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The language of leadership a feminist poststructural discourse analysis of inaugural addresses by presidents of high profile research universities

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THE LANGUAGE OF LEADERSHIP
A FEMINIST POSTSTRUCTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF
INAUGURAL ADDRESSES BY PRESIDENTS OF HIGH PROFILE
RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Tehmina Khwaja

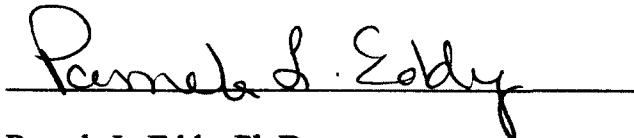
March 2015

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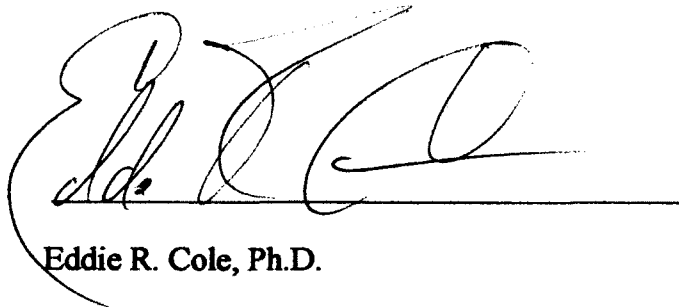
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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	viii
List of Tables and Figures.....	x
Abstract.....	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Conceptual Framework.....	3
Social constructivism.....	4
Gender and leadership.....	5
Organizational context.....	8
Leadership rhetoric.....	9
Problem Statement.....	10
Research Questions.....	12
Significance of the Problem.....	13
Assumptions, Limitations, and Delimitations.....	14
Definition of Terms.....	16
Summary.....	18
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	19
Gender and Leadership.....	19
Leadership.....	19
Academic leadership.....	21
Women and leadership.....	23
Leadership styles of men and women.....	24
Gender.....	25
Intersectionality of race and gender.....	26
Doing gender.....	27
Gender and academic leadership.....	28
Organizational Context.....	31
Organizational frames and metaphors.....	31
Organizations as social constructions.....	33
Organizational culture.....	34
Gendered organizations.....	36

Research universities.....	38
Leadership Rhetoric.....	40
What is rhetoric?.....	40
Leadership and rhetoric.....	42
Framing.....	43
Management of meaning.....	44
University president rhetoric.....	45
Inaugural addresses.....	46
Gender and rhetoric.....	48
Summary.....	50
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	52
Research Paradigm.....	53
Theoretical Framework.....	55
Discourse analysis.....	55
Inaugural address discourse model.....	58
Rhetorical situation.....	59
Sample.....	62
Data Analysis.....	65
Coding.....	65
Analysis.....	67
Trustworthiness and Authenticity.....	67
Summary.....	69
Chapter 4: Meet the Presidents.....	70
The Presidents and their Organizations.....	70
Brown University.....	70
Christina Paxson.....	71
Case Western Reserve University.....	73
Edward M. Hundert.....	73
Barbara R. Snyder.....	74
Harvard University.....	75
Lawrence H. Summers.....	76

Drew Faust.....	77
Massachusetts Institute of Technology.....	78
Charles M. Vest.....	79
Susan Hockfield.....	79
L. Rafael Reif.....	80
Michigan State University.....	81
Lou Anna K. Simon.....	82
Montana State University.....	83
Waded Cruzado.....	84
Ohio State University.....	84
E. Gordon Gee.....	85
Princeton University.....	86
Shirley Tilghman.....	86
Christopher L. Eisgruber.....	88
Purdue University.....	89
France Cordova.....	89
Mitchell E. Daniels Jr.....	91
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.....	92
Shirley Ann Jackson.....	93
Stony Brook University.....	94
Samuel L. Stanley Jr.....	95
University of Arizona.....	96
Ann Weaver Hart.....	96
University of California at Davis.....	97
Linda Katehi.....	97
University of California at Santa Cruz.....	99
M. R. C. Greenwood.....	99
Denice Denton.....	100
George Blumenthal.....	102
University of Cincinnati.....	102
Nancy L. Zimpher.....	103

University of Connecticut.....	105
Michael J. Hogan.....	105
Susan Herbst.....	106
University of Iowa.....	108
Sally Mason.....	108
University of Michigan.....	109
Lee C. Bollinger Jr.....	110
Mary Sue Coleman.....	111
Mark S. Schlissel.....	112
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.....	113
Carol L. Folt.....	114
University of Pennsylvania.....	115
Amy Gutmann.....	115
University of South Florida.....	116
Judy Genshaft.....	116
University of Virginia.....	118
John T. Casteen III.....	118
Teresa A. Sullivan.....	119
Summary.....	121
Chapter 5: Findings.....	123
Past and Current Events Frame Messages.....	124
Current events specific to the institution's context frame exigency.....	130
Historical events frame institutional identities and future direction.....	133
Disciplinary Metaphors, and Evocative Imagery.....	138
Use of images and metaphors to describe institutional identity.....	143
Religious imagery.....	145
Presidents without Precedents.....	148
Citing or quoting famous men and women.....	149
Citing or quoting former presidents.....	154
Women mentoring women and men.....	158
Citing or quoting faculty, alumni, and student leaders.....	160

Sign Systems and Knowledge Frame Messages.....	163
Interdisciplinary knowledge.....	167
Freedom of expression.....	173
Subject Positions.....	176
Family, Spouses/Partners, and Disembodied Leadership.....	180
Feminist Activism.....	188
Summary.....	193
Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion.....	195
The “Typical” Research University President.....	196
Discussion.....	201
Inaugural address discourse model.....	202
Politics.....	204
Identities.....	205
Practices.....	206
Connections.....	209
Relationships.....	212
Significance.....	213
Sign systems and knowledge.....	214
Similarities.....	215
Differences.....	220
Successive presidents’ speeches.....	226
Summary.....	230
Gendered rhetoric?	231
Summary.....	235
Implications for Practice.....	238
Implications for Future Study.....	241
Conclusion.....	243
Appendix A: Sample.....	249
Appendix B: Coding Scheme.....	253
Appendix C: Researcher as Instrument Statement.....	262
References.....	266

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List of Tables and Figures

Tables

<i>Table 6.1. A Comparison of Presidents in the Sample with Presidents of Doctorate Granting Institutions, and Presidents Overall.....</i>	197
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Figures

<i>Figure 1.1. Conceptual framework for the study.....</i>	5
<i>Figure 3.1. Theoretical framework model.....</i>	62
<i>Figure 6.1. Inaugural address discourse model.....</i>	203
<i>Figure 6.2. Discourse model of 21 addresses by women.....</i>	203
<i>Figure 6.3. Discourse model of 13 addresses by men.....</i>	204

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RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES

ABSTRACT

The leadership landscape of high profile research universities has changed over the last 20 years with increasing participation of women in senior positions of leadership, including presidencies, providing the opportunity to study their rhetoric alongside their male counterparts. Using the discourse analysis approaches of Gee (2014) and Allan (2003, 2008, 2010), and Bitzer's (1992) theory of rhetorical situation, this study explored how female and male presidents of high profile research universities use rhetoric in their inaugural addresses, and to what extent, and in what ways, their rhetoric is gendered.

The discourse model that emerged from the analysis indicated that although the overall model for the inaugural addresses was almost identical for men and women, important nuanced differences were evident between their approaches to the discourse model. Similarities in the discourse model included a greater emphasis on the political aspects of discourse; moderate emphasis on identities, relationships, practices, connections, and significance; and relatively low emphasis on sign systems and knowledge. Differences indicated that women talked less about themselves, used more metaphorical language, quoted men more often, and introduced their spouses in more detail than men. Men were more likely than women to speak of power as a productive force, use religious metaphors, and quote women. The analysis indicated that presidents

generally do not address the gendered status quo in their inaugural addresses. Despite leaving potentially powerful legacies for the future, women leaders face double binds (Nidiffer, 2001) in language use due to gendered structures (Acker, 1990) that persist in research universities.

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EDUCATIONAL POLICY, PLANNING, AND LEADERSHIP

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA

The Language of Leadership

A Feminist Poststructural Discourse Analysis of Inaugural Addresses by

Presidents of High Profile Research Universities

Chapter 1: Introduction

In a patriarchal culture like the United States, the image associated with the term *leader* or *college president* is usually of a White man. This image is not surprising because words signify constructs like leadership and reify them (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003). In the context of the English language, the stamp of the dominant gender is unmistakable (Spender, 1981), thus the term leadership itself is biased to favor a male image of the construct.

Indeed, higher education leadership in the United States has traditionally been, and continues to be, the purview of White men. Until recently, many high-profile research universities never had a female president. Over the past 20 years, however, the number of women presidents has increased, with women now constituting 26% of all university presidents, their numbers ranging from 22% at doctorate-granting institutions to 33% at community colleges (American Council on Education [ACE], 2012). Moreover, in 2012, five of the eight Ivy League institutions—Brown, Dartmouth, Harvard, Princeton, and University of Pennsylvania—were led by women (Lennon, 2013).

Most studies about higher education leadership have historically focused on male leaders simply because there were more male leaders to study. Now with the increase in women in leadership roles, including the role of president, studies on women presidents are on the rise (Dean, Bracken, & Allen, 2009; Eddy & Vanderlinden, 2006; Wolverton, Bower, & Hyle, 2009). However, studies specifically comparing the leadership styles and rhetoric of female and male presidents of four-year universities are still scarce. Since language is an important aspect of the construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966)

studying rhetoric can give us clues to the presidents' leadership styles and the institutions they lead. Therefore, it is timely to study leadership rhetoric of academic leaders to get a better understanding of how women's approach to a leadership role that has traditionally been the exclusive domain of men is reflected in the language they employ when addressing their stakeholders and campus members, especially when their rhetoric is juxtaposed with that of their male predecessors and followers.

Leadership rhetoric is given a great deal of attention in other fields like political science (Bligh, Kohles, & Meindl, 2004; Bligh, Merolla, Schroedel, & Gonzalez, 2010; Widmer, 2005; Wood, 2007), and business (Hartog & Verberg, 1998), but when it comes to educational leaders, less than a handful of journal articles and dissertations focusing on leader rhetoric can be found (Anastasia, 2008; Cole, 2013; Vitullo & Johnson, 2010; Young, 2013). This lack of focus on rhetoric in higher education contexts is a major gap in the literature on academic leadership since leader rhetoric can provide a great deal of insight into the leadership orientation of presidents as well as the organizations they lead. There is a reason that university and college presidents' speeches are archived and often available on the institutions' websites: the words they use are meant to have an impact not just when they utter them but long after the speech was delivered. Language can be a great source of power for leaders as it can aid them in the management of meaning (Morgan, 1997). Leaders can use language with its myriads of jargon, metaphor, contrast, spin, and stories to frame meaning for their followers (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996).

In this chapter, I will provide the conceptual framework of my study followed by the problem statement and research questions. I will then discuss the significance of the

problem, explain the limitations and delimitations of the study, and give definitions of terms used.

Conceptual Framework

The increasing number of women leaders at the helm of higher education institutions is a reflection of changing gender roles in society at large. However, the number of women leaders varies widely by Carnegie institutional type. Data show that women now lead about 33% of community colleges, and 22% of doctorate-granting universities (ACE, 2012).

Currently, there are 1,132 community colleges in the United States ("Fast facts from our fact sheet," 2015), whereas 297 institutions are classified as doctorate granting universities ("Classification description," 2015). Of these 297, 108 institutions are classified as research universities with very high research activity (RU/VH) ("Classification description," 2015), and these RU/VH institutions are the focus of this study. The Carnegie classifications indicate a difference in mission and resource allocation. For instance, community colleges offer associates degrees and certificates, with a few offering baccalaureate degrees. In contrast, doctorate granting universities in general, and RU/VH universities in particular, offer a variety of baccalaureate degrees and maintain a strong commitment to graduate education through the doctorate ("Methodology," 2015). The difference in goals also means a wide gap in resources and budgetary considerations. RU/VH institutions possess large resources and have budgets at times in billions of dollars, thus RU/VH universities are prestigious, powerful economic and social entities (Lewis & Hearn, 2003). To lead such institutions is akin to leading a large corporation and is a very different experience than leading a smaller

college such as a liberal arts college. The women who lead RU/VH universities are charting new territory as many of them are the first women to ascend to the presidency in their institutions' history.

The way leaders use language can give vital information about their leadership, and since men and women use language differently (and are heard differently; Tannen, 1994b), their rhetoric can provide information about their differing approaches to leadership as well. Additionally, these differences in the use of language can offer clues to the extent to which their organizational context is gendered (Acker, 1990). As stated above, RU/VH universities are similar to large corporations, therefore, the leader of an RU/VH is in a very high profile position, and whatever he or she says has a wide audience and span of influence, making it all the more important to study their rhetoric to see how they aim for a balance between their position as a representative of the institution and a leader who is an agent of social change. The conceptual framework for this study comprises the intersection of gender and leadership, organizational context, and leadership rhetoric within a social constructivist paradigm. Figure 1.1 gives a visual illustration of the conceptual framework.

Social constructivism. This study is grounded in the social constructivist research paradigm. According to Creswell (2013), "In social constructivism, individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. They develop subjective meanings of their experiences—meanings directed toward certain objects or things" (p. 24). Creswell (2013) emphasized the complexity inherent in the social constructivist framework, as meaning is constructed from the interaction among people, history, and cultures. Thus, context is critical to the social constructivist paradigm. The context for

this study is institutions of higher education in the United States, specifically high profile research universities. For the purposes of this study, high profile institutions are research universities with very high levels of research. The interactions that occur in this context between leaders as senders and campus stakeholders as receivers of messages are explored with a gender lens.

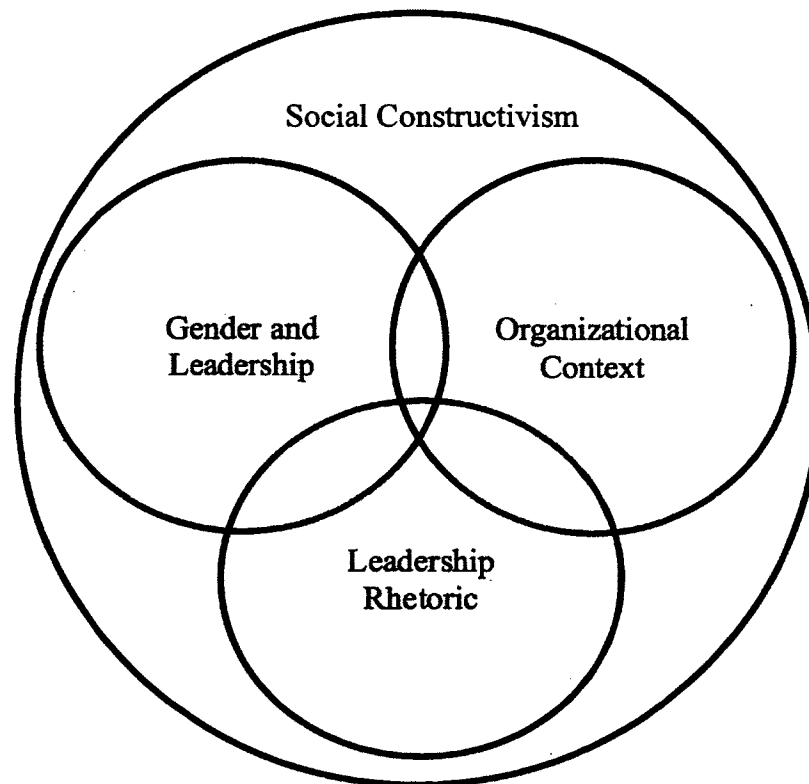


Figure 1.1 Conceptual framework for the study

Gender and leadership. Feminist scholars generally agree that gender is a social construction rather than a fixed biological set of categories (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Padavic & Reskin, 2002; West & Zimmerman, 1987). The biological and physiological differences between men and women do not translate automatically into gender but are exaggerated and reinforced to create gender roles through societal prescriptions of how men and women should behave, including how they should talk

(Tannen, 1994b; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Thus, the fact that there are far fewer women than men in leadership positions is a reflection of the social construction of leadership as something naturally suited to men, and has nothing to do with biological sex (Lorber, 2005). Proponents of evolutionary leadership believe that our penchant for male leaders is a remnant of our prehistoric past when physical strength mattered in choosing leaders (van Vugt & Ahuja, 2011). They argue that human civilization has changed drastically since then, especially with great advancement in technology changing our leadership needs, yet subconsciously we continue to cling to outmoded ideals of leadership much to our detriment (van Vugt & Ahuja, 2011). Scholars like Acker (1990) argue that organizational contexts are outdated and gendered. Acker (1990) and other scholars use the word *gendered* to describe specific behavior or traits attributed to the sexes, and the term *gendering* to signify the process of gender differentiation (Padavic & Reskin, 2002). Thus, the construct of leadership itself is gendered and favors men.

Women as leaders were initially studied in order to establish whether women could indeed be leaders (Hoyt, 2013). While women's ability to lead is no longer under as much scrutiny, their leadership approach as similar to or different from that of men remains contested, with many arguing that men and women have very different leadership styles (Chliwniak, 1997), and others contending that female and male leaders are more alike than different (Hoyt, 2013). Some scholars have argued that leadership by men and women is not dichotomous but rather takes place on a continuum and is therefore more complex than originally believed (Eddy, 2003).

Higher education is fast becoming a feminized field as women are attending college in unprecedented numbers. Approximately 59% of all college degrees and

around 53% of doctoral degrees were earned by women in 2010, albeit, the majority of the degrees earned by women are in humanities and social sciences as opposed to the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields that are still largely dominated by men (Aud et al., 2012). Higher education leadership, too, remains largely dominated by men. In 2013, approximately 67% of all academic leaders including presidents, full professors, chief academic officers, and board of trustee members at doctoral institutions were men (Lennon, 2013). This relatively low representation of women in leadership ranks indicates structural issues as well as larger social issues that continue to hinder women from excelling in a field in which they are the majority of participants. The infamous glass ceiling (Bain & Cummings, 2000) is still very much intact for many women in academic leadership.

