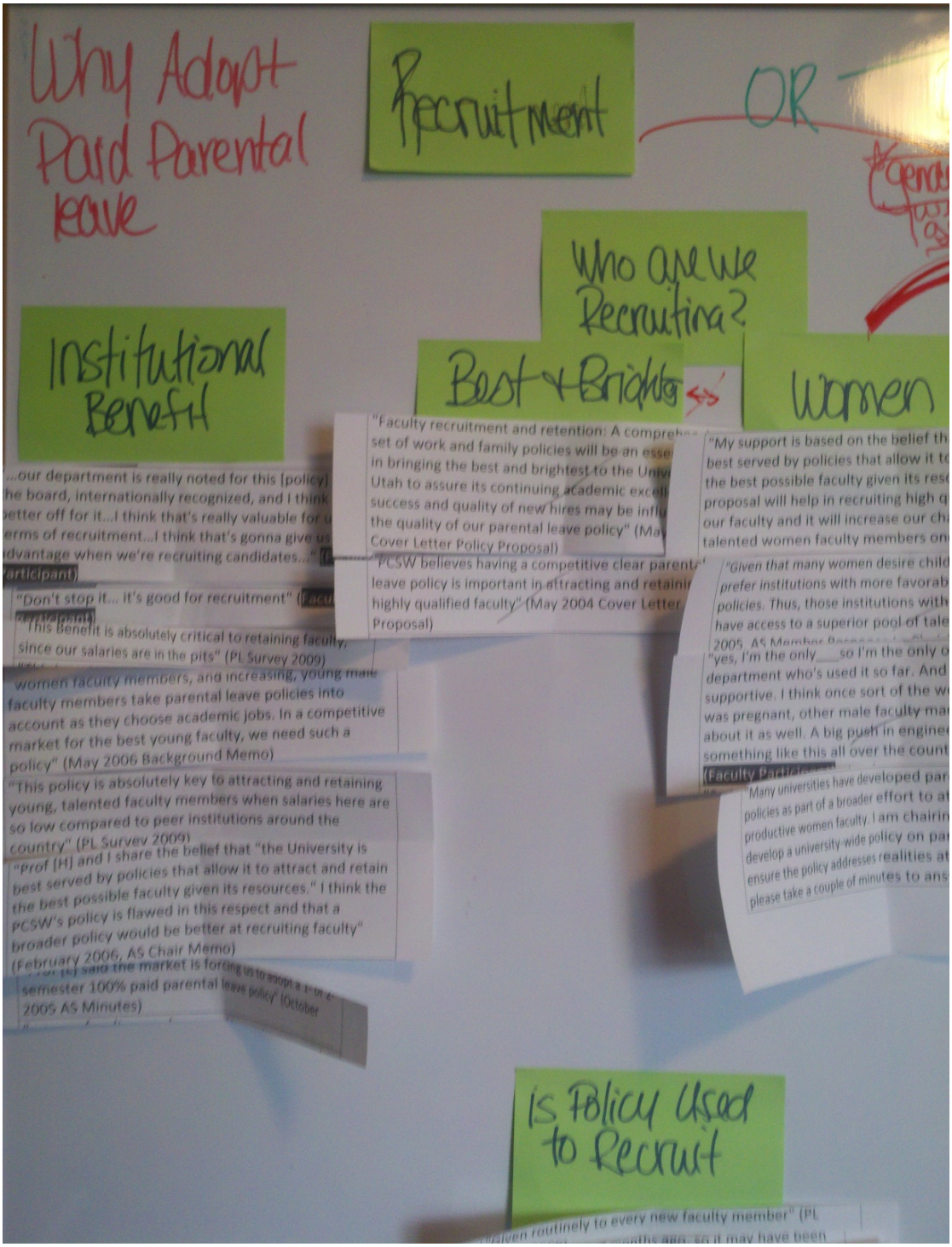

Figure 3.3 Bridging policy texts, faculty narratives, and cultural contexts.

Trustworthiness of the Study

> *Among the most knotty problems faced by investigators committed to interpretive practices in disciplines and fields such as… feminist studies,…[and] policy analysis…are deciding whether an interpretation is credible and truthful and whether one interpretation is better than another. (Schwandt, 2007, p. 11)*

Trustworthiness of the analysis occurs through triangulation across data gathering methods, data analysis procedures that are grounded in theoretical and conceptual frameworks, and the reflexivity of the researcher in the process (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). According to Lincoln and Guba (2007), the trustworthiness of a qualitative study requires attending to the criteria of credibility ("as an analog to internal validity"), transferability ("as an analog to external validity"), dependability ("as an analog to reliability"), and confirmability ("as an analog to objectivity") (p. 18).

According to Lincoln and Guba (2007) triangulation of data enhances the credibility of a study. Triangulation is described as the "process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation" (Stake, 2008, p. 133). The triangulation of the multiple data sources in this study (e.g., use of policy texts and archives as well as focus groups, individual interviews, and data from institutional evaluation survey) will strengthen the study's usefulness for other sites. Triangulation "serves to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the case is being seen" (Stake, 2008, p. 133). I triangulated my analysis and findings by using data from across the corpus of texts, which included historical documents and group and individual interviews. This allowed for me to analyze the institutional policy texts and the broader social context in which these texts were embedded.

Given the importance of keeping the data grounded in the sociohistorical and political contexts, I relied on the criteria of credibility, transferability, and conformability to bolster the trustworthiness of this study. Because this was a critical discourse analysis of institutional texts and faculty narratives, the ability to replicate these findings with similar participants is constrained given the importance of the social contexts in relation to the presentation and interpretation of text (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Lincoln and Guba (2007) noted that to ensure credibility the researcher should have "prolonged engagement" or "lengthy and intensive contact with the phenomena (or respondents) in the field to assess possible sources of distortion and especially to identify saliencies in the situation" (p. 18). I was fortunate to serve as a research assistant on the 2010 institutional policy evaluation. This helped to keep me engaged with the texts over the course of the evaluation and analysis for this study.

I used "thick descriptive data…so that judgments about the degree of fit or similarity may be made by others who may wish to apply all or part of the findings elsewhere" (Lincoln & Guba, 2007, p. 19). The use of "thick description" as outlined by Lincoln and Guba (2007) provides an indepth account of all stages of the research so that the research methods employed or other researchers interested in a feminist critical discourse analysis of institutional policy could potentially use the framework used. This is a qualitative study and I make no presumption of its transferability given the contextual changes that occur outside of this contextually bound site and participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

This critical feminist policy discourse analysis includes an interpretation of the policy texts as well as faculty narratives, which allow me to hypothesize how institutional

and individual discourse frames the realities for tenure-track faculty parents and which may be transferrable to a similar academic institution that has adopted a similar parental leave policy (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Key concepts were identified across documents and texts in an attempt to make connections across both the policy texts and faculty narratives to identify discursive framing of tenure, parenting, and parental leave policies, and how faculty and institutions may position subjects discursively within these texts.

In terms of meeting the dependability and confirmability criterion, particular attention was paid to group and individual interview participants. To ensure that the experiences and perceptions of these participants are not lost, all data was subject to constant immersion by the researcher with careful monitoring of the analysis process to allay the potential for reduction of data (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). The methods established for data analysis and interpretation included the use of the participants' own words to enhance dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

Furthermore, the process of discourse analysis includes textual interpretation by the researcher. The textual interpretation is a creative action, where I, as an interpreter, "construct and project" possible meaning for texts (Allan, 2010, p. 162). Consequently, it was important to ensure that textual analysis remained grounded in conceptual and theoretical frameworks and that interpretation of policy texts and faculty narratives remain situated within the historical, social, and political contexts. This was primarily done through the use of the original texts to ensure that readings and interpretations included analysis of the entire text. It was also important to have conversations with the Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs when questions arose about the intent or

purpose of the policy texts. This allowed for constant attention to the sociopolitical and historical contexts that may have affected the construction of policy texts.

Trustworthiness within a critical feminist discourse analytical framework requires that data collection and analysis strategies be transparent (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The clear delineation of the data collection and analysis strategies will ensure this required transparency. In addition, a discourse analysis criterion for trustworthiness also includes the concept of "completeness" or saturation. According to Wodak and Meyer (2009), "the results of a study will be 'complete' if new data and the analysis of new linguistic devices reveal no new findings." (p. 31). Finally, the criterion of confirmability requires attention be paid to ensure that findings are based on the data collected, and not on my own personal biases (Lincoln & Guba, 2007). To limit the potential for my own biases entering into the analysis and findings, I asked peers who had not been directly involved in this study to read sections of this dissertation. Specifically, I asked peer-readers to identify potential logical leaps not supported by evidence from across the corpus of texts.

Parts of this dissertation have been presented as research papers at national conferences, which allowed for external review of my preliminary findings to enhance research objectivity. The data collection and analysis methods outlined above articulate the need to allow for researcher flexibility and treatment of these two components of the study as iterative and informative of each other. In addition, confirmability requires that attention be paid to researcher biases via researcher reflexivity. As noted above, the qualitative nature of a critical feminist discourse analysis requires that epistemological assumptions are established and that any researcher bias is disclosed. The personal

biography of the researcher as well as researcher reflexivity are outlined in the following section.

Personal Biography of the Researcher

The Researcher as Instrument

Qualitative methodologies, particularly critical feminist discourse methodologies assume the researcher as instrument. This requires that as a critical feminist researcher I am committed to the constant process of self-reflexivity during data gathering and analysis and interpretation (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Self-reflexivity includes acknowledging my own subjectivity, epistemology, and ontology as part of the conceptual and analytical frameworks and addressing how these interact with my data collection and analytic processes. My epistemology is grounded in feminist theories and much of what I explore includes a focus on gender and its relation to or interaction with traditional structures of power, authority, and knowledge in institutions of higher education. However, while traditional feminist theories approach problems with an eye towards traditional structures of power, authority, and knowledge (Marshall, 1997), my 15 years working in faculty affairs in the academy has resulted in my also acknowledging individual agency within these structures.

Contemporary critical and poststructural feminist theories allow for me to expand my notion of power, and recognize the impact that individual agency may have in defining, challenging, and redefining reality for women tenure-track faculty members in research institutions. As a researcher, I am committed to the requisite evaluation of my closeness to participants, as well as my critical feminist epistemologies throughout the

study, but particularly during the analysis and interpretation, where it is critical that the participants' conceptions and experiences be centered (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

Several months ago, as I was beginning to pin down my theoretical and conceptual frameworks for this study, my office hosted a professional development seminar that was specifically aimed at women faculty members. This particular seminar was focused on effective time management strategies for faculty and was part of our larger series of faculty development initiatives aimed at retaining a highly talented core of women faculty. As I arrived at this particular session I took my normal position at the back of the room and listened to the speaker and the faculty members engage in discussing time management. About 10 minutes into the seminar a woman arrived, wearing her professional attire, and pushing a stroller. In the stroller sat a toddler, maybe 18-24 months of age. I intentionally separate the image of the woman in her professional attire from the image of the woman pushing the stroller because this separation was exactly how I made sense of her in this particular temporal moment.

This mother scholar situated herself at the back of the room, right next to me with the child in tow. Considering our audience was primarily women, and that one of our assumptions for this particular faculty development series is that women tend to face more hurdles in terms of balancing work and professional roles, my initial gut reaction to this woman and her child surprised me. By the end of the session I was struggling with my own framing of this mother-scholar within this particular discursive moment.

My internal dialogue included questions about the appropriateness of the presence of the mother and child within this professional seminar, and why this young mother would ever consider bringing her child to this meeting. During this process I considered

what events may have led up to this mother scholar deciding to bring her child to the seminar, including the last minute issues that I have often been plagued with over the course of my own professional/mother career. These internal debates rattled through a milieu of issues including the potential for this toddler to disrupt our seminar or how others were reacting and their impression of the credibility and intent of our program based on the presence of this mother and child. This last concern is the one that caught me most off guard and resulted in some serious introspective moments about my own construction of balance in the academy.

About half way through my internal debate, I recall forcing myself to stop and recenter myself. During this pause I debated and struggled with the dissonance between my ideological and epistemological theories surrounding professional women, my choice of dissertation topic, as well as my entire research agenda, and then had to place all of these things against this real-world reaction to the presence of two competing subjectivities (mother/professional) within the same space (the academy). It was at this moment that I realized the depth of the assumptions and ideologies that require women to leave half of our identities at the door, both professionally and personally—including my own assumptions and beliefs about these roles.

As a mother of two children who struggled with balancing professional and personal roles, within the context of the professional setting, my immediate reaction was to challenge the presence of the personal subjectivity (mother) within the boundaries of the professional setting (the academy). It is not that I was challenging the right to have these two subjectivities; it was the sense of contempt that this mother would assume to have that flexibility to integrate these subjectivities at this particular moment. The

dissonance between the professional (scholar) and personal (mother) mother occupying the same professional space lead me to interrogate the structures and ideologies in place within my own life that would have led to this reaction.

As I began to interrogate my own reaction to this mother/professional dissonance, I began to replay a series of recent conversations with fellow administrators regarding requests from their female staff (and faculty) members wishing to bring their newborn infants to the office for a couple hours a week while they worked out daycare issues. It was not the mothers' desire to attempt to juggle both subjectivities that struck me about these recent conversations, but rather the response from university administrators regarding the perceived right to ask for such an entitlement. From an administrative perspective, there seemed to be a perception that these female staff members were asking the institution for extravagant and illogical accommodations. What struck me about these organizational conversations was the assumptions made that somehow these families had choices that could be made about professional or personal. If anyone is paying attention to the issue of daycare, they should know that it takes on average 18-24 months to have an infant placed. This means that parents need to start planning daycare almost 2-2/12 years before they conceive. What seemed to strike me about the administrative response was that it was framed as an either/or scenario where you could either be a woman as a professional within the bounds of the organization, or a mother at home.

I could not help but land back on the age-old saying of, "you leave it at the door." While this mantra often was used to encourage the male breadwinner to leave work at the front door, it is easy to see how it translates to women who routinely point to the expectation that they leave their personal identities at the front door of their

organizations. These two roles and the institutional and individual level discourse have a long history of being situated as an either/or scenario. Of course you are welcome to try to do it all, but there is nothing assumed in the labor contract that assures you that your employer is willing to assist you in doing it all at the same time.

The conversations about our expectations of staff and my own reaction to this mother scholar lead me to question how and if mother and professional identities could occupy the same space at the same time. What was it about my own professional experiences that caused me so much angst? After all, I thought that I was the one on the sidelines of the academy advocating for a family-friendly campus climate, one where women could safely exist as both professors and parents.

I do not come to the academy free of personal obligations and these personal obligations and the conflict and tensions that arise from having to balance a midlevel career and family do affect how I view work-life family policies in the academy, particularly those that are only available to one subgroup of employees within the academy. However, as the above example highlights, even my experiences are grounded in deeply held assumptions and beliefs about what it means to be an ideal worker and mother. During my many years in the academy I have worn multiple hats. My experience began however, not as a student but as a staff member. Reflecting back on these early years and even currently as a mother of teenagers, I do not think that there is a day where I do not feel guilt that something (or someone) is being shortchanged in order to satisfy the requirements or needs of the other component of my life.

I conducted and wrote this study from the perspective of a nontraditional graduate student, administrator and mother. My children are grown and getting ready to leave

home and begin their own adult adventures. I will never have to face the tension of competing ticking and biological clocks. I have not had to make decisions about fertility versus career. Yet, as administrative staff in a higher education institution, I would have welcomed the benefit that would have made it easier to manage childbearing and my career. The paid parental leave policies that most research institutions are adopting do benefit only tenure track faculty members. As a faculty administrator, I fully support the development and adoption of policies that recognize the challenges of balancing professional and personal caregiving roles.

As a young mother of two small children, during my early career days as a midlevel administrative assistant, I was expected to be in my chair ready to work by 8:00 a.m. and expected to be there until quitting time at 5:00 p.m. In addition, given my role in an academic medical college, it was not unheard of to be expected to staff 6:30 a.m. meetings as well as meetings that often ran well past 9:00 p.m. Interestingly, as I sat at these committee tables, neither the committee chairs (often men) nor committee members missed a beat when suggesting these times. Because my choices were limited and I enjoyed my work with the academy, I often ended up cobbling together childcare to accommodate these early morning and late evening meetings, relying heavily on the kindness and patience of close family and friends. While the institution provided sick and vacation days, using this time, particularly if I needed to deal with sick children, doctors appointments, school events, or other childcare issues, often resulted in an extreme sense of guilt.

Whether this guilt was internally or externally driven, I cannot be certain. But nonetheless, it was expected that my physical body, as well as all of my mental capacities

were present and ready to work regardless of what was happening behind the doors of my home. There was a sense that I needed to leave my children and our lives at the door and manage the threat that my personal life may have on my professional life to avoid working for $10.50 an hour indefinitely. Comments made within the office about others taking time off for "sick kids" was often translated that somehow my being a mother was an abuse of the "time off" that was legitimately earned through institutional leave policies, and that somehow if I chose to use this time off, I was not as committed as women without children. I fought through this guilt on numerous occasions and often found myself pondering exactly where (and what) my priorities should be. Without my job, I could not care for my children. On the other hand, I was flying solo, so who would take care of my children if I did not?

After 9 years of juggling work, two small children, and college I finally completed my undergraduate degree in gender studies. Once my undergraduate degree was completed, I knew that I needed to keep going until I had my doctorate degree. Graduate school came as my children were entering high school and junior high school and much to my surprise the level of balance I found did not necessarily decrease the older my children became—it just became a different type of balance and a different type of guilt.

The years of balancing these various roles resulted in several moments where I felt I had to choose between my roles as parent, professional, or scholar. As staff, the ability to build flexibility into my daily schedule was constrained by senior administrators who adhered to a strict 9 to 5 schedule. Flexibility was not a reality that as a staff member I ever imagined I would enjoy. My children's school events occurred during the middle

of the day and in order to get to the school in time for the event, stay long enough so that my child saw my face, kiss them a goodbye from a distance, and then get back to campus often required that I either missed the morning or afternoon. This meant that professionally, I faced my own concerns about the perception of not being committed to my work if my priority was my children. Of course, as a mother, who would not argue that her priority was her children? But as a working mother, out of necessity, it was never that cut and dry. I could not very readily choose one or the other. In fact, very rarely did I feel that occupying more than one role completely was feasible and I do not know that I necessarily was looking for an either/or scenario. I find a great sense of joy from working outside of the home. However, I also find a great sense of joy in being a mother.

I continued with the university and was fortunate to be appointed into an administrative position within my college. Many might assume that the higher up the chain one goes the more flexibility and benefits they receive. However, those of us who still need to balance the professional and personal roles, are still left with the same sense of guilt and pressure to be physically present at all times. Professionally, there was now an added tension of visibility and all of a sudden if I was not at my desk and visible, I had an underlying fear that others would consider me to be uncommitted and unreliable. In fact the sense of guilt, misplaced priorities, and professional legitimacy only seemed to get more complex the older my children became.

My role as a mother and as a midlevel and senior management professional shaped how I view organizational policies and expectations that are placed on parents for doing (or having it "all") at the same time. While the university was touting itself as a family-friendly campus, there were still pressures (both internal and external) to be 100%

committed to the institution and interference from personal obligations still seemed to create conflict. As I entered my PhD program these experiences (both personally and professionally) drove my choice of courses, advisors, and projects. My experiences in higher education administration have included engagement with policy formulation and implementation, including policies aimed at "changing" the historic culture of the academy to address the challenges faced by women.

In addition to my experience with policy in higher education faculty governance, my position has allowed me the opportunity to speak with faculty during the course of their faculty careers. Most of these conversations occur as part of the formal retention, promotion, and tenure process. However, I have also had the opportunity to work with many women weighing out the benefits and potential consequences of using the parental leave policy. Often, as the faculty left my office, I struggled with how the university was framing policies in ways that would result in faculty opting not to use these benefits out of fear of what they could mean for their "tenure careers."

During the development of the parental leave policy at Western University I wholeheartedly supported the basic philosophy of providing institutional support structures to improve women's position within the academy. However, as an administrator I struggled with the exclusionary nature of the paid-parental leave policy. The paid parental leave policy at Western University excludes full-time nontenure track faculty members, and explicitly excludes administrative staff members, often based on elitist assumptions that the impact to the careers of this group are not as great as the impact on tenure track faculty careers. As a mother and administrative staff member, I felt that the discourse surrounding why only tenure track was incredibly elitist. In fact, in

the recent policy evaluation, on multiple occasions I heard how my professional journey and education (because I opted for a different path) was not equally valued and in fact, it was presumed that as a staff member it was quite easy for me to just find a new job after childbirth unlike tenure track faculty members who trained for numerous years and could not readily locate a new position. As a mother and professional, one of the challenges I seek to address with my research is how we move family-responsive policy forward in meaningful ways that confront and challenge embedded institutional cultures (e.g., ideal worker, face time, and commitment). For me, it is imperative that my scholarship moves us past the "policy on the shelf" to having policy that is equitable and able to achieve its intended goals.

Ethical and Political Considerations

Parental leave policies are often viewed as one of many work-life balance policy options to help address the issue of women's retention and advancement in the academy. The discourse that centers these policies is crucial in understanding how the institution, the faculty governing bodies, and the individual faculty members view these policies in terms of women's success. My epistemological and ontological frameworks require attention as I move through the critical feminist policy discourse analysis of policy texts and faculty narratives. However, for the purpose of this study I do not feel that it is imperative that analysis be entirely value free (Deutsch, 2004).

A critical feminist discourse methodology requires that I be aware of the sociocultural, historical, and political contexts of these policies and analysis cannot be decoupled from these contexts. A value free approach to CDA would undermine the

primary goals and aims of a critical feminist analysis of these policies. However, given my role as an academic administrator it is essential that my role as a researcher be clearly demarcated from my administrative position. This research study adheres to the ethical codes of research established by the American Psychological Association and the American Education Research Association. Use of policy texts and archives did not necessarily pose a threat to participants in the study; however, group and individual interview participants had to feel safe in sharing their stories in order for this study to be completed. Confidentiality of all documents was maintained at all times. Therefore, given these issues, all data was maintained and analyzed off campus.

The University Institutional Review Board reviewed the parental leave policy evaluation completed in 2010, which included a protocol for group interviews with individual faculty members. The Western University Institutional Review Board deemed that the study did not meet the definitions of Human Subjects Research according to federal regulations. Therefore, IRB oversight was not required or necessary for this project (IRB 00037765). Interview participants were invited to join the study and consented to participation prior to the small group or individual interviews. The interview protocols based on the initial policy evaluation survey responses guided all faculty interviews. Participants entered the interview sessions agreeing that any information shared within the session would be maintained as confidential. In addition, I as researcher, agreed to mask individual identities throughout the data collection and analysis. All efforts have been taken to maintain the anonymity of participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Anonymity is crucial for interview participants, therefore, throughout the transcripts and analysis I use pseudonyms to protect participant identities. All

confidential or identifiable information has been removed and all individual names, including names of children, have been removed. However, given the narrow focus on site and participants, full protection of anonymity cannot be guaranteed.

Conclusion

A critical feminist policy discourse analysis of the parental leave policy process assumes that organizational policy documents and texts record the organizational culture as it exists during the early stages of the policy process, but as Allan (2010) noted, these organizational texts may also "actively contribute to shaping culture" subsequently contributing to the construction of women's reality as tenure track professors and/or parents within the academy (p. 5). In summary, a critical feminist policy discourse analysis. In this chapter I have outlined the approach to critical feminist policy framework (Allan, 2010; Lazar, 2005) coupled with the strategies for textual and narrative analysis as outlined by Fairclough (1993), van Dijk (2001), Wodak and Meyer (2009) and used in the analysis, interpretation, and presentation of findings in Chapter 4.

The use of a Critical Feminist Policy Discourse analytical framework allowed for interrogation and deconstruction of the discursive framing of the paid parental leave policy and how discursive strategies may impact the institutional goals and intent of the policy. In addition, this level of analysis provided a more complex understanding of how institutional policy and individual level discourse may serve to reproduce "subjectivities, hierarchies, and taxonomies" for understanding parent-scholars' social realities in research institutions (Allan, 2010, p. 31).

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to understand how institutional policy discourse surrounding a formal paid parental leave policy constructs or reconstructs tenure for parent-scholars in a research institution. Using a critical feminist policy discourse analysis, this chapter focuses on the ways in which social power, dominance and inequality were enacted, reproduced and resisted by talk and text in the social and political contexts of the tenure culture in a research institution (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). In particular, I examine institutional and individual discourse and how the texts confront the values and assumptions of what it means, in this case, to simultaneously balance the parent-scholar identity for tenure track parents in a research institution.

The first section of Chapter 4 provides an overview of the social, historical, and political contexts that may have affected the institutional framing of the policy discourse. The focus in this section is on the policy discourse over the course of the policy drafting, adoption, and implementation stages. Following a presentation of the social and historical policy contexts, I provide the qualitative analysis and description of how the rationale for the parental leave policy problem was framed. This includes a description of how the texts situated the justification for a parental leave policy within the discourse of competing for the "best and brightest scholars" (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo, 2004).

There is the supposition that the parental leave policy was necessary in order to remain competitive in the larger higher education market. However, this was positioned against the need for the parental leave policy as a response to what had been described as the "hazardous" (Faculty Senate Minutes, 2005) nature of balancing tenure and childbearing, particularly for faculty mothers. Next, I describe how the policy texts and faculty narratives constrained the potential for constructing parent-scholar subjectivity within the existing ideology of the "ideal faculty member." More specifically, I describe how the policy texts and faculty narratives relied on the construct of the ideal worker to position the rationale for the policy. I also address how faculty members interact with the parental leave policy. The ideal worker construct resulted in discourse that remained focused on the visible, committed, and productive faculty member, even while taking formal and sanctioned university parental leave.

Next, I examine how discursive strategies including the use of the ideal worker cultural model attempted to reconstruct the parent-scholar within this cultural model. Specifically, I address how the discourse of entitlement attempted to create the space for parent-scholars to legitimately balance their professor and parent subjectivities. In addition, I present evidence of how the discourse of entitlement is challenged by the discourse of the primary caregiver and the assumptions made about male faculty members' propensity for abusing the policy. Here I will present a qualitative analysis of how the discourse of abuse and the construction of legitimate policy use within the notion of the "primary caregiver" ethic bolstered existing gendered assumptions, explicitly the textual construction of the female caregiver as the norm.

Parental Leave Policy Archeology

This section provides an overview of the evolution of the parental leave policy within the broader social, historical, and political contexts in which the paid parental leave policy evolved. Building on the approach outlined in Chapter 3 regarding analysis of policy discourse, this section explores the genesis and evolution of the parental leave policy at Western University, including an overview of the policy text authors and stakeholders (Table 4.1). This overview is necessary to inform the subsequent analyses of the discourse surrounding parenting and tenure and provides for a more complex understanding of the contexts in which the parental leave policy emerged and evolved. I provide an overview of the emergence and definition of the institutional problems or issues which led to the 2004 proposal for adopting the paid parental leave policy at the University, including a description of the two main key groups in the institutional policy process: The Presidential Commission on the Status of Women subcommittee and the Faculty Senate subcommittee.

History and Policy Development

In 2003, the President's Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) was formally charged by the then University President with investigating the need for a formal parental leave policy. The emergence of the issue of creating a parental leave policy as well as the various iterations of the policy proposals was the result of nearly 3 years of work by the subcommittee of the larger PCSW. Because authorial intent and authority are important in a critical feminist discourse analysis, understanding the role of the PCSW in the process is an important component of the analysis.

