

WOMEN IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Theory and Practice

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Chapter 4

Case Study: Female-Friendly Policies in the Academe

Heather Wyatt-Nichol

Key Terms

Bias avoidance
Biological clock
Family and Medical Leave Act
Ideal worker norm
Organizational culture
Role conflict
Tenure clock stop

Introduction

This chapter explores the linkages between gendered public administration and structural inequalities in academia. Changing demographics highlight the importance of family-friendly policies in the workplace. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2009), labor force participation rates of mothers (working full-time and part-time) with children under age 18 increased from 47% in 1975 to 71% in 2007. In comparison, when the age of a child is considered, the labor force participation rates decrease to 64% for mothers with children younger than 6 years of age. The number of women in graduate programs has also increased in recent years. The U.S. Digest of Education Studies reported that in 2007, 63% of graduate students were women (Snyder, 2009). Similarly, the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (2008) reported that among the 159 respondents of the 268 Administration institutional members, women represented 53% of the doctoral recipients in the fall semester of 2007.

Although participation rates of women in the labor force and graduate programs have steadily increased, the number of women entering the academic pipeline and moving up through the ranks is much smaller. Human resources practices governing workplace policies have not kept pace. Within the field of higher education the absence of family-friendly policies at various colleges and universities is problematic. A recent study of graduate

students at the University of California reports that only 29% of women view research universities as a family-friendly workplace (June, 2009).

We often take for granted that faculty members at 4-year public colleges and universities are state employees. Furthermore, the rate of promotion of academic mothers to tenured positions and the extent of family-friendly policies available intersect with the subject of Human Resources Management—often a core course in Public Administration programs. The absence of family-friendly policies can perpetuate gender inequity, particularly for working mothers who compete with men in the workplace who have stay-at-home wives. In addition to promoting gender equity, it is believed that organizations with policies designed to promote work-life balance experience greater productivity than organizations without such policies. This chapter explores the linkages between gendered public administration and structural inequalities in academia. The influence of classic liberalism on public administration and the structure of work are considered first, followed by an examination of role conflict and structural inequalities. A best practices approach is then used to examine family-friendly policies at various colleges and universities throughout the United States that have been recognized for progressive initiatives. In addition to the types of family-friendly policies, potential barriers that minimize the use of such policies are considered, and recommendations to improve work-life balance are offered.

Gendered Public Administration

Within the United States, societal perceptions of matters that qualify as public concern are influenced by the Western philosophical tradition of classic liberalism, which established the distinction between the public and private spheres. Caregiving and other domestic responsibilities relegated to women were categorized as matters of private concern (Stivers, 2005; Thornton, 1991). Influenced by perceptions of gender, this public-private distinction served as a framework for public administration and the structure of work. The progressive movement solidified the public-private distinction by privileging the position of business and marginalizing class and gender. Advocates of workers' rights, social justice, and professional government administration, middle class progressives viewed bureaucracy as a mechanism for social reform. Simultaneously, however, progressives cultivated support among big business because it had resources to command government response, and big business viewed the progressive movement as a way to develop and expand a relationship with government, co-optation to preserve their own interests (Wiebe, 1967). In *Bureau Men, Settlement Women: Constructing Public Administration in the Progressive Era*, Camilla Stivers (2000) provides a comprehensive analysis of how the privilege of business during the Progressive Era influenced the field of public administration by contrasting "bureau men," who emphasized business techniques in administration, and "settlement women," who emphasized caring and social reform. Regarding public

administration as field of study and a profession that reflects scientific objectivity, Stivers (2000, p. 126) asserts the following:

The choice of science over caring was made in practice by the bureau men before the question of professional identity began to be posed. In addition, since virtually all early public administrationists were men, they had an easier time convincing the world that they could operate in an objective, unsentimental way than did social workers, most of whom were women. But for both, the struggle to professionalize was a struggle to cast off femininity by claiming the status of science.

The model for public administration education established by the New York Bureau, which later moved to Syracuse University (Stivers, 2005), served to establish professional norms and education within the field. The core requirements among MPA programs today reflect these origins through courses such as budgeting and statistical analysis. In addition, the subject of administrative science and decision making may be addressed in survey courses and organization theory. Although there have been efforts by various scholars within the field to incorporate gender into the traditional public administration curriculum, Mills and Newman (2002) found that stand-alone courses on gender in public administration were offered by less than 30% of the respondents representing various MPA programs.

The public-private distinction has also influenced perceptions of gender and the structure of work. According to Acker (1992), gender is hidden deep within organizational processes that on the surface may appear gender neutral. Furthermore, organizations themselves create and reproduce gendered occupational cultures. Although there is a tendency to conceptualize positions or jobs within organizations as being gender neutral, such positions are gendered in that they reflect the separation between the public and private spheres that establish a gender-based division of labor, organizational structure, and processes (Acker, 1992). Regarding the division of labor, Acker (1992) contends that the gender division of labor endures as long as perceptions exist that women are better suited for certain types of jobs.