Studies on women academic leaders are on the rise, once again following the pattern of leadership studies in other disciplines, namely either focusing on the differences between leadership styles of men and women or arguing that the differences are exaggerated (Dean et al., 2009; Eddy & Vanderlinden, 2006; Wolverton et al., 2009). One point remains certain, however, that women who do assume academic leadership positions feel that they are under scrutiny and have to make conscious choices to conduct themselves in ways that mitigate the stereotypical beliefs about women (Bornstein, 2009). The fact that women leaders have to think about how they behave and talk in order to overcome gender stereotyping and to be accepted as leaders speaks to the gendered nature of academic organizations (Acker, 1990), and points to the need to learn more about how they use language to negotiate the challenges associated with leading gendered organizations.

Organizational context. Women's leadership participation and experiences vary with context. However, across the board, even in fields populated largely by women, men continue to dominate leadership positions (Padavic & Reskin, 2002). For example, even though women earned 53% of all doctoral degrees in 2010 (Aud et al., 2012), a full 78% of presidents of doctoral institutions were men in 2013 (Lennon, 2013). One reason for this leadership disparity is that organizations are gendered, with organizational structures that are built around the outdated concept of the ideal "disembodied worker" who has no responsibilities outside of work (Acker, 1990, p. 149). This ideal worker norm assumes that the worker has someone else taking care of the household and children, leaving the worker free to focus on work. Traditionally, the caregiver was a housewife and the worker was a man (Acker, 1990). Although western society has changed considerably with a vast number of women now participating in the workforce, organizations have been slow to change and continue to operate around the outdated concept of the disembodied worker (Lester & Sallee, 2009). Higher education organizations follow patterns similar to business and industry when it comes to the ideal worker norm, and since many women assume greater responsibility for childcare and household work, they face more barriers in the workplace, and have longer and interrupted pathways to leadership (Eddy, 2010).

Within higher education, organizational cultures vary greatly based on institution type and location. For instance, the culture at a two-year community college is markedly different from that at a doctoral institution, in that the former is more democratic and inclusive than the latter (Eddy, 2010; Townsend & Twombly, 2007). Many doctoral institutions are not as inclusive as community colleges and have been slow to open up

their doors to women and minorities (Hornig, 2003). Perhaps cultural differences account for the presence of more women presidents at community colleges than at doctoral institutions, 33% versus 22% (ACE, 2012). Therefore, it is all the more important to study women leaders at high profile research institutions as they are negotiating long standing cultures that have historically excluded them. The language they employ in their public speeches can give important clues to how they deal with the organizational culture. Do women presidents at these high profile research universities use language to establish themselves as female leaders? Do they challenge the status quo? Or do they shift their identities to suit the traditionally masculine leadership roles? These are all unanswered questions that this study set out to address.

Leadership rhetoric. In view of their minority and at times pioneer status, women presidents find themselves under a great deal of media and public scrutiny, which is not always reflective of their leadership credentials (Glazer-Raymo, 1999). Several scholars have noted this duality of expectations based on gender when they discovered that in scholarly discourse gendered language is employed to describe academic leaders (Amev & Twombly, 1992; Gordon, Iverson, & Allan, 2010; Wilson & Cox, 2012). However, how women academic leaders use rhetoric to communicate their leadership in their inaugural addresses is researched infrequently (Anastasia, 2008).

Like gender, language is a social construction, and like other socially constructed realities, language serves the purposes of dominant groups and reifies hegemonic norms (Burke, 1993; Spender, 1981). Therefore, men and women tend to use language in accordance with what is socially expected of their gender (Burke, 1993; Spender, 1981; Tannen, 1994b). The different ways in which men and women speak is the oral

equivalent of doing gender, which refers to creating differences between men and women beyond biological differences (West & Zimmerman, 1987), and gives valuable information about the underlying conventions and mores of a society.

Leaders are often expected to speak publicly at different events, one of which is the inaugural address at a ceremony marking the beginning of their leadership. Inaugural addresses by political leaders attract a great deal of public and media attention as well as scholarly study (Grafton & Daley, 2006; Liu, 2012). However, inaugural addresses by academic leaders of even large and influential universities do not get the public and scholarly attention that they deserve. Public speeches by leaders can be a useful source of information about the leaders and the organizations they lead (Cole, 2013; Vitullo & Johnson, 2010). Speeches proclaiming a president's leadership status, of which the inaugural address is the first of many, are important sources of discourse about leadership, and merit study. A handful of dissertations have shed light on this aspect of academic leadership (e.g., Anastasia, 2008; Young, 2013), however, detailed scholarly discourse remains to be done. A feminist poststructural discourse analysis of presidents' speeches to discover the extent to which, if at all, they are gendered is absent from the literature.

Problem Statement

Women have comprised the majority of college students since 1977 and have held steady at 59% of undergraduate students over the last 15 years or so (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2012). Equity of faculty exits at the entry level but decreases as rank increases (American Association of University Professors [AAUP], 2011). At some high profile research universities, women have made history by

ascending to the presidency after a long line of male presidents. A recent example is Drew Gilpin Faust, president of Harvard, the first woman to lead the university in its history. The increased presence of women leading some of the most prestigious institutions in the United States proves a timely occasion to study how men and women approach academic leadership.

Leaders' use of language is an important aspect of their leadership. By paying attention to framing, leaders can use language to construct meaning for their followers (Fairhurst, 2011). The right words can convince potential followers to be led by the leader. Effective leaders know this and use persuasive language (Bolman & Deal, 2008). Since language and gender are both socially constructed, men and women tend to use language differently (Spender, 1981; Tannen, 1994b). Additionally, since social constructions tend to favor dominant groups, language has historically been employed to exaggerate differences between men and women in order to oppress women (Spender, 1981). The structural biases against women in language present an added challenge for women leaders who have to employ it as a tool in their leadership repertoire. Therefore, it is important to study how female leaders navigate the challenges associated with language use as leaders in gendered organizations, as well as to compare how female and male leaders use language to portray themselves as leaders.

The inaugural address is an important representation of presidents' leadership rhetoric because it is their very first public speech as leaders of that particular institution. This initial address to the university community and stakeholders establishes a baseline of expectations for presidents and provides a pulpit upon which they can discourse their plans and leadership strategies. Indeed, speeches by leaders are an exercise in the

management of meaning (Smircich & Morgan, 1982) and framing (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996), and the inaugural address serves as a vehicle for the leader to present a vision for the future (Widmer, 2005). As social constructions, language and gender intersect for leaders because audiences have expectations of the type of speech the president should use based on gender (Tannen, 1994b).

The research problem for this study focused on presidents of high profile research universities over the last 20 years, i.e., 1994 to 2014, a timeframe that has seen the total number of women academic presidents almost double (ACE, 2012). The inaugural addresses of successive presidents were analyzed to understand how men and women use language to present themselves as leaders, and to what extent, if at all, the language used in their inaugural addresses is gendered. Since most women presidents whose speeches were analyzed in this study are following a long line of male presidents, and a handful of male presidents are following a female president, a comparison of successive presidents' speeches provided a better understanding of how leadership language is used differently by men and women within a similar institutional context.

Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions.

1. What is the discourse model of inaugural addresses by presidents of high profile research universities?
 - a. What are the similarities and differences in the inaugural speeches by men and women?

- b. How do the inaugural addresses compare when a female president follows a male president or a male president follows a female president at the same research university?
2. To what extent, if at all, is the language used in inaugural addresses gendered?

Significance of the Problem

This research problem is significant and timely in light of greater participation of women in higher education leadership over the last two decades, i.e., 1994-2014. The language women leaders use compared with their male counterparts can give important clues to the gendered nature of the organizations they lead (Tannen, 1994b). Since the research on this subject is scant, we do not know what differences, if any, exist in how presidents of universities speak depending on their gender, and what messages they communicate to audiences as well as future generations in their inaugural addresses.

The university/college presidential inaugural address is conspicuous by its absence in the literature. The inaugural address can be an important source of information about how new presidents present themselves as leaders to their followers. This address is typically one of the first public forums at which the president presents her or his plans and vision for the university (Widmer, 2005), and this speech begins to set the stage for the leader's tenure at the university. From a gender point of view, the inaugural address acquires greater salience since it provides a platform for women leaders, particularly women who are the first to lead the university, to establish and legitimize themselves as leaders when the default leader prototype is a man.

The significance of high profile research universities as the site of study lies in their influence both within higher education and on society generally. Given the

prominence of aspirational reach for institutions lower in the hierarchy of the Carnegie classification schema (Morphew & Baker, 2004), it is important to understand how the perceptions of gender in inaugural speeches at the RU/VH level influence practice at other types of colleges. Research institutions not only serve as a model for other institutional types, but also are engines of economy and industry in the new knowledge based economy (Geiger, 2004; Lewis & Hearn, 2003). Thus, studying inaugural addresses of female and male presidents at high profile research universities can provide a better understanding of how men and women academic leaders communicate their leadership through language, and set the norm for other institution types and society generally. Next, I address assumptions, limitations, and delimitations of the study.

Assumptions, Limitations, and Delimitations

I bring several assumptions to this study. One of my most basic assumptions is that gender, as opposed to biological sex, is a social construction. Language, too, is socially constructed as are academic organizations. I believe that societal structures are unjust because in order to succeed, women have to work in a system that marginalizes them. Language is part of the system of oppression that benefits the dominant groups. Therefore, women have to strive against structural inequities to rise in the ranks. I also believe that many men struggle against great odds to reach leadership positions, however, their struggles are somewhat mitigated by male privilege in a patriarchal society. They are particularly aided by language structures that continue to uphold men as natural leaders. I also bring the assumption that not all men and women struggle equally as race and class privilege some more than others.

The study also has some limitations. A limitation of the study is that I am examining the written texts of the inaugural addresses. I did not witness them, and I cannot know how they were delivered. It would have been interesting to analyze the delivery as well as audience response to the speeches. Another issue is that I cannot know how much input the presidents themselves had in writing the addresses. I am certain many of them enlisted help from professional speechwriters. However, the addresses would have to be approved by the presidents before they were delivered. This last point serves as a caution to the reader to keep in mind that the presidents' words are carefully crafted not just by them but by a team to further the goals of the type of institution they lead, hence the focus on institutional context in this study. Therefore, it has to be kept in mind that the presidents may not have written parts or indeed the entirety of the speeches included in the sample.

This study also has several delimitations. The sample population of inaugural addresses is delimited to presidents of high profile research universities. More women presidents lead community colleges; however, this study is delimited to universities classified by Carnegie as research universities with very high research activity or RU/VH. The rationale for choosing RU/VH universities is twofold: their high level of influence in the world of higher education (Geiger, 2004; Lewis & Hearn, 2003), and consistency in institutional type across cases. Because of this particular organizational context within higher education, the findings of this study can only be generalized to this particular organization type. A second delimitation is that only speeches available publicly are analyzed to ensure consistency in terms of the source of the data. A further rationale for this delimitation to public sources is that the public availability of the

speeches ensures their continued influence as individuals can continue to access these speeches. A third delimitation is the 20 year timeframe, from 1994-2014. The rationale for choosing this timeframe is fourfold: to ensure that the institutional context remained somewhat consistent, to keep the data manageable, to begin at a time that saw great transformation in higher education with the advent of the information age (Dolence & Norris, 1995), and to enable inclusion of women presidents of research universities in the sample as they were rare prior to 1994.

Since this study relied on publicly available speeches, the sample is not symmetrical, i.e., more speeches by women, and more public versus private institutions are included in the sample (see Chapter Three). As well, some presidents included in the study have had very long tenures, and some have had brief presidencies, therefore, a consistency across cases could not be ensured. Some women presidents in the sample have followed male presidents who had served in the position for decades, which means a change in the era, especially a change in the economic climate, in which the presidencies occurred. The final delimitation is that although presidents deliver many different kinds of speeches, only inaugural addresses are analyzed in this study. The rationale for focusing on inaugural addresses is to ensure consistency across cases, and to focus on a particular type of address that sets the tone for the president's tenure as leader. Next, I provide definitions of key terms used in the study.

Definition of Terms

The following terms, listed in alphabetical order, are defined for a better understanding of their meaning as they are used in this particular study.

- **Discourse analysis:** For this study, the definition of discourse analysis by Allan (2008) is used. Allan (2008) defined discourse analysis as “the examination of both talk and text and their relationship to the social context in which they are constructed” (p. 6). Discourse analysis falls under the social/constructivist research paradigm. Discourse analysis is to be differentiated from content analysis which refers to examination of texts and other media separate from the context in which they are constructed (Hardy, Harley, & Phillips, 2004). Context is critical to this study as the assumptions underpinning the study are that language, gender, leadership, and organizations are social constructions, and that language creates and legitimates social realities.
- **Gender:** Gender refers to the socially constructed roles of men and women, and is to be differentiated from the biological categories of sex (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003).
- **Gendered:** Gendered refers to specific behavior or traits attributed to the sexes (Padavic & Reskin, 2002). Gendered organizations are those that subscribe to and perpetuate gender norms (Acker, 1990).
- **Inaugural address/speech:** The inaugural address or speech refers to the first official public address a university or college president delivers in the role of president, usually at an inauguration ceremony. Some institutions refer to the inaugural address as the inauguration speech, and others as the installation or investiture address/remarks/speech. For the purposes of this study, the terms address and speech are used interchangeably and refer to the inaugural address unless noted otherwise.

- **Leadership:** The term leadership refers to positional leadership in the context of colleges and universities unless noted otherwise.
- **President:** The term president refers to the holder of the highest office at a university or college campus unless noted otherwise. At some universities, the title of chancellor or chief executive officer (CEO) may be used to refer to the person holding the highest office. Interim or caretaker presidents or chancellors, or other temporary leaders in the highest office are not included in the study.
- **Research universities:** Research universities refers to institutions of higher education that have been classified as RU/VH or research universities with very high research activity by the Carnegie Foundation (“Classification description,” 2015).

Summary

In view of the increase in the number of women presidents at high profile research universities, the purpose of this study was to discover the inaugural address discourse model of inaugural addresses by presidents of high profile research universities, and explore to what extent, if at all, the language used in the inaugural addresses by female and male presidents is gendered. In this chapter, I provided the introduction of the study, including the conceptual framework, problem statement, research questions, significance, assumptions, limitations and delimitations, and definitions of terms. In the next chapter, I will provide a review of the literature organized around the three main themes of gender and leadership, organizational context, and leadership rhetoric.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This study sought to examine the differences and similarities between inaugural addresses by men and women presidents of high profile research universities, and explore to what extent, if at all, their rhetoric is gendered. The significance of this study is heightened due to the fact that scant scholarly attention exists regarding the intersection of academic leadership, gender, and rhetoric. In this chapter, I will give a review of the extant literature organized around the three main themes of the conceptual framework of the study, namely gender and leadership, organizational context, and leadership rhetoric.

Gender and Leadership

As noted in Chapter One, leadership is a masculine construct in the English language (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003). Since leadership literature was traditionally written largely by and about men, this historical representation also strengthened and reified leadership as a masculine construct. However, leadership literature has evolved to include leadership orientations that are not gendered and are more inclusive of different ways of leading (Hickman, 1998; Lipman-Blumen, 1992, Nidiffer, 2001). Women writing from the standpoint of women have contributed greatly to the change in discourse (Eddy & Khwaja, 2014); however, the lack of parity between the sexes in leadership positions, as well as divergent experiences of men and women leaders, points to the need for more research and work on the intersection between gender and leadership.

Leadership. The concept of leadership has attracted enormous amounts of scholarly interest, however, there is little consensus on what leadership really means (Northouse, 2013). In the early part of the 20th century, definitions emphasized power,

domination, and traits of leaders (Stogdill & Bass, 1981). These gave way to more group-based, organizational behavior approaches towards the middle of the century, followed by transformational approaches towards the end of the century (Bensimon, Neumann, & Birnbaum, 1989; Northouse, 2013). Heifetz (1994) called attention to the danger of “personalistic orientations” (p. 20) of leadership and posited that leadership should be seen as an activity or process, which he called adaptive work. Thus, the evolution of the concept of leadership has been from trait-based approaches to behavioral approaches, or from leadership as a noun or adjective to leadership as a verb or activity. What remains unknown is how college presidents define or represent their leadership approach in their inaugural addresses.

As a construct, leadership largely conjures up images of the strong male leader (Amey & Twombly, 1992). Some scholars trace the origin of leadership to the beginnings of the evolution of the human race when the survival of the species necessitated compact groups led by physically strong male leaders (van Vugt & Ahuja, 2011). Agrarian societies, to an extent, obviated such leadership hierarchies, and men and women worked in tandem both in the household and on the land (Cowan, 2010). With the advent of industrialization, however, the era of the separate spheres arrived that reversed the relative parity between the sexes in terms of agricultural work, and introduced the concept of the dehumanized industrial worker much like a cog in the industrial machinery (Cowan, 2010).

Despite the interlude of agrarian human culture that blurred the lines between the work men and women did, industrialized cultures reverted back to the ideal of the male domination of leadership and the workplace as a purported natural outcome of evolution

(Cowan, 2010). Evolutionary realities have been distorted by racist and sexist proponents of male supremacy to justify the natural domination of women by men (Heifetz, 1994); and this view of leadership has caused much harm both intellectually and in everyday life as it keeps us from picking the best leader rather than the most masculine leader who fits our image of the ideal leader (van Vugt & Ahuja, 2011). Thus, despite evolving away from trait-based leadership, the strong male leader remains the default leader to date.

Leadership styles have run the gamut from coercive and authoritative to affiliative and democratic (Goleman, 2000). Some scholars have emphasized the importance of the fit between the leaders' style and the context, and the need for leaders to possess a repertoire of leadership styles and employ different styles in accordance with the situation at hand (Bensimon, 1989; Fiedler, 1964; Goleman, 2000).

Academic leadership. For quite some time now, leadership scholars have been highlighting the superiority of collaborative ways of leading over authoritative approaches to leadership (Bennis, 1989; Heifetz, 1994; Lipman-Blumen, 1992). In the field of academic leadership, much attention has been paid to the effectiveness of transformational leadership. Astin and Astin (2000) explained:

We believe that leadership is a process that is ultimately concerned with fostering change. In contrast to the notion of "management," which suggests preservation or maintenance, "leadership" implies a process where there is movement from wherever we are now to some future place or condition that is different.

Leadership also implies intentionality, in the sense that the implied change is not random "change for change's sake" but is rather directed toward some future end

or condition which is desired or valued. Accordingly, leadership is a purposive process which is inherently value-based. (p. 8)

In contrast, Birnbaum (1992) believed that although the concept of transformational leadership is “particularly seductive” (p. 29), transformational leadership is rare in higher education because academic institutions tend to have objectives that are grounded in their histories and cultures, not on the beliefs and values of a single leader. Transactional leadership is usually considered antithetical to transformational leadership, however, Birnbaum (1992) discovered in his research with college presidents that the most effective presidents combined the two approaches depending on the requirements of the situation.