Table 4.1 Summary of institutional texts and faculty narratives

Document	Date	Purpose/Intent	No. of Pages
Parental Leave Policy Proposal	5/3/04	PCSW subcommittee Policy Draft, cover letter from chair of subcommittee, overview of rationale, policy language proposal	7
Policy Proposal Drafts			
05/01/04	5/3/04	PCSW Policy Draft to Senior Leadership	14
01/13/05	1/13/05	PCSW subcommittee – Working Draft: Policy Draft, overview of rationale, policy language proposal	3
01/24/05	1/24/05	PCSW subcommittee – Working Draft: Policy Draft, overview of rationale, policy language proposal, summary of peer-institutions, summary of 2003 survey of women faculty, graphic representation of women's use of existing university policy regarding unpaid leave and tenure extensions	15
Memo from Chair of Faculty Senate subcommittee to Academic Senate: Response to the PCSW proposed parental leave policy.	4/11/05	Summary of vote by Faculty Senate subcommittee regarding adoption of parental leave policy. Overview of debate process and recommendations for changes to PCSW subcommittee proposed language	3
Faculty Senate subcommittee Meeting Minutes	10/27/05	Minutes from 10/27/05 Faculty Senate subcommittee meeting. Presentation of PCSW subcommittee Policy Proposal to Senate subcommittee	3
Memo from Chair of Faculty Senate subcommittee: Comments to PCSW subcommittee Policy Proposal	11/22/05	Personal responses to the PCSW subcommittee policy	5
Memo from Faculty Senate subcommittee Member: Response to Chair personal responses (11/22/2005)	11/30/05	Personal response to memo (11/22/2005) from Chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee	3
PCSW subcommittee Correspondence: Response to 10/27/2005 Senate subcommittee Meeting	12/1/05	PCSW subcommittee correspondence outlining strategy and response to Faculty Senate Chair Memos	4

Table 4.1 (continued)

Document	Date	Purpose/Intent	No. of Pages
Faculty Senate subcommittee Meeting Minutes	12/1/05	Meeting to discuss PCSW subcommittee proposal for parental leave	6
DRAFT: Policy 8-8-.1: Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence	1/10/06	"Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence" Policy Draft	5
DRAFT: Family Parental Leave of Absence Overview of Process, limits, and review of policy. "Affidavit of Eligibility"	1/10/06	"Family Parental Leave of Absence" Application procedure, timing of requests, limits on number, policy review, affidavit of eligibility	2
Memo from Chair of Faculty Senate subcommittee to entire Faculty Senate subcommittee.	2/2/06	Chair comments on the PCSW proposal for parental leave. "Rejoinder to [Faculty Senate subcommittee Member response]	8
DRAFT: Policy 8-8-.1: Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence	2/9/06	"Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence" Policy Draft	5
Memo to Senior Vice Presidents from the Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs and the Associate Vice President for Health Sciences Academic Affairs	2/16/06	Overview of the parental leave policy proposal supported by the Senate	7
Parental Leave Policy Presentation	4/3/06	PCSW subcommittee PowerPoint presentation of policy to Executive Committee	14
Background Information for Parental Leaves of Absence Policy	5/1/06	Background information for policy 6-315 to be presented to Academic Senate	9
Policy 8-8-.1: Western University Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence	5/8/06	Institutional Policy for parental leaves of absence and extension of review timetable	4
Memo from Institutional General Counsel regarding proposed amendment to Parental Leave Policy.	7/28/06	Legal Analysis of request to amend Parental Leave policy to require faculty members who apply, but are not biological mother to certify that they will be the primary caregiver	22
Revisions: Policy 6-315: Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence	3/12/07	Institutional Policy for parental leaves of absence and extension of review timetable	5
Policy 6-315: Examples of application of University Policy 6-315	3/12/07	Provide examples to illustrate implementation of policy	2
Legislative History Materials for Spring 2007 revisions	4/1/07	Memorandum with proposal for revisions, Contents of revision proposal as approved by Academic Senate 3/5/2007	20

Table 4.1 (continued)

Document	Date	Purpose/Intent	No. of Pages
Faculty Open-Ended Responses (PL Policy Evaluation)	2/9/10	Policy Evaluation (2010) – Institutional Survey to all Tenure Track Faculty and Leadership	2
Faculty Narratives	4/30/10	Interviews conducted with faculty at the institution regarding their knowledge and experience with the policy (*n=17*)	125
Legislative History – Policy 6-315 Revision 2	6/1/11	Proposal for Revision 2 of Policy 6-315 – approved by Academic Senate 5/2/11 effective 7/1/11	14
Revisions: Policy 6-315: Faculty Parental Benefits – Leaves of Absence with Modified Duties and Review Extensions	7/1/11	2011 Revised Policy	7

According to the institutional website, the charge of the PCSW is described as:

> …to provide leadership and expertise to the Western University community in promoting University women in their various roles and activities, and to serve as a forum for the exchange of ideas within the University. (Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, Purpose, para.1)

The PCSW subcommittee served a pivotal role in framing, reframing, and shaping the policy adopted in 2006 as well as the revised policies (2007; 2011). The PCSW subcommittee reviewed existing literature regarding parental leave policies, analyzed similar policies at the institution's peer-institutions, surveyed the women tenure track faculty (2003) and drafted a total of 3 iterations of a proposed parental leave policy (2004; 2005; and 2006).

To identify the nature of the climate for women on the campus, the PCSW subcommittee distributed a formal survey to tenure-track faculty women to get a sense of the institutional climate regarding parenting on the tenure track. The purpose of the 2003 survey was to provide the PCSW subcommittee drafting committee with a general sense of understanding "the experience[s] of women at the University" (Figure 4.1).

For the purposes of this analysis it is important to note that the rationale put forward by the PCSW subcommittee for the policy was not edited from the initial text put forth in the 2004 draft policy proposal. In the introductory memo sent to university senior vice presidents, the PCSW subcommittee concluded that current policies were "less generous than the policies of most of our peer institutions" and based on the responses to the 2003 survey of women faculty members on the campus, "60% of the women having children while on our faculty report[ed] some sort of negative experience" (PCSW subcommittee Cover Memo, May 2004).

From the outset, the PCSW subcommittee proposed two primary benefits: 1) provide eligible faculty the right to be "excused from teaching" (para. 3) without having to pay back any course reductions granted as part of the parental leave policy; and 2) provide eligible faculty the right to "automatically receive a one-year extension of her or his review and tenure clock" (PCSW Working Draft, May 2003, para. 4). The expected benefit to the institution was the ability to attract and retain "highly qualified faculty" (PCSW subcommittee Cover Memo, May 2004).

To gain some understanding of the experience of women at the University of Utah with current maternity and parental leave policies, we sent a brief survey to an e-mail list of women faculty.

Survey

Many universities have developed parental leave policies as part of a broader effort to attract and retain productive women faculty. I am chairing a committee to develop a university-wide policy on parental leave. To ensure the policy addresses realities at the U, could you please take a couple of minutes to answer a very short survey? Please respond by Friday, March 5.

1. Have you or your partner given birth to a child or adopted a child while on the faculty at the U?

2. If so, please list any adjustments made to your work load (e.g., course releases, extensions to your tenure clock).

3. If yes to 1, please describe the response of your supervisor and colleagues. (Did your supervisor encourage you to take any leave due to you? Did taking a leave become a factor in your evaluation at tenure?)

Figure 4.1 PCSW Survey of Women Faculty, May 2004

Policy Formation

In 2004 the Executive Committee of the Faculty Senate charged a senate subcommittee with reviewing the PCSW policy proposal. The Faculty Senate salaries subcommittee was charged with advising the "Senate and the administration on matters relating to sabbatical leaves, salaries and cost of living, retirement, insurance and other benefit plans" (Western University Academic Senate, Committees, para.4). According to university regulations, this committee consists of "six members of the regular faculty…[who] represent the university faculty as a whole and not any particular area or college" (Western Regulations Library). It was expected that the Faculty Senate subcommittee would review the proposal and present a final report with recommendations to the larger Executive Committee of the Faculty Senate regarding whether to proceed with the adoption of the proposed parental leave policy.

The May 2004 policy proposal referenced institutional policies that at that time did provide faculty members with the right to request an unpaid leave of absence via existing FMLA policies as well as the right to request a tenure clock extension for a variety of medical conditions, including childbirth:

> Current Western University policy: The Western University has no formal maternity or parental leave, other than what is granted under FMLA. If an untenured faculty member either takes a family leave (which would be unpaid under current policy) or is eligible to take a leave but does not, she or he may petition her or his department for a one-year extension to the pretenure probationary period. (PCSW, Policy Proposal Memo, 2004)

The challenge, however, as articulated by the PCSW subcommittee was that even with the existence of these policies, use of them by faculty parents had to date been subject to departmental leadership interpretation. Namely, even with the current institutional

policies that provided the ability to stop the tenure clock following childbirth, approval to use these policies was "heavily dependent upon the support of one's department chair" (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004; 2005; 2006):

> Department chairs have not always supported requests for tenure clock extensions. There is no specific mechanism for appealing that decision, and it is difficult for a junior faculty member to risk the wrath of her or his department chair during the probationary period.

In addition to extending the tenure clock, there were structures in place that would have allowed faculty to take unpaid leave for medical reasons, including childbirth. The 2003 survey of women faculty found that:

> In departments or colleges where course releases are granted, some department chairs have interpreted the policy as implying that the course release constitutes a leave, and therefore, a faculty member is not entitled to an extension of the tenure clock. (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004; 2005; 2006)

The level of departmental interpretation and decision making in how the existing policies were applied to individual cases limited the flexibility faculty perceived. Moreover, the need to negotiate for tenure extensions or paid modified duties increased the fear of backlash or reprisal for faculty members:

> As it now stands, faculty are entitled to unpaid leave only. If a faculty member wants a paid leave, modified duties, or at tenure clock stoppage, she/he must negotiate with a chair and or dean. Faculty fear requesting these benefits. They fear colleagues would have overt or covert reactions to their request and their careers would suffer as a result. (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004, p. 6)

The ability for faculty parents to successfully manage childbearing and their tenure careers is described as limited by the current climate where the:

> Ad hoc accommodations…and the climate where retaliation is rampant (e.g. a Dean offering a release from teaching for a

> faculty member to give birth…while holding faculty member hostage regarding the stopping of the tenure clock; [and] RPT committees are influenced by misperceptions regarding pregnancy leave and scholarly productivity that would not exist if there were an explicit policy. (Faculty Senate subcommittee Minutes, October 2005)

It was noted that by formalizing a paid parental leave policy that clearly articulated the right to a tenure extension following childbirth, as well as the ability to concurrently request a modification of duties, the institution could minimize the power that department chairs were perceived to wield over faculty members taking time off to care for their newborns. Likewise, a formal paid parental leave policy would shine the light on the ways that department chairs and college deans were impeding access to institutional benefits provided to faculty parents.

After 2 years of deliberations the 2005 parental leave policy proposal (PCSW, Policy Proposal, 2005) was submitted to the full Faculty Senate for review and discussion. The Faculty Senate "plays an integral part in the shared governance" of Western University (Western University Academic Senate). The senate is given authority to "participate in decisions relating to the general academic operations of the university" (Western University Academic Senate, Scope of Authority, para. 1). As such, the adoption of the formal paid parental leave policy required support from the senate prior to being forwarded to the Board of Trustees.

It should be noted that the chair of this committee wrote the majority of the memos generated by the Faculty Senate subcommittee and many of the representations presented seem to be reflective of his perspective. As a result, this analysis should not assume to be that of the entire committee nor be assumed to be the work of multiple

authors[4]. Balancing the perspective of the committee chair analysis are texts from one committee member's response to the chair memos as well as recorded committee meeting minutes. The 2-year debate and deliberations between the PCSW subcommittee and the Faculty Senate subcommittee are best captured in the following excerpt from the 2005 cover memo sent to the University Faculty Senate regarding the genesis and review of the parental leave policy proposal:

> During a period spanning two academic years, pursuant to requests from the Senate leadership, the [Faculty Senate subcommittee] has been reviewing both the general concept and the particulars of the proposal developed by the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women. (Cover Memo to Faculty Senate Executive Committee, 2005)

The author of the cover memo sent to the Faculty Senate points out that there was "sharp division on key points" between the Faculty Senate subcommittee and the PCSW subcommittee that created the most discussion over the 2 years of policy deliberations. Specifically, the author noted that the Executive Committee of the Faculty Senate had previously "requested that further work be done by both PCSW and [Faculty Senate subcommittee]" to find "common ground" regarding the adoption of a paid parental leave policy. He noted that even though the PCSW had "invested much time working with the membership of the Faculty Senate subcommittee, obtaining and responding to their commentary…[i]n the end the views of the [senate] members can best be described as internally divergent perhaps even fractured" (Legislative Background Memo, May 2006).

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[4] The Faculty Senate subcommittee minutes and memos drafted by the chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee are presumed to be official institutional correspondence given that these texts were written and submitted as part of the institutional review and deliberation process. It is recognized that these texts seemingly lack the voice of other members on the Faculty Senate subcommittee.

The key divisions seemed to be centered around the notion of adopting a "broader policy or policies under which paid leave might be allowed for reasons other than parenting of infants" and others argued that adopting the parental leave policy was a useful step towards moving towards broader policies (Legislative Background Memo, May 2006) to which the PCSW subcommittee responded:

> [w]e need to make clear the relative place of the PCSW charge. If [VP] made the charge of developing a parental leave policy, does this not mean that the University administration has identified a need for a parental leave policy, not a family leave policy? (PCSW subcommittee personal correspondence, 2005)

The deliberations seemed to reach a point where consensus on the issue would not be achieved as those who sought a broader policy would not concede to moving a policy aimed at just assisting faculty parents forward:

> Our opinion is that we have some concerns about the narrow scope of the PCSW's proposal, and about its cost (how much money will be taken away from where in order to fund the PCSW proposal?) (Faculty Senate subcommittee Memo to Executive Committee of Faculty Senate, April 11, 2005, para. 2)

Given that the Faculty Senate subcommittee could not reach a unified recommendation, the Executive Committee of the Faculty Senate was provided with "a compilation of correspondence and other documents containing those views..." (Background Memo to Faculty Senate, April 2006, p. 1).

Following review of the correspondence between the PCSW subcommittee and the Faculty Senate Salary subcommittee, the Faculty Senate voted to approve the proposed parental leave policy "in principle…with the understanding that specific features could be opened for discussion at the May [Senate] meeting" (Background

Memo, May 2006). Following the May 2006 Faculty Senate meeting, the PCSW subcommittee invited questions and suggestions from the faculty, and following review of these responses, the PCSW subcommittee made a "few minor clarifying amendments" to the draft policy.[5] The Faculty Senate suggested an edit to the description of the modification of duties as follows:

> Upon request, an eligible faculty member will be granted modified duties for one semester for faculty on nine-month appointments or an equivalent period for faculty on twelve-month appointments. The faculty member may choose to and is likely to want to continue some professional activities (e.g., meeting students, doing research, participating in hiring or RPT decisions) during the semester. (Faculty Senate subcommittee Minutes, 2006)

This will become important during the analysis of the discourse of commitment, visibility, and productivity while on leave. Faculty are given the option of determining if (and to what extent) they may "want to continue some professional activities" (Policy Background Memo, May 2006) as will be discussed further in the section on the ideology of the ideal faculty member construct. However, this language created a tension for faculty parents while using university sanctioned leave.

Faculty who used the modified duties benefit felt that their departments asked them to remain engaged in activities that at times were not overly important to scholarship, while others felt the pressure to use their time away under the modified duties benefit to focus on their scholarly productivity, which for many of the women proved to be nearly impossible.

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[5] Clarifications and revisions are marked by the strikethrough as used in the texts from which these excerpts are pulled.

Adoption and Implementation

The Faculty Senate approved the parental leave policy (*Policy 8-8-1: Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence)* on May 1, 2006. The Board of Trustees subsequently approved this policy on May 8, 2006. The initial Parental Leave Policy took effect July 1, 2006. The 2006 adopted policy allowed eligible faculty—defined by the policy as tenure track faculty—the option for requesting modified duties for one semester. In the end, this provision stated that "[t]he faculty member will be released from professional duties during this period, but may choose to continue some professional activities (e.g., meeting students, doing research, participating in hiring or RPT decisions)." At that time, eligible faculty were provided the option of extending their tenure and promotion period for 1 year per event up to two birth/adoption events with approval of the Senior Vice President" (University Regulation 8-8-1, 2006) provided that faculty parents selected this extension within 3 months of the arrival of the child. This limitation on the tenure extension is discussed further in the policy evaluation section.

During the May 2006 Faculty Senate meeting the question was raised as to whether the institution could remove the expectation that faculty birth mothers certify their primary caregiver status. After 2 months on the institutional books (2006), a request was sent to the University Office of General Counsel to review a proposed amendment to the policy which would require "faculty members who apply for leave but who are not the biological mother of a newborn to sign a form certifying that they will be the primary caregiver of their newborn…" (Legal Analysis Memorandum, July 28, 2006).

The legal analysis determined that this proposed amendment, which would require all primary caregivers, with the exception of the birth mother, to certify their role

as caregiver "could be challenged on the grounds that it violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Constitution, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or [the State's] Anti-Discrimination Act.

In sum, this analysis found that the proposed amendment to the policy could be found to discriminate on the "basis of sex…because it is caregiving leave that imposes additional requirements on biological fathers that are not imposed on biological mothers" (Legal Analysis Memorandum, July 28, 2006). Therefore, it was recommended that the University could either eliminate the certification of caregiving for nonbirth mothers altogether, or the university could require that "everyone seeking to utilize the policy including biological mothers sign the policy" (Legal Analysis Memorandum, July 28, 2006).

Revisions

In March 2007, following the legal analysis of the primary caregiver language, the Office of the Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs submitted a proposal to revise the 2006 policy language to address the various questions that arose over the first year of implementation including a move towards a more gender-neutral policy which separated disability leave (as outlined in the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (1978)) and caregiving leave. The gender-neutral separation of disability and caregiving leave aimed to treat men and women equitably in terms of caregiving leave, while still preserving the protections for birth mothers under the Pregnancy Discrimination Act via disability leave.

According to the memorandum which accompanied the policy revisions, "[a] primary objective of the revisions is to clarify that the benefits of the policy may be based

on one of two premises…either that the faculty member is serving as primary caregiver of a child (caregiving leave), or is the birth mother and therefore qualifies for benefits based on the well-established federal law premise of a disabling condition" (Legislative History Materials, March, 2007). To establish a clear differentiation between the two potential cases for eligibility, the revised policy language offered the following definition for both the "primary caregiver" and for "disability or care-giving leave"[6]:

> ~~E. "Primary caregiver"~~ H: "Primary caregiver" for purposes of an extension of the review timetable means a faculty member who provides the majority of child contact hours during time that the faculty member would normally spend on productive scholarly pursuits for a period of at least 15 weeks. "Primary caregiver" for purposes of care-giving leave means a faculty member who provides the majority of child contact hours during the faculty member's regular academic working hours for a period of at least 15 weeks." (Proposed revisions of PPM 8-8-1, February 2007, p. 7)
>
> 2. Disability leave benefits and the resulting modified duties under this policy are available to an eligible faculty member who gives birth to a child within the semester for which leave is sought or within four weeks before the beginning of that semester. (Proposed revisions of PPM 8-8-1, February 2007, p. 8)

The addition of the disability leave language "is based on an application of established federal law…that birth-associated disability persists for six weeks" (Legislative History, March 2007, p. 3). Adding this language aimed to simplify the "administration of the policy without requiring a detailed examination of the circumstances of each birth" and address the issue of ensuring that birth mothers who give birth "four weeks before the semester start date" are provided with "disabled status for at least the first two weeks of

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[6] Changes to policy language are extracted directly from the 2007 revisions and changes are marked by the Associate Vice President and strikethrough. These markings are replicated here identically to how they were presented in the actual texts.

classes" (Legislative History, March 2007, p. 3). In addition to revising the paid parental leave policy, the proposed revisions submitted in 2007 also sought to align the institution's policy on the award of tenure:

> [T]o parallel the birth-mother disability policy, by allowing for an extension to the pretenure probationary period for a faculty member who has a 'serious health condition' (defined by federal legal standards) requiring at least six weeks of continuous leave. (Legislative History, March 2007, p. 1)

Additionally, the 2007 revisions addressed the extension of the pretenure probationary period for faculty on 9-month appointments; explanation for setting the length of leave period; clarification on eligibility of academic librarians; and allowance for use of a prorated leave formula for faculty on 12-month appointments.

In addition to clarifying eligibility, the 2007 revisions revised the modification of duties benefit to reflect that modified duties included the ability to "be released from professional duties during this period" (Proposed revisions of PPM 8-8-1, February 2007, p. 9). These requested changes were accepted and became part of the 2007 revised policy 8-8-1. In addition to these proposed changes, the 2007 revisions proposed removing the maximum of two events from both the modification of duties and the tenure extension sections:

> A faculty member will automatically receive modified duties no more than twice. Any subsequent request will be subject to the approval of the cognizant senior vice president. (Proposed revisions of PPM 8-8-1, February 2007, p. 9)

> A faculty member will automatically receive this extension no more than twice. Any subsequent requests will be subject to the approval of the cognizant vice president. (Proposed revisions of PPM 8-8-1, February 2007, p. 10)

These changes were moved to their own section in the 2007 revised policy eligibility section:

> 7. A faculty member will automatically receive parental leave benefits no more than twice. Any subsequent requests for benefits in conjunction with additional instances of birth or adoption will be subject to the approval of the cognizant senior vice president. (Policy 8-8-1, 2007, p. 3)

Finally, the 2007 version of the policy included a requirement that the "implementation and the fiscal impact of the parental leave policy…be reviewed in 3 years from the original date of passage which was May 2006" (Legislative Background Parental Leave Policy Revision 1, 2007).

Policy Evaluation

Formal evaluation of the paid parental leave policy began Spring 2010 and was led by one of the institution's policy centers. The evaluation of the policy addressed both the implementation and impact of the parental leave policy since adoption in 2006. The evaluation of the policy employed a mixed method design and collected data via web-based surveys that were distributed to all university tenure track faculty members. In addition, the evaluation used group and individual interviews to explore the experiences of faculty who had taken leave; perceptions of faculty and leadership regarding the parental leave policy; and finally to understand the implementation strategies used by departments. Between 2007 and 2010, 51 tenure track faculty members had used the benefits provided to them via the formal parental leave policy (Rorrer & Allie, 2011).[7]

[7] The researcher and advisor for this dissertation are Rorrer and Allie (2011). Initial intent to evaluate the parental leave policy at the institution was presented and approved by dissertation committee at program of study meeting, Spring 2009.

Upon completion of the formal evaluation, the Policy Center put forward several recommendations, including a proposal to separate the benefits provided via the policy into leaves of absence with modified duties and extensions of the RPT probationary period as a means of ensuring that "an eligible faculty member may take either one without the other or both" (Legislative History, 2011). In addition to clarifying that faculty may choose to both modify their duties and take a tenure extension, the proposed revisions extended the "amount of time in which a faculty member may…request a tenure clock extension" (Legislative History, 2011).

As noted previously, the 2006 policy allowed faculty members to take leave without extending their clock, but maintain their right to do so, as long as they made a decision within 3 months of the arrival of the child. The formal evaluation of the policy suggested that the short time frame for making this decision might further disadvantage faculty parents given that "parents may underestimate the time demands of having a child" (Rorrer & Allie, 2011).

The argument put forward by the policy evaluation team, was that by the time new faculty parents realized they should (or needed to) extend their tenure clocks, the 3 months allowed to them via the policy could have easily elapsed. The policy officer noted that the feedback received from the evaluation of the policy suggested that "in those first 3 months the new parent may be so focused on the baby that the faculty member could easily forget about that deadline" (Legislative History, 2011, pp. 4-5). Furthermore, there seemed to be no institutional structure in place to ensure that new faculty parents were reminded of this expectation prior to the expiration of the 3-month timeframe. Therefore, it was suggested that the policy be revised to allow new parents to make this decision

within the "six months following the child's arrival or before the steps begin for the first formal review following the leave of absence" (Legislative History, 2011, p. 5).

After a series of meetings with the Executive Committee of the Faculty Senate, a recommendation was made to shift and clarify the "nomenclature of…the faculty member eligible for benefits." The Policy Center recommended shifting this term to a more neutral term "eligible care-giver." As outlined above, the policy used the term "primary care-giver" to establish parameters for eligibility based on the amount of time spent on child-care during the semester faculty were on leave.

The 2011 Academic Senate legislative history noted that this change in nomenclature allowed for the consideration of whether "faculty member is a single parent with 50% or greater custody, or…although both parents reside with the child the other parent is unavailable to provide the majority of contact hours" (p. 5). It was noted that a more neutral definition of eligibility would "give potential applicants fair notice of factors taken into account…for determining that the applicant will be providing the majority of care-giving" (p. 5). Finally, the 2011 policy revisions shifted the name of the policy slightly to include both the benefit of leave of absence and the tenure review: "Policy 6-315: Faculty Parental Benefits – Leaves of Absence with Modified Duties and Review Extensions" (Policy 6-315, July 2011, p. 1). The intent was to clearly label the policy as a benefit provided to faculty parents, which entitled them to both the ability to request a modified schedule and a tenure clock extension.

The Faculty Senate approved the proposed revisions May 2, 2011 and the revisions were enacted July 1, 2011. For more details on the specific revisions and drafts of the formal paid parental leave policy refer to Appendix B.

Defining the Policy Problem

To begin this section, I describe how the PCSW subcommittee, Faculty Senate subcommittee and the faculty narratives framed the rationale for the paid parental leave as an institutional imperative in competing for and recruiting and retaining the "best and the brightest faculty" (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo, 2004; 2005; 2006). In addition, the parental leave policy was described as a necessary institutional response to the challenges faced by faculty mothers in navigating the existing tenure structure and childbearing with "…almost 60% of the women having children while on our faculty report[ing] some sort of negative experience" (PCSW Policy Proposal Cover Memo, 2004). This framing situated the parental leave policy as a strategy to be used by the institution to compete in the larger higher education market for the best and the brightest faculty as well as address the challenges of access for women, particularly those who are parents. The availability of the policy is further described as a means of improving the likelihood that women on tenure track have a reasonable chance of tenure and promotion.

Recruiting and Retaining the "Best and Brightest"

The justification for adopting the paid parental leave policy was framed as essential (if not critical) to the preservation of the academy. It was assumed that "the University is best served by policies that allow it to attract and retain the best possible faculty given its resources" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Member Response, February 2005). The texts signaled to the importance of having a specific policy that is not only competitive with other institutions, but also make clear that the policy also needed to be clear if the institution wished to access and retain these highly qualified faculty members.

As such, the adoption of a formal paid parental leave policy was positioned as a response to the market in which, if the institution wished to remain competitive, it "must adopt a 1 or 2-semester 100% paid parental leave policy" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Member Response, February 2005). In fact, the PCSW subcommittee argued that (2004; 2005; 2006) the ability to compete for faculty in the shifting academic market is intrinsically linked to the quality of the institution's parental leave policy[8]:

> Faculty recruitment and retention: A comprehensive set of work and family policies will be an essential tool in bringing the best and brightest to [Western University] to assure its continuing academic excellence. The [University] lags behind many of its peer institutions in regard to parental leave policy… The success and quality of new hires may be influenced by the quality of our parental leave policy. (PCSW Working Policy Draft, May 3, 2003) [emphasis added]

The availability of a parental leave policy was described as part of the institutional structure needed to ensure sustainability of the mission of academic excellence and "having a competitive clear parental leave policy is important in attracting and retaining highly qualified faculty" (Faculty Response to Faculty Senate Report, November 30, 2005, p. 9), particularly women faculty:

> The PCSW proposal will help in *recruiting high quality women to our faculty* and it will increase our chances of r*etaining talented women faculty members once they are here.* (PCSW Policy Proposal Memos, 2004; 2005; 2006) [emphasis added]

[8] The text regarding the goals and rationale for the PCSW's Parental Leave Policy proposals remained the same across the 2004, 2005 and 2006 proposals. The framing of the rationale and purpose of this policy is analyzed against the 2004 PCSW policy proposal given that the policy authors did not alter the text regarding the goals of recruitment and retention nor the creation of a hospitable climate for women over the course of the policy process.

Having a parental leave policy was essential in competing for high level faculty as noted by the Faculty Senate subcommittee chair: "I share the belief that 'the University is best served by policies that allow it to attract and retain the best possible faculty given its resources'" (Faculty Senate subcommittee rejoinder to committee response, February 2006). The PCSW subcommittee and the Faculty Senate subcommittee both agreed with the basic premise that parental leave is integral to the recruitment of bright faculty and that overall, the parental leave policy was generally viewed as "good for recruitment" (Policy Evaluation, Faculty Response, 2010). This belief was at the core of the recommendation that the institution adopt a formal paid parental leave policy. Particularly for fields that were not able to recruit and keep women, a parental leave policy could serve to boost their ability to recruit women:

> …so one thing our department has been noted…for the number of women we have in our department. So even if I was not to have any kids, *I think that's really valuable for us in terms of recruitment.* (Sadie, Faculty Interview, April 2010) [emphasis added]

The PCSW parental leave policy proposal was positioned as necessary if the institution wished to tap into the pipeline and access the "best and brightest" to the institution (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004; 2005; 2006, p. 1). The parental leave policy is conceptualized as an institutional structure, or a powerful tool and will "give [the institution] a real advantage [in] recruiting candidates*"* (Parental Evaluation Faculty Response, 2010).