Stereotypes or assumptions about women are a major barrier for the advancement of women. A comparison of federal employees by Naiff (1994) found that women with children were often overlooked for promotions because employers assumed they were unable to work the long hours required for advanced positions. Women with children and 5 to 10 years experience in the workforce received an average of 2.84 promotions, whereas women without children, given the same experience, received an average of 3.2 promotions.

The gendering of organizations is further reinforced through symbols and images that justify divisions of labor. Various hierarchical levels may reflect or perpetuate patterns of domination through policies and interactions. In addition, individuals mentally construct their understanding of social structure and processes within the organization to develop gender-appropriate behaviors (Acker, 1992). For example, a university committee

Tenure Rates

Although the number of women working in faculty positions has significantly increased over the years, studies provide evidence that women are more likely to work in contingent positions and at less prestigious universities. For example, one study found an underrepresentation of women faculty at prestigious universities, where 70% of the professors were male (Wilson, 2004). In 2003–2004, “men still outnumber women on the full-time faculty at doctoral universities by more than two to one,” whereas full-time faculty positions at 2-year institutions were more likely to be women (American Association of University Professors [AAUP], 2005, p. 28). Women are also less likely to be in tenure-eligible positions regardless of institution type (AAUP, 2005; Euben, 2006; Parsad & Glover, 2002). According to Parsad and Glover (2002), the number of female faculty in tenure track positions at 4-year institutions has declined from 30% in 1992 to 25% in 1998. In 2003, women represented 48% of part-time faculty positions compared with 39% of the full-time positions (Euben, 2006). Using data from Survey of Doctorate Recipients, Frasier, Mason, Stacy, Goulden, and Hoffman (2007) found that male PhDs with children under 6 years of age were twice as likely to enter a tenure track position than female PhDs with children under 6.

Women are more likely to hold the ranks of instructor, lecturer, and assistant professor (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Mason & Goulden, 2004a). According to one recent survey conducted by the AAUP (2005), 74% of full professors were men compared with only 26% of women. The pipeline argument has frequently been used to explain such discrepancies. However, one would expect that if there is a pipeline, then tenure rates for women would have slowly increased over the years. Although women represent half of the PhD population, they have not advanced up the academic ranks at the same rate as men (Mason & Goulden, 2004a). In fact, some universities have witnessed a decline in recent years. For example, tenure offers to women at Harvard have decreased since 2001 (Wilson, 2004).

The impact of having “early babies” (less than 6 years of age up to 5 years after PhD) on one’s academic career may provide some explanation for the different rates of promotion between men and women. Early babies do not appear to have a negative impact on the tenure rates for men as they do women. Male faculty members with early babies were 38% more likely than female faculty members with early babies to receive tenure (Mason & Goulden, 2004a). In contrast, women who had children after 5 years of receiving the PhD or who did not have children at all achieved higher tenure rates than women with early babies (Mason & Goulden, 2004a).

Structural Inequality

The abstract worker used in job evaluation methods, when transformed to reflect an actual employee, is a male whose work takes priority over all else and who has a wife to take care of all personal (and often professional) matters (Acker, 1992). Williams (2000)

later introduces the term "ideal worker norm" to refer to the structure of work and expectations of productivity among employers based on the assumption of traditional family arrangements when men had stay-at-home wives. Structuring work in a way that positions men's lives as normal and women's as problematic disadvantages working mothers, particularly when they may be unable to dedicate additional time beyond a 40-hour work week due to a second shift of child care and other domestic responsibilities. Strivers (2002, p. 57) also brings attention to the problem of the ideal worker norm for women in public administration:

Thus it is fraudulent to offer women an equal opportunity to pursue a public service career and rise through the ranks of the bureaucracy while at the same time the requirements of exemplary qualities for the sort of career remain incongruent with what is expected of them as women. . . . To observe that a number of women have done it successfully is to miss the point. They have virtually never done it without a constant effort to manage their femaleness on the job (tackling issues such as how to appear authoritative yet not masculine) and without a continuing struggle to balance work and home responsibilities.

Within the field of higher education, some might argue that decisions to work in contingent positions or at "less demanding" institutions are voluntary choices by academic mothers in an effort to balance the competing demands of work and family. The counterargument is that such "choices" are actually imposed and are a reflection of the structural inequalities in the workplace (Curtis, 2004, p. 22):

Whether such a choice is voluntary or a product of discouragement, it is based on a perception that the tenure track and children (or family) are not compatible. . . . A part-time or non-tenure track position may allow some individual women to give more priority to their families, but their having to make that choice is an indication of continuing structural inequity in faculty careers.