Academic presidents tend to have definitions of leadership that implicitly align with particular leadership theories (Birnbaum, 1989). In Birnbaum’s (1989) experience, an overwhelming majority of the presidents in his study defined leadership in terms that aligned with behavioral approaches to leadership, chiefly revolving around setting a direction, and motivating action. The orientation that leadership is about action aligns with Heifetz’s (1994) conceptualization of leadership as adaptive work. Birnbaum’s (1989) findings led him to conclude: “College and university presidents in general define leadership as a process of influence directed towards the achievement of goals” (p. 30). Thus, academic leaders generally combine approaches and tend to have a behavioral orientation to leadership. What remains unknown is how this conceptualization of academic leaders that was based largely on research with White men holds true now with increasing numbers of non-traditional presidents at the helm of universities and colleges (ACE, 2012).

Leadership requirements vary by institutional context and culture. For example, since the context and culture of a research university would be significantly different from those of a community college, the leadership requirements, too, would diverge considerably. According to Birnbaum (1988), to be effective, a leader's style must align with an institution's culture and objectives. Thus, for each of the four institutional types he identified, Birnbaum (1988) suggested leadership styles that fit: "The objective of the bureaucratic administrator is rationality. The collegial administrator searches for consensus, the political administrator for peace, and the symbolic administrator for sense. But the major aim of the cybernetic administrator is balance" (p. 226). Birnbaum (1988) emphasized that academic institutions are a mixture of the bureaucratic, political, symbolic, and collegial elements, and the role of the president is to maintain balance among these elements. Bergquist and Pawlak's (2008) academic cultures built on the work of Birnbaum (1988), advocating integration of six types of academic cultures: collegial, managerial, developmental, advocacy, virtual, and tangible. The role of the leader is to bridge the gaps among these cultures (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). Thus, academic leadership is a process of finding and maintaining a delicate balance between one's own style and the increasingly complex nature of academic institutions. However, leadership experiences diverge for men and women, a topic I explore in the next two sections.

Women and leadership. When Sheryl Sandberg published her bestselling book *Lean In* in 2013, she gave women leaders, both current and aspiring, a great deal to think about in terms of their agency in achieving leadership positions. However, Sandberg (2013) noted that the playing field is not level for men and women pursuing leadership

positions, and many women have to make choices that men do not have to make. The challenges confronting women in their paths to leadership positions have meant that despite outnumbering men in undergraduate enrollment for decades, women do not make it to leadership positions nearly in the same numbers as men do (Sandberg, 2013).

The disparate experiences of men and women in their pursuit and preservation of leadership roles is partly a consequence of the social construction of leadership as a masculine construct (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011) and partly a result of structural impediments (Eddy & Ward, in press). Women face special challenges and unfavorable evaluation as leaders (or potential leaders) owing to the stereotyping of gender roles and leadership roles and the inconsistency between the stereotypes, whereas men are not as heavily penalized for adopting more feminine styles (Chliwniak, 1997; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Sczesny, 2009). The flipside of the incongruity in the stereotyping of leadership and gender has been that the most competent women reach leadership positions, generally choosing leadership roles that align with feminine leadership styles, and set precedents for hard work and competence for other women (Eagly & Carli, 2003). The attribution of gender to leadership has meant that men and women are often believed, and expected, to lead in styles that align with their gender roles.

Leadership styles of men and women. According to Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and Engen (2003), leadership styles are “relatively stable patterns of behavior displayed by leaders” (p. 569). Researchers have found conflicting evidence on the differences in leadership styles of men and women. Eagly and colleagues (2003), for example,

discovered that women's leadership styles tend to be more transformational than men's, and that transactional and laissez-faire styles are more common among men.

In contrast, Engen, Leeden, and Willemsen (2001) found no significant correlation between gender and leadership style. They concluded, "Women managers are just as vigorous and goal-oriented, and as socially skilled and charismatic as men managers are" (pp. 594-595). Engen and colleagues (2001) attributed the differences in men and women's leadership styles to the context in which they led. Eddy's (2003) findings aligned with Engen et al.'s (2001) when she discovered in her interviews with female and male presidents of community colleges that their leadership styles were not dichotomous but could be placed on a continuum of leadership styles. Scholars like Nidiffer (2001) have emphasized the integrated model of leadership that combines feminine and masculine leadership competencies as the most suitable for academic leadership requirements in the 21st century. Thus, the tendency to dichotomize leadership styles of men and women is generally discounted in the literature which has consistently discovered that leadership and human behavior are too complex to reduce them to merely two categories. The socially constructed nature of leadership, gender, and organizations ensures that there are no neat categories that explain leadership behaviors, and that context is crucial to the question of the relationship between gender and leadership. What remains unknown is the role of discourse in inaugural addresses by presidents of high profile research universities in either reifying gendered patterns of leadership or challenging existing notions.

Gender. As explained in Chapter One, gender and biological sex are to be differentiated. In common parlance, sex and gender are used interchangeably, however,

feminist scholars generally agree that it is important to make the distinction that sex is a biological category while gender is a socially constructed category (Lorber, 2005; Padavic & Reskin, 2002; Ropers-Huilman, 2003). Padavic and Reskin (2002) explained, “The process of transforming males and females—who are vastly more similar than different in biological terms—into two groups that differ noticeably in appearance is part of the social construction of gender” (p. 4). Gender is socially constructed through exaggeration of differences between men and women in all aspects of life including dress, speech, behavior, and the division of labor both in and outside of the home.

Gayle Rubin (1997) elaborated on the creation of separate spheres through suppression of the idea of the sameness of men and women:

The division of labor by sex can therefore be seen as a “taboo”: a taboo against the sameness of men and women, a taboo dividing the sexes into two mutually exclusive categories, a taboo which exacerbates the biological differences between the sexes and thereby *creates* gender. (p. 39, italics in original)

Rewards and punishments are used to keep women and men bound to gender behaviors prescribed for them, and in most societies this is done to maintain male advantage (Padavic & Reskin, 2002). Thus, gender serves to maintain the status quo in which male domination is perpetuated through elaborate cultural enactments that exaggerate and reify gender differences.

Intersectionality of race and gender. For women who do not belong to the dominant race or ethnicity, the challenges in their quest for leadership are compounded due to the intersectionality of race and gender. Davis (2008) defined intersectionality as “the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual

lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power” (p. 68). Intersectionality can help us understand the context in which women and men of color might find themselves unable to reach or retain academic leadership because the academic organization is built around the “academic positionality of dominant group members” (Moore, Perry, & Edwards, 2010, p. 200). In the context of the US, race and gender are important aspects of identity and cannot be separated. Hence, even though the main focus of this study is gender, issues of intersectionality of race and gender were kept in view when analyzing speeches by presidents belonging to non-dominant racial groups.

Doing gender. The enactment of gender takes place within a social context. Men and women have to play by certain rules to be accepted as members of society. West and Zimmerman (1987) called this enactment of gender “doing gender” and explained:

We contend that the “doing” of gender is undertaken by women and men whose competence as members of society is hostage to its production. Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine “natures.” (p. 126)

The reification of gender roles as “nature” forces men and women to do gender. Thus, gender becomes an activity and not a category encompassing certain sets of characteristics. The division of labor by gender is also an example of doing gender, and so is the construction of leadership as masculine. These social constructions of gender roles put women in a double bind: since leadership is masculine, women cannot be leaders and those who do lead are not really women (Catalyst, 2007; Eagly & Karau,

2002; Nidiffer, 2001). These binds present special challenges for women leaders who have to justify and legitimize their leader status as well as their femininity (Bornstein, 2009). Research suggests that women leaders who act in ways that are considered masculine, and thus congruent with stereotypical leadership behavior, are penalized formally through low evaluations, and informally through dislike and rejection (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Women presidents of research universities are entering an arena that until recently was the exclusive territory of men throughout history. Thus, they have to navigate double binds and legitimize (Bornstein, 2009) their leadership in a way that men do not have to do. Analyzing inaugural speeches provides data regarding approaches to this process of legitimization.

Gender and academic leadership. Since both gender and leadership are social constructions, the interactions between these two phenomena produce complexity. Higher education leadership follows patterns similar to those in the corporate world and gender plays an important role in shaping the leadership experiences of those in leadership roles. For example, it is significant that women earned 53% of doctoral degrees in 2010 (Aud et al., 2012), yet approximately 67% of all academic leaders including presidents, full professors, chief academic officers, and board of trustee members at doctoral institutions were men in 2013 (Lennon, 2013). Even though the leadership situation for women in academia is not as bleak as it is in the corporate world, the number of women reaching leadership positions in higher education is far outstripped by the number of qualified women earning their doctorates. This disparity gives rise to the unanswered questions: What role does gender play in academic leadership? And how

do women leaders navigate their leadership experiences given their expected gender roles?

In their study exploring the experiences and views of women academic leaders over three generations: predecessors, instigators, and inheritors, Astin and Leland (1991) discovered that women academic leaders see “collective action, passionate commitment, and consistent performance” as essential aspects of leadership (p. 157). Since then, research over the last 25 years on women leaders in higher education continues to suggest that women find it difficult to lead authentically in academic institutions (Eddy, 2009; Tedrow & Rhoades, 1999). Presidential leadership is fraught with challenges for anyone, but for women, gendered notions of leadership and femininity create hurdles in achieving presidential legitimacy (Bornstein, 2009). Concurring with Astin and Leland’s (1991) assessment of academic leadership as outdated and in need of redefinition, Bornstein (2009) observed:

To ensure that the increased number of women in college and university presidencies is not a passing phenomenon, the academy needs to reinvent itself. The role and dimensions of the presidency should be reconceived. Women aspiring to have an academic career and a family should be assisted by a more flexible tenure clock, child care facilities, and flexible work schedules. Women with administrative talent should be encouraged to consider the presidency as a worthy career goal and be provided with experience, training, support networks and mentors. Women presidential aspirants should seek relevant experience and develop attitudes and behaviors necessary for success. Women presidents need to stifle feelings of inadequacy and demonstrate their competence by developing

strategies, balancing budgets, meeting enrollment goals, raising money, managing problems, avoiding crises, and leading their institutions. (p. 232)

In a nutshell, Bornstein (2009) envisioned a scenario in which the academy meets women leaders, current and aspiring, halfway; pointedly, changing academic structures to be more accommodating and supportive of a range of leadership approaches. This argument underscores that agency alone is not enough to create an equal playing field.

At the same time, individual agency is extremely important and links up with Sandberg's (2013) concept of leaning in. Agency allows women to overcome stereotypes and biases to break through barriers, and creates precedents for aspiring women leaders (Eagly & Carli, 2003). However, the glass ceiling is still very much intact in academia (Bain & Cummings, 2000; Chliwniak, 1997), and some have contended that the material for this ceiling is a more resilient plexiglas rather than glass, thus, it is much harder to break (Terosky, Phifer, & Neumann, 2008). The entry of women in academic professions in large numbers has not taken care of the phenomenon of the glass ceiling, but the women who have been able to reach presidential positions in universities are testament to the fact that the glass ceiling can be shattered (Glazer-Raymo, 1999).

However, once on the other side of the glass ceiling, challenges related to gender and race compound as the top positions come with more scrutiny of leadership behavior (Glazer-Raymo, 1999). Especially critical in establishing legitimacy as a leader is the beginning of the presidential tenure when new leaders, particularly women, feel that they have to prove that they are qualified for the job, one aspect of which is overcoming stereotypical beliefs about women (Bornstein, 2008, 2009). Scholars like Chliwniak (1997) hoped that with more and more women in visible positions of authority such as

presidencies, patriarchal structures of academe will begin to break down. Martin's (2014) research supported the impact of the tipping point—in her research this occurred at the theoretical range where women make up 35 to 40% of the total number of leaders—on the dramatic rise in the number of women presidents at Maryland community colleges since 2006. With the relative increase in the number of women leading research universities in recent years, research like the present study can begin to probe questions about men and women leaders' role in questioning, problematizing, and changing patriarchal and hierarchical cultures through rhetoric.

As socially constructed phenomena, leadership and gender interact to produce a great deal of complexity. Since the concept of leadership itself is a masculine construct, women leaders find themselves in binds owing to expectations of gender roles. Next, I focus on the organizational context which adds another dimension to the complexity of leadership in higher education.

Organizational Context

This study focused on a particular organizational context, namely the research university. The rationale for doing so is that context is extremely important when dealing with issues of discourse as discourses are situated, created, and interpreted in particular contexts (Allan, 2008). In this section, I discuss how organizations, like leadership and gender, are social constructions that perpetuate the status quo that upholds the ideal of the male leader. I also elaborate on the importance of research universities in creating social discourses.

Organizational frames and metaphors. Bolman and Deal (2008) identified four major organizational frames: structural (or bureaucratic), human resource, political, and

symbolic. The structural/bureaucratic organizational frame originated from the works of Frederick Taylor and Max Weber who emphasized rationality, hierarchy, and efficiency (Bolman & Deal, 2008; Morgan, 1997). The metaphor that aligns with the structural/bureaucratic frame is that of factories or machines (Morgan, 1997). According to Bensimon (1989), academic leaders who operate from a structural frame emphasize their role in making decisions, establishing systems, and getting results.

Rooted in psychology, the human resource frame is grounded in the assumption that organizations exist to serve the needs of people and should be tailored to the needs of the individuals (Bolman & Deal, 2008). The metaphorical representation of the human resource frame is an extended family composed of people with diverse needs, feelings, strengths and weaknesses (Bolman & Deal, 2008). Leaders with a human resource orientation seek to build consensus through democratic and participative decision making (Bensimon, 1989).

The political frame is rooted in political science and sees organizations as sites of conflict over power and scarce resources (Bolman & Deal, 2008). Political organizations are metaphorically represented as jungles (Bolman & Deal, 2008), and leaders in such organizations play the role of negotiator or mediator (Bensimon, 1989). Morgan (1997) observed that gender biases in the workplace are politically driven maneuvers to maintain male control over power and resources and “enable men to achieve positions of prestige and power more easily than women. It is sometimes called the ‘glass ceiling’ effect” (p. 191). Thus, gendered organizations are a product of political maneuvering aimed at preserving power and control of resources by dominant groups.

The frame most relevant to this study is the symbolic frame, which sees organizations as cultures and draws on social and cultural anthropology (Bolman & Deal, 2008). Symbolic organizations are metaphorically represented as carnivals or temples (Bolman & Deal, 2008). Presidents using the symbolic frame serve as “catalysts or facilitators of an ongoing process” (Bensimon, 1989, p. 110). The symbolic frame highlights the socially constructed nature of the organizations, which I explore in the next section.

Organizations as social constructions. Many organizational theorists posit that organizations are socially constructed (Bess & Dee, 2007; Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006; Tierney, 1989). This perspective means that individuals experience organizations differently depending on their gender, race, ethnicity, class, geographical location, institutional type, and other constructs that influence social construction of reality (Bess & Dee, 2007). Hatch and Cunliffe (2006) elaborated on the centrality of symbolism and language in the social construction of organizations:

Because meaning is embedded in human interactions and in symbols and artifacts that may be interpreted differently by different people, we need to address multiple interpretations and the role context plays in shaping how situations and events are interpreted by those who experience them. In doing so, we need to be particularly sensitive to language because it is through language (both verbal and written forms) that we construct, modify, make sense of and communicate reality.

(p. 43)

Therefore, language is fundamental to how we construct and interpret reality, including organizational context. Bess and Dee (2007) concurred: “The vocabulary of an

organization says much about its values and assumptions” (p. 367). The view that organizations are social constructions links up with Bolman and Deal’s (2008) symbolic frame that sees organizations as cultures, and leaders as facilitators of the cultural processes that are already unfolding (Bensimon, 1989). Thus, academic leaders participate in the social construction of organizations by using language and symbolic rituals and ceremonies to create meaning for their followers. The construction of meaning occurs in a cultural context. What is not explored in the literature is how the entry of women leaders into the particular culture of the RU/VHs is impacting that culture, and how these new nontraditional leaders are constructing a new culture through their rhetoric. To get a better idea of how organizations are constructed, it is helpful to look at organizations as cultures (Morgan, 1997), a view explained in the next section.

Organizational culture. Bolman and Deal (2008) characterized organizational culture as both a process and product: “As a product, it embodies wisdom accumulated from experience. As a process, it is renewed and re-created as newcomers learn the old ways and eventually become teachers themselves” (p. 269). Thus, culture sets norms and expectations, and the academic leader is expected to articulate these norms and expectations in order to create meaning for the campus community (Chliwniak, 1997).

According to Morgan (1997):

Shared values, shared beliefs, shared meaning, shared understanding, and shared sense making are all different ways of describing culture. In talking about culture we are really talking about a process of reality construction that allows people to see and understand particular events, actions, objects, utterances, or situations in distinctive ways. These patterns of understanding help us to cope with the

situations being encountered and also provide a basis for making our own behavior sensible and meaningful. (p. 138)

Thus, an organization's culture "sets the normative context for groups and individuals, and indicates which rewards the organization deems important" (Bess & Dee, 2007, p. 375). Culture serves to create a particular reality for its members to ensure their socialization, and "anchors an organization's identity and sense of itself" (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 278). Beliefs, values, rituals, symbols, myths, stories, ceremonies, and customs come together to enact culture (Bolman & Deal, 2008). Rituals and ceremonies have a special function in organizational cultures as they "create order, clarity, and predictability—particularly around mysterious and random issues or dilemmas" (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 265). The inauguration of new presidents is an example of a ceremony celebrating the transition of leadership, and the inaugural address is an example of a ritual that is usually an important part of the ceremony.

Bolman and Deal (2008) emphasized that when done correctly "both ritual and ceremony fire the imagination and deepen faith" (p. 267). Therefore, rituals like inaugural addresses not only reflect but create the culture of an organization, and hold important information about an organization, including to what extent it is gendered, a concept addressed in the next section.

Higher education scholars have paid particular attention to organizational culture when dealing with the subject of leadership with a general prescription to align leadership styles with an organization's culture (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Birnbaum, 1988). This alignment is not easy as organizational cultures are not simple and are indeed a combination of several cultures and increasing in complexity with time. For example,

Bergquist (1992) started out with four cultures of the academy: the collegial, the managerial, the developmental, and the advocacy culture. However, he had to add two additional cultures: the virtual, and the tangible cultures, given the changing realities of higher education in the 21st century (Berquist & Pawlak, 2008). Hence, leaders not only have to balance these cultures within the same organization, but also co-create the cultures through the use of language and rituals. This co-creation is a complex process and comes with special challenges for women leaders who have to contend with organizational cultures that were historically built to exclude them, and that have been slow to change. Such organizational cultures are explored in the next section.