The importance of having a formal paid parental leave policy is described by one faculty member as essential in "attracting and retaining productive women faculty" (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003). This same faculty member further lamented

that the lack of a formal policy positioned the University "SORELY BEHIND"[9] in the ability to compete for these faculty, and described the lack of a policy as an "embarrassment" (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003). This view of faculty who used the parental leave policy echoes the initial intent put forward by the PCSW subcommittee in 2004.

Although having a formal policy on the shelf is a good start, in order to ensure that the policy met the intended goal of aiding in the recruitment of top faculty, the policy must be used to shift the academic culture. In the 2010 Policy Evaluation Leadership survey, one department chair argued the department, "collectively through our labor and our resources attempt to provide the social insurance for the variety of joyful events and hard blows which inevitably befall our colleagues over a lifetime of service…" and that makes the university a "better place to work which means we can retain the best of the best…and we can promote a healthy productive work environment" (Parental Leave Evaluation Leadership Response, 2010). For instance, as described by a member of the Faculty Senate subcommittee, "…new generation[s] of academics coming up through the pipeline [are] seeking institutions that allow for healthy balance and integration of professional and personal roles" (Faculty Senate subcommittee member response, April 2005).

This presumption is described in the following excerpt from the PCSW subcommittee notes on why a policy focused solely on aiding new parents who needed at the time "predictability…makes parenting much more related to recruitment…people know they want to start family and seek an institution that supports them" (PCSW

[9] Emphasis and use of word capitalization is taken directly from the survey response.

Personal Correspondence, November 2005). The PCSW subcommittee goes on to suggest that:

> Women faculty members, and increasingly, young male *faculty members take parental leave policies into account as they choose academic jobs*. In a competitive market for the best young faculty, we need such a policy. (PCSW Parental Leave Policy Background Memo, May 2006) [emphasis added]

The notion that faculty seek institutions with parental leave policies is also noted by a member of the Faculty Senate subcommittee who notes that "many women desire children, they will prefer institutions with more favorable parental leave policies. Thus, those institutions with such policies will have access to a superior pool of talent" (Faculty Senate Memo, November 2005).

Augmenting the notion that faculty routinely seek institutions that allow them to balance their personal and professional roles, Harold describes how the availability of the parental leave policy impacted his own decision making process of whether to join the faculty at Western University:

> I think as I said when I kind of first came here this was *a huge factor in recruiting me and retaining me*…It was absolutely *one of the major factors in deciding to come here and deciding to stay here.* (Harold, Faculty Interviews, April 2010) [emphasis added]

Likewise, another faculty member who responded to the 2010 Policy Evaluation Survey noted that without the availability of the policy they would have had to "pursue[d] jobs closer to [their] families" (Faculty Survey, 2010), and as illustrated in the following excerpt from the 2010 policy evaluation, the availability of the policy does become a factor for some faculty members in terms of what institutions they choose to join, as well as whether they choose to remain at that institution:

> This is such a great policy, I wholeheartedly endorse it. It was a major factor in deciding to accept my offer…*and another major factor in deciding to stay…in light of an offer from a different University* (they did not have as good a leave). (Parental Evaluation Faculty Response, 2010)

Alex, a tenure track faculty father who used the parental leave policy, described how the policy was used to sell the University to him: "yeah… it wasn't just explained to me but it was sold to me as a reason to come to the University" (Alex, Faculty Interviews, April 2010). Alex goes on to note that: "[the policy] was a big reason I came here, that the parental leave here was better than everywhere else." Likewise, one department chair in his response to the 2010 Policy Evaluation survey described an incident whereby the successful retention of one of their valued male faculty members was at risk if the department did "not accommodate his needs," specifically allowing him to access a parental leave policy to accommodate childrearing during his pretenure probationary period. This department chair goes on to note that although part of his focus is on retaining this faculty member, the parental leave benefit is also important in allowing the faculty member to "be a healthier person" by allowing him to "participate in the birth of his first child rather than be stuck here teaching" (Policy Evaluation Survey Leadership Response, 2010). These excerpts indicate that the presuppositions made in the policy texts regarding the ability of the policy to aid in the recruitment and retention of highly talented faculty have permeated the individual level discourse at the institution.

However, even though the availability of the formal parental leave policy is framed by the PCSW subcommittee, the Faculty Senate subcommittee, and the faculty members as an institutional strategy to facilitate the recruitment and retention of the "best and the brightest" faculty scholars, the PCSW has continued to posit that "[p]olicy is not

enough" (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo, 2004; 2005; 2006, p. 6). Specifically, they argue that:

> Faculty, administrators, and observers across the country find that parental leave *policy is not enough* to successfully address issues related to parental leave such as encouraging performance, retention, and employee satisfaction. (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004; 2005; 2006, p. 6) [emphasis added]

The PCSW subcommittee described the various challenges on implementation of these policies, citing the *Chronicle of Higher Education* including how the "lack of knowledge about policy inhibits employees from utilizing [policies]" (p. 6). In terms of whether the policy improves recruitment and retention of faculty, several faculty members responding to the 2010 policy evaluation survey noted that they were "new to the department" (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation Survey, 2010) or that they "haven't been here long enough" (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation Survey, 2010) to know about the parental leave policy. Conversely, when asked how departmental faculty were made aware of the existence of the paid parental leave policy one department chair responded that he "was not sure" and likewise, another chair reported that faculty are told about the policy at the "faculty benefits orientation" which occurs after faculty have been successfully recruited and appointed to the institution (Policy Evaluation Leadership Survey Response, 2010).

In terms of when the policy is employed as a recruitment strategy, one department chair noted that the policy is usually just "discussed as the issue arises" (Policy Evaluation Leadership Survey Response, 2010). This chair goes on to suggest, that while it is only discussed as the issue arises, it is "generally understood and supported by all faculty" (Policy Evaluation Leadership Survey Response, 2010). Another department chair described how he distributed the policy "to relevant faculty…as needed" (Policy

Evaluation Leadership Survey Response, 2010), which is also illustrated in the multiple responses which infer that the policy is only discussed as needed or "when someone gets pregnant" or "when a faculty member is expecting" (Policy Evaluation Leadership Survey Response, 2010). These responses raise the question of the extent to which the policy can be and is used as a recruitment strategy.

Creation of Policy to Mitigate Challenges of Tenure, Pregnancy, and Childrearing

> *The fundamental premise for my support is that having children severely disadvantages women in their career progress. Yet, in many cases, biology works against delaying childbearing until one is fully established and tenured…In the most common case of parental leave, pregnancy and birth, there is an almost universal dramatic physical impact on the faculty member. (April 2005 Faculty Senate subcommittee Report)*

The policy texts and faculty narratives framed the parental leave policy as an organizational response needed to keep up with the competitive higher education market and ensure that the institution could access and retain the "best and the brightest" core of faculty. However, this framing is positioned against the need to address the current challenges faced by tenure-track mothers signaling to the parental leave policy as a means for redressing the "hazardous" (Faculty Senate Response, November, 2005) environment for faculty mothers.

In the formal policy proposal, the PCSW subcommittee suggested that these tensions are particularly relevant for women tenure track faculty given that the "years required to obtain tenure-track faculty positions pushes them far into family-starting period (i.e., the "biological clock")" (PCSW Parental Leave Correspondence, 2005) and

that "young tenure-track faculty are uniquely burdened by a clash between the tenure clock and family-building..." (PCSW Background Memo, May 2006). Namely, the biology of childbearing often competes with the pressure to get established and become tenured.

In the 2004 policy proposal, the PCSW subcommittee pointed to previous research done on the effects of childbearing on faculty career progress noting that "for men, high familial gains in the form of marriage and children are associated with future high career gains…for women, high familial gains are associated with future low career gains" (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo, May 2004, citing Mason and Goulden (2002)). The potential for the tenure structure to "derail careers" of women is described as linked to the presumed impact that childbearing and child rearing has on faculty careers:

> …there is substantial evidence that, for whatever reason, *producing children has been hazardous to career progress for faculty women.* (Faculty Senate subcommittee response to Committee Chair, November, 2005) [emphasis added]

Having children was described as something that seriously impacts the success of women on the tenure track, and consequently "childbearing has been very costly to women faculty" (Faculty Senate subcommittee, April 6, 2005).

The characterization of the tenure structure and timeline as disadvantageous to female faculty careers is also described by Rose (Faculty Interview, April, 2010) who suggested that the policy is useful in terms of "level[ing] the playing field…" given that "every study suggests that women are disadvantaged." Therefore, if the institution wishes to attract women into the academy, the institution needs to adopt formal policies that allow them to balance these roles, "[g]iven that many women desire children, they will prefer institutions with more favorable parental leave policies" (Faculty Senate

subcommittee Faculty Member Response, April 6, 2005). The following comment from a Faculty Senate subcommittee member highlights how the physical demands of pregnancy are often put at odds with the existing tenure structure:

> Women who experience pregnancy, childbirth, and the early nurturing of a newborn baby suffer *physical consequences that almost invariably disrupt their productivity for an extended period of time*...It is not hard to think of situations where a person could take an extended family leave yet focus on research productivity while another *faculty member is completely stymied in her productivity because of the rigors of maternity*. (Response to Faculty Senate subcommittee, November 2005)

Pregnancy is described as both emotionally and physically limiting in terms of sustaining one's productivity. In other words, the justification for supporting the paid parental leave policy was grounded in the physiological and emotional impact that the "rigors of maternity" have on the ability to attend to the institutional expectations and obligations, which for tenure track faculty is assumed to infer maintaining focus on research productivity, particularly for mothers who equate pregnancy and childbirth akin to being "run over by a Mack truck" (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation Survey, Faculty Response, 2010). Another faculty member also described the physiological impact that childbirth has on women and the effect that these changes have on sustaining one's tenure trajectory:

> It's *your brain affected by the hormonal changes.* It's you doing the breastfeeding as long as you can. So, that part has to be recognized, right? So, whether there has been a specific empirical study trying to look at those cases, I'm not sure, but – you know, again, *back to women relying on the luck factor.* (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation Survey, Faculty Response, 2010)

The above excerpts highlight the physical and emotional impact that pregnancy and childbirth has on tenure track faculty mothers. However, the PCSW subcommittee policy proposals suggested that there was something much more problematic for women in terms of balancing their tenure careers and parenthood.

As noted in the previous section, the PCSW subcommittee noted that many women tenure track faculty members at Western University had reported some type of "negative experience" with balancing their tenure career and childbirth (PCSW Policy Proposal Cover Memo, May 2004). As a result, the parental leave policy was framed as a means of minimizing what the PCSW and several of the women faculty surveyed in 2003 described as the "inhospitable climate for women" (PCSW, Policy Proposal Memo, 2004; 2005; 2006).

The experiences of women navigating tenure and parenting is best described by this female faculty member who illustrates how the time and energy needed to even begin to think about childbearing have the potential to impact faculty careers, primarily in terms of the time and energy one has left to devote to scholarly pursuits:[10]

> Having been through the many facets of having children, including trying to get pregnant, pregnancy, birth, nursing, and a number of miscarriages along the way (and, following the miscarriages many, many visits to specialists and for extra appointments to closely monitor subsequent pregnancies, and hours spent trying to park at [the] hospital!), there is no question about the short and medium term impact of having children on a mother's (and potentially father's) productivity. If this means that we don't want childbearing women as a part of university faculty, then so be it. If, on the other hand, female childbearing faculty are a valuable part of the institution and culture, then I feel that changes in policy

[10] These faculty excerpts are compiled from the 2003 PCSW survey distributed to all tenure track women faculty members. Their responses are based on experiences prior to the adoption of the formal paid parental leave policy.

> and attitude need to be made. (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003) [emphasis added]

Taking time to even consider childbirth comes at a cost to a faculty member's productivity, whether they are male or female. In addition, another faculty respondent described how the culture and beliefs within the department potentially created a climate whereby women are told that they can be mothers, however, doing so and requesting any assistance could result in potential backlash:

> I had a child 3 weeks before the start of the semester and was scheduled for a full load that semester and was also appointed chair of the faculty recruiting committee. My department chair told me that *while I could request unpaid leave, I would not be respected if I did so.* (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003) [emphasis added]

The justification for the adoption of a parental leave policy is consequently linked to the caregiver bias for mothers. This particular respondent did not explicitly state why she would not be respected. It is presumed that the reader of the survey would link the perceived lack of respect to the conflict between parenting on the tenure track. The PCSW subcommittee signals to these "inconsistently applied practices" in the following description of how existing institutional policies regarding extending the tenure clock and requesting an unpaid leave following childbirth (or other medical leaves) are insufficient:

> There is no specific mechanism for appealing that decision and it is *difficult for a junior faculty member to risk the wrath of her or his department chair during the probationary period."* (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004; 2005; 2006) [emphasis added]

As noted in the policy archeology section, prior to the adoption of a formal parental leave, faculty who had attempted to use the tenure extension policy faced departmental cultures which were not always supportive of faculty members' use of the

benefit, resulting in inequitable treatment of faculty parents (as illustrated in the above excerpts from the 2003 PCSW Survey and in the excerpts from Sadie's interview (2010)). Although the institution had policies allowing faculty to request unpaid leave, mainly through the federal FMLA program, the choice to do so would come at the cost of the respect of one's peers.

Faculty described getting the sense that any decisions to have children should come after demonstrating their ability to *earn* tenure. This perception resulted in faculty thinking that choosing to have a family prior to earning tenure would result in negative evaluation by peers, which is illustrated in the following comment from the faculty narratives:

> Essentially, I felt several members of the *faculty would not support a pregnancy*, with or without leave, as it would likely represent an interruption in scholarly productivity. I gathered that *any decision to have children before tenure would be seen by my colleagues as a demonstration of questionable priorities* and thus came to the conclusion that the risk was too great before tenure. (Kim, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

This faculty member described how her colleagues' perceptions affected her perceived sense of agency to request any exceptions to the existing tenure model to accommodate for childbirth. Another faculty member recalled comments from colleagues surrounding the presumed management of tenure and parenting, namely the postponement of childbirth until one has attained tenure: "I waited until after tenure to have kids" (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation Survey, Faculty Response, 2010).

The tension of navigating the dual roles of professor and mother is further illustrated in the following faculty narrative excerpt, where Sadie described feeling that she could not do both and therefore: "waited until…[my] record was solid enough…and

felt [I] could stop and at least take a little bit of a break and have a child" (Sadie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Sadie, a tenured senior faculty member who had her child prior to the adoption of the formal paid parental leave policy, highlights how the actions of department chairs not only violated the intent of the then policy which allowed her unpaid time and a tenure extension, but how she responded to the expectation that she continue teaching following the birth of her child:

> So, my chair at first wanted me to teach that semester, and I said that I wasn't teaching right after I had a baby, that they would have to get somebody else to fill in, and if that's the kind of class they wanted, with professors popping in and out of class, then that was their choice, but I was not gonna be teaching right after I had a baby…he released me from teaching, and I asked about the tenure clock at that time, and he told me that *you couldn't get your tenure clock delayed if you took time off, or had a baby.* (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Sadie's experience further illustrates the challenges outlined by the PCSW regarding the rationale for a formal paid parental leave policy including the need to address the previously discussed "inhospitable climate for women" and to minimize the "inconsistently applied practice[s]" by departments and colleges (PCSW, Policy Proposal Memo, 2004; 2005; 2006).

Further underscoring the tensions of navigating motherhood and tenure, the following faculty member recounts a recent conversation with a junior female faculty colleague "in her 30s dithering over the notion of having a child when midstream in the tenure process...with few models for how to pull this off, she was quite confused and sort of disposed to not start even thinking about this til {sic} in her late 30s" (Patricia, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Patricia went on to suggest, that from the junior faculty member's perspective, it is not just the tension of competing biological and tenure

clocks, but that the idea of even considering requesting institutional assistance in navigating motherhood and tenure was "unprofessional" (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

Although these texts seem to paint a very clear picture about how assumptions about parenting while pretenure may negatively impact women's tenure track experiences and progression, this position was contested. The Chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee argued that the only way to reach the conclusion that women were more disadvantaged in the tenure process because of childbearing "is to assert that 'giving birth and providing neonatal care'…severely disadvantages women… [y]et there is simply no evidence in the record that 'giving birth and neonatal care' is any more destructive to women's careers than more time-extensive challenges…" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Memo, February 2006). He goes on to question the assumption that the adoption of the parental leave policy will not aid "women in sciences and engineering." He argued that women in these fields, who presumably "need the most help" and which he classified as the "most disadvantaged" in the existing tenure climate, would not benefit from the modified teaching schedule, given that their primary work is centered in research labs that cannot be placed on hold due to childbirth (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Memo, February 2006). More specifically, he posited that the focus of the parental leave on providing "teaching relief is of no benefit to these vulnerable women and men who have no practical choice but to continue supervising their laboratories, and in some cases, seeing their patients." The solution is not in giving them time off from their duties for one semester, but rather he argued that these "vulnerable" women would benefit more from

"long-term relief from part of their duties—such as switching to part time employment" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Memo, February 2006).

Given the conditions for faculty parents prior to the adoption of a formal parental leave policy, the parental leave policy was viewed as necessary for creating a "climate within which perceptions of unfairness would be minimized" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Minutes, October 2005). To accomplish this, the policy is framed as a way of establishing explicit institutional structures to ensure that benefits for faculty parents are applied consistently, fairly, and without unfair interpretation. Therefore, the PCSW policy proposals included specific language to situate the benefits as automatic entitlements for faculty parents:

> Policy regarding retention, promotion and tenure should indicate that faculty are automatically entitled to a stop in the tenure clock. This would address the problem of fear of retribution… (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004)

The parental leave policy is positioned as a way of reducing the unfair treatment and evaluation of faculty parents by limiting the "space for people weighing in on tenure or evaluations, or tenure clock extensions" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Minutes, October 2005). The need for ensuring that the tenure clock extension were automatic is backgrounded by the previously described discourse of the ideal faculty member:

> I think that everybody instead of just saying 'oh, you're so overeager, over-zealous, and you can do it, but you can't somehow you're less' and so I think that it should be worked into the policy that it's an automatic stop. (Stephanie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The adoption of a paid parental leave policy is framed as a way of establishing institutional structures that ensure these benefits are interpreted correctly, applied equitably, and viewed as clear entitlements by all organizational members including

faculty members, department chairs, and other administrators, primarily through establishing time away and time off the clock as not only automatic, but legitimate entitlements, which as illustrated in the following excerpt from the 2004 Women's Commission proposal can then be used to combat intentional or unintentional bias, primarily by holding chairs and administrators accountable for their denial of the benefit:

> Policy regarding retention, promotion and tenure should indicate that faculty are automatically entitled to a stop in the tenure clock. This would address the problem of fear of retribution by implicating chairs and other administrators in the act of denying a benefit. (PCSW Proposal for Parental Leave, May 2004)

Using policy language that situates the benefit as an entitlement would serve to reduce the level of negotiation or perceived backlash for faculty parents. The policy would allow for the institution to shine light on the ways that leaders might sustain the status quo as illustrated in the following faculty narrative:

> And if you have a chair who…and I assume one reason for the policy, first, it's nice getting paid, right? I assume that even more important than getting paid is it doesn't become an issue if you have a chair that's not supportive. That you can go to the chair and say, 'Look, this is a dysfunctional department I know, but I get leave and you can't make me come in. That's not how this works.' And I think that's one of the reasons to codify the policy. (Sadie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Claire further suggested that having a policy on the shelf allowed for her to "feel more confident about getting tenure" (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Feeling "entitled to take time off" (Claire, April 2010) as well as knowing that everyone in the department "knows I went on leave and it was sanctioned by the University" provided faculty with a sense of legitimacy as parent-scholars. The power of formal parental leave policies amongst the increasing number of scholars who are seeking balance is evidenced

in the perceived authority or legitimacy to signal to the policy as an entitlement as described in the following excerpt whereby the availability of the formal parental leave policy eliminates the need to justify or defend how faculty spend their time:

> Just the fact that everyone knows I went on leave and it was sanctioned by the university, that just makes a big difference right there. It just gets rid of any concern about that being an inappropriate way of spending time. (Kim, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The availability of and access to the policy is presumed to impact the overall climate of the institution, and as the following excerpt suggests, the more faculty who feel confident in their rights to integrate tenure and childbearing and childrearing, the more normative the model for flexibility becomes:

> Because it's policy, it makes it more accepted, and people might grumble a little bit but I think that it makes them act differently. I think it makes it seem like having a baby is the norm, not the exception, and taking time for that. So, I think that it could have given me more time, or if I didn't take more time, it could also have definitely changed the culture. I think partly because my tenure case was so painful, but also because there's a policy that nobody bats an eye about babies being born in this department now. (Amy, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Becoming a parent pretenure is presumed to result in a reframing of time away and time off the tenure clock as normative. The adoption of the parental leave policy in and of itself provides a sense of legitimacy for faculty to step forward and challenge the historic assumptions surrounding what it means to earn tenure, and as the above excerpts suggest, having the policy formally on the shelf provides a greater sense of legitimacy in taking the time away.

Faculty can look to the institutional policy to legitimatize their time away and the policy served as a way of normalizing time spent on caregiving. However, as Kate

commented, even with the policy on the books, the assumptions about what it means to earn tenure, and be perceived as an ideal faculty member may impact faculty decisions related to taking "advantage of the leave for a semester" and faculty may still feel the pressure and need to "think really hard about extending [their] clock" (Kate, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). The use of the policy to create a sense of legitimacy for parent scholars over time may serve to create a more normative organizational space within which parent-scholars feel they can fully integrate their public and private roles without fear of reprisal, penalty, or judgment of their competence or commitment as scholars.

This section has provided analysis of the dominant framing of the policy problem via the policy texts. The construct and ideologies of the tenure structure described in this section as not only problematic but hazardous to the careers of faculty mothers are further explored and analyzed in the following section regarding the (re)construction of the ideal faculty member. In the following sections, I build on this framing of the policy problem and look to discursive strategies and construction of tenure and parenting via the use of the gendered cultural models and ideologies, which may further sustain or challenge the construction of parent-scholars. The notion of using the policy to create space for parent-scholars to feel entitled to the flexibility provided to them via the parental leave policy is further explored in subsequent sections that demonstrate the ways that the policy language attempts to legitimize time away and time off from institutional obligations.

Discursive Practices

This study aimed to understand how the institutional policy discourse of a parental leave policy may sustain or challenge the meaning of tenure for faculty parents. As such, one of the purposes is to understand the discursive practices employed by the authors of the policy texts as well as the individual faculty members in producing, distributing and consuming the discourse of tenure and parenthood. As outlined in Chapter 3, this section focuses on how power, ideology, and cultural models serve in the construction of the parent-scholar subjectivity.

This section begins with an exploration of how the institution and individual discourse constructs tenure, including discussion of how tenure was presented prior to the adoption of the parental leave policy in 2006 and how the construction of tenure was sustained or challenged during the drafting, adoption and implementation stages. In particular this section explores how the institution come to understand what it means to balance both the professor and parent subjectivities simultaneously and how the construction of the integrated parent-scholar subjectivity via parental leave policy serves to sustain or challenge the status quo for faculty parents.

Ideal Faculty Norms: The Committed, Present, and Productive Scholar

> *"You didn't plan this well. This really puts a burden on our faculty." When I returned, I had to prove myself by taking on extra work and never bring up the fact that I gave birth to two children and only took off 12 weeks. (PCSW Survey Response, 2003)*

This section begins within an exploration of the language used across the texts to frame and reframe the construct(s) and meaning(s) for earning tenure using the discourse

of commitment, productivity, and visibility. The opening statement from the 2003 PCSW faculty mother climate survey provides a glimpse into how the construction of the ideal faculty member resulted in tension for faculty parents who chose to take time away from the institution for childbearing and childrearing. Particularly, this excerpt highlights how childbearing and childrearing are constructed as placing an undue burden on one's colleagues. The rationale and adoption of a formal parental leave policy is framed as an institutional structure aimed at minimizing the potential backlash for faculty parents. However, the chair of the faculty senate subcommittee argued that a parental leave policy would not minimize this backlash because it would place "…all the costs on colleagues and students and none on the faculty member taking the leave" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Response to PCSW Parental Leave Proposal, 2005).

The fear of overburdening one's colleagues is then presumed to result in even more retaliation against faculty parents. The burden that one places on colleagues and students is described as creating a climate in which faculty who are not eligible for such leave are left to pick up the workload of faculty parents. The chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee added that consideration must be given for the "sacrifices made by the colleagues and students" when faculty choose take time off from the institution:

> *Colleagues sacrifice* by making a lower salary, to the extent that leaves are financed through a salary skim…Colleagues may also be called upon to sacrifice by having to cover the classes of the person on leave. Alternatively, *students will suffer* if no tenured or tenure-track professor is teaching their course…(Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Response to PCSW Parental Leave Proposal, 2005) [emphasis added]

The chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee argued that the use of the parental leave policy would result in stalling the progress of the graduate students. Yet, the faculty

interviewed for this study indicated the importance that they placed on maintaining focus on the progress of graduate students while on leave. While planning for leave, many of the faculty members recalled setting clear expectations to "plan to still be supervising…grad students… to get them to graduate"(Amy, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). The importance of sustaining work with graduate students during parental leave was also discussed by Kim:

> That didn't affect any of the grad students. I maintained all of my committee assignments, so that didn't…it's not like my dissertation students and whatever that they end up having to go to the other people. I kept all that going. (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Similarly, Stacy (2010) recalled setting the expectation to solely "focus on trying to keep up with graduate student work and that will be sort of the main priority, and anything else will be optional" (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

To minimize the impact on department, peers, and students, there is expectation that faculty take into account these factors and attempt to plan their leave accordingly. For faculty members who used the parental leave policy after it was adopted in 2006, the need to actively engage with their departments and peers does not seem to be necessarily driven from the policy, but rather as the following faculty members described, the need to maintain positive relationships with leadership and their peers:

> We were like, I don't know, a month or two in. But I figured I should let them know, otherwise there'd be some bad blood if they planned for me to teach something and I wasn't around. (Andrew, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Several faculty parents noted the pressure to tell their department chairs of the expected birth sooner than they had liked and before they had told any of their families:

> …and then—we were sort of—we were planning teaching, and so I needed to tell the chair kind of—actually, I needed to tell the chair before we were ready to really tell people 'cause it was pretty early. (Paul, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Amy (2010) recounted the experience of one of her colleagues who "felt like she had to tell the scheduling committee and so everyone found out" (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). For Amy, her own perceived sense of notifying her department chair derived from her sense of commitment to both students and her colleagues:

> I guess we could've kept the pregnancy quieter longer and then allowed them to schedule the courses and then go back and redo it later. But it's when this obligation, like, "I know I'm gonna be gone. I might as well tell you now. I haven't even told much of the family yet, but I'll tell you I can't teach in the fall." So depending on when pregnancy is sometimes you have to reveal earlier professionally than you may have wanted to. (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The Women's Commission proposed policy language regarding modification of duties aimed to provide faculty with the agency to determine what level of continuing service they will provide, and that should faculty choose to continue working during the parental leave, this does not necessarily translate into assumed full-time work. However, as is discussed in the following section, these assumptions were often constrained by requests to participate and engage in departmental activities even while on leave.

The Discourse of Commitment

The construction of the ideal tenure track faculty member is foregrounded in the discourse of commitment. Commitment is conceived as something that is externally and internally driven, whereby the institution places expectations for meeting institutional

obligations, but individual faculty also describe the importance of remaining engaged in and perceived as committed to the missions of teaching, service, and research even while on university parental leave of absence. The ideology of commitment is also evidenced in the ways the institution and individual faculty describe the need to be present and visible, particularly during the early tenure years.