Evident in the language of the AAUP *Statement of Principles on Family Responsibilities and Academic Work*, Sotirin (2008, p. 260) asserts: "tenure was historically premised on the married male professor as a universal model and the linear career trajectory in academe assumed that someone else would be taking care of family and domestic responsibilities." This ideal worker norm continues to influence the workplace and dominates the academic landscape. The demands of the job in terms of teaching, research, and service often result in faculty members working above and beyond a typical 8-hour day. Although faculty members generally meet the teaching and service requirements on campus, research is often reserved for evenings and weekends. As a result, academic mothers are at a disadvantage because they lose the productive time for research and publication available to women without children or men with stay-at-home wives (Allison, 2007; Fothergill & Felky, 2003).

The negative consequences of the ideal worker norm on academic mothers are evident in a variety of recent studies. Noting that full-time faculty members often work beyond

50 hours in a typical week, Jacobs and Winslow (2004) examined data on work hours and job satisfaction from the 1998 National Study of Post-Secondary Faculty and found significant correlations between publication and working 60 hours or more per week. More worrisome, however, is the fact that "married mothers were about half as likely to work more than sixty hours per week, and married fathers were about 60 percent as likely to work more than 60 hours per week" (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004, p. 124). Although women reported fewer working hours (51 hours) than their male counterparts, they still experienced time constraints resulting from domestic responsibilities and roles of primary caregivers (Mason & Goulden, 2004b), evidence of the work-family conflict and the negative consequences of the ideal worker norm on mothers in academia who are also primary caregivers. An examination of children and publication rates reveals a statistically significant negative relationship between publication rates and women with preschool-age children (Stack, 2004).

Family-Friendly Policies

The broad purpose of any family-friendly policy is to minimize the competing demands between work and family life through a variety of organizational initiatives designed to help employees achieve balance. In 1974, the AAUP issued a statement, "Leaves of Absence for Child-Bearing, Child-Rearing, and Family Emergencies" (AAUP, 2001):

[a]n institution's policies on faculty appointments [to be] sufficiently flexible to permit faculty members to combine family and career responsibilities in the manner best suited to them as professionals and parents. This flexibility requires the availability of such alternatives as longer-term leaves of absence, temporary reductions in workload with no loss of professional status, and retention of full-time affiliation throughout the child-bearing and child-rearing years.

In 2001 the AAUP Committee on the Status of Women in the Academic Profession and its Subcommittee on Academic Work and Family approved the Statement of Principles on Family Responsibilities and Academic Work (see <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/workfam-stmt.htm>). The principles include family-friendly policies such as family leave, stopping the tenure clock, active service/modified duties, child care, and flexible schedules. Nevertheless, many universities have yet to develop and implement family-friendly policies. Trower and Bleak's (2004) study of tenure track faculty among six research universities indicates that 46% of junior faculty reported dissatisfaction with balance between personal and professional time. Among potential family-friendly policies, 68% reported that tenure clock stops would be very helpful and 64% reported affordable, quality child care would be very helpful.

Some colleges and universities have been more proactive than others in designing and implementing initiatives to help faculty members achieve work-life balance (Table 4-1).

TABLE 4.1. Comparison of Family-Friendly Policies Across Selected Universities

Institution and Classification	Family-Friendly Policies
University of California at Berkeley Research (VH) Public 34,805	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Automatic tenure clock stop http://www.ucop.edu/acadadv/acadpers/agen/agen-762.pdf • ASMD: 3 months before to 1 year after birth or adoption. Fathers and non-birth mothers may take one semester of ASMD; birth mothers may take two semesters http://www.ucop.edu/acadadv/acadpers/agen/agen-762.pdf • On-site child care http://parents.berkeley.edu/recommend/childcare/campuscc.html • Back-up, sick child, temporary care http://parents.berkeley.edu/recommend/childcare/backup.html
University of Delaware Research (VH) 21,238	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-year tenure clock stop for each child (for a maximum of two tenure clock stops) upon approval from chair, dean, and provost http://www.udel.edu/provost/techNVA-15-familyleave.html • On-site child care <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Laboratory preschool http://www.labpreschool.udel.edu/about-us/ ◦ Early learning center http://www.elc.udel.edu/ • Referral service http://www.familyandworkplace.org/
Duke University Research (VH) Private not-for-profit 12,770	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Automatic tenure clock stop http://www.provost.duke.edu/pdfs/tchb/FHS_Chap_4.pdf • One semester of paid parental leave • ASMD: "A flexible work arrangement can be made for up to 3 years." Faculty handbook, chapter 4 http://www.provost.duke.edu/pdfs/fac/FHB_Chap_4.pdf • Child care partnership http://www.mcduke.edu/ccp/
Harvard University Research (VH) Private not-for-profit 24,648	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Automatic tenure clock stop http://www.hsp.harvard.edu/administrative-offices/faculty-affairs/files/extension.doc • Paid leave varies among schools • http://www.hsp.harvard.edu/administrative-offices/faculty-affairs/faculty-appointments/hsp-consideration-for-personal-care-taking-responsibilities/index.html • On-site child care http://www.childcare.harvard.edu/
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Research (VH) Public 39,533	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-year tenure clock stop. Requests made to dean, provost or Dean of Arts and Fine Arts (campuses) http://reg.umich.edu/pdf/201.92.pdf • ASMD http://appartices.edu/pdf/201.93.pdf • On-site child care http://www.hcc.umich.edu/conf/care/healthsystem/index.html
University of Missouri, St. Louis Research (H) Public 12,498	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One-year tenure-clock stop (two extensions maximum) upon approval by the chancellor http://www.unimissouri.edu/academic/departmentalrules/syllabus/310025.html • On-site child care http://www.unimissouri.edu/~lcids/ • http://www.unimissouri.edu/service/academic/assets/FIN%20FacultyHandbook-200-812Revision.pdf