Gendered organizations. The notion of leadership as a gendered construct provides the foundation for gendered organizations. Joan Acker (1990) defined gendered organizations in these words:

To say that an organization, or any other analytic unit, is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine. (p. 146)

Acker (1990) argued that organizational cultures are not gender-neutral and that, in fact, organizations go to great lengths to keep the personhood of workers, including their sexual identity, out of the workplace in efforts to appear gender-neutral. However, this appearance is illusory because ignoring gender is not the same as ensuring gender equality. Furthermore, jobs are created in ways that separate them from the workers that embody them. Acker (1990) argued that organizations are built around this

“disembodied worker” as the ideal worker “who exists only for work” (p. 149). Acker (1990) elaborated on the concept of the disembodied worker:

The closest the disembodied worker doing the abstract job comes to a real worker is the male worker whose life centers on his full-time, life-long job, while his wife or another woman takes care of his personal needs and his children. While the realities of life in industrial capitalism never allowed all men to live out this ideal, it was the goal for labor unions and the image of the worker in social and economic theory. The woman worker, assumed to have legitimate obligations other than those required by the job, did not fit with the abstract job. (p. 149)

This characterization of the almost fictitious ideal worker marginalizes women or any person who exhibits human needs or who may not fit the ideal mold of a man in a heterosexual relationship. Thus, the gendered organization ensures that only the so-called ideal worker thrives and advances to leadership positions in such organizations.

Higher education organizations also operate around this outdated concept of the ideal worker. For example, Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2004) discovered that women academics at research universities felt that they were expected to work all the time and plan their children’s birth around tenure clocks. Many women professors try to plan their pregnancies to coincide with summer break or post-tenure for fear that they may be penalized if they request maternity leave at other times (Armenti, 2004). Lester and Sallee (2009) also observed the gendered nature of academic organizations, and emphasized the need to make academia more conducive to attaining balance between work and family lives so workers can live full lives. The next section addresses the particular organizational context for this study: the research university.

Research universities. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching classifies US universities into several categories and subcategories. Of the categories, doctorate-granting universities are further categorized into subcategories based on the level of research activity (“Classification description,” 2015). In this study, the term *research universities* refers to institutions of higher education that have been classified as RU/VH or research university with very high research activity by the Carnegie Foundation (“Classification description,” 2015). RU/VH universities are considered to be the pinnacle of the Carnegie classification. According to Morpew and Baker (2004):

Although the Carnegie Classification was not created for the purpose of ranking the quality or status of postsecondary institutions, it has served as a prestige barometer for many institutions because it classifies institutions using variables linked to normative models of prestige and stature (e.g. federal research dollars, selectivity, and number of doctorates awarded). Indeed, Carnegie restructured its classification in 2000 in the hopes of reducing the “tournament mentality” associated with it. (p. 367)

Yet the restructuring of the classification did not have an impact on the perception of prestige associated with the R1 or RU/VH moniker. What has occurred instead is “mimetic isomorphism,” an organizational change theory according to which, “[o]rganizations tend to model themselves after similar organizations in their field that they perceive to be more legitimate or successful” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 152). This mimetic isomorphism in academic organizations is sometimes called “academic drift” (Morpew & Hiusman, 2002, p. 492), and has meant that academic institutions

aspire to become more like those perceived as higher in the Carnegie classification hierarchy.

Research universities possess power and influence in the field of higher education and serve as models for other institutions that are considered lower in the institutional hierarchy, and at the same time have a great deal of impact on society at large (Hornig, 2003). This influence includes issues of gender equality, as Hornig (2003) observed:

There are compelling reasons for believing that full equality for women in the academic world, and hence in a variety of professions, cannot be attained without achieving such status in the research universities. These institutions are at the forefront of research and scholarship in all disciplines; they educate the majority of undergraduate and graduate students of high ability; they produce far more research, knowledge, and innovation and they are larger, wealthier, and much more influential in our national life than other academic institutions. (p. 3)

Ropers-Huilman (2003) concurred, "Because higher education both reinforces and resists society's norms, what we do in these teaching and learning environments has the potential to exacerbate, replicate, or challenge gender constructions that exist in society writ large" (p. 3). However, research universities have historically been resistant to accepting women as well as minorities as equals, and the remnants of this historical discrimination can be seen today in fewer women ascending to higher academic and administrative positions at these institutions (Hornig, 2003). Like the larger society, research universities have been slow to notice gender as an issue and change in response. However, the recent increase in women leaders at some of the premier research

universities can be a sign of a shifting tide, and indeed these leaders are in a privileged position to highlight gender issues at their institutions (Chliwniak, 1997).

In sum, as socially constructed phenomena, organizations fall under several types and can be seen using frames and metaphors. Organizations, including research universities, have evolved to favor a type of abstract ideal worker that resembles a male with a female partner who takes care of the household and children. Such organizations are gendered in culture and create challenges for those who seek to live balanced lives. However, gendered organizations are especially challenging for women as they retain biases against anyone not fitting the ideal model of the worker (Acker, 1990; Williams, 2000). In the next section, I explore the role of language in the gendered construction of leadership and organizations.

Leadership Rhetoric

Given the central position of language in the social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Burke, 1993), the way leaders use language can shape how their leadership is understood by others, and create meaning for their followers. In this section, I focus on the role of rhetoric in academic leadership, and how it is related to gender and organizational context.

What is rhetoric? When we think of rhetoric, the images of politicians and statesmen making fiery speeches come to mind. Traditionally, rhetoric is seen as “the study and practice of shaping content,” and this focus on “shaping content” has exposed the concept of rhetoric to much critique as it is viewed as a sort of manipulation of language (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995, p. 4). Covino and Jolliffe (1995) offered a more detailed definition of rhetoric: “*Rhetoric is a primarily verbal, situationally contingent,*

epistemic art that is both philosophical and practical and gives rise to potentially active texts" (p. 5, italics in original). This definition of rhetoric aligns with the social constructivist viewpoint as it sees rhetoric as "situationally contingent" and "epistemic," and a source of "active texts" (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995, p. 5). Social constructivism rejects the notion of reality as something that exists out there waiting to be discovered, and emphasizes the subjective interpretation of experience in a context (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Bess & Dee, 2007; Creswell, 2013). Therefore, rhetoric serves as a vehicle for the social construction of meaning in a given context.

The four elements of rhetoric are audience, rhetorical situation, the means of persuasion, and "the five canons of rhetoric: *invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery*" (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995, p. 10, italics in original). The importance of the audience in rhetoric seems self-evident as there can be no rhetoric without an audience, yet this simple relationship is complicated by the form the rhetoric might take, i.e., a live speech might be written beforehand, or an extempore speech transcribed later, thus, complicating the form of delivery (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995). The availability of certain types of rhetorical texts and videos on the internet adds a further complication as it reflects what is considered important enough to be made publicly available. Further complications might arise in the electronic availability of videos and texts that were made available without the knowledge and/or consent of the speaker. Thus, the internet and sharing now possible through devices like smartphones have created further complexity for public speakers as they can never be quite sure of their audience, or the context in which their messages might be received. Moreover, technology such as recording devices also complicate off-the-cuff remarks that may end up online and disseminated

widely. Such challenges did not exist two decades ago, making it all the more important to explore how presidents use rhetoric in a digital age.

The rhetorical situation refers to a situation where a need, an audience, and circumstances coincide to require spoken or written text to address it (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995). The theory of rhetorical situation is attributed to Bitzer (1992) who posited that rhetoric, like all human communication, is always situational and contextual, and requires the performance of some task. More on the theory of rhetorical situation is presented in the theoretical framework in Chapter Three.

The means of persuasion is a rough translation of the Greek word *pisteis*, which means “proof” or “appeal” and includes anything that might cause the audience to be persuaded of the speaker’s legitimacy (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995, p. 15). A speaker might employ means that include those meant to appeal to the audience’s reason (logos), emotions (pathos), or establish the authority of the speaker (ethos) (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995). Speakers might use these in combinations depending on the situation. The canons of rhetoric: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery are essential to effective public communication as they can shape how content is presented and received by the audience (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995). Therefore, leaders have a range of possibilities to consider when they are crafting their messages. The authority vested in the leader creates a particular platform for rhetoric as their formal title gives them a measure of legitimacy which they then have to back up with their choice of language. The relationship between language and leadership is explored in the next section.

Leadership and rhetoric. Historically, rulers have used language as a tool to not just communicate but “mystify and control” those they rule (Burke, 1993, p. 4). Powerful

oratorical skills have been misused by demagogues such as Adolf Hitler to galvanize their audience to commit unspeakable acts, thus this power, while essentially morally neutral, requires the speaker to make a choice to use it ethically (Conger, 1991).

Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) asserted, "Leadership is a language game, one that many do not know that they are playing" (p. xi). How leaders use language can help them or hinder them in their efforts to lead. However, as Conger (1991) observed, language is often not paid the attention it deserves by leaders. Conger (1991) posited that the spoken word is a powerful tool for leaders, particularly those with a transformational orientation. Having a vision is just a first step; effectively communicating the vision depends on how the leader frames the message and manages meaning (Conger, 1991; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996; Smircich & Morgan, 1982). Leaders with orientations other than transformational can also use language to create meaning to elicit favorable responses from followers (Morgan, 1997). One of the tools a leader can use that can enable her or him to manage meaning is framing.

Framing. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) defined framing as "a quality of communication that causes others to accept one meaning over another" (p. xi). Framing is essentially the social construction of reality by focusing on a particular meaning over the others (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996) and the "capacity to be articulate and persuasive more or less on demand" (Fairhurst, 2011, p. 30). Framing encompasses three components: language, thought processes or mental models of the leader, and forethought which prepares leaders to be ready at any given time to employ framing skills (Fairhurst, 2011; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). The mental models of the leader refer to her or his understanding and interpretation of reality, and help leaders decide what framing strategy

they will choose over others (Fairhurst, 2011). Effective leaders choose frames based on the culture of the organization and their sensemaking (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Birnbaum, 1988; Fairhurst, 2011). According to Weick (1995), sensemaking means making sense of something, and is a process that is:

1. Grounded in identity construction
2. Retrospective
3. Enactive of sensible environments
4. Social
5. Ongoing
6. Focused on and by extracted cues
7. Driven by plausibility rather than accuracy (p. 17)

Thus, effective framing is grounded in sensemaking which in turn is rooted in identity construction (Weick, 1995), and is, therefore, a reflection of the deeply held beliefs of the leader. Used correctly, framing can be a powerful tool in a leader's repertoire and aid in the management of meaning.

Management of meaning. Leaders frame meaning for the followers through their actions and words (Smircich & Morgan, 1982). Thus, language is equally important along with action in the management of meaning. Smircich and Morgan (1982) asserted:

Through words and images; symbolic actions and gestures, leaders can structure attention and evoke patterns of meaning that give them considerable control over the situation being managed.... Leadership rests as much in these symbolic modes of action as in those instrumental modes of management, direction, and

control that define the substance of the leader's formal organizational role. (p. 263)

Thus, seeing leadership as a process of construction of reality rather than a set of traits or behaviors or exchange of transactions focuses attention on the leader's role in the social construction of their leadership and the organizations they lead (Smircich & Morgan, 1982). Here, it is important to note that leaders must make sense of the situation first (Weick, 1995) prior to framing and managing meaning for others. Next, I discuss the role of leadership rhetoric in the academic setting.

University president rhetoric. Due to the socially constructed nature of leadership and language, language and rhetoric are as important tools for leaders of academic organizations as they are for leaders of other types of organizations. However, scant attention is paid in the literature to the role of rhetoric and language in academic leadership. One study that focused on communication by university presidents during the 2008-2009 economic crisis called attention to the corporate rhetoric prevalent in the communications (Vitullo & Johnson, 2010). However, Vitullo and Johnson's (2010) study only focused on the written communications sent out by presidents to address issues related to the economic crisis. Recently, a few dissertations have explored presidential rhetoric from various angles. Cole (2013) examined the public speeches of presidents of eight North Carolina universities during the 1960s when they were faced with student unrest. Cole's (2013) focus, however, centered on how presidents dealt with student protest through rhetoric versus issues of gender and leadership. Young (2013) used Fairhurst and Sarr's (1996) conceptualization of framing to examine a sample of public speeches by presidents of doctoral institutions. Young's (2013) findings indicated

that female and male presidents used framing devices differently as did more experienced presidents versus newer presidents. Young (2013) also found that even though inaugural speeches accounted for around 10% of the total number of speeches in the sample, they contained very high rates of framing devices, especially those laying out the future vision for the institution. Thus, inaugural addresses were found to be rich with framing language. Even though Young (2013) touched on the difference in framing devices used by men and women presidents, his focus was not on issues of gender and leadership.

One dissertation dealing with the inaugural addresses of women presidents at co-ed institutions explored the use of metaphor in the speeches (Anastasia, 2008). Anastasia (2008) discovered that women presidents at co-ed institutions use a range of metaphors mostly communicating a collegial orientation rather than competitive imagery derived from sports and war that usually occurs in metaphors associated with men (Amey & Twombly, 1992). However, like the other studies, Anastasia's (2008) research did not use a feminist poststructural discourse analysis lens to analyze the rhetoric, which is the main objective of this study. This study is also unique in its focus on RU/VH universities and the discourse analysis of inaugural addresses of men and women presidents.

Inaugural addresses. As noted in Chapter One, inaugural addresses of political leaders are given a fair amount of attention, and analyzed from a range of viewpoints. From detailed analysis of a single inaugural address (Meyer, 1982), to compilations highlighting important inaugural speeches by US presidents (Grafton & Daley, 2006), to their genre analysis (Liu, 2012), to tracing US history and the nation's relationship to God in the inaugural addresses (Widmer, 2005), scholars have examined the US presidential inaugural address very closely. In recent years, with high profile presidential

bids by women such as Elizabeth Dole (Aday & Dewitt, 2001) and Hillary Clinton (Bligh et al., 2010), gender has become a relevant lens to compare political rhetoric by men and women. For instance, Bligh and associates (2010), analyzed Hillary Clinton's 2008 campaign rhetoric to examine the media hyped shift in her "voice" from masculine to more feminine. They found that Clinton, in comparison with Obama, Romney, and McCain, "was significantly less inclined to use masculine constructs of action and adversity relative to her male counterparts, but she was not necessarily more likely to use feminine constructs" (p. 19). Thus, the gender stereotyping and scrutiny of female leaders' rhetoric by the media is not completely supported by the research on women leaders, and women like Clinton continue to exhibit both masculine and feminine constructs in their rhetoric.

In contrast to political addresses, even speeches by presidents of highly influential universities do not receive similar attention. In a 1941 essay, David Andrew Weaver wrote:

Inaugural addresses of college and university presidents represent a valuable field of literature. In selected inaugural addresses one is introduced to much of the finest that has been thought and said. On such occasions, men (sic) tend to feel the sense of obligation and responsibility for the stewardship which they are accepting. (p. 63)

This extract is typical of the image of the presidents at the time who were invariably men. Importantly, and pertinent to this study, Weaver (1941) was pointing out the significance of studying inaugural addresses almost as a literary genre. Since then, scant literature can be found on inaugural addresses by academic presidents save for some dissertations

(Anastasia, 2008; Young, 2013). In fact, this area of inquiry does not receive the scholarly attention it deserves in view of the significance of the relationship between language and leadership. This shortsightedness represents an important gap that needs to be remedied because by their association with economically and socially influential organizations, presidents of research universities are influential leaders and representative of the values and ideals of their institutions. Their rhetoric, particularly their inaugural addresses, can give us clues into the current context as well as the course their institutions will take in the future. Their navigation of their new role is reflected in their inaugural addresses and can help us prepare future leaders, particularly women leaders.

Inaugural addresses constitute a rich source of leadership language, and I argue, hold a wealth of information about the leaders and the institutions they lead and set the stage for other forms of framing. The next section explores literature on language use by men and women.

Gender and rhetoric. Gender and language are inextricably interlinked (Tannen, 1994b), and it is essential to understand their interconnection so we can explain and critique these connections. To quote Cameron (2011),

Cultural representations of language and gender are part of our inheritance, as social beings and also as linguists. Arguably, the better we understand them—where they ‘come from’ and how they work—the more control we will have over what we do with them. (p. 598)

In the context for the present study, language holds clues to the gendered leadership experiences of women as well as the organizations they lead. Understanding these experiences can help us decide what we need to do next.

The English language, like any other language, is socially constructed. Like gender, language is constructed to exaggerate the differences between men and women (Spender, 1981). Spender (1981) noted the “man-made” nature of the English language:

This monopoly over language is one of the means by which males have ensured their own primacy, and consequently have ensured the invisibility or “other” nature of females, and this primacy is perpetuated while women continue to use, unchanged, the language which we have inherited. (p. 12)

This male hegemony over language presents another layer of challenge for women who work in organizations that are the product of the social construction of reality that has traditionally centered on men (Tannen, 1994b).

Burke (1993) posited that men and women use language differently, with women’s expression generally communicating their “social subordination” manifesting in their choice of vocabulary, intonation, and the frequency and volubility with which they speak in groups (p. 10). These differences between men and women are not innate, and the sexes are, in fact, conditioned to use language differently in accordance with their socially acceptable gender roles (Burke, 1993; Coates & Pichler, 2011; Lakoff, 1973; Spender, 1981; Tannen, 1994a, 1994b).

For women in leadership positions, language presents a particular challenge because the ways society expects women to talk are “at odds with images of authority” (Tannen, 1994b, p. 170). If she speaks in a manner consistent with images of authority, a woman violates the norms of her gender (Tannen, 1994b). Thus, like leadership, in terms of language use too, women leaders are caught in a double bind (Catalyst, 2007; Nidiffer, 2001). As a form of resistance, some women use language to deliberately “subvert

unacceptable socio-cultural norms, and contest restrictive concepts of professional identity at work” (Holmes & Schnurr, 2011, p. 327). On the flipside, Cameron (2011) noted the reversal of the judgment on men and women’s communication styles in the 1990s when women’s communication skills were beginning to be seen as superior to those of men and more in alignment with the requirements of contemporary society. What remains to be discovered is whether this pattern of reversal and the prominence given to women’s language represented a turn of societal expectations or if it was limited to the time period of the 1990s. Typically in times of crisis—like evident in the 2000s, power reverts to the hierarchy and primarily to the positional leader/authority figure on top (Leslie & Fretwell, 1996).