Within the discourse of the ideal faculty member norms, taking time off to care for a newborn is described as having a potential negative impact on how one's colleagues perceive one's level of commitment, and is described as a "demonstration of questionable priorities" (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003). For instance, in an interview with one male pretenure faculty parent (eligible to use the policy but opted out of using), he attributes his choice to not use the policy, even though he was technically eligible, to his newness to the department and the need to "get a little more settled…in terms of teaching or… in terms of getting to know…colleagues in the department" (Eric, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Eric goes on to describe the policy as "an attractive policy" but his own sense of being comfortable with the department as the main reason for his perception that he was unable or (not ready) to use the parental leave policy.

In the 2004 policy proposal time away for parental leave specifically focused on the teaching mission whereby faculty would be "excused from teaching" and that any course reductions granted would "not need to be 'paid back' at a later date…" (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004). Interestingly, the use of the word "excused" was dropped in the final 2006 policy. While the PCSW proposed language (2004; 2005; 2006) is explicit in expecting that time taken away for childbirth should not be repaid, the Chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee called for a revision to the proposed language which would

require parents returning from leave to "teach more than their regular course load" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Response to PCSW Parental Leave Proposal, November, 2005). In fact, the chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee suggested that the parental leave policy include a variety of options for faculty:

> Family and Medical Sabbatical at Reduced Pay. The faculty member will not teach during this period of reduced duties, nor will he or she have to do research or perform service. The fraction of regular pay earned during this period will be set by the University uniformly across the campus. We do not object to its being set in such a way that on average, the reduction in pay suffices to hire substitute instructors so that the policy has no net monetary cost to the University. (Faculty Senate subcommittee Memo to Executive Committee of Faculty Senate, 2005, p. 1)

Faculty may choose to take a partial leave of absence at reduced pay, and it was proposed that the reduction be based on the cost to cover teaching obligations and that overall, the cost to the institution would be minimal, if any. Conversely, faculty would also be provided with the option of requesting a full release from institutional obligations with full pay:

> Family and Medical Sabbatical at full pay. The faculty member will not teach during this period of modified duties, nor will he or she have to do research or perform service. Upon returning from the Family and Medical Sabbatical at Full Pay, the faculty member will teach more than their regular course load so that over a period of one academic year they make up for the courses they failed to teach while on reduced duty. This option can only be taken for faculty members whose regular teaching load during the semester in question is at least one course. (Faculty Senate subcommittee Memo to Executive Committee of Faculty Senate, 2005, p. 1)

Interestingly, the Faculty Senate subcommittee proposed policy language frames the time away benefit using "sabbatical" language. This may serve to position one's time away for caregiving on the same level as time away for teaching or research sabbaticals. However,

faculty members who opt for the "Family and Medical Sabbatical at full pay" are expected to take additional teaching loads upon their return, which was highlighted in the following response to the 2003 survey of women faculty:

> I was made to feel that I owed…coverage to just about everyone for two years after my delivery because I had taken time off, even though I was unpaid. (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003)

This expectation for faculty parents to repay time lost to the institution, according to the Chair of this subcommittee, is intended so that faculty "make up for the courses they failed to teach while on reduced duty" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Response to PCSW Parental Leave Proposal, November, 2005) which is often not required of faculty who take teaching or research sabbatical leave.

The proposed changes to the language surrounding faculty parents' time away and the expectations upon their return from leave received no further discussion throughout the initial policy deliberation process (2003-2006). Having language which required parents to take on additional responsibilities following parental leave of absence would have undermined the original intent of the paid parental leave policy: providing relief to faculty parents on the tenure track who have historically struggled to balance expectations of a tenure career and the obligations of childbearing and childrearing. In fact, by 2006, the focus on whether or not faculty needed to repay their time was dropped completely from the discussion and language regarding treating the modified duties benefit similar to sabbatical never took hold. Rather, the final adopted policy language (2006) defines the benefit as "Modified Duties" and allows faculty:

> …be granted modified duties for one semester for faculty on nine-month appointments or an equivalent period for faculty on twelve-month appointments. The faculty member may

> choose to continue some professional activities (e.g., meeting students, doing research, participating in hiring or RPT decisions) during this semester…For teaching loads that are unbalanced across the academic year, arrangements should be coordinated wherever possible such that modified duties would coincide with the semester with fewer teaching duties. (Faculty Parental Leaves of Policy V.C., May 2006)

The policy language surrounding modified duties established parameters for faculty to define what their modified schedule would look like. Policy language specifically provided that faculty had authority to be fully released and excused, and that any obligations to continue to work during leave would be solely at the "discretion of the individual faculty member" (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004).

The 2003 initial policy draft described this benefit as a period of time where a faculty member would be "expected to perform less than regular duties, but participates more in academic life at the institution than she or he would on full leave" (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo, 2003). Faculty could be "released from teaching" but may opt to continue "some level of research and service" activities (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo, 2003). The importance of providing structure to allow faculty to take time off for childbirth and balance their professional obligations during leave is further illustrated in the 2005 policy version of the modification of duties language that provided individual faculty members with the authority to "choose to engage in [these] activities at their discretion" and that faculty choice to continue working during the "release semester" (para. 3) will not "imply that the faculty member will be compelled to resume their obligations or discontinue their release period" (PCSW Policy Proposal, January 31, 2005, para. 3). In 2005 the language surrounding the modification of duties expanded to include

"being excused from any obligations in teaching, research, and service" (PCSW Policy Proposal, January 31, 2005, para. 3).

Faculty parents who used leave indicated the importance of sustaining interactions with their graduate students during parental leaves "I'm gonna plan to still be supervising my grad students because I need to get them to graduate" (Amy, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Melody (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010) also points to the importance of sustaining graduate student progress, and that this engagement resulted in her keeping "regular meetings with…grad students" which required her to come to campus "probably 2 or 3 days a week." While Melody indicated that it was a priority to sustain graduate student progress, in terms of other obligations she noted:

> The only thing that really was released from the schedule was teaching, and then there was sort of this notion of faculty meetings are sort of optional unless we were talking about hiring decisions. Then we made an effort to come because that was a decision we wanted to be—at least I wanted to be involved in. (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

In terms of the impact that time away for childbearing had on managing didactic courses, the majority of the faculty indicated that courses were not covered, but rather schedules were adjusted. Similarly, Stacy (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010) also recalled advising her department chair that her focus and priority while on leave would be "trying to keep up with the graduate student work" and treating everything else as "optional" and the importance of keeping a handle on issues in the department especially in terms of recruitment. However, for many of the faculty parents, the reality of setting boundaries for "optional" obligations while on leave also point to the "internal pressure" to remain engaged while on leave:

> I mean I think where the expectations might be problematic are in terms of service…and I'm sure other people in other departments feel this, particularly…if you're pretenure you feel like "Oh, well, I have to go to that—I can't…you know. (Stephanie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Stacy detailed how this pressure was not "necessarily people who were placing the pressure directly" but rather there was a sense that she needed to "establish [one's] presence in the department" (Stacy, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

The Discourse of Visibility

The expectations for remaining engaged and present, particularly during the pretenure probationary period, were described as a crucial component to one's success. For faculty parents wishing to take time off for childbearing this perceived expectation of presence limited their sense of whether they should use the leave, but also the extent to which they felt they could fully remove themselves from their department while on leave. Faculty narratives highlight the recurring demands placed upon new faculty parents to attend to certain departmental activities while on leave. Alice (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010) recalled the "constant thing of…being asked to come to this meeting, being asked to do this, being asked to do that." There was a sense that it was important to be perceived as "around" and as Heidi demonstrates, faculty felt that they needed to participate because they did not "want anyone to think that I'm not doing that" (Heidi, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). This tension of remaining present and visible is best illustrated in the following excerpt from the faculty narratives:

> …and I'm sure other people in other departments feel this, particularly if yeah, if you're pretenure you feel like, "Oh, well, I have to go to that—I can't"—you know. (Claire, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The perceived expectations for being present, particularly for faculty who are still in their pretenure years, may limit the extent to which faculty feel they can be fully excused from institutional obligations, with or without a formal leave of absence. For pretenure faculty, the perception that being absent from the department may affect their tenure review is further illustrated in the comment from Rose, (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010): "as the second year person that my presence was in the department and not outside of the department." The discourse of visibility resulted in faculty parents feeling a pressure to be visible, particularly during their pretenure years as described here by Melody: "so I was in my fourth year, and so I think I felt like I kinda [sic] needed to be around" (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

Consequently, the pressure of earning tenure resulted in faculty parents agreeing to shift their expectations and attending departmental functions that they "probably wouldn't have done having tenure" (Sylvia, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Women described their departments as "supportive of their having the baby" (Ellen, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010), but in terms of managing time away for childbearing they "have no clue what it means to, in fact, be a fulltime parent and try to have a career within the context of the ratcheting up of committee work and expectations for people on this campus" (Sadie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

It was not any explicit message that resulted in the sense of needing to be present even while on sanctioned university leave. However, as Rose (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010) described, a department chair can affect the way that faculty parents react when there are explicit and implicit pressures and requests:

> So the one hour of the day when you're caring for a newborn when I could have done something like washed the dishes, I ended up…doing research for the department…and I think that as because in part the chair was willing—more willing to ask, and this was true of my other colleagues too. And I think a lot of us just felt like we couldn't really say no. (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

These expectations and constant requests to come to campus even while on leave are contrasted with the discourse of a supportive department, but this supportive environment often overlooked the challenges of simultaneously balancing a newborn with one's institutional obligation to be visible:

> I mean I think like if the dean is really supportive, "Well, bring the baby. It's fine, you know, we don't mind the babies and we understand that you're on leave." But…it's hard. I'm like I can't talk to you and like be holding this baby. Now she wants to nurse and I'm a mess, and so to me it was a very uncomfortable situation. It may not have been as bad as—I probably perceived it worse than everybody else did. (Rose, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The effect of not being present is characterized as having a much higher impact on faculty mothers as compared to other faculty who may not be around or present for other types of formally sanctioned leaves as illustrated in the following narrative:

> The possibility of negative judgment if you're not around because you had a baby I think is higher than if you are not around because you got a research grant, for sure." (Sadie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Even though the policy benefit is framed as an entitlement, the faculty narratives imply that without formal documentation of workload expectations faculty perceive a pressure to remain committed and present:

> Bring your barf bag and we'll talk…I just in my head I was hoping to have really more protected time, but no one's gonna [sic] protect you…no one is gonna [sic] advocate for

> you if you don't advocate for yourself." (Stacy, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The perceived backlash if one is invisible during one's pretenure years coupled with the added pressure of having leadership who were willing to ask faculty to make exceptions and the fear of what it meant to say no constrained the sense of discretion that these faculty had in creating a modified schedule. The tension of balancing the demands of one's department illustrates the current culture of tenure and within this current culture differences in who is legitimate in their time away from institutional obligations (e.g., teaching and/or service).

For faculty who used the formal parental leave policy, the boundaries of balancing personal commitments related to childbearing and childrearing, and expectations for visibility and commitment were not as clearly delineated as intended or expected. In response to the above described internal and external pressure to be perceived as committed, productive and visible, faculty resorted to bringing their babies with them to committee meetings and other departmental functions:

> And I said, 'Well I'm on leave.' And so that was definitely a meeting that I said the only way that I can be there is I have to bring [baby]…with me. (Melody, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Similarly, faculty parents brought the baby to meetings with students, potential faculty candidates "I can take somebody to breakfast, but I'm gonna [sic] have an infant with me" (Alice, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Alice concluded this statement about bringing the baby to the candidate interview breakfast with the caveat that "[s]o long as it doesn't look bad on the department that I'm taking a candidate out with a 6-month old." This response raises concern that the baby in tow would potentially look bad for the

department, which actually competes with the previous discourse regarding the perceived value of a family-responsive institution. In addition to responding to the internal and external pressure to remain engaged by bringing the baby to campus, the baby in tow discourse is described as a means of shifting the departmental culture:

> …there's a lot of times when I'd go into the department, and even if I probably could've arranged with my husband to be home, I'd be like, 'If I'm going into the department, sometimes I'm lugging her in there to show that I can't be there that long'…or to show that I'm making an effort to be here…as well to sort of make the point, if I had to be there, someone else was going to. And it might disrupt my time and it might disrupt all of us a little bit, but I thought it was a point when you have us show up and do these things that we're still expected to do. (Stacy, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Heidi described her response to these pressures to remain visible as an opportunity to remind her colleagues that she was officially on university sanctioned leave, and that the leave was intended to care for her child: "[b]ut that was my point that if I'm not allowed to say 'no' you've gotta [sic] take it" (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Similarly, Harold described responding to an incident with a colleague in his department by treating it as a teaching moment. Upon returning home from the hospital following the birth of his child, he received a call from a senior faculty member. The faculty member wanted to ensure that Harold would be at a departmental conference the next week:

> Really, come on! He rescheduled [the conference] for a couple weeks later, so I went in with my son…I didn't have to bring my son, because my wife was still at home, obviously—I brought him in anyways to kind of make the point: See this thing? This is what I'm responsible for now. (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

For Harold there was a sense that he needed to remind his colleagues of the new standard for faculty parents. For Harold, bringing the baby to campus, despite having other options

is characterized as a personal "obligation to demonstrate [he] really [was] the primary caregiver here." If he was expected to participate in departmental functions, his colleagues were "going to see the kid…" (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

However, the counter-discourse to the discourse of the committed, productive, and visible academic was the challenges of navigating both personal and professional obligations simultaneously. The strategy of bringing the baby to campus created a tension for faculty mothers in particular:

> I brought [baby] to lots of meetings and stuff, and I always had people say… "Oh, it's bothering you more than it's bothering us." But it is bothering me. (Heidi, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Bringing the baby to campus limited the individual sense of how engaged and participative faculty could be—"you're distracted, and all I'm waiting for is for him to do something and my milk to pop" (Rose, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010) as well as the perceived disruption that one's infant would have on departmental functions: "I had the baby, I was wearing the baby, and she was crying so I stand in the back of the room, and I was disruptive (Heidi, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Another faculty member interviewed in 2010 recounted how bringing the baby to meetings further problematized what the PCSW subcommittee (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo 2004; 2005; 2006) had previously described as the "inhospitable climate," which the parental leave policy was expected to correct:

> And I know Dr. A had this experience where she felt like she had to go to faculty meetings and she had to nurse. And she's since been in situations where people have been joking about it, which they're joking about it has made her feel uncomfortable because she felt like she had to do it, and now you're making fun of her. And she had to do it because she

> felt she had to be in places." (Melody, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Balancing both parent and scholar roles simultaneously may come at a price. If faculty parents feel that they cannot tell their department chairs or deans no when asked to engage in service duties while on leave, and they respond to these pressures by bringing the baby with them to the campus and are subjected to ridicule, then the question of whether the department is truly supportive comes into question.

The Discourse of Productivity

> *I have been more productive, a better teacher, and a better human being after having parental leave. (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation Survey, Faculty Response, 2010)*

As evidenced above, the policy texts and faculty narratives all signal to the existing culture of the academy as problematic for faculty parents. Specifically, how the assumptions about the ideal faculty member (e.g., committed, productive, and visible) set the stage for adopting the parental leave policy, was incorporated into the institutional policy solutions and recommendations, and backgrounded the faculty construction of their experience navigating childbearing and a tenure career. The expectations for productivity and commitment were routinely described as competing with caregiving.

Time away for parenting is framed as something that may potentially result in backlash, while time away for research is positioned as not only legitimate, but expected. As suggested by this response to the 2003 PCSW Faculty Survey, "faculty would not support a pregnancy, with or without a leave, as it would likely represent an interruption in scholarly productivity." For faculty parents attempting to integrate their professional and personal roles it was assumed that pregnancy and sustaining one's research

productivity were dichotomous as illustrated in the following response to the 2003 PCSW climate survey: "[i]n fact some of my colleagues asked me how I was going to run a research lab if I took 6 weeks maternity leave" (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003). The question posed to this faculty member illustrates the tension felt by many faculty in attempting to balance these roles simultaneously.

The adoption of a formal paid parental leave policy would presumably allow faculty parents to request for time away from the institution as well as request an extension on their traditional tenure trajectory and would mitigate the perceptions and questions regarding whether faculty should or could balance their parent-scholar roles. The availability of the policy creates space where it is "plausible…that you could have a young baby and then still manage to come back and be fully productive" (Ellen, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). The concept of using the policy on the shelf as a means of legitimizing and routinizing caregiving leave as legitimate is further illustrated in the following narrative:

> The benefits I think, in general…support the alteration of…the professional culture…just…encouraging and…routinizing that kind of acceptance, especially in terms of extending the tenure clock. (Charles, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The notion that the availability of a parental leave policy could create space for rethinking the tenure trajectory for faculty parents is probably best illustrated in the following narrative:

> Because it is policy, it makes it more accepted, and people might grumble a little bit but I think that it makes them act differently. I think it makes it seem like having a baby is the norm, not the exception. (Ellen, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Creating space for faculty parents to simultaneously manage the parent-scholar subjectivity means treating parents' time away from the institution for childbearing as normative and exceptions as those who, "just plows right through and [have] no life blips pretenure" (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003). Harold echoed this sense of legitimacy provided to faculty parents:

> It's that I feel I can have a job knowing that...if we're gonna [sic] have kids I'm gonna [sic] have to be able to take time off to be able to do that…it's just having a job that's been supporting of being able to do that. (Harold, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

However, as Stephanie noted, even with policies that allow for faculty to take time off for childbearing, faculty continued to question faculty parents' ability to simultaneously manage both roles:

> And so then I was on leave…he was like, "Well how are you gonna [sic] be doing research?" and I'm like 'Well, I'll make it work.' (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Productive scholarly activity and caregiving are positioned as competing and the policy language attempted to reframe this by separating expectations for productivity while away on leave. In response, the policy text recognized that for faculty parents, time away for childbearing should be time that "faculty are not expected to maintain normal scholarly productivity during an extension granted under [the] policy" (Parental Leave Policy, 2006).

(Re)Constructing Ideal Faculty Norms: The Discourse of Caregiving

In creating policy solutions that aimed to provide balance for all faculty parents, regardless of gender, the caregiving discourse created a challenge in how the policy solutions and the actual use of the policy were constructed, as evidenced above in the discourse of commitment, visibility, productivity and abuse. This section further explores how the policy texts and faculty narratives construct caregiving in a way that may prove problematic for male parents.

As described in previous sections, while the PCSW subcommittee was attempting to create a policy to minimize the "inhospitable climate for women" (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo, 2004; 2005; 2006), the institution also faced the challenge of protecting women from being "triply disadvantaged" by "unscrupulous" male faculty parents' misuse and abuse of the policy to further advance their tenure career. To minimize this risk, the construction of the eligible "primary caregiver" was employed to ensure that the policy would only be used when faculty parents' tenure trajectory was perceived to be impacted by childbearing or child rearing.

The PCSW subcommittee initially established eligibility for the benefits provided by the formal parental leave policy as limited to "tenure track faculty who give birth to a child or serve as primary care-givers' of a partner's newborn child" (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004). In 2004, the definition of the primary caregiver required that "a faculty member provide 20 hours or more primary childcare during the workweek" (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004). In this initial definition, the proposed policy language was explicit in setting an established amount of required time to be spent with a child in order

to qualify as eligible for the benefits, and the use of "must" serves to position this as a metric to be used with little or no flexibility.

Although this construction of a legitimate primary caregiver was contested by the chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee who questioned the fairness of granting benefits to "someone doing 20 hours of childcare during the workweek but not someone doing 19 hours" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Memo, November 2005), the PCSW subcommittee noted that the rationale for defining the primary caregiver within the construct of time provided was to "find balance between supporting primary caregivers and recognizing that the university's resources are limited" (PCSW Personal Correspondence, 2005). In the end, the parental leave policy adopted by the institution in 2006 excluded the requirement to provide a specific hourly amount of time as a caregiver and rather focused on the extent to which childbearing and childrearing specifically impacted and interfered with academic work:

> …a faculty member who provides the majority of child contact hours during the faculty member's regular academic working hours for a period of at least 15 weeks. (Parental Leave Policy, 2006)

In discussions with the policy officer, this change in the policy language was in response to institutional accounting officers pointing to the difficulty (and reluctance) to use an hourly allocation model for tracking faculty time.

To qualify for the policy, faculty had to either be the birth mother (who intended to keep the child) or attest to their time spent on caregiving. It was proposed that in both cases, faculty would have to attest or certify their eligibility. During the approval of the 2006 policy proposal, one of the Faculty Senate members proposed that the language in the policy regarding certification of eligibility "eliminate the 6 week restriction for

qualifying as a birth mother and being eligible for leave without having to certify as being the primary caregiver" (PCSW Policy Proposal, May 2006). One year after adoption (2006), the Office of Academic Affairs submitted a request to the Office of Legal Counsel to revise the primary caregiver requirement based on this initial feedback from the Faculty Senate:

> …the benefits of the policy may be based on one of two premises depending on circumstances: either that the faculty member is serving as primary caregiver of a child (care-giving leave), or is the birth mother and therefore qualifies for benefits based on the well-established federal law premise of a disabling condition. (Policy Revision Background Memo, February 2007)

In June 2006, the PCSW proposed these revisions as a way to "help demonstrate that the policy is in compliance with federal law regarding gender discrimination" but also to minimize the potential for abusing the policy (Policy Revision Background Memo, February 2007). Limiting attestation and certification of primary caregiver status to only nonbirth mothers or other parents based on hours of contact or care of the child would minimize abuse of the system by faculty members who are not the primary caregivers…and who would use leave for other activities (Legal Response, July, 2006).

As noted in the policy archeology, the Office of Legal Counsel noted that the "proposed amendment does not serve the University's substantial interest in preventing abuse of the policy because it excludes biological mothers from certifying that they will be the primary caregivers…meaning that they could still abuse the policy" (Legal Response, July 2006). In fact, the response submitted by the Office of Legal Counsel noted that the proposed amendment to the University's leave policy would not prevent

potential abuse by fathers, and further that the requested amendment violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Constitution (Legal Response, July 2006):

> A court is somewhat likely to find that the requirement that the biological fathers and adoptive parents, but not biological mothers, sign a form certifying that they will be the primary caregiver of their new child during their leave is based on the gender stereotype that biological mothers are automatically the primary caregivers…This sort of generalization about the conventional roles of men and women in raising the family has held to violate the Equal Protection Clause.

The legal analysis concluded that the proposed amendment regarding certification of primary caregiving runs the risk that the policy "would be gender discrimination under federal and state law" because the requirement of signing the form places an additional burden on biological fathers and adoptive parents that is not placed on biological mothers" (Legal Response, July 2006). To avoid this risk, the institution "could eliminate the requirement that biological fathers and adoptive parents certify that they will be primary caregiver" or the institution could "require everyone seeking leave under the policy, including biological mothers certify that they would be the primary caregiver" (Legal Response, July 2006). Subsequently, the policy revisions (2007) clarified the requirement for protecting birthmothers under the established disability leave laws and shifted the definition of the primary caregiver once again and limited the parental leave benefit to faculty parents who "provide[s] the majority of child contact hours during time that the faculty member would normally spend on productive scholarly pursuits…" (Policy Revision Proposal, 2006) and all faculty wishing to use the benefit must certify their role as primary caregiver at time of application.

The 2007 final policy language explicitly links the benefits provided to faculty parents to the impact that childbearing and childrearing has on the productivity (which

across the texts was read as scholarly and research productivity) of faculty parents. The policy language regarding the primary caregiver moved from being about the number of face-to-face contact hours spent in caring for a newborn child, to focusing on time spent caring for the child during normal working hours, and finally in 2007 to focusing on the number of hours spent on caregiving that would have otherwise been used to engage in research and scholarly activities.

Discourse of Abuse

Tightly linked to the discourse of caregiving is the discourse of abuse, specifically how faculty may use the policy as a means of getting ahead of their peers in terms of scholarly productivity. The chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee further argued that the generosity of the parental leave policy proposal "invites abuse…it is very generous: 100% of salary for a full semester to any new parent who provides 20 hours or more of childcare" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Response, November 2005):

> …unscrupulous faculty will take parental leave even if they are doing little or no childcare and that policy language that requires attestation of primary caregiving responsibilities will not hinder abuse.

The institutional texts and the faculty narratives highlight the intrinsic assumptions made about caregiving and that male faculty in particular are prone to misusing the parental leave policy for their personal gain. Within the institutional culture, the assumption was that women would not abuse the parental leave policy to improve their chances of earning tenure.

The potential for abusing the parental leave policy was most likely directed towards male faculty parents, who are presumed to have someone at home who would

normally be providing childcare. Faculty members routinely pointed to the ways in which male faculty members abused the parental leave policy. Rose recounted an experience with a male colleague who had requested the parental leave, but while he was on leave his wife was "making his lunch…and she was taking care of the kid" (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). This tension is further described in the following excerpt from the 2010 Parental Leave Evaluation Survey:

> I know for certain that his wife is not working full-time and he is not providing more than a couple of hours of childcare a day. Instead, he has used his time to renovate his house and to travel. It's great for him, but not a fair use of these funds. Similarly, I have a colleague in my own department who was one of the first people to utilize the leave. While his wife was at home taking care of their toddler and their new baby, he could be found in his office every day. (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation Survey, Faculty Response, 2010)

This incident is described as "creating some tension in the department about what the leave could do" (Rose, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Similarly, Stephanie recounted a story of a male faculty member taking leave before her:

> I mean I'm appreciative of the leave. I think it's a great thing. But he illustrated some of the problems with it that he took it and his wife was at home with the kid and he had nothing to do with the baby and basically worked all the time. (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The discourse of abuse specifically positions male faculty parents as potentially "unscrupulous" and as more willing to take advantage of "their status as parents to use time away…to enhance their scholarly records" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Response to PCSW Parental Leave Proposal, November 2005). One of the major problems with this is that male faculty parents who do use their time away to continue working on scholarly activities "acquire yet one more structural advantage in academia"

and "create the impression that research can and should be done while on leave" (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation Survey, Faculty Response, 2010). The notion that faculty parents would misuse the parental leave policy is further illustrated in the following faculty narrative:

> …and so when you look at one candidate's publication record in comparison to another's, if one person was able to really magnify their publications during their parental leave, then it just—it suddenly changes the standard. (Ellen, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The potential for a men to abuse the policy to get ahead in terms of their scholarly output is then described as a way of "triply disadvantaging women" (Sadie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

However, the PCSW subcommittee argued that the use of the discourse of abuse is a "concern frequently voiced at universities considering the implementation of parental leave policy" and that this tactic parallels "criticisms of affirmative action policies" and is then used as a way of justifying the elimination of such policies (PCSW Correspondence, November 2005). The chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee further argued that it is not just that faculty parents would be home working on scholarly activities as opposed to caring for their children, but that the "mere passage of time…confer[s] an advantage:"

> A second potential advantage arises from the fact that the faculty member on leave is permitted to work up to 20 hours during regular working hours (and an unlimited amount of time outside regular working hours) while the tenure clock is stopped." (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Memo, February 2006)

However, in an attempt to treat the discourse of abuse as a gender neutral issue, while the majority of the texts point to abuse primarily being an issue for male faculty parents, the Chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee noted, while "a large fraction of men on leave

might not be doing the required childcare…[s]ome unknown number of women might not be doing it either" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Memo, February 2006).

Going back to the previously described discourse of commitment, women faculty parents did not perceive that they had the same luxury of using their parental leave status as an excuse to not attend faculty meetings, and as previously discussed many of the women faculty parents felt more pressure to attend meetings while on leave. Furthermore, for the women faculty parents, the expectations for continuing scholarly endeavors while on leave quickly vanished as the reality of caring for a newborn set in.

A member of the PCSW subcommittee responded to the concerns of abuse by noting that "low rates of use by men of the UC system's parental leave policy mean there necessarily was a low rate of abuse of that policy" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Minutes, October 2005). Similarly, another faculty member suggested that allaying potential for abuse required that department chairs "be much more proactive and there needs to be verification that they're actually taking care of their kids" (Melody, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

Responding to the potential for abuse of the policy, a member of the PCSW subcommittee proposed that the "university can monitor utilization of the policy for abuse" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Minutes, October 2005) and proposed requiring that faculty submit a signed affidavit of their primary caregiving responsibilities (Figure 4.1).