TABLE 4-1. Comparison of Family-Friendly Policies Across Selected Universities (continued)

Institution and Classification	Family-Friendly Policies
New Jersey Institute of Technology Research (H) Public 8,249	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tenure clock stop up to 1 year upon approval from F&T committee, dean, & provost (p. 30 of faculty handbook) • ASMD available (p. 31 of faculty handbook) http://womencenter.njit.edu/staff_faculty.php • Unpaid leave available up to 1 year • On-site childcare center http://womencenter.njit.edu/childcare.php
Northwestern University Research (VH) Private not-for-profit 17,747	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Automatic tenure clock stop http://www.northwestern.edu/provost/faculty/policies/surroundings/extendprob.html • Child care partnerships and referrals http://www.northwestern.edu/h/benefits/childcare/solutions/solutions.html • ASMD • http://www.northwestern.edu/provost/policies/handbook/handbook.pdf
Princeton University Research (VH) Private not-for-profit 6,706	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Automatic 1-year tenure clock stop http://www.princeton.edu/de/policies/publications_and_chapters/comp00045d572a9000000309a9 • ASMD upon request and approval • On-site child care <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • University League Nursery School http://www.uln.org • University Now Day Nursery www.princeton.edu/local/nowday • Family friendly policies and programs http://www.princeton.edu/corppolicies/family_friendly/
Stanford University Research (VH) Private not-for-profit 18,836	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Automatic tenure clock stop http://www.stanford.edu/depprovost/faculty/policies/handbook/ch3.html • On-site child care, referral services, and financial assistance for senior faculty http://worklife.stanford.edu/children_prog.html
University of Wisconsin at Madison Research (VH) Public 42,455	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Automatic 1-year tenure clock stop http://www.seeker.wisc.edu/child_careoptions.html • On-site and partnerships for child care http://worklife.wisc.edu/child_careoptions.html

ASMD, active very de-coded date; Carnegie classification of Academic Research, Research, Master, and Bachelor have been modified in recent years. H, high research activity; VH, very high research activity. See <http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/classifications/index.asp?key=21> for full text revision. Fall 2004 available at The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching <http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/classifications/>

Several factors such as organizational size, type of institution, region, and union membership help to explain variations in family-friendly policies. Studies of family-friendly policies in private and public sector organizations demonstrate that larger organizations are more likely to offer a range of benefits that smaller organizations with limited resources are unable to match. For example, McCurdy, Newman, and Lovrich (2002) found that organizational size affected the extent to which family-friendly policies were implemented among local government agencies in Washington State. They also found that organizations were more likely to implement family leave policies (in addition to the Family and Medical Leave Act) and permanent part-time employment than policies such as on-site child care or telecommuting. From a university perspective, a study by the University of Michigan's Center for the Education of Women (CEW, 2005) of 255 respondents across various institutions found that although research universities were more likely to offer family-friendly policies, tenured and tenure-track women were less likely to be employed at those institutions.

Other studies have demonstrated that regional differences exist. Stockdell-Giesler and Ingalls (2007) indicate that although many elite universities and large university systems have developed family-friendly policies, schools in the Southeast often lag behind. Not surprisingly, the presence of faculty unions also increases the likelihood of formal policies. Types of family-friendly policies, including parental leave, active service-modified duties, tenure clock stop, and child care, are examined below.

Parental Leave Beyond the Family and Medical Leave Act

The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993 requires organizations with 50 or more employees to provide unpaid leave for up to 12 weeks to an employee who must care for his- or herself or an immediate family member. The legislation is limited to employees who worked 1,250 hours for their employer the prior year and does not cover part-time workers with less than 25 hours per week. In addition, many employees who qualify for FMLA cannot afford to take unpaid leave for extended periods of time. Many young mothers return to work before the 12 weeks out of economic necessity. Although FMLA is certainly "family friendly" by protecting the jobs of individuals who must take time off from work to give birth and/or care for others, it is federal legislation—a legal mandate, not a family-friendly workplace initiative developed and implemented through sheer volition of the organization. Unfortunately, many organizations actually interpret adherence to the law (FMLA) as a family-friendly workplace policy, which absent federal legislation might never have been implemented within those organizations.