To sum up, language is central to the construction of reality, and a powerful tool in the hands of leaders as it can help them frame reality and manage meaning for their followers. However, this powerful tool is gendered in nature and favors the dominant gender, thus, it presents a challenge for women in navigating communication to overcome double binds. How women navigate the complexity of language in leadership positions is a nascent area of inquiry, to which this study is a contribution.

Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed the literature organized around the three main areas of influence for this study: gender and leadership, organizational context, and rhetoric, and discussed the interaction among them. The socially constructed nature of these factors means that there is a great deal of complexity in their interactions. A review of the literature shows that a lot of ink has been spilled on these concepts separately, yet work remains to be done to bring them together in a focused study of men and women’s

rhetoric in similar leadership positions in similar organizational contexts. A discourse analysis from a feminist poststructural perspective is rare in the literature, especially with respect to leader rhetoric in academic organizations. In the next chapter, I will detail the theoretical framework guiding this study and the methodology that was used for data collection and analysis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The purpose of this study was to find out to what extent, if at all, female and male presidents leading research universities with very high research activity (RU/VH) use language differently in their inaugural addresses. The way leaders frame their messages in rhetoric provides a great deal of information about their leadership style and the institutions they lead. For women leaders, the use of language presents extra challenges due to the gendered nature of language and the organizations they lead (Acker, 1990; Tannen, 1994b). As the first public address by presidents, inaugural addresses are an important source of information both about leaders and their institutions. This study provided an exploration of the following research questions:

1. What is the discourse model of inaugural addresses by presidents of high profile research universities?
 - a. What are the similarities and differences in the inaugural speeches by men and women?
 - b. How do the inaugural addresses compare when a female president follows a male president or a male president follows a female president at the same research university?
2. To what extent, if at all, is the language used in inaugural addresses gendered?

To answer these questions, this study was situated in the social constructivist paradigm, and used feminist post-structural discourse analysis as a lens to analyze inaugural speeches by presidents of research universities.

A qualitative approach was taken in this study. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), qualitative research is:

[A]ny type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It can refer to research about persons' lives, lived experiences, behaviors, emotions, and feelings as well as about organizational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena, and interactions between nations. (pp. 10-11)

Qualitative methods are chosen for various reasons, but the nature of the research question establishes the main reason for choosing one methodological approach over another (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Since this study dealt with socially constructed phenomena of gender, leadership, language, and organizations, qualitative methodology was appropriate as it helped form a deeper understanding of how these phenomena are interrelated (Creswell, 2013).

Specifically, the role of language in constructing and reifying reality required a qualitative approach because statistical procedures cannot fully probe the depth of complexity involved in the relationships between socially constructed phenomena, and the symbols that signify them. Additionally, the discourse analysis approach utilized in this study is a qualitative approach as it pays attention to the context in which discourses are created (Allan, 2008). In the following sections, I explain the research paradigm and theories undergirding this study, and the data collection and analysis processes.

Research Paradigm

The study's grounding in the social constructivist paradigm provided a worldview in which knowledge was sought through subjective interpretation of experiences (Creswell, 2013). The social constructivist paradigm was articulated by German sociologists Berger and Luckmann in their 1966 treatise in which they rejected the

dualistic nature of positivistic thinking, positing instead that reality is socially constructed. My study is built on the assumption that gender, leadership, language, and organizations are all social constructions and need to be understood as such if we are to analyze their interaction with each other. Berger and Luckmann (1966) saw society “as part of a human world, made by men, inhabited by men, and in turn making men, in an ongoing historical process” (p. 173). Their use of *men* to denote all humankind was standard practice when the treatise was written; however, when we look back at human history and the creation of the majority of human cultures, they were indeed made by men, and for the most part the history of human civilization was also written by men. Language, gender, leadership, and organizations are elements of culture that bear the stamp of construction of meaning by men and about men (Spender, 1981).

Like gender, leadership, and language, organizations can be seen as social constructions. Bess and Dee (2007) applied social constructivism to organizations:

The social constructivist paradigm...suggests that organizational phenomena are created through ongoing communication and negotiation of meaning and purpose. Social constructionists argue that all dimensions of an organization—its external environment, its internal structures, its cultural characteristics...are created through ongoing negotiation, and social agreement among organizational members. (p. 55)

The “ongoing communication and negotiation” (Bess & Dee, 2007, p. 55) require the use of symbolic rituals and language to give reality to organizations. Hatch and Cunliffe (2006) observed that the symbolic organizational frame with its emphasis on stories, rituals, language, and symbols is also grounded in social constructivism. Here, stories

and traditions create reality for institutional members. Thus, exploring organizations as social constructions can reveal how language, rituals, and stories construct organizations.

Language provides an especially important vehicle for the social construction of reality in general, and in organizations in particular. Berger and Luckmann (1966) emphasized the importance of language in the social construction of meaning: "Everyday life is, above all, life with and by means of the language I share with my fellowmen. An understanding of language is thus essential for any understanding of the reality of everyday life" (p. 35). In this study, the analysis of language provided the basis for understanding the realities of gender, leadership, and organizational context.

The social constructivist paradigm was appropriate for this study because one of the assumptions undergirding the study is that the phenomena of gender, leadership, language, and organizations are social constructions. Next, the theoretical framework for the study is explained.

Theoretical Framework

This study explored the intersection of socially constructed phenomena of gender, leadership, language, and organizations. Due to the complexity inherent in socially constructed phenomena, a combination of theories was used to analyze the language contained in the inaugural addresses of men and women presidents of research universities. Thus, the theoretical framework for this study mainly drew upon Gee's (2011, 2014) and Allan's (2003, 2008, 2010) conceptualizations of discourse analysis, and Bitzer's (1992) theory of rhetorical situation.

Discourse analysis. Gee (2014) defined discourse analysis as "the study of language-in-use" (p. 8). He further elaborated that "discourse analysis is always a

movement from context to language and language to context” (p. 36). For Gee (2014), context is critical to giving and receiving information:

Speakers and writers use their language to signal to us what to build and how to build it, both in our minds and in the world. When we listeners and readers build appropriately (following the guides of the speaker or writer) we are actually building not just on the basis of what was said explicitly but also on the basis of what the speaker or writer is signaling to us as counting as the relevant parts of the context. We are construing context in terms of which aspects of it are relevant for interpreting the words the speaker or writer has used. (pp. 120-121)

Gee (2014) emphasized that language is used to “make or build things in the world” through seven “building tasks”: significance, practices, identities, relationships, politics, connections, and sign systems and knowledge (p. 32). Thus, the emphasis on context means that Gee’s (2014) conceptualization of discourse analysis aligns with the social constructivist research paradigm.

Allan’s (2003, 2008, 2010) approach to discourse analysis is also social constructivist, but diverges from Gee’s (2014) conceptualization in that it is grounded in feminist poststructuralism. In line with van Dijk’s (1997) conceptualization of the term, Allan (2008) defined discourse analysis as “the examination of both talk and text and their relationship to the social context in which they are constructed” (p. 6). Thus, context is fundamental to discourse analysis and differentiates it from content analysis in which examination of texts and other media is divorced from the context in which they are constructed (Hardy, Harley, & Phillips, 2004). For this study, the context of the

research university served to highlight how leaders' rhetoric both reflects and shapes the organizations they lead.

Allan's (2003, 2008, 2010) feminist poststructural approach to discourse analysis relies on the ways in which "language is socially constituted and shaped by an interplay between texts, readers, and larger cultural context rather than carrying any kind of fixed or inherent meaning that can be 'discovered'" (Allan, 2010, p. 13). Since language is not fixed in meaning, it can be interpreted differently in different contexts and at different times. This fluidity in the meaning of language is relevant to this study as many of the addresses analyzed were interpreted differently due to the change in socioeconomic and cultural context since they were delivered. Since context is front and center in discourse analysis, speeches delivered in a particular timeframe could be analyzed in retrospect. In this case, the view of events framing them, and events that followed provided a comprehensive context surrounding the speeches.

Allan (2003) defined discourses as "dynamic constellations of words and images that legitimate and produce a given reality" (p. 47). According to Allan (2008), discourse is "socially situated" and "never neutral" (p. 6). Thus, from a poststructuralist point of view, discourse does not simply reflect culture but also produces it. Allan's (2003) conceptualization of discourse analysis also pays "particular attention to vocabulary, metaphors, assumptions, conventions, structure, and style of text" (p. 61). Even though Gee's (2014) orientation to discourse is not based on feminist poststructuralism, his definition of discourses aligns with Allan's (2003). Gee (2014) observed:

Discourses are out there in the world and history as coordinations ("a dance") of people, places, times, actions, interactions, verbal and non-verbal expression,

symbols, things, tools, and technologies that betoken certain identities and associated activities. Thus, they are material realities. But Discourses also exist as the work we do to get people and things recognized in certain ways and not others. They are also the “maps” in our heads by which we understand society. Discourses, then, are social practices and mental entities, as well as material realities. (pp. 56-57)

Gee’s (2014) and Allan’s (2003, 2008, 2010) conceptualizations of discourse analysis were appropriate for this study because it examined presidents’ speeches to find out how they reflect, produce, and legitimate reality in a particular organizational context. In particular, the poststructuralist orientation to this discourse analysis provided an opportunity to look at inaugural addresses as a site where we see both the reflection of the larger cultural context in the words used, and the production of reality through selective language used. Thus, the lens for the analysis is a combination of Gee’s (2014) and Allan’s (2003, 2008, 2010) discourse analysis frameworks to form a more comprehensive lens.

Inaugural address discourse model. Gee (2014) argued that people understand the world by building models based on their experiences and social conditioning. The inaugural addresses by academic presidents are also a form of a discourse model. When we think of an inaugural address by a president of a research university, we have certain expectations in mind through which we can recognize an inaugural address. Similarly, presidents who deliver these addresses are aspiring to the model of the inaugural address in their minds. These models change with context and over time. By analyzing the inaugural addresses by presidents of research universities, this study sought to understand

the current discourse model of the inaugural address by the presidents of research universities. Based on research on women and the way they use language differently than men (Spender, 1981; Tannen, 1994b), it was likely that women's inaugural address discourse model would be different from that of men. This study was an endeavor to find out if inaugural addresses by men and women in similar contexts indeed differ, and if so, in what ways.

Rhetorical situation. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the rhetorical situation refers to a situation that necessitates a public spoken or written communication by a leader (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995). The theory of rhetorical situation was articulated by Bitzer (1992) who explained:

Hence, to say that rhetoric is situational means: (1) rhetorical discourse comes into existence as a response to a situation, in the same sense that an answer comes into existence in response to a question, or a solution in response to a problem; (2) a speech is given rhetorical significance by the situation, just as a unit of discourse is given significance as answer or as solution by the question or problem; (3) a rhetorical situation must exist as a necessary condition of rhetorical discourse, just as a question must exist as a necessary condition of an answer; (4) many questions go unanswered and many problems remain unsolved; similarly, many rhetorical situations mature and decay without giving birth to rhetorical utterance; (5) a situation is rhetorical insofar as it needs and invites discourse capable of participating with situation and thereby altering its reality; (6) discourse is rhetorical insofar as it functions (or seeks to function) as a fitting response to a situation which needs and invites it. (7) Finally, the situation

controls the rhetorical response in the same sense that the question controls the answer and the problem controls the solution. Not the rhetor and not persuasive intent, but the situation is the source and ground of rhetorical activity—and, I should add, of rhetorical criticism. (pp. 5-6)

Bitzer (1992) argued that there are three constituents of the rhetorical situation: exigence, audience, and constraints. Bitzer (1992) defined exigence as an “imperfection marked by urgency” that can be remedied with the help of discourse (p. 6). The inauguration or installation ceremony generally includes the ritual of the inaugural address because the situation requires the president to speak to the community about what they can expect from her or his leadership, thus providing the exigence of the rhetoric. The second constituent that is essential to rhetoric is the audience that must be comprised of people who can be influenced by the rhetoric (Bitzer, 1992). The immediate audience for inaugural addresses of academic presidents is the college community; however, with the advent of digital media and the internet, presidents now have a potentially global audience. The last constituent of the rhetorical situation is the set of constraints that any rhetorical situation is subject to; these can be objects, people, beliefs, values, in short, anything that can constrain the situation (Bitzer, 1992). The inaugural addresses by academic presidents are subject to constraints of their organizational culture, values, and goals, and the expectations of the college community, as well as the general public.

The inaugural addresses by political leaders are given a great deal of media coverage, and documented extensively, because it is here that the leader publicly presents her or his vision for the future (Widmer, 2005). By the same token, at the inauguration ceremony on campus, the academic president is expected to speak to the community

because there is a situational need to present the leader's vision for her or his tenure as leader. Therefore, Bitzer's (1992) theory of rhetorical situation was an appropriate lens to apply to the inaugural addresses by presidents of research universities.

The language of leadership exists at the intersection of the three areas explored in this research: gender and leadership, organizational context, and leadership rhetoric. Thus, the discourse contained in inaugural addresses by academic presidents must be examined using a combination of theories that take into account the elements that contribute to the social construction of these areas. Figure 3.1 gives a visual illustration of the theoretical framework for the study.

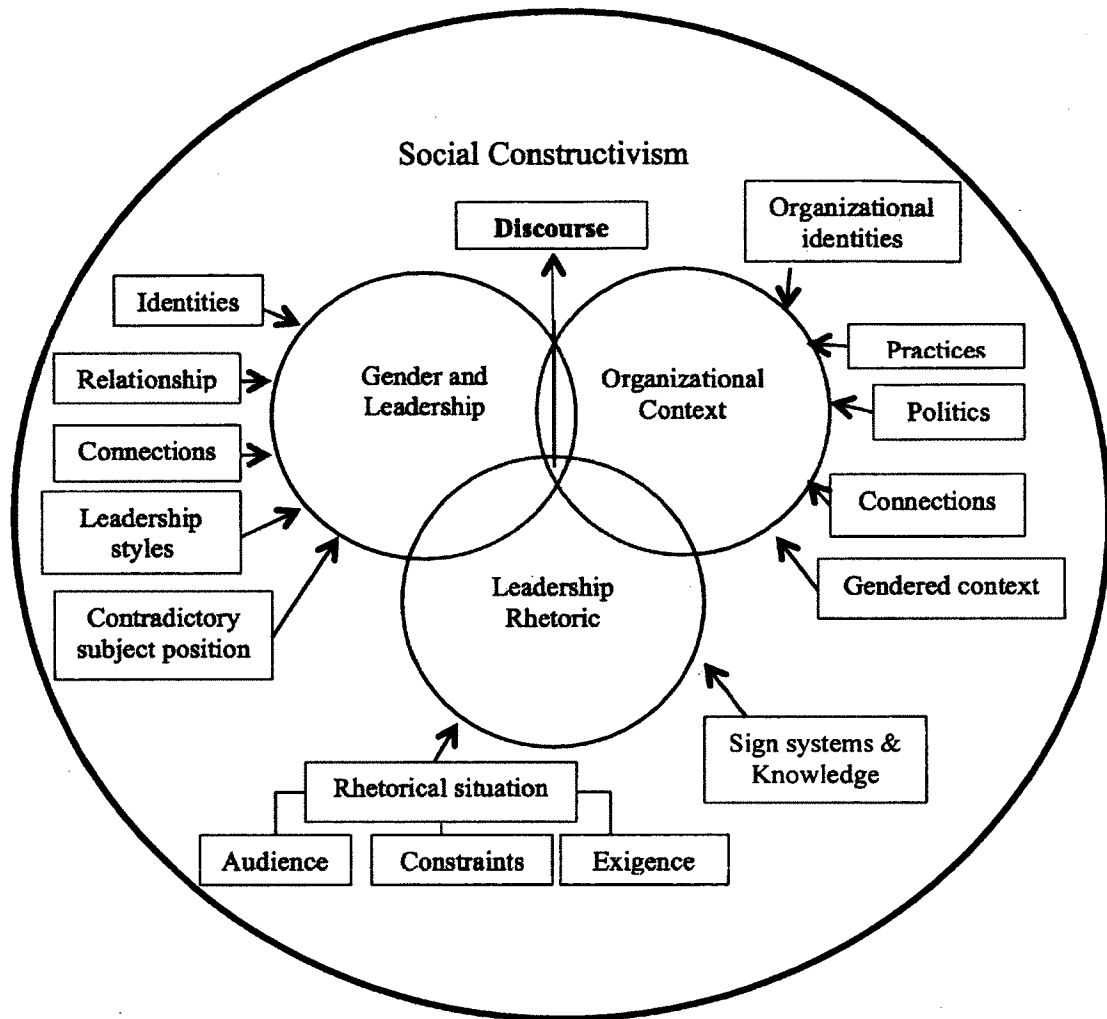


Figure 3.1 Theoretical framework model

Sample

To ensure a similar context for the speeches, and to focus on the institution type that serves as a model for others, this study was limited to research universities, specifically those with very high research activity. A further narrowing of the pool occurred with the selection of only those RU/VH universities that had at least one female president over the last 20 years. The main source of data collection was the internet since full texts of presidential speeches are often available on university websites. Only publicly available speeches were included in this study and these were located using a

search engine. The data consisted of the texts of the inaugural speeches of presidents of RU/VH universities meeting the criteria for the study. In one case, only video and audio recordings of the speech were available, therefore, I transcribed the speech verbatim. However, only the text of the transcribed speech was analyzed and other aspects like style and delivery were not analyzed to ensure consistency in analysis.

According to Allan (2008), sampling criteria in discourse analysis depend on the goals of the investigation. Since the objective of this study was to gain a better understanding of how men and women presidents of research universities used language in their inaugural addresses, the sampling process began with the identification of the population of presidents of research universities. Since this study was limited to universities that are described as RU/VH universities in the Carnegie Classification, the logical place to start was to obtain a list of all the universities falling under this classification. This list of all RU/VH universities is available from the Carnegie Foundation website. A total of 108 universities are currently categorized as RU/VH.