Furthermore, for the faculty fathers who did go through the process of declaring and attesting to their role as primary caregiver, the gendered assumptions about

caregiving also resulted in the sense that faculty fathers needed to defend themselves against the assumptions made about their legitimacy as primary caregivers:

> …in one of my reviews…I let them know that there was a senior faculty who I knew who did not approve of the leave in general and in particular with paternity leave. So I let him know that I knew there was a faculty who was ideologically opposed to the whole idea, especially for dads, and that I was concerned that would negatively impact my review. (Harold, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

For the male faculty parents there is a concern that "some of the older male faculty will be 'well, why do you need this extra—you're a guy'" (Mark, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Melody suggested that the male faculty parents might be "right to be concerned about some of [the] older colleagues finding it strange for a man to take [leave]" (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

Draft February 9, 2006

Affidavit of Eligibility for Faculty Parental Leave Policy (complete if applicable)

I attest that I will be providing at least 20 hours of primary childcare during working hours for the period of at least 15 weeks.

Name (please print) Department

Signed Application date

Figure 4.1 Draft Affidavit of Eligibility

The exception to this was a case where a male faculty parent had to leave the state so that he and his partner could adopt a child and that in his department it was understood that "if he's gonna have a kid, he has to leave the state" (Alex, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). As such, for same sex couples, the leave in this case was framed as legitimate and was treated more like a "geographical sabbatical" than a parental leave (Alex, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

Discursively framing caregiving against this discourse of abuse creates a tension for faculty parents, whereby use of these policies by faculty who are not stereotypically primary caregivers is perceived and positioned as manipulation of the structures and policy to gain an advantage in the tenure process. However, as articulated by Patrice, while the potential for abuse may be a legitimate concern, the availability of the parental leave policy may serve as a catalyst for disrupting our historic assumptions about the gendered division of labor:

> …the continued gender segregation that we have in this society…and those messages are about what appropriate male and female roles are, even among most males and females—especially males with the highest feminist consciousness, they're still getting those messages…I think it's really important that even though there is the potential for male faculty to leave nurturing to their wives when they take [leave], I'm willing to put up with that because I don't see any other way to change men's attitudes. I mean men need practice too in fathering, and unless they get at least the opportunity, you won't break down the gender division of labor. (Patrice, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The discourse of abuse is intrinsically tied to the existing construct of the ideal faculty member. Namely, if one is to abuse the parental leave policy it is presumed that the abuse would result in a positive outcome in tenure decisions (e.g., a boost in scholarly output). Discursively framing these policies as open to abuse (by either men or women faculty

members) presupposes that all faculty parents may give primacy to their professional subjectivity. In terms of shifting our societal and the academic culture, as Patrice noted, a couple cases of abuse of the parental leave policy may seem like a reasonable trade off.

Conclusion

The rationale and justification for adopting a paid parental leave policy and the corresponding policy solutions are framed against a rationalistic approach for proactively attending to the shifting demands placed on research institutions. The historic assumptions, values, and ideologies of tenure are discursively presented as a hindrance to the successful recruitment, retention, and advancement of women into the academy. Namely, the texts frame the rationale for the paid parental leave policy against the need to level the playing field for the increasing number of women scientists and scholars of color emerging within the U.S. higher education pipeline. The crux is that institutional policies that had previously existed within the institutional library of regulations had been ignored, interpreted incorrectly, or resulted in faculty having to "negotiate" with their chairs or deans. It was assumed that the development and adoption of the formal parental leave policy would alleviate the confusion, provide clarity, and ensure that faculty will be protected from what is perceived as "unfair treatment."

The parental leave policy adopted by the Western University is described as an institutional strategy that is needed in order to address the unwelcoming climate for faculty parents. The discourse points to the need to maintain a competitive edge in the recruitment and retention of talented faculty as well as the need to adopt more flexible policies while still keeping an eye on the standards of commitment and productivity

intrinsic to the culture of tenure in research institutions. As such, it was framed initially as an organizational mechanism to enhance the ability to compete for and recruit the "best and the brightest" faculty.

As an institutional mechanism, the availability of the parental leave policy is described as a means for ensuring that departments could not penalize faculty who choose to simultaneously balance professor and parent roles, particularly during the formative pretenure years. The texts point to flexibility in terms of when faculty enter the tenure pathway, the conflicts that balancing multiple subjectivities (e.g., mother or professor) have on the career trajectory of women on the tenure track, and how institutions should attend to the structure of the organization to allow for "on and off ramps" to enable a healthy balance. However, this need is positioned parallel to the discourse of the challenges of simultaneously balancing the parental and professional roles. In positioning the rationale for the parental leave policy at the University, there is a sense that the priority is on addressing the institutional structures that may result in the derailing of faculty careers as a result of childbearing and childrearing.

The ability of the parental leave policy to fundamentally alter the existing structure of tenure for faculty parents brings up one of the major themes of this dissertation: how the institution and individuals use the paid parental leave policy to legitimize the subjectivity of mother-scholars via the policy discourse. In this sense, faculty use the policy as a shield to respond to potential negative comments about the appropriateness of taking time off from the institution to care for their children. This use of the policy to create a sense of legitimacy for parent scholars over time may serve to create a more normative organizational space whereby parent-scholars feel they can fully

integrate their public and private roles without fear of reprisal, penalty, or judgment of their competence or commitment as scholar.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

I expected that our conversation would follow the normal flow, she would ask me the opening question: "there's a policy?" In response, I would direct her to the institutional policy and provide information to guide her through the application process, and finally congratulate and wish her well with the expected arrival of her child. However, this particular interaction did not follow the normal conversational pattern surrounding the availability and applicability of the parental leave policy to faculty careers. Unlike previous conversations with faculty parents, this mother was aware (and very familiar with) the institution's parental leave policy. Her question was not about how to go about using the leave, but rather about navigating and responding to the push-back and opposition she was facing in regards to her request to modify her duties and extend her tenure clock (e.g. perception of taking "time off") to accommodate the arrival of her child.

She would be the first mother to have a child pretenure in her department. She had read the policy, reviewed the application form, and had a conversation with her department chair about scheduling her time away and applying the automatic tenure extension. Unfortunately, despite the existence of a formal paid parental leave policy, her department chair had informed her that not only was taking leave implausible, that if she chose to take leave it must be unpaid. Furthermore, to compensate for the activities she could not perform due to the unpaid leave, the department chair planned to ask her fellow faculty members to cover her obligations without pay. When I offered my assistance in educating the department on the benefits and the presumptive automatic entitlements provided to her via the parental leave policy, she declined. She was hesitant to push the issue and expressed concern for what would happen if her chair knew she was even talking to me about the issue. At her request, I resisted my administrative urge to challenge the department on her behalf.

> *We talked at great length about how as a mother and as a scholar she would have to be willing to "use the policy as a shield and a sword" and challenge her department's resistance to her request to use the parental leave policy that had been adopted nearly 6 years ago. Recognizing that not all faculty mothers (or fathers) are willing to fight this battle, particularly if they are pretenure, and valuing and respecting the tension she felt in having to be the one to set the standard in her department, I recommended that she consider finding an ally to aid her in this fight.*
>
> *In the end, she ended up opting to not request a formal parental leave of absence, and left her tenure clock at 7 years. As a pretenure woman faculty member, and the first parent to ever consider requesting institutional exceptions to the normal tenure clock within her department, she had received clear messages from her department that caregiving on the tenure track was implausible, if not unacceptable, despite the existence of a formal policy that automatically entitled her to these benefits. As a result, using tactics that Colbeck and Drago (2005) have categorized as acceptance strategies to caregiving bias, she found someone to cover her obligations following the birth and used her vacation hours to cover her salary for 3 weeks following the birth of her child.*

As an emerging scholar and administrator working with faculty, I have spent a great deal of time thinking about the value of formal work-life policies for tenure track faculty parents. However, similar to the findings described in Chapter 4, my interactions with faculty parents attempting to navigate these new policies has revealed a tension between balancing professional and personal roles via these policies. The opening vignette illustrates the ways in which policy and institutional discourse, despite the professed aims to shift the culture of tenure, continues to position caregiving as separate from institutional obligations. This tension was highlighted for me in the above conversation with a junior faculty member who was seeking guidance on navigating the parental leave policy and the culture of her division. Her reluctance to have me in the role

of policy administrator guide her department with the application of the parental leave policy highlighted one of the key findings of this study.

Regardless of having a formal paid parental leave policy, and regardless of the value that administrators and many of the faculty in the institution have perceived these policies to bring, the culture of tenure, particularly the embedded construct of the ideal worker norms has not been disrupted. The inability to significantly disrupt the ideal worker culture may impede successful implementation of these policies and inhibit the necessary culture change (AAUP, 2001; ACE, 2005). While several of the faculty interviewed for this study described the parental leave policy as a means of creating a sense of entitlement in their ability to automatically take time away for caregiving, the "ideal worker" cultural model (Williams, 2000) coupled with the subsequent "caregiving bias" (Drago et al., 2005; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006) often limited the agency of faculty to fully take advantage of the benefits.

This study, which extends a parental leave policy evaluation at Western University that was finalized in Spring 2011, reflects my interrogation of the parental leave data provided through interviews and document analysis, including those that reflected the initial adoption of the policy. As part of the evaluation team, my role provided an opportunity to explore the philosophy and application of the paid parental leave policy (adopted in 2006) with faculty across the academic campus. The faculty included those who were new parents and had used the recently adopted parental leave policy, as well as faculty who had their children well before the formal adoption of the policy and who had cobbled together coverage of teaching and other obligations following the birth of their children.

The findings from the 2010-11 policy evaluation of the parental leave policy at Western University spurred my interest in exploring the extent to which institutional and individual discourse may shape what it means to be a parent and a tenured faculty member simultaneously in contemporary research institutions. Across the review of literature regarding work-life policies in the academy, as well as across the pre and post parental leave faculty interview groups there was a recognition that the "culture of tenure"11 continued to creep into the implementation of these policies. Somehow, this "culture of tenure" plays a prominent role in the policy process, including determining who was deemed eligible, who should use the leave, what it meant for productivity, why one should or should not "STOP" off the tenure clock, and of course, what it meant for the eventual award of tenure. The faculty interviews resulted in my full inquiry into how a higher education institution can fully embed work-life balance and integration policies in to the culture of the academy and how policy discourse serves to disrupt (or sustain) this culture of tenure. Namely, how does the discourse of tenure and caregiving serve to sustain the existing culture of tenure, and are there ways in which institutional and individual discourse can disrupt these cultural assumptions that may limit or liberate faculty member's sense of agency in using existing work-life policies?

In order to understand why both male and female faculty members are still reluctant to use these policies, my analysis attended to the institutional and individual

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[11] For research institutions, the academic culture of tenure, as outlined in Chapter 4, signals to the ideology of the ideal tenure track faculty member as one that is committed, collegial, productive, and visible. These ideologies become embedded into the pretenure socialization strategies and values, which then provide cues to tenure track faculty members what is going to be valued, rewarded, or deemed unacceptable (Allen, 2000; Baldwin & Chronister, 2001; Bland et al., 2006; Ehrenberg & Zhang, 2005; Hardre & Cox, 2009; Parsad & Glover, 2002; Verrier, 1994).

framing and construction of parenting on the tenure track. In this chapter, I extend the analysis of the parental leave policy discourse and the discourse surrounding what it means to earn tenure. In doing so, I illustrate how the texts sustained the construction of the "ideal faculty member" via the discourse of commitment, productivity, and visibility. Furthermore, my analysis demonstrates how the construction of the primary caregiver as female, coupled with the discourse of abuse sustained the ideal faculty norms, whereby male faculty members were perceived as unscrupulous and willing to use the paid parental leave policy as a means of getting ahead in the race towards tenure while their partner was presumably home providing childcare.

Chapter 1 illustrated national trends, which have continued to demonstrate an increase in the number of women graduating with doctoral degrees over the past 30 years (NCES, 2008). Despite this, for those who have entered the professoriate and tenure track positions, the number of women sustaining past the rank of assistant professors has not increased at a similar rate. One of the theories behind the attrition of women out of the tenure track is the historic model of tenure. Namely, the competing timelines for earning tenure and the challenge of women navigating tenure during the same years that their biological clocks are most loudly ticking. The principles of the conflicting tenure and biological clocks have been presented as just one justification used by institutions of higher education for adopting formal work-life integration policies, such as paid parental leave policies. Moreover, work-life policies in the academy are situated as an organizational response to allow more equitable access and treatment of women in the academy, in hopes that the issue of recruitment and retention of highly talented women faculty members would be redressed.

Chapter 2 provided a review of literature regarding organizational culture and socialization research, broadly as well as within the context of tenure track faculty in postsecondary institutions. The literature review established a foundation for understanding the culture of tenure as a process and product that provides tenure-track faculty members as well as the institution with protections to meet the institutional missions of teaching, research, and service. The review of literature regarding the culture of tenure included a specific focus on the social construction of tenure via the socialization of new faculty members regarding their roles, expectations, and evaluation within the academy.

In addition, the literature review established that the award of tenure ia an ideological function, whereby tenure has been codified as an induction or "rite of passage" (Verrier, 1994). The awarding of tenure typically occurs after faculty have completed a probationary period, typically 6 to 7 years, and is described by Baldwin and Chronister (2001) and others (Ehrenberg & Zhang, 2005; Gappa, Austin & Trice, 2007a; Hardre & Cox, 2009; Parsad & Glover, 2002; Verrier, 1992; 1994; Youn & Price, 2009) as a "reward" for committing to the academic work. Untenured faculty endeavor to prove themselves as committed and competent scholars in their field and as Greene et al. (2008) noted, faculty have relied on previous tenure decisions within their discipline to judge and measure their own tenure trajectory. More importantly, tenure has been cast as a symbol of acceptance within the academic community (Baldwin & Chronister, 2001; Ehrenberg & Zhang, 2005; Gappa, Austin & Trice, 2007a; Hardre & Cox, 2009; Parsad & Glover, 2002; Verrier, 1992; 1994; Youn & Price, 2009).

The rigid and fixed structure of tenure (Fogg, 2006b; Olsen & Crawford, 1998) has been described as creating a tension for faculty parents, namely, through the socialization of faculty members which included overt and implicit messages that presumed that balancing professional (academic) and personal (parent) roles during the pretenure years was incompatible (Armenti, 2004; Colbeck & Drago, 2005; Finkel & Olswang; 1996; Fogthergill & Feltey, 2003; Leonard & Malina, 1994; Marcus, 2007; Mason & Goulden, 2002; Philipsen & Bostic, 2010; Schoening, 2009; Spalter-Roth & Erskine, 2005; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006). It is this tension, particularly for women faculty, which has spurred the increased focus on the adoption of policies that allow faculty to modify their duties and stop or extend their tenure clock following the birth or adoption of a new child (Drago et al., 2005; Lester & Sallee, 2009; Mason, Goulden & Frasch, 2009; Philispen & Bostic, 2010; Wilson, 2001b; 2008).

After setting the groundwork for a review of work-life policies against the historic culture of tenure, the review of literature included a review of work-life policies in the corporate sector as well as how work-life policies have been introduced, implemented, and utilized within postsecondary organizations. Lewis (1997) and others found that organizational discourse(s) surrounding productivity and commitment limited the individual sense of agency in using work-life policies once adopted (Kanter, 1993; Bailyn, Drago, & Kochan; 2001; Callan, 2007; Kirby & Krone, 2002). Kirby and Krone (2002) and others found that the discourse of productivity and flexibility created structural barriers to the requisite culture change (Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2002; Fried, 1998; Lewis, 1997). Consequently, despite having formal policies on the shelf, women employees who

requested time away were often described as “less productive and less committed than other staff” (Lewis, 1997, p. 16).

Finally, similar to corporate sector work-life policies, Hollenshead et al. (2005) and others explained how despite the existence of formal parental leave policies on the books the ability to rely on the institutional policy was constrained by the resources available to faculty parents (O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Quinn et al., 2004; Quinn et al., 2007), faculty members’ position within the organization and the individual discipline, (Fothergill & Feltey, 2003; Hollenshead et al., 2005) as well as the deeply embedded culture of tenure (Finkel & Olswang, 1996; Hollenshead et al., 2005; Mason, 2002; Quinn et al., 2004; 2007). Specifically, O’Meara and Campbell (2011) suggested that a pretenure faculty member who may be new to the organization might not feel the same sense of entitlement for using the available policies compared to tenured faculty.

After defining the problem and establishing a foundation in the literature, informed by a critical feminist policy framework coupled with the strategies for critical discourse analysis, Chapter 3 described the qualitative analytical framework and the critical feminist policy discourse strategies employed to answer the research question: how does institutional policy discourse shape or confront the construction of tenure and/or parenting in research institutions?

Chapter 4 presented the analysis of institutional policy texts and the individual participant narratives, demonstrating how the policy texts and faculty narrative relied on the construct of the ideal worker to position the rationale for the policy. The ideal worker construct resulted in discourse that remained focused on the visible, committed, and productive faculty member, even when individuals took formal and sanctioned university

parental leave. As a result, I found that policy solutions aimed at improving the academic culture and focused on redressing the structure of tenure were positioned as "hazardous" to women. As noted, the institution saw it as essential that the policy solutions limited the benefit to the primary caregiver to minimize abuse of the policy by male faculty members to further their advantage in the tenure race.

In this chapter, I discuss the ways in which the policy texts and faculty narratives upon further analysis described and framed faculty professional (academic) and personal (caregiving) roles within the cultural model of the ideal worker (Williams, 2000). First, I explain how the institutional policy texts and the faculty narratives use the policy on the shelf discourse to construct a sense of legitimacy for faculty parents. The texts indicate legitimacy is constructed by creating a discourse of a more family-responsive climate as well as a discourse which positions the policy as a means of deflecting any criticisms for parent-scholars who choose to merge caregiving and professional roles. As such, we see that the policy was intended to create a sense of legitimacy surrounding the merged parent-scholar identity.

Secondly, I discuss how the culture of tenure, embedded within the cultural model of the ideal worker, resulted in a discourse that constructed caregiving on the tenure track as problematic for women, often positioning caregiving or childbearing (the biological clock) in conflict or in competition (vs.) with professional goals (the tenure clock). This construction of the policy problem impacted the policy processes, including the ways in which this cultural model affected if and how faculty parents used the paid parental leave policy once institutionally implemented.

Third, I describe how the discourse of entitlement and legitimacy remained stifled by the gendered construction of the primary caregiver (read: woman), which was fueled by and also fueled the discourse of abuse. As discussed here, the construction of the policy problem and the related solutions remained overshadowed by the cultural model of the male "ideal worker," or in this case, the ideal tenure track faculty member that presumed caregiving as a feminine activity and construct (J. Acker, 1992; Valian, 1999). Use of the policy outside of the gendered normative construct meant that male parent-scholars not only had to attest that their time off was used to provide childcare but that their use of the parental leave policy was dominantly presumed to result in abuse of the benefits to further their professional careers.

In conclusion, I discuss the implications of this study for practice, policy, and future research. In particular, I address the need for new policy discourse surrounding expectations of the ideal worker particularly the gendered discourse of caregiving. In addition, the methodological framework utilized in this study could be expanded to offer additional insight into how other institutions are using policy and institutional discourse to rethink the culture of tenure.

There's a Policy

> *...but also because there's a policy, that nobody bats an eye about babies being born in this department now. (Sylvia, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)*

This section explores how the policy texts and faculty narratives created the space for a reconstruction of the ideal faculty member which acknowledged that "[a]cademics are people too…and have lives [they] must live" (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation

Survey, Faculty Response, 2010). Work-life policies as described by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP, 2001) and the American Council on Education (Baer & Van Ummersen, 2005) should include the ability to stop the tenure clock to accommodate special circumstances. In this way, reframing the structure and culture of tenure has been conceptualized primarily through the loosening of the parameters for when and how faculty enter the tenure track allowing space for faculty to "address concerns related to work-life issues" while still being perceived as committed and successful within the academy (Thomas & McLaughlin, 2009, p. 1; Young & Wright, 2001).

Realigning the Academic Career Path: Constructing the "Integrated" Worker Norm

The PCSW framing of the rationale for adoption of a formal parental leave policy aligns with what Thomas and McLaughlin (2009) described as the use of policy as "a strategic tool to realign the structure of the career path to the needs of the academic workforce" namely the increasing numbers of "more diverse, younger generation of male and female faculty who come from various racial/ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds" (pp. 1-3). Bailyn, Drago, and Kochan (2001) noted that work-life policies in organizations serve to maintain the construct and expectations of the ideal worker cultural model, or conversely, attempt to provide a more flexible way of conceptualizing the boundaries between professional and caregiving roles via flexible work arrangements (e.g., telecommuting, part-time work). The paid parental leave policy at Western University would be categorized in the second type of policy in that the policy would

provide faculty with the option of modifying their duties and extend the time to which they should earn tenure, resulting in a disruption of the historic trajectory for earning tenure (Bailyn et al., 2001).

Creating space for faculty parents to simultaneously manage the parent-scholar subjectivity means treating parents' time away from the institution for childbearing as normative while the exceptions are those who "just plows right through and [have] no life blips pre tenure" (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003). Hollenshead et al. (2005) found that the existence of a policy on the books not only "increased goodwill" but also created a climate that assumed that "most faculty will have a family need to manage at some point" (p. 58). This view of the policy was reflected through the policy development and its early implementation. For instance, this is described by a member of the Faculty Senate subcommittee against the belief that "…new generation[s] of academics coming up through the pipeline [are] seeking institutions that allow for healthy balance and integration of professional and personal roles" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Member Response, 2005).

The first mechanism used in creating this space for caregiving within the ideal worker cultural model was in the institutional framing of the parental leave policy as an organizational imperative in ensuring access to the pool of highly talented scholars, which as indicated in Chapter 4 was done by the PCSW and the Faculty Senate subcommittee. Yet the prevailing feeling, as Mason (2009) found is that "[n]either men nor women consider tenure-track faculty positions in research-intensive universities to be family-friendly career choices" (p. 2). As a result, more graduate students are seeking

careers outside of the academy, which may further problematize the leaky pipeline (Mason, 2009).

The PCSW subcommittee drafted their proposals in a purposeful way and situated this business case for adoption of the paid parental leave policy front and center, beginning with their initial proposal cover memo in 2004. The organizational value of these policies in terms of the ability to successfully recruit and retain faculty is consistent across all the texts, and the excerpt from an early institutional policy memo situated the policy as a tool that can be used to add value to the university:

> A comprehensive set of work and family policies will be an essential tool in bringing the best and brightest to the University…to assure its continuing academic excellence. (PCSW Policy Proposal Cover Memo, 2004; 2005; 2006)

Additionally, this justification may seem particularly germane for research institutions given the increased number of dual-earner couples in the academy (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004). As a result of the increasing number of dual-earners, the construct of the ideal worker would seemingly fall apart. If institutions are willing to expend the energy to devise strategies to recruit and retain the new demographics, the return on that investment is perceived to include "loyalty…productivity…" and a larger pool of potential faculty members to choose from.

Also, it is presumed that in order to access this generation of faculty institutions must provide structures that allow faculty to effectively balance their personal and professional roles. In the 2010 Policy Evaluation Leadership survey, one department chair argued the department "collectively through our labor and our resources attempt to provide the social insurance for the variety of joyful events and hard blows which inevitably befall our colleagues over a lifetime of service…" and by doing so makes the

university a "better place to work which means we can retain the best of the best…and we can promote a healthy productive work environment" (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation Survey, Leadership Response, 2010). As such, the framing of the justification for the parental leave policy is situated as an institutional imperative to address the tension between the maintenance of the "ideal worker" cultural model (Williams, 2000) and the "culture of tenure" (Baldwin & Chronister, 2001; Gappa, Austin & Trice, 2007a; Ehrenberg & Zhang, 2005; Hardre & Cox, 2009; Parsad & Glover, 2002; Verrier, 1992; 1994; Youn & Price, 2009). Moreover, similar to Mason et al. (2006) findings, the institutional framing of the parental leave policy presumed that the "success and quality of new hires may be influenced by the quality of [the] parental leave policy" (PCSW Policy Proposal Cover Memo, 2004; 2005; 2006).

Work-life policies such as paid parental leave policies are discursively framed across the texts as essential (if not critical) to the preservation of intellectual and institutional capital. The texts suggested that the adoption and implementation of the paid parental leave policy was a necessary response to the larger institutional goals of creating "an academic community in which all members are treated equitable, families are supported, and family care concerns are regarded as legitimate and important" (AAUP, 2001, p. 224). Work-life policies are positioned as an organizational strategy and response to the culture and structure of tenure, and the texts suggest that adoption of these policies will aid in the recruitment and retention of the top talent within the limited supply of academic faculty, specifically the increasing number of U.S. women PhDs in the pipeline. The discourse of the crisis of recruiting and retaining the best and the brightest faculty positioned the need for these policies as essential for the sustainability of

research institutions within the larger global economy, but also in terms of redressing the institutional structures that have negatively impacted the careers of certain categories of organizational members (read: women).

Discourse of Entitlement

The adoption of a paid parental leave policy was framed also as a way of establishing institutional structures that ensure these benefits are interpreted correctly, applied equitably, and viewed as clear entitlements by all organizational members including faculty members, department chairs, and other administrators, primarily through establishing time away and time off the clock as automatic. The formal codification and enactment of the formal paid parental leave policy at Western University presupposes that the policy on the shelf may result in clear and unbiased policy interpretation and application across the organization, limiting the ability of departments to hold "faculty member[s] hostage regarding the stopping of the tenure clock" (PCSW Proposal, 2004, p. 6).

The adoption of a parental leave policy created a sense that the policy has legitimate entitlements, which as illustrated in the following excerpt from the 2004 Women's Commission proposal can then be used to combat intentional or unintentional bias:

> Policy regarding retention, promotion and tenure should indicate that faculty are automatically entitled to a stop in the tenure clock. This would address the problem of fear of retribution by implicating chairs and other administrators in the act of denying a benefit. (2004 Proposal for Parental Leave)

The policy language regarding the extension of the tenure clock as well as the ability to request a modification of duties is structured from the outset to exclude chairs and deans from decision making. Faculty are expected to notify chairs of expected time away (modified duties) or time off the clock (tenure extensions). Formalizing a paid parental leave policy would target and minimize the levels of negotiation and perceived negative reactions to faculty parents taking time off to care for their newborn children. The policy also carries entitlements by "implicating chairs…" (PCSW Policy Proposal Cover Memo, 2004) in the act of denying parental leave benefits and prohibiting faculty from using the parental leave in judging tenure files.

Not only do the institutional policy texts aim to exclude chairs and deans from the decision making process for faculty parents, the texts entitlement discourse is positioned primarily as a response to the previous climate, which the PCSW subcommittee described as "inhospitable" for women (PCSW Policy Cover Memo, 2004). To ensure that individuals involved in the review of tenure track faculty parents' dossiers who have used the parental leave policy, the drafting committee proposal memo recommended that these faculty parents signal their leave as part of the formal evaluation documentation:

> Because a break in faculty productivity might be due to parental leave, the University urges that such an extension be noted in materials the retention, promotion, and tenure committee sends to internal and external reviewers, and on the candidate's curriculum vitae. (PCSW Policy Proposal, 2004; 2005; 2006)

In addition, treating the tenure extension as an entitlement is described as a way of mitigating the assumptions about continued scholarly productivity for faculty parents:

> I think that everybody – instead of just saying 'oh, you're so overeager, over-zealous, and you can do it, but you can't somehow you're less' and so I think that it should be worked

> into the policy that it's an automatic stop. (Stephanie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The assumption is that with the policy on the shelf, if "time away" and "time extended on the tenure clock" for childbearing were framed as automatic or entitlements it would result in a legitimate framing of the parent-scholar subjectivity (Colbeck & Drago, 2005; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011). As illustrated in the findings, these entitlements were consistently weighed against the institution maintaining its focus on the values of the committed, present, and collegial scholar.

Through the existence of a policy, becoming a parent pretenure is presumed to result in a reframing of time away and time off the tenure clock as normative. Recognizing that academics have lives to live required that the institution acknowledge that these lives "include[d] children, parents, and other faculty which impinge on a person's off campus life" (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation Survey, Faculty Response, 2010). As Patricia similarly described, having a formal policy puts power in the faculty member's hands to define what it means to create flexibility for childbearing and "make it more legitimate to help to…work on the attitudes of everybody to understand that human beings deserve to be balanced" (Patricia, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). As such, the parental leave policy discourse of entitlement aims to create structures and cultures that value the time spent on childbearing and childrearing. As Ellen reported:

> Because it's policy, it makes it more accepted, and people might grumble a little bit but I think that it makes them act differently. I think it makes it seem like having a baby is the norm, not the exception. (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

This use of the policy to create a sense of entitlement for parent scholars over time may serve to create a more normative organizational space wherein parent-scholars feel they can fully integrate their public and private roles without fear of reprisal, penalty, or judgment of their competence or commitment as scholars. As the above faculty excerpt illustrates, the time that faculty choose to take off the tenure clock via these type of policies does not suggest that faculty who use the policies are "less serious about their careers" (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004, p. 29). Rather, by having a formal parental leave policy formally on the shelf, the organizational structures and values then assume, expect and account for "life blips pretenure" (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003).