The extent of unpaid leave beyond FMLA varies among colleges and universities. Gilbert (2008) found an absence of formal maternity leave policies beyond FMLA at many institutions and that faculty members negotiated their maternity leave on a case-by-case basis. In comparison, a study by Sullivan, Hollenshead, and Smith (2004) of 255 institutions (varying in type from Research I to Associate) found that 25% of the institutions

offered paid maternity leave. More recently, the CEW (2008) at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor reports that 44% of colleges and universities within their sample in 2007 provided unpaid leave beyond FMLA. In contrast, Yeast and Rhoads (2004) report that among the 84 colleges and universities randomly selected in their study, 82% failed to offer paid parental leave.

Most universities in the CEW study also reveal that dependent leave policies apply to men as well; however, many universities now require faculty members to confirm that they will serve as the primary caregiver (CEW, 2005). This helps to avoid the potential problem of granting academic fathers leave when their wives are actually the primary caregivers, reducing the risk of unfair competitive advantages among all faculty members. Most universities also combine sick leave or short-term disability to account for paid leave. Others offer full pay or partial pay for one semester. The Pennsylvania State University offers 6 weeks of paid parental leave. Duke University and The Massachusetts Institute of Technology offer one semester of paid leave for male or female faculty members who can demonstrate that they are the primary caregivers after the birth or adoption of a child. Paid parental leave at Harvard University varies among the schools within the university.

Active Service-Modified Duties

Active service-modified duties, advocated by the AAUP to promote work-life balance, provides reduced teaching loads with minimal to no pay cuts for faculty members who are primary caregivers for newborns or an adopted child younger than 5 years of age. Twenty-one percent of the institutions in the CEW study (2008) provided some form of active service-modified duties that reduces work load without a decrease in pay. The University of California Berkeley offers active service-modified duties for 3 months before and for 1 year after the birth or adoption of a child. Duke University offers flexible arrangements for up to 3 years. The New Jersey Institute of Technology includes a formal policy that allows faculty members to use active service-modified duties for one semester after the birth of a child. (The New Jersey Family Leave Act extends to 24 months.) Northwestern, the University of Michigan, and Princeton also offer flexible options for active service-modified duties.

Tenure Clock Stop

Princeton was one of the first universities to develop tenure extensions in 1970. The policy granted female professors a 1-year extension for pregnancy, which could be extended an additional year. The policy was later expanded in 1991 to include male faculty and adoptions (Valdata, 2005). Although progress has been slow, there has been greater advocacy within recent years for tenure clock stops within the academic community. Stopping the tenure clock is included in the 2001 AAUP statement of principles on family responsibilities and academic work (see <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/workfam-stmt.htm>).

The AAUP now recommends that, upon request, a faculty member be entitled to stop the clock or extend the probationary period, with or without taking a full or partial leave of absence, if the faculty member (whether male or female) is a primary or coequal caregiver of newborn or newly adopted children. Thus, faculty members would be entitled to stop the tenure clock while continuing to perform faculty duties at full salary. The AAUP recommends that institutions allow the tenure clock to be stopped for up to one year for each child, and further recommends that faculty be allowed to stop the clock only twice, resulting in no more than two one-year extensions of the probationary period. These extensions would be available whether or not the faculty member was on leave.

Sullivan et al. (2004) found that 43% of colleges and universities had a tenure clock stop they defined as "a temporary pause in the tenure clock to accommodate special circumstances. At the end of such a pause, the clock resumes with the same number of years left to tenure review as when it stopped" (p. 25). In addition, a true tenure clock stop does not require the faculty member to be on leave. Universities with tenure clock stops typically offer 1- or 2-year exclusions off the tenure clock. For example, the University of Michigan provides an automatic tenure clock stop for 1 year for faculty members requesting the stop due to pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions. The University of California, upon approval from the Chancellor, provides 1 year off the tenure clock for each birth or adoption, not to exceed 2 years. The New Jersey Institute of Technology and the University of Pittsburgh provide a 1-year tenure clock stop upon approval from a promotion and tenure committee, the dean, and provost. The University of Delaware and the University of Maryland at College Park have similar policies that allow for a 1-year tenure clock stop for each child, with a maximum of two stops, upon approval.