The next step was the identification of women presidents who led and/or are leading RU/VH universities in the past 20 years, from 1994 to 2014, a timeframe that has seen the rise of the information age (Dolence & Norris, 1995), and increasing numbers of women in leadership positions (ACE, 2012). I searched websites of all of the 108 universities classified as RU/VH, as well as the internet using the search engine Google, to discover if they had a woman president in the last 20 years. Any university that did not have a woman president in the last 20 years was eliminated from the sample. Once women presidents were identified, their predecessors and followers who served within the timeframe of the last 20 years were identified. Interim or caretaker presidents were

not included in the sample. If the current president is a woman, her immediate predecessor was identified. In cases where a current woman president's immediate predecessor was a woman as well then they were both included in the sample and the immediate earlier male predecessor (if any) was identified. In cases where the university has been led by women over the last 20 years, further predecessors were not included. If, however, part of the tenure of a predecessor fell within the last 20 years, she or he was included in the sample. Thus, men in the study were included because they either preceded or followed a woman president, and their speeches were publicly available, including some cases where their women predecessor or follower's speech was unavailable. A total of 38 RU/VH institutions were identified that had at least one woman president in the last 20 years. The predecessors and followers of these women presidents were included in the population bringing the total number of the target population of the speeches to 84 including 46 speeches by women and 38 by men. Once the list of 84 female and male presidents meeting the criteria was compiled, a search for their inaugural speeches on the university websites occurred. A total of 34 speeches were available publicly on university websites, 21 by women and 13 by men. Since almost all of the presidents included in this study are White, where race is not noted, the president is White. The presidents included in this study represent 22 RU/VHs, 15 of them public and seven private (see Appendix A). Of the 34 speeches, 21 were in pairs or triads representing successive presidents of nine institutions. The overview of institutions and bios of presidents whose speeches are included in the sample are included in Chapter Four of the study to highlight context.

Data Analysis

Spreadsheets were created to organize the information regarding women presidents and their predecessors/followers. The spreadsheets contain information such as the names of the presidents, the names of their institution, their dates of service, their predecessors' and/or follower's names and dates of service, and whether the speeches are available on their university websites.

A database of the available speeches was created in Mendeley, an online reference management tool that can be used to save urls of websites for easy retrieval. Mendeley further offered the opportunity to highlight text, insert comments, and to associate keywords with the various article files. These features facilitated organization of the texts in one place for easy retrieval and referencing. Most speeches were available in html format on websites, and these were copy/pasted onto Word documents to facilitate coding using NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software.

Coding. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) defined coding as “a way of relating our data to our ideas about those data” (p. 27). Several approaches to coding can be found in the literature. Coding can be performed to simplify the data by assigning codes to chunks of data for easy retrieval (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). In contrast to the simplification approach, coding can also be used to complicate, “expand, transform, and reconceptualize data, opening up more diverse analytical possibilities.... Coding here is actually about going beyond the data, thinking creatively about data, asking data questions, and generating theories and frameworks” (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, pp. 29-30). The latter approach of complicating data was utilized in this study. Since the intent of this study was to interpret inaugural addresses not only to surface themes, but also to

connect those themes with the context of academic organizations as gendered organizations, and the speakers' identities as gendered individuals, the aim was complexity not simplification.

Researchers can use many different kinds of sources for codes, one of which is the theoretical framework (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). For this study, a list of a priori codes was gleaned from the theoretical framework. Gee's (2014) seven building tasks that are used to "make or build things in the world through language," provided the basis for the a priori coding of the texts (p. 32). These building tasks are: significance, practices, identities, relationships, politics, connections, and sign systems and knowledge. Gee (2014) prescribed several questions to ask of the data to ascertain how these building tasks were used in the text or speech (see Appendix B). Additionally, Bitzer's (1992) three constituents of the rhetorical situation: exigence, audience, and constraints, and the feminist poststructural lens described by Allan, Iverson, and Ropers-Huilman (2010) were embedded into the discourse model based on Gee's (2014) seven building tasks. The codes are described in Appendix B.

As with any coding process, the texts of the speeches were read and re-read to code and interpret the patterns and themes that emerged (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The aforementioned list of a priori codes based on the theoretical framework provided the basis for initial coding. Next, emergent codes were identified by reading and re-reading the texts. The feminist poststructural lens allowed a focus on the gendered themes in the texts of the speeches and highlighted the contradictory subject position of women who have a measure of power due to their position as president. As well, the feminist lens in combination with the rhetorical situation theory allowed a delineation of how gendered

reality is created in research universities through the discourse contained in presidential speeches.

Analysis. A priori coding based on a multifaceted theoretical framework helped surface themes and patterns across the speeches initially. However, the intent of this study was to complicate the data rather than simplifying it, so the coding led to probing deeper connections among the areas explored in the study to find out how they are created, and in turn create reality through the use of language. The context of the social realities and timeframe in which the speeches were delivered were complicated by their interpretation in the present time and social context. This problematization was important in the analysis because the feminist poststructural orientation of the study rejects the concept of fixed meanings. Thus, taking into account the amorphous nature of discourse led to rich analytical interpretations.

Trustworthiness and Authenticity

Validity and reliability are at the core of the scientific method; however, these are expressed differently in qualitative research, often referred to as “trustworthiness” and “authenticity” (Creswell, 2013, p. 250). Since the qualitative research approach in this study is discourse analysis, I as the researcher served as an instrument in the analysis. My interpretation of the data depends on my life experiences and the lens that I bring to the texts. Therefore, this study was prone to researcher bias. In order to mitigate researcher biases I took the following measures suggested by Creswell (2013):

1. Clarifying researcher bias

I clarified any biases I bring to the study. In Chapter One, I explained my assumptions, and I expanded upon these in my researcher as instrument statement

(included in Appendix C) to make sure that I had a thorough understanding of my biases. Clarifying my biases helped me meet Creswell's (2013) criteria of reflexivity to bring myself into the study.

2. Triangulation

I triangulated the data analysis by seeking input from three peer debriefers.

Denzin (2001) observed that investigator triangulation “removes the potential bias that comes from a single person and ensures a greater reliability in observations”

(p. 320). The peer debriefers were classmates or former classmates who were

interested in the study. Once I finished the coding of the first few speeches, I

supplied an uncoded speech to each of the debriefers along with my coding

scheme. I provided them with detailed descriptions of the codes, and answered

any questions they had regarding the coding scheme to make sure that they

understood it well enough to give useful feedback. Once they returned their

feedback, I compared their coding to mine, incorporated their suggestions for

improvements, such as additional codes, and revised my coding accordingly.

Additionally, data triangulation was ensured through theory triangulation, i.e., the

use of multiple theories to analyze the data (Denzin, 2001). Theoretical

triangulation allows minimization of researcher bias through the explicit

articulation of the theoretical propositions, a wide theoretical use of the data, and

a “systematic continuity in theory and research” (Denzin, 2001, p. 323).

3. Rich, thick description

I provided rich, thick descriptions of my findings in this study, and quoted generously from the texts to help the reader understand my findings and gauge their transferability.

Through clarification of my biases, triangulation, and rich descriptions, I hope to have satisfied the standards of trustworthiness and authenticity, and enhance the quality of my study.

Summary

This study was grounded in the social constructivist research paradigm. The theoretical approaches underpinning the data analysis included feminist poststructural discourse analysis, and the theory of rhetorical situation. Data sources included transcripts or digital recordings of inaugural addresses available on university websites. Data analysis entailed coding analysis focused on finding complexity rather than simplicity in the transcripts to surface themes and patterns across the documents using the theoretical lenses. In particular, the use of the feminist poststructural lens enabled problematization of gendered language in inaugural addresses of RU/VH presidents. Trustworthiness and authenticity criteria were satisfied through clarification of researcher biases, triangulation, and rich descriptions. In the next chapter, I provide an introduction to the presidents who are included in the study, as well as their organizational context.

Chapter 4: Meet the Presidents

The exploration of the rhetoric in inaugural addresses by presidents of high profile research universities using feminist post-structural discourse analysis requires a description of the background and context of the presidencies to provide a basis for the analysis. In this chapter, I provide brief bios of the presidents included in the study as well as an overview of the universities they lead or have led to provide a rich and deep backdrop of understanding.

The Presidents and their Organizations

The presidents' background and contexts color their rhetoric, hence, a brief overview of each of the 34 presidents follows. First, I provide a background for all the universities included in the study. Second, I provide short biographies of the presidents included in this study. The universities appear in alphabetical order by name of institution, and in each of these categories, the biography of the study's participants from each university are reviewed. Subheadings for biographies are only provided for presidents whose addresses are included and analyzed in the study.

Brown University. Brown University was founded in 1764, and is located in Providence, RI ("About Brown University," 2015). Brown opened its doors for women students in 1891 ("Two and a half centuries," 2015). Brown is a private Ivy League university and is currently ranked at No. 16 among national universities by the *US News and World Report* ("Brown University," 2015). The Brown student body consists of about 6,200 undergraduates, 2,000 graduate students, 490 medical school students, over 5,000 summer, visiting, and online students, and it has around 700 faculty members

("About Brown University," 2015). For fiscal year 2015, Brown had a total operating budget of \$941.5 million (Nickel, 2014).

Brown swore in its first female president, Ruth J. Simmons in 2001. Simmons was not only the first woman to lead Brown but also the first African American to lead any Ivy League university (Boucher, 2012b). Simmons's tenure as president was a success and after serving for 11 years she made the decision to step down as president in 2012 ("Ruth J. Simmons: 2001-2012," 2015). Simmons' inaugural address is not publicly available on Brown's website, therefore she is not included in this study. Simmons was preceded by a male president E. Gordon Gee, and followed by a female president Christina Paxson.

Christina Paxson. Christina Paxson is currently the 19th president of Brown University ("Biography/Christina Hull Paxson," 2015). Paxson was appointed as president in July 2012 and inaugurated on October 27, 2012 ("Biography/Christina Hull Paxson," 2015). Her previous academic administrative experience included the position of dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of International and Public Affairs and the Hughes Rogers Professor of Economics and Public Affairs at Princeton University ("Biography/Christina Hull Paxson," 2015).

Paxson received her undergraduate degree from Swarthmore College, and earned her master's and doctoral degrees in economics from Columbia University ("Biography/Christina Hull Paxson," 2015). Her initial career as a faculty member began at Princeton University in 1986 ("Biography/Christina Hull Paxson," 2015). She became a full professor in 1997 and was named the Hughes-Rogers Professor of Economics and Public Affairs in 2007. Paxson is married and has two sons (Boucher, 2012a).

Since her appointment as president, Paxson has introduced a decade long plan of initiatives. According to Brown's website:

As president, she has worked with students, faculty and staff to develop *Building on Distinction*, a strategic plan for Brown that will inform the University's next decade of growth and progress. The plan seeks to build on the progress of the last decade and provides a vision and set of broad goals to achieve higher levels of distinction as a university that unites innovative education and outstanding research to benefit the community, the nation and the world. It calls for targeted investments to attract and support the most talented and diverse faculty, students, and staff; capitalize on existing strengths; and provide the environment to foster rigorous inquiry and discovery across the disciplines. The plan highlights the need to keep a Brown education affordable for talented students from all economic backgrounds and to sustain a community with the diversity of thought and experience required for excellence. ("Biography/Christina Hull Paxson," 2015, ¶ 2)

Despite these positive accolades, however, Paxson found herself in the spotlight when in 2013, a lecture at Brown by the New York City police commissioner had to be cancelled due to student protests ("Protests lead Brown," 2013). Protestors felt that it was insensitive to invite the police commissioner who was responsible for promoting "stop and frisk" policies largely aimed at Black and Latino students ("Protests lead Brown," 2013, ¶ 1). Paxson responded to the protestors with a letter expressing her dismay at protestors not upholding Brown's tradition of freedom of speech and welcoming opposing viewpoints ("Protests lead Brown," 2013). Paxson has also assured her

commitment to prevent sexual assault on her campus amid criticism of her university's handling of a sexual assault case in which a student found guilty of sexual assault was suspended but not expelled ("Brown president pledges," 2014).

Case Western Reserve University. Located in Cleveland, OH, Case Western Reserve University was established in 1826 ("CWRU at a glance," 2014). A private university, Case Western has 4,911 undergraduate students, and 5,860 graduate and professional students ("CWRU at a glance," 2014). The total number of full-time faculty stands at 1,389, and the total number of part-time and full-time staff is 2,923 ("Employee diversity," 2014). Case Western is currently ranked 38th among national universities by *U. S. News and World Report*, 2015 ("Rankings/Case Western," 2014). For fiscal year 2015, Case Western's total operating budget is over a billion dollars ("2015 Operating budget," 2014). The current president Barbara R. Snyder is the first woman to lead Case Western in its history. She was immediately preceded by Edward. M. Hundert. Inaugural addresses of both are publicly available and included in the study.

Edward M. Hundert. Edward M. Hundert served as president of Case Western from August 2002 to June 2006 ("Edward M. Hundert, M.D.," 2007). Hundert's disciplinary background is in medicine ("Edward M. Hundert, M.D.," 2007). Before his presidency at Case Western, Hundert was professor of psychiatry and medical humanities, and dean of the school of medicine and dentistry at the University of Rochester for five years ("Edward M. Hundert, M.D.," 2007). Prior to that, he served on the faculty of Harvard Medical School, where he held appointments in the departments of psychiatry and medical ethics ("Edward M. Hundert, M.D.," 2007). Hundert is married

and has three children (“Edward M. Hundert, M.D.,” 2007). During Hundert’s tenure as president, he led the university towards a new vision:

Driven by this vision, Case strives to redefine the role of the research university in the twenty-first century. Under President Hundert's leadership, Case has begun implementing the vision through programs such as SAGES (Seminar Approach to General Education and Scholarship), a new model for liberal learning. The small, interdisciplinary seminars are directed by faculty across the institution and outside of it, including President Hundert, who leads a seminar every spring. (“Edward M. Hundert, M.D.,” 2007, ¶ 2).

Hundert was also instrumental in building on existing affiliations with hospital systems in Cleveland to strengthen Case Western’s academic medical center (“Edward M. Hundert, M.D.,” 2007). He also helped create the new unified alumni organization for Case Western (“Edward M. Hundert, M.D.,” 2007). However, from the outset, Hundert was not popular with the faculty who felt that he was not handling the university’s large deficit properly and that he did not involve them in decision making (Jaschik, 2006a). He finally resigned in 2006 after an overwhelming no-confidence vote by the faculty (Jaschik, 2006a). Hundert’s predecessor David Auston, too, had resigned after only two years in office due to clashes with the board (Jaschik, 2006a). Hundert is currently the dean for medical education at Harvard University (“Edward M. Hundert/Harvard,” 2015).

Barbara R. Snyder. Barbara Snyder assumed office as president of Case Western Reserve University on July 1, 2007 (“Biography/President Barbara R. Snyder,” 2014). She has a bachelor’s degree from Ohio State University and her law degree from University of Chicago Law School (“Biography/President Barbara R. Snyder,” 2014).

During her career, Snyder had served as Executive Vice President and Provost of the Ohio State University (“Biography/President Barbara R. Snyder,” 2014). She also taught law at Case Western and was Professor of Law at the Moritz College (“Biography/President Barbara R. Snyder,” 2014). She is married to Michael J. Snyder and has three adult children (“Barbara R. Snyder/A short biography” 2014).

Barbara Snyder is the first woman to lead Case Western. According to the university’s website:

During her tenure, the university has set all-time records for annual fundraising and new gifts. Alumni and friends have dramatically increased donations and pledges each year, allowing the university to reach historic highs each fiscal year since 2010. In 2011, the university launched a \$1 billion capital campaign, Forward Thinking, with more than 90 percent of the goal raised by September 2013. (“President Barbara R. Snyder,” 2014, ¶ 2)

Snyder was able to eliminate the university’s multi-million dollar deficit within her first two years as president (“Barbara R. Snyder/A short biography” 2014) and has thus far been able to stay away from the financial controversies that plagued her predecessors.

Harvard University. Founded in 1636, Harvard University is located in Cambridge and Boston, MA (“Harvard at a glance,” 2014). Harvard’s total student population is 21,000, and it has a total of 2,400 faculty members (“Harvard at a glance,” 2014). Harvard is one of the prestigious Ivy League institutions and is currently ranked at No. 2 among national universities by the *US News and World Report* (“Harvard University,” 2015). Harvard had a \$4.2 billion budget in fiscal year 2013, and a \$36.4 billion endowment in 2014, the largest in the nation (“Harvard at a glance,” 2014).

Currently Harvard is led by Drew Faust, the first woman to lead the university in its history. She was preceded in office by Lawrence (Larry) Summers whose presidency was plagued with controversy during his tenure.

Lawrence H. Summers. Lawrence H. Summers served as Harvard's president from 2001 to 2006, and continues to serve as the Charles W. Eliot Professor at Harvard University ("Lawrence H. Summers," 2014). Summers belongs to the academic discipline of economics ("Lawrence H. Summers," 2014). Before assuming the office of Harvard's president, Summers held several high profile positions including chief economist of the World Bank, undersecretary of the treasury for international affairs, and secretary of treasury for the United States ("Lawrence H. Summers," 2014). He is married to Elisa New who is a professor of English at Harvard, and they have six children ("Lawrence H. Summers," 2014).

Summers's tenure as President of Harvard had its ups and downs. He was able to put into place successful initiatives. According to Harvard's website:

As president he oversaw significant growth in the faculties, the further internationalization of the Harvard experience, expanded efforts in and enhanced commitment to the sciences, laying the ground work for Harvard's future development of an expanded campus in Allston, and improved efforts to attract the strongest students, regardless of financial circumstance, with the Harvard Financial Aid Initiative. These initiatives were sustained by five years of successful fundraising and strong endowment returns. ("Lawrence H. Summers," 2014, ¶ 4)

However, his presidency was marred by some controversy. The biggest of the controversial instances, and most pertinent to this study, was when Summers commented at an economics conference in 2005 that women's underrepresentation in the sciences could be attributed to innate differences between men and women (Hemel, 2005). Summers has claimed that his remarks were taken out of context and that he had meant to provoke a serious scholarly discussion on the paucity of women in the sciences (Hemel, 2005). Some individuals, such as his protégé Sheryl Sandberg (2008), have come to his defense saying that Summers is, in fact, one of the sincerest supporters of women's progress since he found the problem of women's low participation in the sciences important enough to bring up at a public venue. Nevertheless, this particular incident caused enough controversy that Summers resigned soon after. He was replaced by an interim president until Faust was appointed. Summers has since served as Director of the National Economic Council for the Obama Administration, and returned to his faculty position at Harvard in 2011.