In part, the policy on the shelf has created a sense of individual entitlement, whereby, with university sanctioned leave, faculty could point to the policy and mitigate "any concern…that [caregiving] being an inappropriate way of spending time" (Harold, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Moreover, allowing for children, parents, and other factors to exist simultaneously with one's academic career is not (and should not) be viewed as something that decreases "faculty productivity…but rather gives him or her the security to devote quality time to their profession knowing that [the institution] will accommodate them when they need to provide quality time to their family" (Sadie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

To create space for the integrated parent-scholar identity, the parental leave policy was positioned (whether or not it actually does this) to allow faculty to "excel in both realms…parenthood and the academy" (Fothergill & Feltey, 2003, p. 13). Basically, as explained by faculty member Ellen, adopting a formal paid parental leave policy created space for this balance and provided a sense that balance is plausible and "you could have

a young baby and manage to come back and be fully productive" (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). The more faculty feel confident in their rights to integrate tenure and childbearing and childrearing, the more normative the model for flexibility becomes, and the less energy faculty must expend on "bias avoidance" (BA) behaviors (Drago et al., 2006). Thus, only time will tell whether or not policies, such as paid parental-leave policies, serve in mitigating the impact of childbearing and childrearing pretenure.

But Then, There's the Ideal Worker

The cultural model of the ideal worker presumes that individuals can devote the expected time to the organization, which in the academy often presumes a 50 to 60 hour workweek (Williams, 2000). Furthermore, historically, the ideal worker (read: male) could count on their partner (read: female) to care for home and children, and the employer would then reward the worker's loyalty (J. Acker, 1992; Gerson, 2010; Williams, 2000). The expectations for productivity and commitment were routinely described as competing with caregiving. As a result, attention provided to nonwork activities would have been perceived as a lack of commitment (Drago et al., 2006). Taking an unpaid leave has been described as having a potentially negative impact on how one's colleagues would perceive one's level of commitment, or a "demonstration of questionable priorities" (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003). For example, time away for parenting is framed as something that may potentially result in backlash, while time away for research is positioned as not only legitimate, but expected. As indicated at Western University, the ideal worker cultural model in higher education assumes and expects that "faculty would not support a pregnancy, with or without a leave, as it would

likely represent an interruption in scholarly productivity" (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003).

As Williams (2000) and others note, while the ideal worker model may "not define all jobs…it defines the good ones" (p. 1). Moreover, "[a]cademia seems to select and support" faculty who accept and model these idealized worker norms (Colbeck & Drago, 2005, p. 13). Often when we talk about a tenure career, particularly within research institutions, it is discussed within the framework of a structured process that assumes static starting points with distinct markers of progress towards tenure, such as retention, tenure, and promotion reviews. It is this model which helps explain why faculty parents often pointed to the unsupportive messages received from their peers and institutional leaders as indication that taking leave was not in their best interest. As illustrated by this faculty member who requested an unpaid leave of absence prior to the adoption of the formal paid parental leave, "[m]y department chair told me that while I could request unpaid leave, I would not be respected if I did so" (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003).

Moreover, these messages and hidden ideological structures (J. Acker, 1992) regarding childbearing pretenure may explain why there were questions about the effectiveness of tenure extension policies that allowed faculty to extend their tenure probationary period if they took an unpaid leave of absence for medical reasons. While the institution had allowed for the ability of faculty to request an extension to their tenure clock, departmental cultures were not always supportive of faculty members' use of the benefit. As indicated in the PCSW policy proposal:

> Department chairs have not always supported requests for tenure clock extensions. There is no specific mechanism for

> appealing that decision and it is difficult for a junior faculty member to risk the wrath of her or his department chair during the probationary period. (PSCW Policy Proposal, 2004; 2005; 2006)

Faculty members ended up having to negotiate maternity leave and tenure extensions separately with their department chairs and deans (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo, 2004; 2005; 2006), and based on their own socialization, "faculty fear[ed] requesting any of these benefits" (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo, 2004, p. 6). In the previous excerpt, the use of "wrath"[12] is particularly salient within the cultural model of the ideal worker. The fear of retribution from colleagues is consistent with the expectations of the ideal worker, and the "overt or covert reactions" to faculty parents' requests for accommodations.

This fear was a result of the messages received from departments that "discouraged [faculty] from taking advantage of existing policies" or the messages received about extending the pretenure clock (or in other words, shift the traditional cultural model of the uninterrupted tenure trajectory) would result in faculty mothers being "viewed negatively" (PCSW Policy Proposal Summary of Brief Survey of Women Faculty, 2004; 2005; 2006)[13]. Faculty mothers explicitly signaled to the presumption that childbearing during the pretenure years was not particularly valued: "I did receive some comments from colleagues who said things like 'I waited until after tenure to have kids'" (PCSW Faculty Survey Response, 2003). As a result, some took leave in spite of these potential retributions while others, as reported in the findings, avoided the leave. Most

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[12] Merriam-Webster offers two definitions for "wrath:" 1) strong vengeful anger or indignation; 2) retributory punishment for an offense or a crime: divine chastisement.

[13] As noted in Chapter 4, in 1991 Western University had adopted a policy that allowed faculty to request extensions of their tenure clock due to medical leaves of absence which included childbirth.

troubling from this discourse underlying the messages that parent-scholars received about taking leave for caregiving, was that the loss of respect from colleagues is not only to be expected, but that somehow it is reasonable.

Within the cultural model of the ideal worker, it is presumed that "reproduction and sexuality…disrupt ongoing work and seriously undermine the orderly and rational pursuit of organizational goals" (J. Acker, 1992, p. 453) and that there should be "no time-outs or even cutting back" on the hours that one can provide to the organization (Gerson, 2010, p. 167). The perceived lack of respect is a result of the construction of tenure, which assumes an uninterrupted trajectory, namely a straight line could be drawn between earning a terminal degree, through entrance into the tenure track pipeline and the award of tenure within 6 to 7 years of entering the tenure track (AAUP, 1970, 1974; American Association of University Professors, 2001; Blackburn, Bieber, Lawrence & Trautvetter, 1991; Gappa et al., 2007a; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Verrier, 1992, 1994). The implications for taking leave undermines the "orderly and rational pursuit" of organizational goals. As the chair of the Faculty Senate committee argued (2005), faculty parents on caregiving leave have failed to meet institutional goals, and therefore any time off provided via formal parental leave policies is time that should be repaid upon their return. The chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee specifically argued that a parental leave policy would place "…all the costs on colleagues and students and none on the faculty member taking the leave:"

> Colleagues sacrifice by making a lower salary, to the extent that leaves are financed through a salary skim…Colleagues may also be called upon to sacrifice by having to cover the classes of the person on leave. (Faculty Senate subcommittee Response to PCSW Parental Leave Proposal, November 2005)

The use of the term “sacrifice” in this particular excerpt is indicative of the cultural assumptions regarding the expectation of the organization to have “first claim on the worker” (J. Acker, 1992, p. 453). Which, as noted across the texts, seemed to be the underlying sentiment for most faculty parents who took time away for childbearing. The following faculty member best captures this:

> ‘You didn't plan this well. This really puts a burden on our faculty.’ When I returned, I had to prove myself by taking on extra work and never bring up the fact that I gave birth to two children and only took off 12 weeks. (PCSW Survey Response, 2003)

This overburdening of one’s colleagues is then presumed to result in even more retaliation against faculty parents. Moreover, if one is absent, there is a presupposed lack of commitment and collegiality and in order to make up for this, parent-scholars should makeup the time-off used for caregiving by absorbing a larger teaching load upon their return. As Drago et al. (2006) and others (S. Acker & Armenti, 2004; J. E. Allison, 2007; Colbeck & Drago, 2005; Finkel & Olswang, 1996; Finkel et al., 1994; Fothergill & Feltey, 2003; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004a, 2004b; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2005; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006) noted, this structure has resulted in a culture which encourages a bias against caregiving during the pretenure probationary period. As such, this cultural model is inherently gendered and based on the historical division of labor and is inextricably “framed around the traditional life patterns of men” and creates a “maternal wall for women” (Williams, 2000, p. 5).

Gendering the Ideal Worker

The academy has been described as a "patriarchal organization in that male dominance is institutionalized throughout the system" (Marshall, 1997, p. 11). As indicated in the findings, the cultural model of the ideal worker remains part of our hidden organizational behavior and hides the implicit gendered construct of the ideal worker norms (J. Acker, 1992; Valian, 1999). As noted by Patricia:

> [t]he continued gender segregation that we have in this society…and those messages are about what appropriate male and female roles are, even among most males and females – especially males with the highest feminist consciousness, they're still getting those messages. (Patricia, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

The hidden gendered nature of organizations is described by Carli and Eagly (2001) and others (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1993; Madden, 2005; Wenneras & Wold, 1997; Wenninger, 1995; Winkler, 2000) who have shown that when gendered stereotypes are activated in organizations, biases against women, particularly biases against caregiving are activated and result in a negative evaluation of women (Drago et al., 2005; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006).

As such, the ideal worker cultural model, as recounted by Patricia, "links the ability to be an ideal worker with the flow of family work and other privileges typically available only to men" (Williams, 2000, p. 5). Consequently, the gendered construction of the policy problem positions women as "needing to be protected and provided for by the institution" (Allan, 2010, p. 99). Consequently, this framework for explaining women's positionality with the academy allows institutions to gloss over the underlying structures and sustain practices that continue to place women at a disadvantage.

The Hazards of Tenure and Motherhood

"Hazardous," "costly," "disadvantaged," are used to describe the effects of the existing tenure structure on the careers of mothers on the tenure track. In the introductory memo sent to university senior vice presidents, the PCSW subcommittee concluded that current policies were "less generous than the policies of most of our peer institutions" and based on the responses to the 2003 survey of women faculty members on the campus, "60% of the women having children while on our faculty report[ed] some sort of negative experience" (PCSW subcommittee Cover Memo, May 2004).

As noted in Chapter 4, the paid parental leave policy at Western University was framed as a means of addressing the "inhospitable climate" or "hazardous" tenure structure for its vulnerable women (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo 2004; 2005; 2006). Given the gendered nature and resulting division of labor (J. Acker, 1992; Davey, 2008), the ideal worker cultural model has subsequently excluded most mothers of childbearing age from attaining organizational success in the academy.

The discourse surrounding the policy problem highlights the career hazards to those faculty who choose to also "produce children" (read: women). As illustrated in the following excerpt from the Faculty Senate subcommittee member response demonstrating their support of the policy:

> The fundamental premise for my support is that having children severely disadvantages women in their career progress…in many cases, biology works against delaying childbearing until one is fully established and tenured. (Faculty Senate subcommittee Report, April 2005)

The PCSW subcommittee, also citing the previous research on women in the academy (AAUP, 1974; S. Acker & Armenti, 2004; American Association of University

Professors, 2001; Armenti, 2004a, 2004b; Bracken et al., 2006; Cotterill & Letherby; Cramer & Boyd, 1995; Drago & Williams, 2000; Finkel & Olswang, 1996; Finkel et al., 1994; Fothergill & Feltey, 2003; Mason & Goulden, 2002; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004a, 2004b) noted that the issue driving the parental leave policy is in part a response to the fact that the years required to obtain tenure-track faculty positions pushes women "far into family-starting period" (read: the biological vs. tenure clock) (PCSW Parental Leave Correspondence, 2005) and that "young tenure-track faculty are uniquely burdened by a clash between the tenure clock and family-building..." (Policy Background Memo, May 2006).

The following excerpts from across the corpus of texts illustrate how the current structure of tenure was discursively constructed as inconducive to the integration of personal and professional roles as similarly found by Colbeck and Drago (2005) and others (Armenti, 2004; Finkel, 1994; Fothergill & Feltey, 2003):

> Example 1
> …*having children severely disadvantages women* in their career progress… (Faculty Senate subcommittee Faculty Member Response, April 6, 2005) [emphasis added]

> Example 2
> As the PCSW document shows, there is substantial evidence that, for whatever reason, *producing children has been hazardous to career progress for faculty women.* (Faculty Senate subcommittee response to Committee Chair, November, 2005) [emphasis added]

Here the hazards to women are positioned as an unknown, yet research and this study have made explicit links to the structure of tenure as having an impact on the careers of women.

> Example 3
> Again, the evidence referenced by the PCSW's proposal is clear that *childbearing has been very costly to women faculty.* (Faculty Senate subcommittee Minutes, November 2005) [emphasis added]

Conversely, the chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee, who vehemently argued against the adoption of a formal paid parental leave policy which only benefits faculty mothers, argued that "there is simply no evidence in the record that 'giving birth and neonatal care' is any more destructive to women's careers than more time-extensive challenges…" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Memo, February 2006). In the opinion of the subcommittee, not only was there no evidence of caregiving impacting women's access and success in the tenure track, some believe that the adoption of a formal paid parental leave policy would actually further harm the women who are the "most disadvantaged…given that their primary work is centered in research labs" and research activity cannot be placed on hold due to childbirth (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Memo, February 2006).

As a result, as Young and Wright (2001) noted, faculty mothers often felt "caught between the expectations of motherhood and those of academe with limited resolution or acknowledgement of the demands inherent in both roles" (p. 560). Here, faculty described feeling that they could not do both parenting and tenure and therefore "waited until…[their] record was solid enough…and felt [they] could stop and—or at least take a little bit of a break and have a child" (Sadie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Connelly and Ghodsee (2011) argued that the result of the discourse of the conflicting tenure and biological clocks is the message that being a mom and a professor is so hard that it might not be worth doing.

(Re)constructing Caregiving

From the outset of the development of the policy through implementation, use of the parental leave policy was positioned against the worst-case scenario whereby faculty would use the policy to bolster their scholarly record. In fact, the very "generous nature of the policy" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Response to PCSW Parental Leave Proposal, 2005) is presumed to open the door for "unscrupulous faculty" to see an opening and misuse the policy. Hollenshead et al. (2005) found that 12% of institutions surveyed regarding their work-life policies also used this model for balancing the need to provide flexibility to those parents who most need it and managing abuse. The discourse of abuse presumes that productive scholarly activity and caregiving are dichotomous and therefore eligibility under the 2007 language reframes what it means for a tenure-track faculty member to be legitimate as a professor-parent (at least under the policy) as one who is primarily focused on their child during hours that one might normally be "productive" (Parental Leave Policy, 2007).

The discursive (re)construction of the primary caregiver as the one parent who is spending the majority of child contact hours during time that one would normally spend on scholarly pursuits (Parental Leave Policy, 2007) also raises the question of how nonprimary caregivers (within the institutional definition) might use the policy as a means for getting ahead in the race to the award of tenure. As discussed in Chapter 4, the justification for this two tiered approach to the policy benefits was to minimize or allay the potential for abuse "of the system by faculty members…who would use the leave for other activities" (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo, 2004). This perceived manipulation of

the system is described as increasing the level of "resentment" and increases the likelihood of retaliation:

> A policy that is perceived as unfair and is perceived as giving untruthful faculty members important advantages over truthful ones will be resented. That resentment may lead to retaliation against faculty members, however innocent they may be, who take parental leave. (Faculty Senate subcommittee Response to PCSW Parental Leave Proposal, 2005)

The chair of the Faculty Senate subcommittee argued that this attestation would do little to allay "unscrupulous faculty" from taking advantage of time off from institutional obligations as well as taking advantage of another year on their tenure clock "even if they are doing little or no childcare" (Faculty Senate subcommittee Chair Correspondence, December 2005). Thus, even with the attestation of primary caregiving, the institution would still be open to abuse.

The discursive framing of the policy against the discourse of abuse assumes that unscrupulous and self-interested faculty members (read: men) will use these policies to harm the institution, with the intent of manipulating the competitive structure of the tenure process. Williams (2006) found that fathers do not often receive the same institutional support in terms of assisting them in balancing their professional and caregiving roles. The difference in support based on gender is described as a result of our historic division of labor, whereby it is automatically assumed that men serve as breadwinners (Williams, 2006). The assumption being that men would have someone at home who would normally be providing childcare, and that men would then use their time away to focus on increasing their research productivity. As captured in this excerpt from the 2001 policy evaluation survey of faculty:

> I know for certain that his wife is not working full-time and he is not providing more than a couple of hours of childcare a day. While his wife was at home taking care of their toddler and their new baby, he could be found in his office every day. (Parental Leave Policy Evaluation Survey, Faculty Response, 2010)

Namely, it is accepted that male faculty are able to use parental leave to "really magnify their publications" (Ellen, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010) which then serves to further disadvantage women (Sadie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Abuse is only an issue because organizational employees are presumed to give their full energy and time to the organization, always maintaining a distance between the personal and professional spheres (J. Acker, 1992). Consequently, by embedding the discourse of abuse into the institutional policy discourse of flexibility, legitimacy for integrating the personal (parent) and professional (parent) is constrained by the values and assumptions of the traditional ideal worker norms (Williams, 2000).

This discursive framing of abuse requires a critical interrogation of which faculty are prone to abuse, and which faculty may be subject to the abuse. As noted by Callan (2007), when there is a "strong ideal worker type, policies do not tend to effect a permanent shift…to the integrated worker type but may allow for an alternating between the two types" (p. 687). Of course, this then presupposes that women faculty are primary caregivers, and that their interests would not be increasing their research productivity. Yet, as demonstrated in this study, male faculty parents are also interested in serving as primary caregivers and thus eligible for the parental leave benefits without the assumptions of abuse.

Unfortunately, this results in a discourse that assumes that the untruthful and unscrupulous faculty members will use the birth or adoption of their children as a means

towards getting an advantage. This may explain, why despite providing mechanisms for faculty fathers to attest to their caregiving, faculty fathers described having to defend themselves against the assumptions made about their legitimacy as primary caregivers. As described by Harold:

> In one of my reviews…I let them know that there was a senior faculty who I knew who did not approve of the leave in general, and in particular with paternity leave. So I let him know that I knew there was a faculty who was ideologically opposed to the whole idea, especially for dads, and that I was concerned that would negatively impact my review. (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Policy language which is intrinsically tied to gendered assumptions about which faculty these policies aim to assist, or which faculty members need assistance via policies, limits the ability of the policies and practices to fully challenge the historic and traditional assumptions of academe as well as the cultural expectations and assumptions intrinsic to the ethic of care (Allan, 2010). As a result, as Williams (2006) has noted, these assumptions about caregiving may create an "even chillier climate" for men (p. 57).

The discourse of the primary caregiver coupled with the discourse of abuse illustrates a couple of things. First, the current gendered assumptions about caregiving, whereby if men are on parental leave but showing up to the office it is described and constructed as abuse of a policy aimed at redressing the inequitable structures for women. Yet, for the women faculty parents on a similarly approved parental leave, their need to come to campus is described as necessary in order to fulfill service or teaching obligations and described as a routine part of their balancing academic and caregiving roles. This construction of the legitimate primary caregiver brings to mind a recent article in the New York Times (Dell'Antonia, 2012) which described how the current U.S.

Census Bureau counts childcare. According to Dell'Antonia (2012), the "designated parent" in the U.S. Census Bureau is the mother. When the mother is working or at school, and the father is home caring for the child it is counted as "childcare" (para. 2). More specifically, "[i]f every morning, [the mother] goes off to work and [the] husband stays home with a child, that's a 'child care arrangement' in the eyes of this governmental institution" (para. 4).

This raises the question of who is being constructed and counted as legitimate in their role as primary caregiver within the larger sociocultural discourse, and how these constructions serve to sustain the gendered assumptions about caregiving and childrearing in our organizational cultures. Secondly, the construction of how one spends their time on parental leave illuminates the resilience of the power of the historic construction of the ideal worker (Williams, 2000) whereby "time is representative of productivity, commitment and value" within the academy (Lewis, 1997). By back grounding policy solutions with the discourse of abuse, we end up with policies that are steeped in traditions and expectations about organizational identities.

Yet, some may argue that a couple of cases of abuse of the parental leave policy may seem like a reasonable tradeoff in that it creates the space for male faculty parents to be engaged in childrearing, which may then reduce the pressure placed on faculty mothers. As indicated by Patrice:

> I think it's really important that even though there is the potential for male faculty to leave nurturing to their wives when they take [leave], I'm willing to put up with that because I don't see any other way to change men's attitudes. (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

However, the discourse of abuse within the policy texts should not be immediately dismissed. There is a significant impact on the probability of earning tenure for women who choose to interrupt their normal tenure trajectory for childbearing or childrearing, the same is not true for men who become parents pretenure (Mason & Goulden, 2002; McElrath, 1992). Consequently, policies intended to level the playing field, if not carefully monitored, may inevitably create a further disadvantage for the faculty members that they are aimed at helping.

There's a Policy…They're Supportive, But….

Adopting and implementing a formal paid parental leave policy was presumed to provide institutional structures to combat the bias against parents allowing for more support should they choose to: 1) take time away from the institution for childbearing and childrearing; and/or 2) extend their tenure probationary period to accommodate the physical and emotional challenges of caring for a newborn (Colbeck & Drago, 2005; Drago & Williams, 2000; Mason & Goulden, 2002). The PCSW drafting committee argued that adopting a formal policy would eliminate the ability of the culture of tenure to hold faculty members "hostage regarding the stopping of the tenure clock" and mitigate the ways in which RPT Committees may be "influenced by misperceptions regarding pregnancy leave and scholarly productivity" (Memo from PCSW subcommittee Member, 2005, p. 3). Specifically, supporters of the parental leave policy believe that the creation of structures and policies that allow faculty to effectively manage their parent-scholar identities, without fear of reprisal would allow the institution

to better move towards a climate that "can support women" (PCSW Policy Proposal Memos, 2004; 2005; 2006).

From an organizational benefit perspective, work-life policies are framed against the presumption that if faculty members can effectively balance or integrate their personal and professional roles, they "can turn their attention more fully to professional matters" (Bracken et al., 2006, p. xiii). The PCSW policy proposal attempted to make explicit that time off via the formal paid parental leave policy for caregiving is time that faculty are not expected to make up upon returning. Specifically, the discourse presupposes that a more comprehensive and clear parental leave policy would minimize if not eliminate the ability of department or college leadership to hold faculty hostage to their own assumptions about what it means to earn tenure.

However, as Armenti (2004) found, despite the lofty aims of these types of policies, the policy solutions leave intact the historic "tenure and promotion system," which subsequently "favor(s) the male lifestyle" while appearing to be "gender neutral by the virtue of its focus on merit" (p. 226). Moreover, as the PCSW framing of the policy suggests, and as Jacobs (2004) and Mason et al. (2006) have similarly noted, the existing tenure structure which expects "exclusive devotion to academic pursuits" (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004, p. 21) may "become self-defeating if academia is no longer able to recruit the best and the brightest as a result of impossibly demanding job expectations" (p. 21).

Even with the policy on the books, the assumptions about what it means to earn tenure, and be perceived as an ideal faculty member may impact faculty decisions on whether to take "advantage of the leave for a semester" and faculty may still feel the

pressure and "think really hard about extending [their] clock," as illustrated in the findings section (Kate, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). Consequently, as Blair-Loy Wharton (2002) established, despite having formal policies allowing for caregiving leave, employees will continue to struggle with the supposition of a division between professional and caregiving roles.

As the findings from this study along with the previous literature on the implementation and utilization of these type of policies suggests, having a formal paid parental leave policy aimed at leveling the playing field does not necessarily serve to deconstruct the long held ideologies of the ideal worker construct which presumes professional (male) and caregiving (female) schemas (Fothergill & Feltey, 2003; Hollenshead et al., 2005; Mason, 2011; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006; Yoest, 2004). Similar to other studies (Fothergill & Feltey 2003; Mason, 2011; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006), I found conflicting messages about sustaining ideal worker expectations, particularly those that "undercut decisions that balanced the family/work demands" (O' Meara & Campbell, 2011, p. 6). As we similarly heard from participants in this study, such as Eric, who had only been with the university for 1 year when his wife became pregnant, there is a need to "get a little more settled" before feeling comfortable requesting leave.

The perceptions of one's colleagues and other professionals are important to mothers and parents alike (Fothergill & Feltey, 2003). The perception that one was still being measured against the old cultural model of tenure, despite being on formal leave seemed to be particularly salient for pretenure faculty parents who described an internal pressure to be visible particularly during those early pretenure probationary years. The

findings from this study are consistent with Fothergill and Feltey's (2003) findings: despite having formal policies, which were presumed to make clear the benefits and entitlements to faculty parents, women faculty parents still dither "over the notion of having a child when midstream in the tenure process," not only because there were few models for them to follow, but because they remain concerned that even considering having a child midtenure would be deemed "unprofessional" (Patricia, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

The need to be perceived as present and visible, particularly for pretenure junior faculty members, impacted the perceived sense of authority of when one could be "fully absent" or when one needed to agree to requests from the department for service or other administrative duties while on leave. This is best captured in what O'Meara and Campbell (2011) have described as the "supportive…but" discourse. For instance, Sadie expresses gratitude for the parental leave in one breath and then immediately turns to the "supportive but" discourse noting the constant requests from her chair while on leave:

> I was totally grateful for it, the time off, and it was wonderful. But it wasn't—it was partial in some ways because of those other obligations. And then our chair asked us to do a lot, so I did a lot of committee meetings and just—So the one hour of the day when you're caring for a newborn when I could have done something like washed the dishes, I ended up…doing research for the department…And I think a lot of us just felt like we couldn't really say no. (Sadie, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

While Sadie begins her statement with claiming gratitude for time away, she backs this statement up with a series of comments that foreground the perceived pressure to continue to remain visible, lack of time away and the perceived inability to "say no."

The inability to say no to requests to remain engaged while on formal parental leave is grounded in the implicit assumptions about a tenure track career in which it is presumed that one's sole commitment is to the institution. The process and culture of tenure is described as a performance, with faculty perceiving the need to first identify the standards of evaluation (Fairweather, 2002), then perform to these standards while maintaining collegial relations with their fellow faculty peers (Verrier, 1992). Consequently, it is not surprising that faculty parents still signal to these assumptions while navigating parental leaves of absence. Saying no to the department chair or to one's peers, would presumably result in colleagues and department leadership labeling faculty mothers as uncommitted or not serious, further problematizing the caregiving bias for faculty mothers.

As Colbeck and Drago (2005) noted, faculty members are "given the consistent message that more work, longer hours, and research are always desirable" (p. 13). As O'Meara and Campbell (2011) noted, while faculty parents express support from their departments, the messages about remaining engaged and productive "trump everything else" (p. 46). In response to the messages about the expectation for continued engagement even while on leave, faculty agreed to attend departmental meetings, to remain visible and minimize the impact on their perceived level of commitment, but the baby in tow was often referred to in a way that treated the baby as a signal to their colleagues and department chair of the emerging ideal worker cultural model, which should recognize and value children. Bringing the baby to departmental functions is described as not only a necessary strategy in balancing these unexpected requests, but for

several faculty members bringing the baby to campus was described as a teaching moment:

> If I'm going into the department, sometimes I'm lugging her in there to show that I can't be there that long…or to show that I'm making an effort to be here…as well to sort of make the point, if I had to be there, someone else was going to…I thought it was a point when you have us show up and do these things that we're still expected to do. (Stacy, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Heidi similarly described her response to these pressures to remain engaged as an opportunity to remind her colleagues that she was on university sanctioned leave, and that the leave was intended to care for her child: "[b]ut that was my point that if I'm not allowed to say 'no' you've gotta take it" (Heidi, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

As demonstrated in the findings, bringing the baby to campus created an internal tension for faculty mothers, who felt obligated to attend meetings at the request of their chairs. The following dialogue from the faculty narratives picks up on the tensions of showing up with the baby in tow, particularly for nursing mothers:

> Amy: And you can't pay attention and you're also not—
> Stephanie: You're distracted, and all I'm waiting for is for him to do something and my milk to pop.
> Melody: Yeah, leaking.