The tenure clock stop also appears to be more prevalent at research universities, which offer tenure clock extensions at twice the rate of other institutions. Among the 189 institutions surveyed by the CEW at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor (2008), 92% of research universities had a tenure clock stop compared with 50% of liberal arts colleges. Therefore, it is no surprise that the model policies for tenure clock stop are at the University of California at Berkeley, Duke, Harvard, Northwestern, Princeton, and Stanford. A few universities have implemented automatic tenure clock stops to provide a 1-year extension. The term "primary caregiver" is often used to extend the option to mothers or fathers who are able to demonstrate primary responsibilities of child care. The automatic stops also include language that permits a faculty member to waive the extension if he or she chooses to remain under the existing tenure clock. Table 4-2 provides examples of policy language used by various universities to invoke automatic tenure clock stops.

Child Care

Although childcare responsibilities continue to be interpreted as an individual responsibility categorized within the private sphere, the notion of care as a public good has been

TABLE 4-2. Selected Universities With Automatic Tenure Clock Stops

Institution	Policy
University of California Berkeley	"... an appointee at the Assistant level must be responsible for 50 percent or more of the care of a child. The child may be the appointee's child or that of the appointee's spouse or domestic partner. The clock may be stopped for up to one year for each event of birth or placement, provided that at no time off the clock entails no more than two years in the probationary period. ... An appointee is eligible to stop the clock even if the appointee does not take a formal leave or have a modification of duties." http://www.ucop.edu/acadaff/acadpers/pn/pn.htm#760.pdf
Duke University	"... faculty shall be eligible for an extension of the tenure probationary period for life events that can reasonably be expected to markedly delay the research process. ... a maximum of two extensions (each of which can be for either one or two semesters) of the tenure probationary period will be granted, for separate events. There will be no limit on extensions in category 1 (birth or adoption). ... Life events that can be expected to markedly delay the research process are defined as these circumstances: 1. a child is born or adopted into the faculty member's household (maximum one year relief for the household, which includes the biological parent, adoptive parent, or other parent; if both parents are untenured faculty members, each parent, in the household is eligible for one semester relief or one parent may take one year)." http://www.provost.duke.edu/academic/Fall_Chap_4.pdf
Harvard University	"Faculty who become a parent of a child will be granted an automatic extension of their current term appointment and of their tenure clock by one year for each child born or adopted. This type of extension will be granted for up to two years." (School of Public Health) http://www.bwh.harvard.edu/administrative-office/faculty-affairs/files/extension.doc
Northwestern University	"Requests to stop the tenure clock for a one-year period for circumstances relating to the birth or adoption of a child are automatically approved." http://www.northwestern.edu/provost/faculty/policies/statements/extendpdoc.html
Princeton University	"An Assistant Professor who becomes the parent of a child by birth or adoption will automatically be granted a one-year extension of term by the Dean or the Faculty upon notification by the Assistant Professor's department chair." http://www.princeton.edu/dot/policies/pub/fac/rules/acc/chapter4+compC00045d572a9000C0003364af
Stanford University	"A faculty member who becomes a parent, by birth or adoption, while holding a tenure-accruing appointment is entitled to a one-year extension of the date (under the seven year tenure clock) on which tenure would be conferred due to length of service for each birth or adoption event. This extension will normally have the effect of postponing for a year the initiation of the tenure review process." http://www.stanford.edu/dept/provost/faculty/policies/handbook/ch2.html
University of Wisconsin at Madison	Requests are made to the provost: "Extensions for child birth or adoption are presumed approved." http://www.secfac.wisc.edu/news/fac/tenure/Extension.htm

demonstrated in practice on a few occasions. During the Great Depression, in an effort to create jobs for the unemployed, nursery schools were financed under the Works Progress Administration. In addition to jobs creation, a precedent for public funding of child care was established (Conway, Ahern, & Steurer-nagel, 2005). During World War II, federal funding for child care was provided under the Lanham Act to assist mothers as they replaced men in factories (Berggren, 2007). After the war, broad funding was eliminated and federal support for child care was narrowly construed in the form of subsidies for low-income women or minimal tax credits for middle-income families. For example, states receive federal support for day care through Child Care and Development Block Grants to provide assistance to low-income families. States must dedicate at least 70% of the matching funds for parents on public assistance.

Some might argue that the absence of universal day care provides evidence of gendered institutions that perpetuate the traditional gender division of domestic labor. Zylan's (2000) research on policy discourse of day care in the early days of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program (now Temporary Assistance to Needy Families) indicates that appeals to maternalism helped to secure government support for childcare services for poor mothers on the basis that it "would help them become better mothers." In addition, there is often public support for leveling the playing field for low-income children. Simultaneously, however, the provision of services to all working mothers was denied on the basis that "to do so would undermine the fundamental ethic of maternal care" (p. 625). When care is tied to welfare reform there is broad public support. In contrast, public support diminishes when care is tied to gender equity.