Drew Faust. Drew Gilpin Faust is the 28th president of Harvard, and the first woman to lead the university ("Biography/Drew Faust," 2014). Faust assumed the office of Harvard's president in 2007 ("Biography/Drew Faust," 2014). Faust's disciplinary background is in history and she continues to serve as Lincoln Professor of History in Harvard's faculty of arts and science ("Biography/Drew Faust," 2014). Prior to her career at Harvard, she was professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania for more than two decades ("Biography/Drew Faust," 2014). She is married to fellow historian Charles Rosenberg, and has two adult daughters ("Biography/Drew Faust," 2014).

Faust has enjoyed a relatively successful tenure as president so far. According to her bio on Harvard's website:

As president of Harvard, Faust has expanded financial aid to improve access to Harvard College for students of all economic backgrounds and advocated for increased federal funding for scientific research. She has broadened the University's international reach, raised the profile of the arts on campus, embraced sustainability, launched edX, the online learning partnership with MIT, and promoted collaboration across academic disciplines and administrative units as she guided the University through a period of significant financial challenges.

("Biography/Drew Faust," 2014, ¶ 2)

Faust's turn as president followed the tumultuous tenure of Lawrence Summers, thus, her position came with added scrutiny not just because she is a woman but also because she was following a controversial president (Jaschik, 2007). To date, she has managed to stay away from public controversy.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Founded in 1861, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) is a private university located in Cambridge, MA ("MIT facts/About MIT," 2014). MIT is home to 11,301 students and 1,089 faculty members ("MIT facts/About MIT," 2014). MIT's total operating budget is over \$2.9 billion (MIT facts/Financial data, 2014). MIT currently ranks at No. 7 among national universities ("Massachusetts Institute of Technology," 2015). In 2004, MIT had its first woman president Susan Hockfield ("About President Hockfield," 2014). Hockfield was preceded by Charles Vest who served from 1990 to 2004, and she was followed in 2012 by L. Rafael Reif who remains in office. All three presidents' inaugural addresses are available

on MIT's website. Moreover, each president, current and past has their own dedicated biography webpage with detailed information, which is a rarity in the sample for this study. Next, brief profiles of each of the three presidents follow.

Charles M. Vest. Trained as a mechanical engineer, Charles Vest was president of MIT from 1990 to 2004 ("Charles Marsteller Vest," 2014). Vest had started his career as a faculty member at the University of Michigan and later branched out to administrative roles including dean, provost, and vice president of academic affairs until his appointment as MIT's president (Bradt, 2013). Vest's 14 year tenure was a highly dynamic one (Bradt, 2013) in which he focused on "enhancing undergraduate education, exploring new organizational forms to meet emerging directions in research and education, building a stronger international dimension into education and research programs, developing stronger relations with industry, and enhancing racial and cultural diversity at MIT" (Charles Marsteller Vest," 2014, ¶ 2). Vest was a staunch supporter of gender equality, and made sustained efforts to recruit and support more women as well as minority men and women to the MIT faculty (Bradt, 2013). Vest is also credited with the vision that made MIT courses available online for free, and it was his instruction that led to the creation of OpenCourseWare which was completed in 2007 (Bradt, 2013). Vest died in December 2013 (Bradt, 2013). He was married, and father to two and grandfather to four children (Bradt, 2013).

Susan Hockfield. Hockfield followed the dynamic Charles Vest and was in office from 2004 to 2012 ("About President Hockfield," 2014). Hockfield's disciplinary background is in the life sciences and her research focuses on brain development and brain cancer ("About President Hockfield," 2014). Prior to her appointment as president

of MIT, Hockfield was a faculty member at Yale and later worked as an administrator, first as dean of the Yale Graduate School of Arts of Sciences, and then as Yale's provost ("About President Hockfield," 2014). Hockfield is married to Thomas N. Byrne, M.D. and they have one adult daughter ("About President Hockfield," 2014).

During her tenure as president of MIT, she continued the success of OpenCourseWare and launched MITx that enabled virtual learners to access materials for free and earn MIT certificates at low costs, and collaborated with Harvard to launch edX that offers online teaching to a global community of students, revolutionizing access ("About President Hockfield," 2014).

It was also during Hockfield's tenure that MIT's initiative focusing on clean energy caught President Obama's attention, who then visited and spoke at the campus ("About President Hockfield," 2014). Hockfield also helped strengthen MIT's existing global relationships and built new ones ("About President Hockfield," 2014).

Hockfield continued Vest's initiatives to make MIT more diverse and their efforts paid off as suggested by a 2011 report according to which the number of women faculty in the divisions of science and engineering had nearly doubled since 1999 (Jaschik, 2011a). Hockfield also joined forces with the presidents of Stanford and Princeton universities to debunk Harvard president Larry Summers's controversial comments about women in the sciences, a move dubbed as "highly unusual" (Jaschik, 2005, ¶ 1).

Hockfield was followed by current president L. Rafael Reif.

L. Rafael Reif. L. Rafael Reif became president of MIT in July 2012. Reif is originally from Venezuela and earned his degree in electrical engineering from Universidad de Carabobo, Valencia, Venezuela ("About President Rafael Reif," 2014).

Reif had been a faculty member at MIT since 1980, and also served as associate head of the department for electrical engineering as well as director of MIT's microsystems technology laboratories ("About President Rafael Reif," 2014). Reif is married and has 2 children (Berglof, 2012).

Immediately before his appointment to the presidency, Reif had served as MIT's provost since 2005 ("About President Rafael Reif," 2014). As provost, Reif is credited with creating strategies to help MIT through the global financial crisis, helping MIT promote diversity, facilitating the development of MIT's Institute for Medical Engineering, and leading MIT's online initiatives MITx, and edX ("About President Rafael Reif," 2014). Reif has also launched several initiatives concerning MIT's education, research, and environment ("About President Rafael Reif," 2014).

Michigan State University. Michigan State University (MSU) was founded in 1855, and served as the model for the land-grant universities established under the 1862 Morrill Act ("MSU facts," 2014). MSU's total student population is 50,085, and it has in its ranks approximately 5,100 faculty members ("MSU facts," 2014). MSU is ranked 35th among the public universities in the country ("MSU facts," 2014). MSU's total budget for 2014-2015 is more than \$ 1.2 billion ("MSU facts," 2014). MSU's current president is Lou Anna K. Simon, the first woman to lead the university. She followed M. Peter McPherson who was president from 1994 to 2004. McPherson appears to have had a successful tenure (Osborn, 1999) and he is currently the president of Association of Public and Land-grant Universities ("M. Peter McPherson," 2014). McPherson's inaugural address is not available on the university website.

Lou Anna K. Simon. Lou Anna Simon succeeded McPherson into office in January 2005 as MSU's first female president. Simon's disciplinary background is in higher education and she earned her doctorate from MSU ("Lou Anna K. Simon," 2014). Prior to her appointment as president, Simon had been an administrator at MSU, serving as provost and vice president for academic affairs. Simon also served as interim president in 2003 when then-president McPherson went on leave to help rebuild Iraq's economy ("Lou Anna K. Simon," 2014). As president, Simon has refocused MSU toward its objectives as a land grant university, particularly stressing the university's responsibility to its community and a global society ("Biography/Lou Anna K. Simon," 2014). Simon is married (Feldscher, 2014) but makes no mention of her husband or other family members in her bio or inaugural address.

MSU saw an increase in cases of sexual assaults reported on campus before and during Simon's presidency, as a result of which MSU was included in the list of 50 higher education institutions being investigated for possible violations of federal laws for sexual violence cases by the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) ("US Department of Education," 2014). Simon has addressed sexual assault issues in her communications with the MSU community, and these communications are available on her webpage. Simon came under fire for inviting George Will as a commencement speaker in December 2014 (Strupp, 2014). Will is a Pulitzer Prize winning journalist who caused controversy when he wrote an article in the Washington Post arguing that efforts to address sexual assault allegations have made "victimhood a coveted status that confers privileges" (Will, 2014, ¶ 1). As the leader of a university that is under federal scrutiny for mishandling sexual assault cases, Simon was criticized for

inviting a commencement speaker who had made controversial remarks about the issue, and many questioned Simon's sincerity (Strupp, 2014). Simon has addressed these concerns in her communication with the campus community highlighting the fact that Will had been invited prior to the publication of the controversial article, and upholding her university's commitment to ending sexual assault on its campus as well as engaging in discourse with those who hold opposing views ("From the president's desk," 2014). This issue is ongoing and time will tell how Simon emerges from this controversy.

Montana State University. Montana State University (Montana State) was established in 1893 in Bozeman, MT, as Montana's public land grant university ("Mountains and minds," 2014). Montana State is Montana's largest university and its total student enrollment is 15,421 ("Mountains and minds," 2014). Montana State has an operating budget of \$536,987,986 for 2015 ("Montana State University Bozeman," 2014). Classified as an RU/VH by Carnegie, Montana State's research expenditures are in excess of \$100 million ("Mountains and minds, 2014). The current president of Montana State is Waded Cruzado, the first woman to lead the university. Cruzado was preceded by Geoffrey Gamble who was in office from 2000 to 2009 (Schontzler, 2009). Gamble was a popular president and an advocate of research funding, and his efforts led to the university crossing the \$100 million mark in research spending (Ellig, 2009; Schontzler, 2009). However, he was criticized by the Montana governor for pushing research without paying attention to its tangible results (Schontzler, 2009). Nevertheless, Gamble was beloved on his campus and his decision to step down as president was based on personal reasons (Schontzler, 2009). Gamble's inaugural address is reported on the university website but the link to the actual text is outdated.

Waded Cruzado. Waded Cruzado began her tenure as president on January 10, 2010 (“Office of the president,” 2014). Cruzado has a master’s in Spanish and a doctorate in humanities (“Dr. Waded Cruzado,” 2014). Prior to her appointment as president, Cruzado served as executive vice president and provost at New Mexico State University, where she also served as interim president for a year (“Dr. Waded Cruzado,” 2014). Cruzado is divorced and has two children (Pickett, 2010).

Since her appointment, Montana State has seen expansion both in terms of enrollment and research funding as well as physical infrastructure (“Dr. Waded Cruzado,” 2014). During Cruzado’s tenure, Montana State also entered the list of Carnegie Foundation’s “community engagement classification in recognition of the university’s commitment to teaching that encourages volunteer service and the spreading of knowledge that benefits the public” (“Dr. Waded Cruzado,” 2014, ¶ 18).

Cruzado is of Puerto Rican heritage, and her appointment raised eyebrows because she received “a salary some considered excessive and [there was] angst over what style of leadership this Puertorriqueña would bring to the campus” (Holston, 2012, ¶ 12). At the outset, Cruzado cultivated a relationship with her football obsessed campus by involving the campus community in a project to raise funds to expand the football stadium, which turned out to be a great success (Holston, 2012).

Ohio State University. The Ohio State University (OSU) was founded in 1870, and is located in Columbus, OH (“About Ohio State,” 2015). A large public land grant research university, OSU’s total student enrollment is 63,058 (“About Ohio State,” 2015). OSU has an operating budget of over \$ 2.8 billion (“Fiscal Year 2015 operating budget,” 2014). OSU is ranked among the top 20 public universities in the nation and

No. 54 overall ("About Ohio State," 2015). OSU had its first woman president, Karen Holbrook, from 2002 to 2007 ("Karen Ann Holbrook," 2013). Holbrook's inaugural address is not available on OSU's website. After she resigned from her position at OSU, Holbrook sparked controversy when in a job interview for president of Florida Gulf Coast University she made the following comments about OSU that were on videotape and leaked to the press:

When you win a game, you riot. When you lose a game, you riot. When spring comes, you riot. African-American Heritage Festival weekend, you riot.... They think it's fun to flip cars, to really have absolute drunken orgies.... I don't want to be at a place that has this kind of culture as a norm. (Bush, 2007, ¶ 6)

Holbrook later removed herself from the candidacy of the job for which she was interviewing (Bush, 2007). Holbrook's exit was followed by an interim president until E. Gordon Gee was appointed to office for a second time in 2007.

E. Gordon Gee. E. Gordon Gee was president of OSU from 1990 to 1997, and then again from 2007 to 2013 ("E. Gordon Gee," 2013). Gee has been president or chancellor at other universities over his long career including Vanderbilt University (2001-2007), Brown University (1998-2000), the University of Colorado (1985-1990), and West Virginia University (1981-1985/2013-present) ("E. Gordon Gee," 2013). Gee's disciplinary background is in law ("E. Gordon Gee," 2013).

Gee is reputed to be a "star" university leader whose long "career as a university leader follows a recurring pattern: disrupt the status quo, lift the university's image, raise a lot of money, and leave for another job" (Lublin & Golden, 2006, p. 2). However, he has faced controversy during his career, particularly at Brown where he only lasted two

years. Amid criticism for his extravagant spending and not getting faculty buy-in before making big decisions, he resigned abruptly in 2000 from Brown to take the chancellorship at Vanderbilt (Zeff, 2000). Although his and his wife's lavish spending continued to draw criticism during his years at Vanderbilt, he had a relatively calm tenure there (Lublin & Golden, 2006). When he returned to OSU in 2007, his extravagant spending continued to be a reason for criticism (Bischoff, 2012), but it was a string of imprudent comments, chiefly anti-Catholic remarks, that led to his exit from OSU, even though Gee maintained that the remarks were made in jest and he was resigning for personal reasons (Pyle, 2013). Gee is currently back for his second tenure as president of West Virginia University ("Gee appointed," 2014). Gee is currently divorced from his second wife and has one daughter with his late first wife (Bischoff, 2012).

Princeton University. A private research university located in Princeton, NJ, Princeton University was founded in 1746 ("About Princeton," 2014). Princeton's total student population is 7,800, and its faculty size is around 1,100 ("About Princeton," 2014). Princeton's 2014-2015 operating budget is over \$1.6 billion, and it has a \$19.7 billion endowment as of March 31, 2014 ("A Princeton profile/Finances, 2014). An Ivy League university, Princeton has consistently ranked among the top universities in the country, and is currently ranked at No. 1 among all U. S. universities by the *US News and World Report* (Belkin, 2014b); however, the university website does not advertise this fact. Princeton welcomed its first woman president Shirley Tilghman in 2001.

Shirley Tilghman. Shirley Tilghman assumed the office of the president of Princeton on May 5, 2001 and served until 2013 ("Shirley Marie Tilghman," 2015). A molecular biologist, Tilghman served on the Princeton faculty for 15 years before her

appointment as president in 2013 (“Shirley Marie Tilghman,” 2015). A native of Canada, Tilghman received her bachelor’s degree from Queens College in Kingston, ON, and her Ph.D. in biochemistry from Temple University, PA (“Shirley Marie Tilghman,” 2015). During her time as a professor at Princeton, Tilghman also served as the founding director of the university’s multidisciplinary Lewis-Sigler Institute for Integrative Genomics (“Shirley Marie Tilghman,” 2015). Tilghman had followed the successful 13 year presidency of Harold Tafler Shapiro, the first Jewish person to lead the university (Golden, 2012). Tilghman is frank about her personal life and shares that she was married for 13 years, divorced her husband when her daughter was two and her son was an infant, and notes that she had custody of her children (Angier, 1996).

During her tenure as president of Princeton, Tilghman led the university in increasing the enrollment of undergraduate students, increasing student aid by more than double and making financial aid available to more students, creating plans to expand the university’s building infrastructure which is under construction now, establishing new research centers, creating new global partnerships and increasing international opportunities for students, and leading a campaign to raise \$1.8 billion for the university (“Shirley Marie Tilghman,” 2015).

Tilghman also faced some criticism chiefly because she appointed women to several influential positions in the university (Goldfarb, 2003). The appointments raised eyebrows in a university that until the 1990s had male-only eating clubs, but Tilghman vehemently denied that gender was a consideration in the appointments (Goldfarb, 2003). Tilghman was candid about her interest in promoting women in higher education, and in 2011, she appointed a steering committee led by Nannerl O. Keohane that was tasked

with finding out ways to strengthen women's undergraduate leadership (Stevens, 2011). Tilghman, along with the presidents of MIT and Stanford, was also at the forefront of the critique of Larry Summers's controversial remarks on women in the sciences (Jaschik, 2005). Tilghman left the presidency in 2013 to return to her faculty position at Princeton ("Shirley Marie Tilghman," 2015).

Christopher L. Eisgruber. Christopher Eisgruber succeeded Tilghman in 2013. Eisgruber assumed office on July 1, 2013 ("Christopher L. Eisgruber," 2015). Eisgruber earned his bachelor's in physics from Princeton, his M. Litt. in politics from the University of Oxford, and his law degree from the University of Chicago Law School ("Christopher L. Eisgruber," 2015). After earning his law degree, he clerked for U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Patrick Higginbotham and U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens ("Christopher L. Eisgruber," 2015). Before coming back to Princeton as a faculty member, he taught law at New York University's School of Law ("Christopher L. Eisgruber," 2015). At Princeton, Eisgruber directed the Princeton program in law and public affairs, and also served as acting director for the program in ethics and public affairs. Eisgruber was Princeton's provost for nine years before his appointment to the presidency ("Christopher L. Eisgruber," 2015). As provost, Eisgruber is credited with playing a central role in enhancing campus diversity, navigating the university through the 2008-2009 recession, increasing international opportunities for students and faculty, and facilitating Princeton's online learning initiatives ("Christopher L. Eisgruber," 2015).

Since assuming office as president, Eisgruber has launched initiatives to increase access for low income students (Aronson, 2014), and initiated a strategic planning

process to chart the university's future (Patel, 2014). Eisgruber is married to litigator Lori Martin, and they have a son in high school (Bernstein, 2013).

Purdue University. Located in Lafayette, IN, Purdue University was founded in 1869. Purdue is a public land grant university and is the flagship campus of the Purdue university system. The main campus in West Lafayette, IN enrolls 38,770 students ("Total Fall 2014 enrollment," 2014) and is governed by the chief executive officer of the Purdue system who holds the title of president. Purdue's total operating budget for fiscal year 2014-2015 is \$2.31 billion for all its campuses and \$1.96 billion for its flagship campus ("Final system-wide operating budget," 2014). Purdue is ranked at 20th among the top public universities in the country and 62nd among all universities nationally by *US News and World Report* ("Purdue University rankings," 2014). Purdue had its first woman and minority president France Cordova from 2007 to 2012 ("Purdue past presidents," 2014).