> Amy: I mean I think like if the dean is really supportive, "Well, bring the baby. It's fine, you know, we don't mind the babies and we understand that you're on leave." But it made the—it's hard. I'm like I can't talk to you and like be holding this baby. Now she wants to nurse and I'm a mess, and so to me it was a very uncomfortable situation. It may not have been as bad as—I probably perceived it worse than everybody else did.

Others recounted how the messages received from departmental peers when mothers do attempt to bring the baby into the academy may actually serve to enhance what the PCSW subcommittee (PCSW Policy Proposal Memo, 2004; 2005; 2006) described as the "inhospitable climate" for women. As Melody expressed:

> And she's since been in situations where people have been joking about it, which they're joking about it has made her feel uncomfortable because she felt like she had to do it, and now you're making fun of her. (Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010)

Faculty parents brought the baby to meetings, including interviews with potential faculty candidates, noting that they were more than happy to meet these obligations, but it was to be expected that they would "have an infant" in tow (Alice, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010). What is interesting about Alice's discussion about the management of the newborn and the continued expectations of the department is her use of the caveat that "[s]o long as it doesn't look bad for the department that I'm taking a candidate out with a 6-month old." This response raises concern that the presence of the baby within the professional sphere would potentially look bad on the department, which takes us back to the discourse of relying on policies to respond to the shifting values of the academic pipeline. Alice's concern actually competes with this discourse in that the institutional imperative presumes that faculty seek institutions with family-friendly policies. Yet, Alice's comment, along with the previous discussion regarding faculty parents not being able to say no to department chairs, even while on leave begs the question of whether within the walls of the institution, there is still a question that using a paid parental leave policy as intended would somehow be viewed negatively by potential faculty recruits.

Implications

My role as a faculty administrator influenced my research agenda and my choice to develop this specific study. Working with women faculty in a male dominated field, I had come to understand and appreciate the challenges that women faced accessing and ascending the tenure ladder while managing the gendered stereotypes and schemas which had been used to limit their entry and success. I recall the first meeting with my dissertation advisor, where I asked her to help me with a study that would have an impact on the careers of women in the academy, allowing us to move past using policies "as platitudes" to addressing the long-standing challenges women face in the academy, and allow for the substantial change and backing up by action that Fothergill and Feltey (2003) and others (Hollenshead et al., 2005; Mason, 2002; Mason, 2011; Quinn et al., 2004) have recommended.

My interest in these policies emerged as a result of my interactions with faculty parents at Western University who were considering their options of navigating tenure and parenthood. This interest in how these policies emerge and interact with the institutional culture resulted in my volunteering for a research practicum with the Utah Education Policy Center to conduct the scheduled institutional evaluation of the main campus parental leave policy. I requested this project, because for my own personal research interests, the intersection between praxis and policy is crucial in understanding how organizations engage in the requisite culture change.

I drew upon my emerging identity as a researcher and future scholar to understand how the construction of tenure may shift to allow women tenure track faculty members to successfully integrate their professional (scholar) and personal (parent) roles via a formal

paid parental leave policy. I was particularly interested in how institutional policy texts discursively (re)constructed a new model for earning tenure for parent-scholars. This study was conceived of and conducted with the implicit understanding that the data analysis and interpretation would have implications for practice, policy, and future research.

Implications for Future Research

This study used an underutilized theoretical and analytical methodology lens to study the policymaking process. In doing so, it provides a framework for evaluating the policy process behind all work-life balance policies within academe. There is a plethora of research on the emergence of these policies in the academy, as well as research supporting the rationale behind why these policies are particularly salient at this point in time (Fothergill & Feltey, 2003; Hollenshead et al., 2005; Quinn et al., 2004). This study provides a starting point for continuing the evaluation of work-life policies in the academy outside of the geographic and political contexts from the site studied.

First, future research should explore the extent to which these policies actually do affect the ability to recruit, retain, and advance women in the tenure track (Hollenshead et al., 2005). A qualitative study exploring graduate student decision making regarding academic careers could provide further insight into how the socialization processes (Mason, 2009) of graduate students may actually influence the academic pipeline. Exploring graduate student and postdoctoral candidates' decision making processes on which institutions to apply to, including an assessment of the benefits and structures they

value may be a good place to begin in helping us understand the extent to which these policies actually serve to shift the culture of the academy.

Second, as highlighted in the discussion of the use of the modified duties benefit, the research on faculty experiences with parental leave policies is limited. Understanding the experiences of faculty parents who do use parental leave policies, specifically focusing on how faculty and departmental leadership perceived workload management during formal leave would greatly enhance our understanding of the relevance of work-life policies to the success of parent-scholars in research institutions. Using a mixed-method design, further study could provide quantitative data regarding workload adjustments from the perspective of both the faculty parent using the paid leave, as well as the perceived shift in workload from the perspective of the department chair. In addition to the quantitative workload survey, interviews with faculty and department chairs would be gathered to provide a more thorough understanding of faculty and department chairs' experiences of implementing this particular benefit.

Next, throughout the institutional texts and faculty narratives, the notion that male faculty would abuse parental leave policies to further their productivity records continued to emerge. As noted by Hollenshead et al. (2005), the perceived threat of abuse by male faculty members is often a driver of policies which limit the construction of caregiving. At this point, there does not seem to be any hard evidence to support this supposition. Future research regarding the actual use of parental leave policies by male faculty members, and a comparison of teaching, service, and research productivity prior to and during one's parental leave may shed further light on whether the abuse of parental leave to boost male faculty members' scholarly records holds true.

In addition, further research regarding the impact that work-life policies have on the recruitment, retention, and advancement of women in the academy is needed. The policy recommendations outlined in the policy texts presuppose that these policies will enhance the climate of the academy via increased diversity. Studies exploring the extent to which institutions attain these presumed goals could offer additional insight into how they use policy and institutional practices to enable the culture change needed for the success of all faculty members in their organizations.

Implications for Policy

This section provides an overview of the implications for work-life policy development, adoption, implementation, utilization, and evaluation within research institutions. The following recommendations for policy are informed by the data presented in this study. Several feminist scholars have argued that mainstream policy studies fail to recognize gender bias in substantive policy because the models advanced to describe and explain the policy process are gendered (Hawkesworth, 1994, p. 107). As a result, a review of the criterion and definition regarding time away, time off the clock, and the relevance to these two benefits within the construct of the primary caregiver should be addressed up front during the policy formation and adoption process. Policy processes should respond to the challenges of recruiting and retaining highly talented scholars, and the definitions of primary caregiving, while intending to preserve the equity goals, may actually result in the maintenance of the status quo of the ideal tenure track faculty member.

First, institutions should recognize and address the gendered nature of the policy language and the assumptions about which faculty these policies aim to assist, or which faculty members need assistance via policies. These assumptions limit the ability of the policies and practices to fully challenge the historic and traditional assumptions of academe as well as the cultural expectations and assumptions intrinsic to the ethic of care. For women, while the institution may have aimed to draft a gender-neutral policy, the discourse behind who is a legitimate caregiver results in policy language that results in these policies being primarily viewed through the discourse of equity. And as Marshall (1997) noted, equity cannot be attained regardless of the claims of liberalism and egalitarianism and policies not critically interrogated may actually serve to maintain historic systems of power that continue to marginalize women. Finally, "gender neutral policies and practices" often result in a maintenance (if not reinforcement) of the status quo of power (Armenti, 2004).

Second, how policy problems get framed affects what "can be thought about and the possibilities for action" (Bacchi, 2000, p. 50). The framing of the policy problem may result in policy solutions geared towards ensuring that these policies do not "triply disadvantage" women by creating an even more disparate uneven playing field, never fully challenging the historic and traditional assumptions regarding the ethic of caregiving and opening the door for significant cultural change which encourages both men and women to engage equally in caring for children and other dependents. Institutions should focus on whether these policies are intended to create equality within the tenure structure, allowing for all members to actively participate in childrearing

responsibilities, or whether these policies truly are aimed at creating an equitable playing field specifically addressing the challenges outlined for women on the tenure track.

These two goals may appear to be incompatible at first glance. Institutional policy discourse which situates a paid parental leave policy as a benefit to assist all faculty parents, because caregiving, regardless of gender, has been shown to have an impact on the careers of tenure track faculty, may move us one step closer to the academic culture which supports and values time spent on caregiving. By refocusing policy discourse and policy solutions on assisting all faculty parents because it is the right thing to do as opposed to building policy solutions and benefits to "allay" abuse as was evidenced in the 2006-2007 legal framing of the "primary caregiver" attestation, policy language is situated as a response to the gender-neutral, and dual-career realities of work-life integration, not a response to the ways in which women have not fit into the tenure structure.

Moreover, Allan (2010) noted that relying on the discourse of caregiving as a rationale for why a policy should be adopted may serve to "(re)produce a view of motherhood as an essential characteristic of women—rather than a choice or shared responsibility" (p. 14). Within the historic divisions and substructures of gendered organizational roles (J. Acker, 1992), the challenge for male tenure-track faculty members is that they are often positioned against the historical assumptions regarding their role as father, but not necessarily as nurturers or primary caregivers. As Gerson (2010) argued, "the most effective policies take fathers' caretaking as seriously as they do mothers" (p. 222). If the policy discourse creates the assumption that women are the only beneficiaries, Mason (2011) has argued that women must then confront the existing

culture of the academy, and if they perceive a threat to their credibility as well as their seriousness as scholars they may resort to using the acceptance, avoidance, or resistance strategies outlined by Colbeck and Drago (2005).

In rethinking caregiving, institutions should also recognize the growing number of dual-career households and recognize that there is an increased desire, if not necessity, for supporting coparenting roles. As one faculty member in this study suggested, the policy should apply to both parents as "when there is a newborn in the house, there's a newborn in the house." Failure to acknowledge the shifting nature of caregiving, which includes an increased focus on coparenting, results in institutional discourse, that if left unchallenged, may further embed the status quo of the tenure culture.

Third, faculty parents described the tension of navigating their parent-scholar roles simultaneously, even while on sanctioned parental leave. Many reported that their department chairs did not hesitate to contact them and ask them to engage in service activity. Many of these faculty also felt that they did not have full authority to say no to these requests, even though the policy language provided them with this agency. The parental leave policy at Western University encourages but does not require that agreements about activity while on leave (whether it is teaching, research, or service) be formally documented and agreed upon as part of the application process. As a result, when requests were made of new faculty parents, many reverted to their assumptions about what it means to be an ideal tenure track faculty member, and opted to participate in activities that they did not feel were necessary. Policies should consider the ways in which these formal agreements may serve to facilitate a more family-responsive climate for parent-scholars.

Implications for Practice

This section provides a discussion of the implications of the study's findings on practice within research institutions. My interest in these policies is related to my role as a faculty administrator in a research-extensive institution. Since the adoption of the paid-parental leave policy at Western University, I have been fortunate to speak and mentor many junior tenure-track faculty members on the availability of the policy, as well as talk with them about their perceptions regarding the impact that their leave or tenure extension may have on their tenure career. The findings from this study suggest 3 specific recommendations for future practice.

First, recognizing that one of the primary justifications for the adoption of work-life policies in the academy is the need to respond to the incompatibility of the existing tenure-track structure and parenting (Mason & Goulden, 2002; Quinn et al., 2007), institutional policy must disrupt the existing culture and assumptions and supplant them with new values, beliefs, and attitudes regarding the integration of the professional (professor) and personal (parent) roles. Faculty and administrators who engage with junior tenure track faculty parents need to attend to the discourse they use to describe and interpret these policies, and work to consciously shift the discursive practice of further embedding the cultural model of the ideal worker which has often precluded faculty mothers (read: caregivers) from succeeding in academics. If the academy wishes to recruit and retain highly talented faculty scholars, it is essential that the culture of the academy shifts to create space where faculty parents feel they can effectively integrate and balance their personal and professional roles regardless of gender.

Institutions should proactively identify the existing discourse on the legitimacy of caregiving within the academy, moving us closer to a flexible tenure structure that recognizes and values all faculty members need for work-life balance and integration. Shifting the tenure culture requires that faculty members' and institutional leadership actively resist the tendency to rely on outdated gendered schema regarding parenting roles throughout the entire process developing and implementing work-life policies. As the organization starts to shift the discourse surrounding work and family the available subject positions within the discourse will change as well, namely allowing a culture that normalizes the construct of faculty and parent as opposed to faculty or parent (Allan, 2010; Lazar, 2005).

Second, the individual and institutional discourse surrounding the utilization of work-life policies suggests that the culture of the academy and the assumptions about what it means to "earn tenure" actually limit the perceived level of individual sense of agency in using these policies. The texts suggest that by attending to the problematic structures of tenure (e.g., the rigidity of the up-or-out clock) organizations will move closer towards creating more equitable and hospitable academic climates for faculty parents. Our institutions are likely to adopt these policies for symbolic rather than substantive reasons and thus fail to produce any real changes in organizational structures or behavior, as noted by Blair-Loy and Wharton (2002). This may explain why, despite having policies on the shelf that allow faculty parents to modify their duties and extend their tenure clocks following childbirth for over 30 years, faculty still report reluctance to use these policies as intended (Mason, 2011).

Third, the findings of this study indicate that even with a formal policy, balancing both parent and scholar roles simultaneously may come at a price. The discursive framing of these policies against the discourse of caregiving, commitment, abuse, and the competitive culture of tenure may potentially create tension for faculty mothers who continue to report the perceived threat that parenting has on their status as serious scholars in research institutions. While the policy language at Western University provided that faculty parents could determine how their modified duties schedule would work, all faculty parents noted the pressure to participate in departmental service activities, despite the informal agreement that faculty would be on leave. Faculty members routinely acknowledged the impact that leave for parenting is perceived to have on departments (e.g., teaching coverage, service and administrative commitments). Without a clear and public disclosure of the arrangements made for a leave, the findings from this study indicate that there is potential for "a lot of...little resentments building up if it's just perceived as not coming or not attending or not supporting or not doing [their] part" (Sylvia, Faculty Interview Participant, April 2010).

If faculty parents feel that they cannot tell their department chairs or deans no when asked to engage in service duties while on sanctioned leave, and they respond to these pressures by bringing the baby with them to the campus and are subjected to ridicule, then whether the department is truly "supportive" comes into question. Institutional policy texts should encourage written agreements between faculty and department chairs regarding expectations for faculty time while on formal paid parental leave. Department chairs should actively work to protect faculty parents' caregiving leave. Quinn et al. (2004) suggested that department chairs be actively involved in the policy

process and informed of the value of providing faculty parents with time away to care for their newborn children as well as to manage other aspects of their personal lives (e.g., disability, elder care, childcare).

Conclusion

> *Fathers are reluctant to use parental leave when offered because it is contrary to the ethic of male breadwinner. Mothers are afraid to use the policies that only women use for fear they will be treated as less serious about their work than men. (Mason, 2011)*

Paid parental leave policies in the academy are part of the larger discussion of work-life policies in the U.S. labor market (Fried, 1998), and more recently within the academy (Hollenshead et al., 2005; Quinn et al., 2004), aimed at addressing the conflicts and tensions of balancing professional and caregiving roles (Williams, 2000). These policies continue to struggle for legitimacy in both the corporate and academic realms (Callan, 2007; Drago et al., 2005; Fried, 1998; Hollenshead et al., 2005; Kirby & Krone, 2002; Mason, 2001, 2011; Pribbenow et al., 2010; Quinn et al., 2007; Williams, 2010), with faculty continuing to report fears of a negative impact on their scholarly trajectory or level of seriousness and commitment if they utilize these policies.

The findings of this study illustrate how the historic tenure culture and structures result in policy processes that cause faculty members to defer to the expectations of the ideal worker cultural model (Williams, 2000) when deciding if and how to use paid parental leave policies. The ideal tenure track faculty member is described within the construct of a linear pathway, with clear on and off ramps and a set time (typically 7 years) to demonstrate their commitment to their discipline, teaching and scholarship, all

of which then result in the "awarding of tenure" (AAUP, 1970; Gappa et al., 2007a; Verrier, 1992).

Providing flexibility in tenure careers namely through on and off ramps, modification of duties, and tenure clock stops is positioned as a means for enhancing the "climate" of academe in ways that challenge the historic assumptions about the "ideal tenure track faculty member," primarily by creating institutional structures that legitimize the professional and personal roles that current faculty members occupy. Consequently, it was not surprising to find that the texts discursively framed the rationale and justification for adopting a formal paid parental leave policy against the rhetoric of "recruiting the best and the brightest" faculty in order to "assure [Western University's] continuing academic excellence (PCSW Policy Proposal Draft, 2004; 2005; 2006) which Bailyn et al. (2001) argued is a standard approach used by organizations. I agree that there is nothing wrong with this approach, but as Bailyn (2001) noted, by focusing on the organizational imperative we gloss over the "inability of ideal workers to make time for family commitments" and even more troubling is the fact that the benefits framed in this manner "are not available to all workers" despite gender-neutral aims and policy language (p. 8).

Given the bias and assumptions about mothers in the academy (Armenti, 2004a; Colbeck & Drago, 2005), it is not surprising that the discourse of flexibility for tenure track faculty members is grounded in the assumptions of the ideal worker norms and the notions of excellence, quality, visibility, and productivity which are intrinsic to the culture of the academy (Hardre & Cox, 2009; Tierney, 1988). Parental leave policies within research institutions are expected to challenge historic cultural norms of the tenured professoriate including the culture of overtime, productivity expectations,

significance of face-time and the commitment ideals of the ideal faculty member (Hardre & Cox, 2009).

The structure and rigidity of the tenure process is discursively framed as having a specific impact on certain categories of organizational members, particularly women. The texts dominantly framed the policy problem against the "hazards" of tenure for faculty mothers. Policy solutions (e.g., modified duties and/or tenure extensions) aimed to create a sense of legitimacy and entitlement to faculty parents, minimizing the caregiving bias, which has created a hazardous tenure career path for women. As such, the policy solutions seemingly attempted to disrupt the historic cultural model of the ideal worker. Consequently, the parental leave policy was positioned within gendered framing which treats men as primarily assuming the professional subjectivity (i.e., breadwinner) and women as primarily positioned within the caregiving roles (i.e., primary caregiver) as natural.

However, even while the institution attempted to implement policies and practices to shift the culture or climate, the texts continued to rely on and signal to the expectations of the ideal worker schema in both defining the problem, and in the proposed policy solutions. Institutional values placed on commitment to faculty colleagues and students were woven into the discourse of parenting on the tenure track in ways that continued to marginalize women via expectations and ideologies of productivity, commitment, and presence. Commitment and visibility were particularly salient for pretenure faculty members who routinely pointed to the expectations of being "present" or "visible" during those crucial pretenure years, which limited their ability to fully take advantage of the benefits provided to them by the parental leave policy.

It is important to recognize that culture change regarding tenure and parenting within research institutions will not occur overnight. However, as Mason (2011) points out, the culture change needed for the success of these policies is limited by the institutional and societal discourse framing what it means to be a tenure track faculty member, parent, and colleague. As noted by Mary Ann Mason in her January 2011 column in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, despite having family-friendly policies on the books for nearly 30 years, the culture of the academy has shifted very little, and faculty are still signaling to not only their institutional deep cultures, but also their societal assumptions about appropriate gender roles as they consider their freedom to use these policies.

In order to understand why both male and female faculty members are still reluctant to use these policies we have to deconstruct the ethic of the male breadwinner, which historically goes back to the division between the public and private spheres and the roles that men and women were conventionally slated to perform (J. Acker, 1992). There is nothing intrinsic about the identities of father, mother and professor or how the relations between them have been conventionally structured (Lazar, 2005). The subjectivity of father, mother, or professor are ontological effects produced, reproduced and regulated through discourse.

I would argue that the reason that faculty continue to question whether they should use existing parental leave policies is because of the existence and sustainment of the cultural model of the "ideal worker" within the construction of the policy problem and the related policy solutions. The parental leave policy texts, and the ways in which the individuals discuss the parental leave policy and their experience with the policy

reinforce the cultural model of the ideal faculty member. Time away is "granted by the institution," women are "excused" from the institution, nonbirth mothers must "attest" that they are primary caregivers. Thus, abuse of the policy is assumed to be primarily aimed at male faculty members who are more likely to use caregiving leave to game the tenure system. These discourses further entrench the gendered cultural models of the ideal faculty member (read: male) and the caregiver (read: female).

As long as women and men tenure-track faculty members continue to question whether taking time off to care for family, regardless of whether there are formal paid parental leave policies or not, will be interpreted or evaluated against the norms of commitment, collegiality, competition, and productivity of the tenure culture, these policies will continue to struggle for legitimacy and the requisite culture change needed will never be fully realized.

In conclusion, in order to move towards the culture change needed for the integration of professional and caregiving roles within the cultural model of the ideal worker, research institutions must first critically interrogate the existing tenure culture and then disrupt the long-standing ideologies embedded in the culture of tenure in order to disrupt and reframe the discourse that shapes the social realities for all parents on the tenure track.

APPENDIX A

POLICY EVALUATION INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Table A.1 Parental Leave Policy Interviews & Group Protocol

* 4 minutes per question	Eligible and Used	Eligible but Did not Use	Other
INTERVIEWEE POLICY GENERAL KNOWLEDGE			
1) Are you familiar with any faculty (e.g., friend/colleague) that have opted to use the parental leave on campus?	X	X	X
a. If so, what do you know about the circumstances of their parental leave		X	X
2) In what arenas and with whom (e.g., dept. college, university committee) have you discussed the use of the parental leave policy?	X	X	X
3) How has the use of either your/or someone else's parental leave (e.g., extension of tenure clock and/or productivity expectations) been discussed during either the formal review process or review process discussions in general in regard to tenure	X	X	X
a. a couple responses in the initial survey suggest that faculty may face penalty or unfair evaluations when they use the parental leave policy. Your thoughts and/or experiences	X	X	X
4) How are women and men who consider taking, have taken, or may be potentially eligible (future) for parental leave viewed with regard to attaining tenure; overall scholarly productivity; and contributions to department/students)	X	X	X
Experience with policy negotiation and implementation			
5) What are the implications (e.g., advantages, benefits, consequences) to other department faculty, departments, and/or colleges when parental leave policy is taken/enacted	X	X	X
6) Who provided guidance, mentorship, or other advice regarding use of parental leave policy?	X	X	
a. What was the nature of this advice	X	X	
7) What factors contributed to your decision to use/not use the parental leave benefit (e.g., expectations, negotiations, availability of information, stigma, tenure) * for faculty not eligible: What factors may contribute to your decision to use/not use the parental leave benefit…	X	X	X
8) What modification of duties were made in your case?	X		
a. How were these modifications negotiated?	X		
b. Were you successful in sticking to these agreements throughout the semester you were on leave?	X		

Table A.1 (continued)

* 4 minutes per question	Eligible and Used	Eligible but Did not Use	Other
c. Were there any changes to your duties post leave as a result of the modifications made during leave?	X		
9) What were your expectations or understanding regarding your productivity (i.e., research, advising, teaching, or service) during your parental leave? ** For those who did not use and were not eligible: What were your expectations or understanding regarding the productivity of others in your department who may have taken the leave?	X	X	X
d. What about expectations for continued participation on department/college/university committees or student advising activities	X		
10) To what degree did you discuss or consider extending your tenure clock as a result of your birth/adoption and/or taking the parental leave? ** For those who were not eligible – what factors may impact your decision to extend/not extend your pretenure probationary period.	X	X	X
e. What were the primary factors that resulted in your deciding to extend or not extend your pretenure probationary period	X	X	
11) What policies and practices would exist on a "family-friendly" campus program (eligibility, circumstances)	X	X	X
SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT Finally, we'd like to get your feedback about how this benefit might be improved.			
12) What would help to improve implementation of the parental leave benefit throughout campus?	X	X	X
13) What changes/considerations/suggestions for improvement to the parental leave policy would you recommend? Is there anything final that you would like to add?	X	X	X

APPENDIX B

WESTERN UNIVERSITY PARENTAL LEAVE

POLICY VERSIONS AND REVISIONS,

2006-2011

Policy: 8-8.1 Rev: 0

Date: May 8, 2006

Subject: Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence

I. PURPOSE

To outline the university's policy for parental leaves of absence for the birth or adoption of children by regular faculty. Any questions regarding this policy should be referred to the Office of the Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs or the Office of the Senior Vice President for Health Sciences.

II. EFFECTIVE DATE

The effective date of this policy for regular faculty in all colleges except the School of Medicine shall be July 1, 2006. For regular faculty in the School of Medicine, the effective date of either this policy or a different policy on this subject adopted specifically for the School of Medicine shall be July 1, 2007. Until that time current policy on FLMA in PPM 2-21 and on probationary period extensions in PPM 8-6 will remain in effect in the School of Medicine.

III. REFERENCES

PPM 2-21, Leaves of Absence (Health-Related)
PPM 2-22, Leaves of Absence (Non Health-Related)
PPM 8-6, Faculty Retention and Tenure of Regular Faculty
PPM 8-8S, Leaves of Absence
29 Code of Federal Regulations 825.100 et seq., Family and Medical Leave Act Regulations

IV. DEFINITIONS

A. “Academic year” is defined for purposes of this policy as August 16 to May 15 for faculty on nine-month appointments and July 1 to June 30 for faculty on twelve month appointments.

B. "Adopted child” refers to a child under 6 years of age or a special needs child placed for adoption. Special needs child” means a child under the age of 18“who is incapable of self-care on a daily basis because of a mental or physical disability that substantially limits one or more major life activities.

C. "Annual base salary" means the total compensation approved in advance as the amount payable to a faculty member for normal and expected working time and effort, not in excess of 100% of full-time, for all services to be performed under all assignments during the appointment period. This term does not include compensation for separate assignments during nonworking intervals, approved overload assignments in the Division of Continuing Education, additional compensation for occasional services or payments

made pursuant to authorized consulting or professional service contracts. (See PPM 2-67, Additional Compensation and Overload Policy.)

D. “Partner” refers to a spouse or, in the case of unmarried faculty, to an adult who is certified as an eligible partner through Human Resources procedures.

E. "Primary caregiver" means a faculty member who provides the majority of child contact hours during the faculty member’s regular academic working hours for a period of at least 15 weeks.

F. "Regular faculty” is defined as tenured or tenure-eligible faculty under PPM 9-2.

V. FACULTY PARENTAL LEAVE

A. Eligibility

Benefits under this policy are available to a regular faculty member who either a) gives birth to a child within the academic year or within 6 weeks before the beginning of the academic year, or b) serves as the primary caregiver of her or his own newborn child or a partner’s newborn child or of a newly adopted child within the period for which leave is sought. This policy does not apply to birth mothers who do not anticipate becoming the legal parent of the child following birth. In such cases, the faculty member will be covered by sick leave and FMLA policies.

Leave under this policy shall begin no more than 3 months prior to the birth/placement of a child and shall be completed no more than 12 months following the birth/placement. Exceptions must be approved by the cognizant senior vice president. Only one Western University faculty member is guaranteed to qualify for this leave for a given instance of childbirth or adoption.

B. Notification

The eligible faculty member should notify her or his department chair of a request for

a modification of duties as soon as possible and normally no fewer than 3 months prior to the arrival of the child. The request for an extension to the pretenure probationary period or post-tenure review process may be made at the same time and must be made within 3 months of the arrival of the child and before a review begins. An application form is available http://www.admin.utah.edu/facdev/forms/parental leave.pdf..

C. Modified Duties

Upon request, an eligible faculty member will be granted modified duties for one semester for faculty on nine-month appointments or an equivalent period for faculty on twelve-month appointments. The faculty member may choose to continue some professional activities (e.g., meeting students, doing research, participating in hiring or

RPT decisions) during this semester. The faculty member will receive pay at the rate of 95% of her or his annual base salary during that semester. If a portion of the compensation is received from grants or contracts, that portion of compensation must be based on actual effort performed for the award. All award requirements must be met. A faculty member will automatically receive modified duties no more than twice. Any subsequent requests will be subject to the approval of the cognizant senior vice president. For teaching loads that are unbalanced across the academic year, arrangements should be coordinated wherever possible such that modified duties would coincide with the semester with fewer teaching duties.

Parental leave under this policy is substituted for unpaid leave under the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). Eligible faculty members may in addition qualify for unpaid leave under the FMLA during the same twelve (12) month period, but only in connection with a serious health condition. Such FMLA leave is normally unpaid except that accrued sick leave must be used. See PPM 2-21 for more information.