Nevertheless, the demand for care continues to increase, and some employers are attempting to meet the needs of working parents. According to the National Coalition for Campus Children's Centers, there were 2,500 campus-based childcare centers in 2001. Campus Children's Centers provide various childcare arrangements and services to students, faculty, and staff at the centers. Some centers offer only childcare services, others offer only the laboratory schools, and several offer both services. Most funding for on-site child care is paid directly from parent fees, although direct subsidies and in-kind donations may also be provided. Most, if not all, universities that provide on-site child care experience the universal problem of long waiting lists due to high demand. Some faculty members may have to wait 2 years before an opening occurs. Many universities have also partnered with service providers to provide backup care, and most, if not all, provide referral services and information about child care in the region.

According to a faculty committee report at Harvard University, childcare at Harvard is offered through affiliated childcare centers that are independently owned and operated with a total capacity to enroll 354 children ("Report of the task force on women faculty," 2005). Stanford provides on-site child care through six programs ranging from full-time care to part-time care that serve an estimated 650 children. Stanford also provides childcare grants ranging from \$5,000 to \$20,000 for junior faculty members (Jaschick, 2007). In the state of New York, on-site child care is offered throughout the SUNY system to

students, faculty, and staff. Fees are often determined by income based on a sliding scale. In comparison, Duke has partnered with Child Care Services Administration to provide financial investments to improve and expand early childcare services within the region to better serve faculty members. As of 2008 the partnership included 33 participating childcare centers. Similarly, Rutgers provides on-site child care and also contracts with other providers within close proximity to the campuses to provide employer discounts.

Barrier of Organizational Culture

The organizational environment is critical to understanding the availability and use of family-friendly policies. It is apparent that more universities could begin the process of developing formal policies for a tenure clock stop. However, it is disheartening to consider the reluctance of faculty members to use the tenure clock stop when it is available at their college or university. Fothergill and Felty (2003) found that most academic mothers (87%) did not request parental leave or reduced teaching loads and less than 10% requested to stop the tenure clock. Similarly, 51% of female faculty who responded to a University of California work-life balance survey were reluctant to use active service-modified duties for fear of negative tenure and promotion decisions (Frasch et al., 2007). Yoest and Rhoads (2004) demonstrate the connection between the utilization of family-friendly policies and perception of departmental support: "Among women who report that their department is 'very supportive' of pro-family policies, 27 women took leave (84%) and only 5 did not. Conversely, when women report that their department is somewhat supportive, the utilization rate drops to 57%" (p. 18).

Organizational culture, perceptions, and stereotypes can reinforce bias avoidance behavior (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004) and have a chilling effect on formal tenure clock stop policies. Some women may be concerned about reprimand at tenure time and fear that a few tenured professors will hold them to a higher standard due to the perception that the new mothers had more time, rather than less, to conduct research. Others fear the perception among colleagues of not carrying their weight within the department when they use the tenure clock stop or active service-modified duties. Many new mothers also fear they will be perceived as less capable if they take advantage of policies designed to assist new parents. Academic mothers have reported concerns that an absence of the public performance of work at the office might create the impression among colleagues that they are less dedicated to the job (Aubrey et al., 2008). Many female faculty members have noted the difference in perception among their colleagues when working from home before having children compared with working from home after having a child, or in comparison with male faculty members (Allison, 2007; Fothergill & Felty, 2003). When faculty mothers stay home there is often an assumption that she is caring for and/or playing with her child rather than working on research or engaging in work-related activities.

In addition, junior faculty members receive cues or memorable messages from conversations with senior faculty members (Sotirin, 2008). For example, Aubrey and colleagues

(2008) illustrate the story of a full professor who commented that his wife had a child during spring break and did not miss one class that semester. Although the comment itself was intended to brag on his wife, it also implied that junior faculty members who were committed to their careers would do the same. Traditionally male departments such as business, science, and engineering have also been described as less receptive to family-friendly policies (Sullivan et al., 2004, p. 27). Bias avoidance is also reinforced among academic mothers when they witness negative tenure decisions of other women who have used family-friendly policies. For example, Beth Kern "was given an extra year on the tenure clock but was not told that the university expected an extra year's worth of publications, an expectation that runs counter to the spirit of the policy" (American Association of University Women, 2004, p. 28). Similarly, tenure was denied for a female faculty member at the University of Oregon. A settlement of \$495,000 was paid out when it was discovered that the provost referred to her tenure clock stop as a red flag and issued a memo that stated her duties as a mother were incompatible with her duties as a professor (Williams, 2004). In another case, Laurie Anne Freeman was originally denied tenure at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Freeman had given birth twice while on the tenure track and had used the family-friendly policies that were available. She received excellent reviews until she had taken leave. After filing a sex discrimination complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and demonstrating that she had been a productive scholar, even in comparison with colleagues who had not taken leave, Freeman won the appeals process and was granted tenure.

Recommendations

Several factors should be considered to establish an organizational culture within academia that is conducive to work-life balance. Universities that lack family-friendly initiatives should begin the process of developing formal policies. Committees could be formed to examine similar or aspiring institutions. Gaining support through informal networks is essential before introducing a proposed policy. It is also important to understand that no policy proposal is perfect, particularly the first draft. Untener (2008) indicates that one reason many universities fail to establish formal family-friendly policies on parental leave and tenure clock stop is the debate over shortcomings of the proposals during the formal approval process. Rather than allowing a proposal to fail due to limitations, he recommends accepting the fact that an imperfect policy is better than no policy. To garner broader support the policy should include a timeframe to revisit and improve the policy. Universities that have established formal family-friendly policies should also assess the extent to which they are being utilized.

Support From Leadership

Department chairs, deans, and provosts also represent leadership roles within universities that influence perceptions of support. Although they cannot single-handedly change the

culture of an organization, they can have a significant impact on it. Most tenure clock stops require approval from chairs, deans, and provosts. Department chairs in particular can serve as either advocates or obstacles to helping faculty members achieve work-life balance. Transparency in the process and fairness in application are critical. Department chairs have a duty to communicate and educate faculty members within their department about existing family-friendly policies. They also have the responsibility of applying those policies in a fair manner.

Support From Colleagues

More seasoned members of the department might harbor resentment because such policies did not exist when they experienced competing demands of work and newborns or newly adopted children. One might remind them that tenure standards have also become more stringent at many colleges and universities over the past few decades. Newly tenured faculty members who have used the tenure clock stop could serve as role models for junior faculty members who are unaware, unsure, or afraid.

Automatic Tenure Clock Stop

Although a one-size-fits all approach toward work-life balance is not desirable across colleges and universities, some degree of uniformity is needed at the organizational level. Leave and tenure clock stops granted on a case-by-case basis behind closed doors can result in arbitrary and capricious decisions. Variations across departments may negatively impact perceptions of organizational support and organizational justice and could expose the college or university to lawsuits. Although many universities are moving in the positive direction of developing and implementing family-friendly policies, many still require approval from the chair, dean, and provost on a case-by-case basis.

What is less transparent is the number of decisions that are approved and denied. In essence, a policy may exist on paper that is rarely implemented in practice, even when requested by a faculty member. Institutions that have not already begun doing so should start keeping records of both affirmative and negative decisions related to leave, modified duties, and tenure clock stop. A better alternative is to provide an automatic tenure clock stop upon the birth or adoption of a child with the provision of a waiver for an earlier review if requested by the faculty member. In addition, the tenure clock stop policy should include language to reinforce the position that faculty members who use such policies should not be subjected to heightened scrutiny or standards that would otherwise not been applied had they not invoked the tenure clock stop.

Greater Flexibility

The American Council on Education, Office of Women in Higher Education (2005) recommends providing the option of longer probationary periods up to 10 years for faculty who experience unanticipated circumstances that might negatively impact productivity.

The council also recommends providing tenured and tenure-track faculty the option of reverting to part-time positions for short durations as needs may arise throughout one's career. Flexibility in the probationary timeframe also provides evidence of institutional support for those in need.

Conclusion

Public agencies and universities alike may be categorized as gendered organizations. Traditional personnel policies that fail to take into account the competing demands of work and family perpetuate structural inequality in the workplace. In recent years, many universities have promoted work-life balance through a variety of initiatives, including paid parental leave, tenure clock stops, modified duties, and childcare. Although formal family-friendly policies may exist, the utilization of those policies often depends on the culture of the organization. Because faculty members take their cues from department chairs and colleagues, support from those individuals is necessary to facilitate a true environment of work-life balance. University administrations can also reinforce support through automatic tenure clock stops and greater flexibility in the probationary timeframe. Ultimately, it is a matter of being proactive rather than reactive. Given the increasing numbers of female students enrolled in graduate programs, universities will eventually find it necessary to develop family-friendly policies to remain competitive in recruiting and retaining top faculty. In the future it is hoped that these practices expand the concept of care beyond individual interest to public interest.

Discussion Questions

1. Describe how your own organization might be considered a gendered organization.
2. Look up your university's family leave policy (often available in the faculty handbook available online). Does the policy provide parental leave beyond FMLA? Is the leave paid or unpaid? Is there a policy on active service-modified duties?
3. From an organizational perspective, what are the advantages and disadvantages of providing paid leave or extended leave beyond FMLA?
4. Discuss the differences between parental leave and tenure clock stops.
5. Tenure clock stops are often extended to fathers as well as mothers after the birth or adoption of a child. Discuss the arguments that may be used to support or oppose tenure clock stops for mothers. Do those same arguments apply to fathers?
6. Does your university offer on-site child care for the children of faculty and staff? If so, what are the costs to faculty and staff members? How long is the waiting list? If not, does your university offer any type of childcare assistance (e.g., subsidies or reduced costs through referrals)?