Other leave that has been taken or is scheduled to be taken by an eligible faculty member shall not preclude parental leave under this policy. Correspondingly, parental leave taken or scheduled under this policy shall have no bearing on decisions regarding other leave for an eligible faculty member.

D. Adjustments to Tenured or Tenure-Eligible Appointments

Upon request, an eligible faculty member will automatically receive a one-year extension on her or his timetable for RPT or post-tenure reviews. Faculty members should not be expected to maintain normal scholarly productivity during an extension granted under this policy. A faculty member will automatically receive this extension no more than twice. Any subsequent requests will be subject to the approval of the cognizant vice president.

E. Unanticipated Events

Not all events surrounding pregnancy, childbirth, adoption, and the health of a young child can be fully anticipated by this policy. Requests for exceptions to this policy should be directed to the cognizant senior vice president.

F. Obligation to Return

The obligation to return to university service following the leave, applicable to other leaves under PPM 8-8S, Sec. 9, B., applies to this policy as well.

VI. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER POLICIES

Nothing in this policy precludes academic units from providing similar benefits to faculty in addition to regular faculty or providing to any faculty members more extensive

benefits for parental or other family responsibilities or personal disability. If any other University policy is inconsistent with the provisions herein, this policy shall govern.

VII. POLICY REVIEW

The implementation and the fiscal impact of the parental leave policy will be reviewed in 3 years from the date of passage. The report will be given to the Academic Senate. Concerns should be reported to the cognizant Associate Vice President for Faculty or for Health Sciences.

Approved: Academic Senate, May 1, 2006

Approved: Board of Trustees, May 8, 2006

2. Proposed revisions of PPM 8-8.1, as approved and adopted to become

Revision 1. (Note that this Policy was in 2008 renumbered as U-Policy 6-315).

PPM 8-8.1 (Parental Leave, non-SOM) Draft # 2007-02-22.

Policy: 8-8.1 Rev: 1

Date: 2007

Subject: Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence

I. PURPOSES

To outline the university's policy for parental leaves of absence **and extensions of the review timetable** for the birth or adoption of children by regular faculty **and academic librarians. To maintain the university's general preference of providing leaves for faculty, except for brief absences, in increments of an academic term or semester, consistent with the length of most teaching assignments.** Any questions regarding this policy should be referred to the Office of the Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs or the Office of the Senior Vice President for Health Sciences.

II. **SCOPE AND** EFFECTIVE DATE

~~The effective date of this~~**This** policy for applies ~~for~~ **applies for academic librarians and** regular faculty in all colleges except the School of Medicine ~~shall be July 1, 2006~~. ~~For regular faculty in the School of Medicine, the effective date of either this policy or a different policy on this subject adopted specifically for the School of Medicine shall be July 1, 2007. Until that time current policy on FLMA in PPM 2-21 and on probationary period extensions in PPM 8-6 will remain in effect in the School of Medicine.~~. The effective date of this policy is July 1, 2006.

III. REFERENCES

PPM 2-21, Leaves of Absence (Health-Related)

PPM 2-22, Leaves of Absence (Non Health-Related)

PPM 8-6, Faculty Retention and Tenure of Regular Faculty (extension of pretenure probationary period for disability)
PPM 8-8S, Leaves of Absence

PPM 8-8.2, School of Medicine (SOM) Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence

29 Code of Federal Regulations 825.100 et seq., Family and Medical Leave Act Regulations

IV. DEFINITIONS

A. “Academic year” is defined for purposes of this policy as August 16 to May 15 for faculty on nine-month appointments and July 1 to June 30 for faculty on twelve month appointments.

B. "Adopted child” refers to a child under six years of age or a special needs child placed for adoption. “Special needs child” means a child under the age of 18 who is incapable of self-care on a daily basis because of a mental or physical disability that substantially limits one or more major life activities.

C. "Annual base salary" means the total compensation approved in advance as the amount payable to a faculty member for normal and expected working time and effort, not in excess of 100% of full-time, for all services to be performed under all assignments during the appointment period. This term does not include compensation for separate assignments during nonworking intervals, approved overload assignments in the Division of Continuing Education, additional compensation for occasional services or payments made pursuant to authorized consulting or professional service contracts. (See [PPM 2-67], Additional Compensation and Overload Policy.)

D. "**Eligible faculty” is defined as library faculty or regular faculty with appointments that began before the expected arrival of a child**.

E. "Library faculty” is defined as academic librarians with continuing appointment or eligible for continuing appointment under [PPM 9-2].

F. “Parental leave benefits” refers to parental leaves of absence with modified duties (including disability leaves for birth mothers and care-giving leaves for all eligible parents) and/or extensions of the review timetable for the birth or adoption of children.

G. “Partner” refers to a spouse or, in the case of unmarried faculty, to an adult who is certified as an eligible partner through Human Resources procedures.
~~E. "Primary caregiver~~"**H. "Primary caregiver" for purposes of an extension of the review timetable means a faculty member who provides the majority of child contact hours during time that the faculty member would normally spend on**

productive scholarly pursuits for a period of at least 15 weeks. "Primary caregiver" for purposes of a care-giving leave means a faculty member who provides the majority of child contact hours during the faculty member’s regular academic working hours for a period of at least 15 weeks.

~~F~~**I**. "Regular faculty” is defined as tenured or tenure-eligible faculty under [PPM 9-2].

V. FACULTY PARENTAL LEAVE: **ELIGIBILITY, NOTIFICATION, BENEFITS**

A. Eligibility

1. Review timetable extensions under this policy are available to an eligible faculty member who either i) is due to and/or does give birth to a child no later than June 30 of the year in which the review to be extended is scheduled, or ii) is planning to and/or begins to serve as the primary caregiver of her or his own newborn child or a partner’s newborn child or of a newly adopted child no later than June 30 of the year in which the review to be extended is scheduled.

2. Disability leave benefits and the resulting modified duties under this policy are available to an eligible faculty member who gives birth to a child within the semester for which leave is sought or within four weeks before the beginning of that semester.

3. Care-giving leave benefits and the resulting modified duties under this policy are available to an eligible faculty member who serves as the primary caregiver of her or his own newborn child or a partner’s newborn child or of a newly adopted child within the semester for which leave is sought.

4. ~~Benefits under this policy are available to a regular faculty member who either a) gives birth to a child within the academic year or within six weeks before the beginning of the academic year, or b) serves as the primary caregiver of her or his own newborn child or a partner’s newborn child or of a newly adopted child within the period for which leave is sought.~~ This policy does not apply to birth mothers who do not anticipate becoming the legal parent of the child following birth. In such cases, the faculty member will may be covered by sick leave and FMLA policies.
5. ~~Leave~~ **Disability or care-giving leave** under this policy shall begin no more than 3 months prior to the birth/placement of a child and shall be completed no more than 12

months following the birth/placement. ~~Exceptions must be approved by the cognizant senior vice president.~~

6. Only one Western University faculty member is guaranteed to qualify for ~~this~~ **parental** leave **benefits** for a given instance of childbirth or adoption. [Note- An explanation of coordinating this policy with the School of Medicine policy will be added here, once the SOM policy is in final form.]

The qualifying faculty member is only guaranteed one semester of leave with modified duties for a given instance of childbirth or adoption.
7. A faculty member will automatically receive parental leave benefits no more than twice. Any subsequent requests for benefits in conjunction with additional instances of birth or adoption will be subject to the approval of the cognizant senior vice president.

8. Exceptions to these eligibility criteria must be approved by the cognizant senior vice president.

B. Notification

~~The~~ **An** eligible faculty member should notify her or his department chair of a request for a **parental leave of absence** with modification of duties as soon as possible and ~~normally~~ no fewer than 3 months prior to the **expected** arrival of the child. ~~The~~ **A** request for ~~an~~ **a review timetable** extension to the pretenure probationary period or post-tenure review process may be made at the same time and must be made within 3 months ~~of~~ **after** the arrival of the child and before ~~a review begins~~ **external reviewers are solicited or other action is taken to begin a formal review, whichever is earlier.** An application form is available [http://www.admin.utah.edu/facdev/forms/parental leave.pdf.]. **A previously submitted request for a timetable extension may be revoked by written notice from the faculty member, submitted before the date on which action would ordinarily be taken to begin a formal review in that year's review cycle.**

C. **Parental Leaves of Absence, with** Modified Duties (**Disability Leave, Care- giving Leave)**

Upon request, an eligible faculty member will be granted **a parental leave of absence with** modified duties for one semester for faculty on nine-month appointments or an equivalent period for faculty on twelve-month appointments. The faculty member **will be released from professional duties during this period, but** may choose to continue some professional activities (e.g., meeting students, doing research, participating in hiring or RPT decisions) ~~during this semester~~. The faculty member will receive pay at the rate of 95% of her or his annual base salary during that semester. If a portion of the compensation is received from grants or contracts, that portion of compensation must be

based on actual effort performed for the award, **and all** ~~.All award~~ requirements must be met. ~~A faculty member will automatically receive modified duties no more than twice. Any subsequent requests will be subject to the approval of the cognizant senior vice president.~~ For teaching loads that are unbalanced across the academic year, arrangements should be coordinated wherever possible such that **a leave with** modified duties would coincide with the semester with fewer teaching duties.

Parental leaves of absence with modified duties under this policy ~~is~~ **are** substituted for unpaid leave under the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). Eligible faculty members may in addition qualify for unpaid leave under the FMLA during the same twelve (12) month period, but only in connection with a serious health condition. Such FMLA leave is normally unpaid except that accrued sick leave must be used. See [PPM 2-21] for more information.

~~Other leave that has been taken or is scheduled to be taken by an eligible faculty member shall not preclude parental leave under this policy. Correspondingly, parental leave taken or scheduled under this policy shall have no bearing on decisions regarding other leave for an eligible faculty member.~~

~~D. Adjustments to Tenured or Tenure-Eligible Appointments~~

D. Extension to Review Timetables

Upon **making a timely** request, an eligible faculty member will automatically receive a one-year extension on her or his **overall** timetable for ~~RPT~~ **retention, promotion and tenure (RPT)** or post-tenure reviews. **For an RPT review, an extension applies both to the next scheduled review, and the overall timetable for subsequent reviews. An extension taken at any time in a pretenure probationary period will extend the date for the final tenure review, as well as any intervening formal review.** Faculty members should not be expected to maintain normal scholarly productivity during an extension granted under this policy.
~~A faculty member will automatically receive this extension no more than twice. Any subsequent requests will be subject to the approval of the cognizant vice president~~.

E. Unanticipated Events

Not all events surrounding pregnancy, childbirth, adoption, and the health of a young child can be fully anticipated ~~by~~ **for purposes of** this policy. Requests for exceptions to this policy should be directed to the cognizant senior vice president.

F. Obligation to Return

The obligation to return to university service following the leave, applicable to other leaves under PPM 8-8S, Sec. 9, B., applies to **disability and caregiving leaves under** this policy as well.

VI. EXAMPLES OF POLICY APPLICATION

Examples of the application of this policy are available [sample link name: http://www.admin.utah.edu/facdev/parentalleaveexamples/parental leave.pdf.]. Examples are provided for illustrative purposes only. They do not constitute any part of this policy.

VII. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER POLICIES

A. Nothing in this policy precludes academic units from providing similar benefits to faculty ~~**in addition to regular**~~ **other than** faculty **eligible under this policy** or providing to any faculty members **or academic librarians** more extensive benefits for parental or other family responsibilities or personal disability.

B. Other leave that has been taken or is scheduled to be taken by a faculty member shall not preclude eligibility for parental leave benefits under this policy.

Correspondingly, parental leave taken or scheduled under this policy shall have no bearing on decisions regarding other leave for a faculty member, except to the extent that a faculty member with a twelve-month appointment is subject to a department policy regarding proration of sick leave, vacation leave or professional development leave.

C. If any other University policy is inconsistent with the provisions herein, this policy shall govern.

~~VII~~VIII. POLICY REVIEW

The implementation and the fiscal impact of ~~the~~ this parental leave policy will be reviewed in 3 years from the **original** date of passage **which was May 2006**. The report will be given to the Academic Senate. Concerns should be reported to the cognizant Associate Vice President for Faculty or for Health Sciences.

Approved: Academic Senate, ~~May 1, 2006~~ , 2007

Approved: Board of Trustees, ~~May 8, 2006~~ , 2007

final version 2011-05-03, as approved by Senate May 2, and Trustees May 10, 2011

Policy 6-315: Faculty Parental Benefits-Leaves of Absence with Modified Duties and Review Extensions. Revision ~~1~~ 2 [Effective date ~~March 12, 2007~~ July 1, 2011]

I. Purpose and Scope

To outline establish the University's Policy for parental leaves of absence and extensions of the review timetable for the birth or adoption of children by regular faculty and academic librarians. To maintain the University's general preference of providing leaves for faculty, except for brief absences, in increments of an academic term or semester, consistent with the length of most teaching assignments. Any questions regarding this policy should be referred to the Office of the Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs or the Office of the Senior Vice President for Health Sciences.

~~II. Scope and Effective Date~~

This policy applies for academic librarians and regular faculty in all colleges except the School of Medicine. ~~The effective date of this policy is July 1, 2006.~~

~~III.References~~ **[Drafting note: References are moved to Part V below, without changes.]**

II. ~~IV~~ Definitions. For purposes of this Policy and any associated Regulations, these terms are defined as follows.

A. "Academic year" is defined for purposes of this policy as August 16 to May 15 for faculty on nine-month appointments and July 1 to June 30 for faculty on twelve-month appointments.

B. "Adopted child" refers to a child under six years of age or a special needs child (as defined here) placed for adoption. "Special needs child" means a child under the age of 18 who is incapable of self-care on a daily basis because of a mental or physical disability that substantially limits one or more major life activities. [Drafting note: this 'special' needs definition is merely moved below without changes.]

C. "Annual base salary" means the total compensation approved in advance as the

amount payable to a faculty member for normal and expected working time and effort, not in excess of 100% of full-time, for all services to be performed under all assignments during the appointment period. This term does not include compensation for separate assignments during nonworking intervals, approved overload assignments in the Division of Continuing Education, additional compensation for occasional services or payments made pursuant to authorized consulting or professional service contracts. (See Policy 5-403, Additional Compensation and Overload Policy.)

D. "Eligible faculty" is defined as library faculty or regular faculty with appointments that began before the expected arrival of a child.

E. "Library faculty" is defined as academic librarians with continuing appointment or eligible for continuing appointment under Policy 6-300.

F. "Parental benefits" refers to both the leave of absence benefits and the review extension benefits provided under this Policy. "Parental leave benefits" refers to parental leaves of absence with modified duties (including disability leaves for birth mothers and care-giving leaves for all eligible caregiver parents) ~~and/or extensions of the review timetable for the birth or adoption of children.~~

G. "Partner" refers to a spouse or, in the case of unmarried faculty, to an adult who is certified as an eligible partner through Human Resources procedures.

H. "Eligible caregiver" is defined differently for purposes of each type of parental benefit. (1) "Eligible caregiver" for purposes of a care-giving leave means a faculty member who provides the majority of child contact hours during the faculty member's regular academic working hours for a period of at least 15 weeks. (2) "~~Primary~~ Eligible caregiver" for purposes of an extension of the review timetable means a faculty member who provides the majority of child contact hours during time that the faculty member would normally spend on productive scholarly pursuits for a period of at least 15 weeks. This definition takes into account typical summertime scholarly activities. ~~"Primary caregiver" for purposes of a care-giving leave means a faculty member who provides the majority of child contact hours during the faculty member's regular academic working hours for a period of at least 15 weeks~~.

I. "Regular faculty" is defined as tenured or tenure-eligible faculty under Policy 6-300.

J. "Review timetable extension" refers to an additional year added to the probationary period before a tenure or post-tenure review.

K. "Special needs child" means a child under the age of 18 who is incapable of self-care on a daily basis because of a mental or physical disability that substantially limits one or more major life activities.

~~V. Faculty Parental Leave: Eligibility, NOTIFICATION, BENEFITS~~

~~A. Eligibility~~

~~1. Review timetable extensions under this policy are available to an eligible faculty member who either i) is due to and/or does give birth to a child no later than June 30 of the year in which the review to be extended is scheduled, or ii) is planning to and/or begins to serve as the primary caregiver of her or his own newborn child or a partner's newborn child or of a newly adopted child no later than June 30 of the year in which the review to be extended is scheduled.~~

~~2. Disability leave benefits and the resulting modified duties under this policy are~~

~~available to an eligible faculty member who gives birth to a child within the semester for which leave is sought or within four weeks before the beginning of that semester.~~

~~3. Care-giving leave benefits and the resulting modified duties under this policy are available to an eligible faculty member who serves as the primary caregiver of her or his own newborn child or a partner's newborn child or of a newly adopted child within the semester for which leave is sought.~~

~~4. This policy does not apply to birth mothers who do not anticipate becoming the legal parent of the child following birth. In such cases, the faculty member may be covered by sick leave and FMLA policies.~~

~~5. Disability or care-giving leave under this policy shall begin no more than 3 months prior to the birth/placement of a child and shall be completed no more than 12 months following the birth/placement.~~

~~6. Only one Western University faculty member is guaranteed to qualify for parental leave benefits for a given instance of childbirth or adoption. (Note-An explanation of coordination this policy with the School of Medicine policy will be added here, once the SOM policy is in final form.) The qualifying faculty member is only guaranteed one semester of leave with modified duties for a given instance of childbirth or adoption~~

~~7. A faculty member will automatically receive parental leave~~

III. Policy

A. General eligibility for benefits

1. An eligible faculty member is guaranteed parental benefits no more than twice. Any subsequent requests for benefits in conjunction with additional instances of birth or adoption will be subject to the approval of the cognizant senior vice president.

2. Only one Western University faculty member is guaranteed to qualify for parental benefits for a given instance of childbirth or adoption. **Temporary Note to Users-An explanation of coordination this policy with the School of Medicine policy will be added here, once the revised SOM policy is in final form.**

3. This policy does not apply to birth parents who do not anticipate becoming the legal parent of the child following birth. In such cases, a birth mother may be covered by sick leave and FMLA policies.

4. Exceptions to these and other eligibility criteria below must be approved by the cognizant senior vice president.

B. Notification

1. An eligible faculty member should
a. Complete the Parental Benefits application form and submit it to the cognizant senior vice president.
b. ~~n~~Notify her or his department chairperson and dean of the application as soon as possible when the application is submitted.

2. A request for a parental leave of absence with modified duties should normally be made no fewer than 3 months prior to the expected arrival of the child.
~~a request for a parental leave of absence with modification of duties as soon as possible and normally no fewer than 3 months prior to the expected arrival of the child A request for a review timetable extension may be made at the same time and must be made within 3 months after the arrival of the child and before external reviewers are solicited or other action is taken to begin a formal review, which is earlier. A Parental Leave application form is available. A previously submitted request for a timetable extension may be revoked by written notice form the faculty member, submitted before the date on which action would ordinarily be taken to begin a formal review in that year's review cycle.~~
[drafting note: the right to revoke is merely moved to below]

C. Parental Leaves of Absence With Modified Duties

1. Eligibility for leave

a. **Disability leave** benefits and the resulting modified duties under this policy are available to an eligible faculty member who gives birth to a child during the semester for which leave is sought or within four weeks before the beginning of that semester

b. **Care-giving leave** benefits and the resulting modified duties under this policy are available to an eligible faculty member who serves as an eligible caregiver (as defined for this purpose) of her or his own newborn child or a partner's newborn child or of a newly adopted child during the semester for which leave is sought.

~~C. Parental Leaves of Absence, with Modified Duties (Disability Leave, Care- giving Leave).~~

2. Benefit

a. Upon approval of a parental leave of absence Upon request, an eligible faculty member will be granted a parental leave of absence with modified duties (e.g., teaching, service, and/or research) for one semester for faculty in nine-month appointments or an equivalent period for faculty on twelve-month appointments.

i. The faculty member will be released from professional duties during this period, but may choose to continue some professional activities (e.g., meeting students, doing research, participating in hiring or RPT decisions).

ii. The faculty member who is released from teaching should not be expected to maintain normal scholarly productivity during a semester of modified duties.

iii. The faculty member is encouraged to provide the department chairperson with a written statement of the activities the faculty member intends to continue during the leave, if any (e.g., advising, committee service, and research).

b. The faculty member will receive pay at the rate of 95% of her or his annual base salary during that semester, unless the department or college chooses to supplement the salary above 95% (and any such supplementation must be applied consistently for all faculty members of that unit who take parental leave).

c. ~~If a p~~ Portions of the faculty member's compensation is received from grants or contracts~~, that portion of compensation~~ must be based on actual effort performed for the award, and all award requirements must be met.

d. A faculty member with a one semester leave should generally teach one half of a

normal load, overall for an academic year. When the teaching load cannot be exactly halved, it is permissible to expect the faculty member to teach the larger portion. For example, if a faculty member
normally teaches the courses per year, s/he may be released from one and asked to teach two. ~~For teaching loads that are unbalanced across the academic year, arrangements should be coordinated wherever possible such that a leave with modified duties would coincide with the semester~~
~~with fewer teaching duties~~

e. Disability leave under this Policy shall begin no more than 3 months prior to the birth of the child and shall be completed at the end of the semester (or 12-week period) for which the leave is sought.

f. Care-giving leave under this Policy shall begin no sooner than the beginning of the semester in which the child arrives and shall be completed no more than 12 months following the arrival.

3. Parental Leave and the Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA)

a. Parental leaves of absence with modified duties under this Policy are substituted for unpaid care-giving leave under the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA).

b. Eligible faculty members may in addition qualify for unpaid leave under the FMLA during the same twelve (12) month period, but only in connection with a serious health condition either before or after the child's birth or adoption or to the extent the faculty member has not received twelve (12) full weeks of caregiving leave.

c. Such FMLA leave is normally unpaid except that accrued sick leave must be used. See

[Policy 5-200] for more information.

D. ~~Extension to~~ Review Timetables Extensions

~~Upon making a timely request, an eligible faculty member will automatically receive a one-year extension on her or his overall timetable for retention, promotion and tenure (RPT) or post-tenure reviews. For an RPT review, an extension applies both to the next scheduled review, and the overall timetable for subsequent reviews. An extension taken at any time in a pre-tenure probationary period will extend the date for the final tenure review, as well as any intervening formal review. Faculty members should not be expected to maintain normal scholarly productivity during an extension granted under this policy.~~

1. Eligibility for Extension.

A one-year extension of the pre-tenure probationary period (i.e., tenure clock) or the time before a post-tenure review is available to an otherwise eligible faculty member who either i) gives birth to a child, or ii) serves as an eligible caregiver (as defined for this purpose) of her or his own newborn child or a partner's newborn child or of a newly adopted child.

2. Notice.

A request for a review timetable extension is made on the same Parental Benefits application form as a request for a parental leave. A request for an extension may be made at the same time as the request for leave and must be made within six months after the arrival of the child and before external reviewers are solicited or other action is taken to begin a formal review, whichever is earlier.

3. Benefit

Upon approval of a request, a formal review in the current year will be postponed (a) if the faculty member (i) is due to and/or does give birth to a child no later than June 30 of the year in which the review to be extended is scheduled, or (ii) is planning to and/or begins to serve as an eligible caregiver to her or his own newborn child or a partner's newborn child or of a newly adopted child no later than June 30 of the year in which the review to be extended is scheduled and (b) if the faculty member gives the department notice of the birth or adoption before the formal review is initiated. Births or adoptions after June 30 may extend a subsequent formal review, but not the review in the current year. An extension taken at any time in a pre-tenure probationary period will extend the date for the final tenure review.

4. A previously submitted request for a timetable extension may be revoked by written notice from the faculty member, submitted before the date on which action would ordinarily be taken to begin a formal review in that year's review cycle.

E. Unanticipated Events

Not all events surrounding pregnancy, childbirth, adoption, and the health of a young child can be fully anticipated for purposes of this Policy. Requests for exceptions to this Policy should be directed to the cognizant senior vice president.

F. Obligation to Return

The obligation to return to University service following the leave, applicable to other leaves under Policy 6-314, Section 9.B, applies to disability and caregiving leaves under this
Policy as well.

~~VI. Examples of Policy Application~~

~~Examples of the application of this policy are available at this link parental_leave_examples. Examples are provided for illustrative purposes only. They do not constitute any part of this policy~~. [Drafting Note: Examples link moved to IV below.]

~~VII~~. G. Relationship to Other Policies

~~A~~ 1. Nothing in this Policy precludes academic units from providing similar benefits to faculty other than faculty eligible under this Policy or providing to any faculty members or academic librarians more extensive benefits for parental or other family responsibilities or personal disability, so long as similarly situated faculty in the same unit are treated consistently.

~~B~~ 2. Other leave that has been taken or is scheduled to be taken by a faculty member shall not preclude eligibility for parental leave benefits under this Policy. Correspondingly, parental leave taken or scheduled under this Policy shall have no bearing on decisions regarding other leave for a faculty member, except to the extent that a faculty member with a twelve-month appointment is subject to a department policy regarding proration of sick leave, vacation leave or professional development leave.

~~C~~3. If any other University Policy is inconsistent with the provisions herein, this Policy shall govern.

~~VIII~~ H. Policy Review

The implementation and the fiscal impact of ~~the~~ this parental leave Policy will be reviewed in 3 years from the original date of passage which was May 2006 with an amendment in March 2007. The report will be given to the Academic Senate. Concerns should be reported to the cognizant Associate Vice President for Faculty or for Health Sciences.

IV. Rules, Procedures, Guidelines, Forms and other related resources

Rules:

Procedures:

Guidelines: Examples of application of University Policy 6-315
http://www.regulations.utah.edu/academics/appendices_6/parental_leave_examples.html
} Examples are provided for illustrative purposes only. They do not constitute any part of this policy.

Forms: Parental Benefits Application Form

Other related resource materials:

Parental Leave Policy Evaluation-Utah Educational Policy Center 2010

Executive Summary and Update
http://www.regulations.utah.edu/academics/appendices_6/UU_Parental%20Leave
UEPC%20Exec%20Summary_%202011_01_18.pdf }

Full Evaluation Report
http://www.regulations.utah.edu/academics/appendices_6/UU_Parental%20Leave__
UEPC%20Evaluation%20Report_2011_02_14.pdf }

V. References

A. Policy 5-200, Leaves of Absence (Health-Related)
B. Policy 5-201, Leaves of Absence (Non Health-Related)
C. Policy 6-311, Faculty Retention and Tenure of Regular Faculty (extensions of pre tenure probationary period for disability)
D. Policy 6-314, Leaves of Absence
E. Policy 8-002, School of Medicine (SOM) Faculty Parental Leaves of Absence
F. 29 Code of Federal Regulations 825.100 et seq., Family and Medical Leave Act Regulations

VI. Contacts:
Policy Owners: Questions about this Policy and any related Rules, Procedures and Guidelines should be directed to the Associate Vice President for Faculty and the Associate Vice President for Health Sciences. Policy Officers: Acting as the Policy Officers, the Sr. Vice President for Academic Affairs, and the Sr. Vice President for Health Science, are responsible for representing the University's interests in enforcing this policy and authorizing any allowable exceptions.

VII. History:
Renumbering: Renumbered as Policy 6-315 effective 9/15/2008, formerly known as PPM 8-8.1.

Revision history:

A. Current version: Revision 2.
Approved by Academic Senate: [____]

Approved by Board of Trustees: [_____]

B. Earlier versions:

1. Revision 1: Effective dates March 12, 2007 to [?? ___July 1, 2011] {create a file with Revision 1, watermark stamp as outdated, link it here}

Approved by Academic Senate: March 5, 2007
Approved by Board of Trustees: March 12, 2007, with effective date of March 12, 2007
Legislative History of Revision 1. Proposal to amend parental leave and related policies (6-311 and 6-315), Spring 2007 [link to http://www.regulations.utah.edu/academics/appendices_6/6-311_6-315_2007legislativehistory.pdf]

2. Revision 0. Effective dates July 1, 2006 to March 11, 2007 http://www.regulations.utah.edu/academics/revisions_6/6-315.R0.pdf}

Background information for Revision 0. http://www.regulations.utah.edu/academics/appendices_6/6-315.R0-background.pdf}

—end of legislative history—

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