France Cordova. France Cordova led Purdue from 2007 to 2012 ("Purdue past presidents," 2014). Cordova's disciplinary background is in astrophysics, and she has a bachelor's in English from Stanford and a Ph.D. in physics from the California Institute of Technology ("Purdue past presidents," 2014). Cordova started her career at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, and then moved to Pennsylvania State University for a faculty career ("Purdue past presidents," 2014). At Penn State, she served as head of the Department of Astronomy and Astrophysics from 1989 to 1993 ("Cordova, France A.," 2012). From 1993 to 1996, Cordova was chief scientist at NASA before joining UC Santa Barbara in 1996 as professor of physics, and later on serving as vice chancellor for research ("Cordova, France A.," 2012). Immediately prior to her presidency at Purdue,

Cordova was Chancellor at the University of California, Riverside from 2002 to 2007 (“Cordova, France A.,” 2012). Cordova is married and has two children in college (“Cordova, France A.,” 2012).

Cordova followed a long line of male presidents and her immediate predecessor was Martin C. Jischke who served from 2000 to 2007 (“Purdue past presidents,” 2014). Jischke’s tenure was preceded by another seven year term of Steven C. Beering from 1983 to 2000 (“Purdue past presidents,” 2014). Both of these past presidents have short bios on the university website which focus on their achievements in fundraising and the expansion of Purdue’s physical infrastructure (“Purdue past presidents,” 2014). The university website similarly praises Cordova, emphasizing her identity as Purdue’s first woman president (“Purdue past presidents,” 2014). Cordova’s bio reports that

[S]he oversaw a strategic plan that emphasized student success, research deliverables and global engagement. During her presidency, she led Purdue to record levels of research funding, reputational rankings and student retention rates; championed diversity among students, staff and university leadership; and promoted student success, faculty excellence, education affordability and programmatic innovation. Under her leadership, Purdue expanded its role as a top research institution on the global stage and raised more than \$1 billion through private philanthropy. (“Purdue past presidents,” 2014, ¶ 1)

Even though Cordova had a shorter tenure than her predecessors, she is hailed by Purdue for similar achievements. Following an interim president, Cordova was succeeded by another male president Mitchell Daniels Jr. in 2013 who is leading Purdue to date.

Cordova is currently the director of the National Science Foundation (NSF) (“France A. Cordova,” 2014).

Mitchell E. Daniels Jr. Mitchell E. Daniels Jr. assumed the office of president in January 2013 (“Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr, biography,” 2014). Daniels has a law degree from Georgetown University and a bachelor’s in international relations from Princeton (“Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr, biography,” 2014). Daniels is a nontraditional president and has a professional background in business and government (“Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr, biography,” 2014). He has served as CEO of the Hudson Institute, a conservative private nonprofit foreign policy think tank, and president of the pharmaceutical operations of the Eli Lilly and Company (“Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr, biography,” 2014). In his career in the government he served as Senator Richard Lugar’s Chief of Staff, Senior Advisor to President Reagan, and under President George W. Bush he served as Director of the Office of Management and Budget (“Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr, biography,” 2014). Daniels served two terms as the Governor of the State of Indiana from 2004 to 2012 (“Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr, biography,” 2014). Daniels is married and has four daughters (“Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr, biography,” 2014). Daniels’s wife Cheri Daniels’s brief bio is available on the president’s page on the university website, which is unusual for the presidents included in this study.

Since taking on the role of president at Purdue, Daniels’s focus has been on cutting costs (Belkin, 2014a). A Wall Street Journal article reported that “Mr. Daniels has frozen tuition (for the first time in 36 years), cut the cost of student food by 10% and introduced volume purchasing to take advantage of economies of scale” (Belkin, 2014a, ¶ 4). Like most public schools, Purdue is grappling with reduced state funding, a factor in

which Daniels participated when he was governor, and as president Daniels has responded with spending cutbacks where possible (Belkin, 2014a). Daniels has his share of critics: he came under fire from faculty who questioned his commitment to academic freedom for his condemnation of historian Howard Zinn, both when he was governor and as Purdue's president (Belkin, 2014a). Daniels also caused controversy when he used Purdue's airplane to travel to a conservative conference, despite his assurances that notwithstanding his conservative leanings he would remain nonpartisan during his tenure as president (Belkin, 2014a). Daniels later apologized for his actions and was able to calm his critics with a "charm campaign" (Belkin, 2014a, ¶ 12).

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. Founded in 1824, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (RPI), a private research university, is located in Troy, NY with two campuses at Hartford and Groton, CT ("Welcome to Rensselaer," 2014). Student population at RPI is 6,995, and the number of full time faculty is 451 ("Rensselaer/Quick facts," 2014). RPI's operating budget information is not available on the university's website, which is unusual for the universities included in this study. RPI is currently ranked at No. 42 among all national universities by *US News and World Report*, and this information is highlighted on the university's website (Mullany, 2014). RPI's current president, Shirley Jackson is the first woman to lead the university. She was preceded by R. Byron Pipes who led the university from 1993 to 1998 ("Rensselaer President R. Byron Pipes," 2013). Pipe's inaugural address is not available on the university website; however, his bio highlights his achievement in revitalizing the RPI campus as well as the curriculum ("Rensselaer President R. Byron Pipes," 2013). However, Pipe's exit was not a pleasant one as he left abruptly after the faculty senate, unhappy with him for not consulting them

in staffing decisions, cast a no-confidence vote against him (Cooper, 2007). In fact, Jackson was following five quick successions of presidents over 15 years, none of whom could find traction with the faculty (Cooper, 2007).

Shirley Ann Jackson. In 1999, theoretical physicist Shirley Ann Jackson became the first woman and African American to lead RPI (“Profile of Shirley Ann Jackson,” 2014). Jackson was also the first African American woman to earn a Ph.D. from MIT (“Profile of Shirley Ann Jackson,” 2014). Jackson has enjoyed a distinguished research career in which she worked at laboratories like the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) in Geneva, Switzerland; Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory in Batavia, Illinois; and AT&T Bell Laboratories in Murray Hill, New Jersey (“Profile of Shirley Ann Jackson,” 2014). Jackson was professor of physics at Rutgers University for four years before she was appointed by President Clinton to the position of chairman of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) from 1995 to 1999 (“Profile of Shirley Ann Jackson,” 2014). Jackson is married to Morris Washington, physics professor at RPI, and they have one son (Allen, 2013).

During Jackson’s 14 year tenure at RPI, the university has gone through tremendous changes in pursuit of her ambitious *The Rensselaer Plan* (“Profile of Shirley Ann Jackson,” 2014). Jackson has been very successful in raising funds for RPI, and the campus has seen great expansion in her tenure, including physical infrastructure as well as the number of students, staff, and faculty (“Profile of Shirley Ann Jackson,” 2014). Building on the success of *The Rensselaer Plan*, Jackson has taken it further with *The Rensselaer Plan 2024*, which aspires to expand RPI’s impact globally (“Profile of Shirley Ann Jackson,” 2014).

However, it has not all been smooth sailing for Jackson. Like her predecessor, Jackson also “nearly” received a no-confidence vote from the faculty senate in 2006 (Cooper, 2007, ¶ 1). Initially welcomed by the faculty as a visionary leader, Jackson slowly alienated herself from the faculty by reducing contact with them, having her provost do all the communicating, and eventually even suspended the faculty senate (Cooper, 2007). Jackson was widely criticized for the move, and the conflict did not resolve until 2011 (Waldman, 2011). Reports emerged that the student senate also requested that the board of trustees consider firing Jackson because “her leadership had instilled a culture of fear on campus and saddled the school with hundreds of millions of dollars of debt to finance her strategic plan” (Waldman, 2011, ¶ 9).

In 2012, Jackson made news when it was reported that she was the highest-paid leader of any private school in the U.S. (Kohlí, 2014). Reports of Jackson’s imperious air also resurfaced in December 2014 with an article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* describing how she has cowed down staff and faculty with threats and intimidation (Wittner, 2014). Yet the board of trustees has disregarded student and faculty dissatisfaction with Jackson, in view of the momentum the university has experienced in her tenure, and in spite of the \$828 million debt, and enormous increases in tuitions (Wittner, 2014).

Stony Brook University. Stony Brook University was established in 1957 at Oyster Bay, Long Island. The campus was moved to Stony Brook in 1962. Stony Brook University is a public research university that is part of the State University of New York (SUNY) system (“Stony Brook at a glance,” 2014). Stony Brook University has a total student enrollment of 24,361 (“Enrollment history,” 2014). In fiscal year 2013-2014,

Stony Brook had an operating budget of \$2,367,717,297 (“Stony Brook operating budget,” 2014). Stony Brook ranks among the top 40 public universities, and is ranked at No. 88 among all national universities (“Stony Brook University,” 2015). Stony Brook is one of the 62 members of the prestigious Association of American Universities (AAU) (“Stony Brook at a glance,” 2014).

In 1994, Stony Brook appointed its first woman president Shirley Strum Kenny and she served until 2009 (“Stony Brook at a glance,” 2014). Kenny had been president of Queens College before her tenure at Stony Brook (“Stony Brook at a glance,” 2014). According to Kenny’s bio on the university website:

She strengthened the core academic and research operations of the University, fostered close links with business and industry, and established new working relationships with the Long Island community. Kenny launched and chaired the Boyer Commission on Educating Undergraduates in the Research University with funding from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. (“Past presidents,” 2014, ¶ 1)

Kenny’s inaugural address is not available on the university website. Samuel L. Stanley followed Kenny’s 14 year presidential stint in 2009.

Samuel L. Stanley Jr. Samuel L. Stanley Jr. has been the president of Stony Brook University since July 1, 2009. Stanley’s disciplinary background is in medicine (“President Samuel L. Stanley, Jr.,” 2014). Prior to his appointment as president of Stony Brook, he was a professor at Washington University in St. Louis, and later held an appointment as vice chancellor of research at Washington University (“President Samuel L. Stanley, Jr.,” 2014). Since his appointment he has made fundraising his priority and

was able to secure unprecedented funds for the university, and at the same time served on SUNY's strategic planning steering committee ("President Samuel L. Stanley, Jr.," 2014). Stanley is married to Ellen Li, a prominent biomedical researcher and gastroenterologist, and they have four children ("President Samuel L. Stanley, Jr.," 2014).

University of Arizona. Founded in 1885, the University of Arizona (UA) is a public research university located in Tucson, AZ ("Discover the University of Arizona," 2014). UA has a total student population of 40,621, and a faculty count of 1,563 ("Discover the University of Arizona," 2014). UA has been ranked by the National Science Foundation among top 20 public research universities in research expenditures owing to its \$625 million annual research budget ("Discover the University of Arizona," 2014). UA's total operating budget for fiscal year 2014 was \$2,078,480,600 ("2013-14 Fact book – finances," 2014). The current president of UA, Ann Weaver Hart, is the first woman to lead the university. She was preceded by an interim president who followed Robert N. Shelton who led UA from 2006 to 2011. Shelton's inaugural address and profile are not available on the university website.

Ann Weaver Hart. Ann Weaver Hart started her tenure as UA president in July 2012 ("Ann Weaver Hart," 2014). Hart has a Ph.D. in educational leadership and has held presidencies at Temple University and the University of New Hampshire prior to her position at UA ("Biography of Ann Weaver Hart," n.d.). Hart is married and has four adult daughters and four grandchildren ("Biography of Ann Weaver Hart," n.d.).

Since her arrival at UA, Hart has introduced a new plan "Never Settle" with which "the UA proclaims its intention to be a super land-grant university that advances

the local and global impacts of knowledge creation through partner relationships with communities and industry and via innovative programs” (“Ann Weaver Hart,” 2014, ¶ 2). Hart’s tenure at UA has so far remained unsullied by any public controversies.

University of California at Davis. The University of California, Davis (UC Davis) is a public research university that is part of the University of California (UC) system. UC Davis opened its doors in 1908 (“UC Davis at 100,” 2011). Located in Davis, CA, UC Davis has a total student enrollment of 35,415 (“UC Davis facts,” 2014). UC Davis has an operating budget of \$3.6 billion (“UC Davis, budget overview,” 2014), and a total endowment of \$807 million (“UC Davis facts,” 2014). UC Davis is ranked at No. 38 among all universities in the nation (“UC Davis facts,” 2014). UC Davis’s current chancellor is Linda Katehi, the first woman to hold this office. Katehi followed Larry Vanderhoef who had been chancellor for 15 years (“Chancellor Emeritus Larry Vanderhoef,” 2014). Vanderhoef’s inaugural address is not available on the website, however, his biography is highlighted on the website. According to his bio, Vanderhoef’s tenure as chancellor saw great expansion in UC Davis thanks to large increases in funds, physical infrastructure, number and diversity of faculty and students, and UC Davis’s new membership in the AAU (“Larry N. Vanderhoef’s biography,” 2013).

Linda Katehi. Linda Katehi started her tenure as chancellor on August 17, 2009 (“Chancellor Linda P.B. Katehi,” 2013). Katehi is of Greek origin, and belongs to the discipline of electrical engineering, and held academic and administrative positions at the University of Michigan, Purdue, and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

before assuming the office of chancellor at UC Davis (“Chancellor Linda P.B. Katehi,” 2013). Katehi is married and has two children (Jones, 2009).

At UC Davis, in addition to her position as chancellor, Katehi holds appointments in the departments of electrical and computer engineering, and women and gender studies (“Chancellor Linda P.B. Katehi,” 2013). Katehi started her job in the midst of the worst economic crisis since the great depression, so she has been focusing on getting the university funds to offset cuts in state funding, while at the same time she introduced a 2020 initiative in 2013 focusing on expanding enrollment and revenue (“Chancellor Linda P.B. Katehi,” 2013).

UC Davis was in the news in 2011 when during a peaceful protest some students were pepper sprayed by a campus police officer (Jaschik, 2011b). The event drew widespread condemnation of Katehi because she was the one who had instructed the campus police to remove the tents set up by the protestors (Jaschik, 2011b). When the protestors did not cooperate, one policeman used a forceful measure that many felt Katehi was responsible for since she failed to instruct the police not to use force (Jaschik, 2011b). The police chief and the officer who used the pepper spray were suspended, and Katehi apologized to the students and called for an investigation of the incident amid calls for her resignation (Medina, 2011). The task force for the investigation was assembled by UC system President Mark Yudof, and it reported that the blame for the event must be shared by the police force as well as the administration including Chancellor Katehi (Grasgreen, 2012). The students who were pepper sprayed as well as the officer who used the pepper spray filed lawsuits against UC Davis, and were offered settlements to end the lawsuits (Kingkade, 2013; Gabbatt, 2013). Katehi was able to

survive this controversy because she had the support of President Yudof, and because she took immediate measures at damage control while accepting her role in the incident. She also made a wise move when she involved students in securing the campus moving forward which also helped quell the anger against her (Grasgreen, 2013).

University of California at Santa Cruz. Founded in 1965, the University of California at Santa Cruz (UC Santa Cruz) has a total student population of 16,543 ("Facts & Figures/UC Santa Cruz," 2014). Currently ranked 85th among all national universities by *US News and World Report* ("University of California-Santa Cruz," 2015), UC Santa Cruz is a public university that is one of the 10 universities in the University of California system. UC Santa Cruz's highest administrative office is that of chancellor, while the title of president is held by the leader of the University of California system ("About UCSC," 2014). UC Santa Cruz's operating budget for fiscal year 2013-2014 was \$633.2 million ("The University of California at Santa Cruz office of planning and budget," 2013). For a university that is less than 50 years old, UC Santa Cruz has solidified its reputation as a prolific producer of research ("Recent achievements," 2014).

M. R. C. Greenwood. M. R. C. Greenwood became the first woman chancellor of UC Santa Cruz in 1996 and served until 2004 when she resigned to take the position of provost and senior vice president of academic affairs for the University of California system ("Curriculum Vitae/M. R. C. Greenwood," 2013). Greenwood's disciplinary background is in physiology, developmental biology, and neurosciences ("Curriculum Vitae/M. R. C. Greenwood," 2013). Prior to her appointment as chancellor, Greenwood served as dean and vice provost at UC Davis ("Curriculum Vitae/M. R. C. Greenwood," 2013).

Greenwood's tenure as UC Santa Cruz's chancellor was a relatively successful one as she was able to expand the campus's programs, and as a result of her leadership got the promotion to the position of provost and senior vice president of academic affairs for the UC system, the second highest position in the UC system (Wallack & Schevitz, 2005). However, Greenwood ran into controversy at first for her massive pay rise over her predecessor, and was later forced to resign when she was embroiled in allegations of favoritism involving her son and a close friend (Wallack & Schevitz, 2005).

Greenwood mentioned her family including her son in her inaugural address (Greenwood, 1996) but not a spouse or partner so it is unclear whether she was married or had a significant other at the time of her inauguration. She went on to serve as president of another RU/VH, the University of Hawaii. Her position at UC Santa Cruz was filled by an interim president until Denice Denton was hired as chancellor.

Denice Denton. Denice Denton was appointed by UC regents as the chancellor of UC Santa Cruz in February 2005 ("Chancellor Denice D. Denton," 2006). She held that office until her death in June 2006. Denton's disciplinary background was in electrical engineering ("Chancellor Denice D. Denton," 2006). Prior to her appointment as UC Santa Cruz chancellor, Denton served in academic positions at the University of Massachusetts Lowell, the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich, and the University of Wisconsin-Madison ("Chancellor Denice D. Denton," 2006). She served as the first female Dean of the College of Engineering and Professor of Electrical Engineering at the University of Washington ("Chancellor Denice D. Denton," 2006). Denton was openly lesbian and at 45, the youngest president of UC Santa Cruz. She is the only openly gay leader included in this study.

Denton's chancellorship was fraught with controversy owing to her and her partner's salaries, and hundreds of thousands of dollars spent on the renovation of the chancellor's residence including a \$30,000 dog run built at Denton's request (Lublin & Golden, 2006). Soon after Denton assumed office, UC Santa Cruz was rocked with protests partly in response to these expenses, and in one incident a large metal object was used to smash a window of her residence, but she was unhurt (Jaschik, 2006b). Denton went on medical leave on June 15, 2006, and on June 24, 2006, she committed suicide by jumping off the top of an apartment building in San Francisco in which she shared a home with her partner (Vega & VanDerbeken, 2006). Denton's mother told the press that Denton was suffering from depression because of challenges in her professional and personal life (Vega & VanDerbeken, 2006). The incredible scrutiny that Denton faced is unusual even by today's standards and may have contributed to Denton's tragic demise (Jaschik, 2006b). The fact that Denton was openly gay exposed her to undue scrutiny and the press was deeply critical of her partner's appointment in a newly created management position at UC, and referred to her partner Gretchen Kalonji, a professor of materials science, as her "lesbian lover" (Schevitz, 2005). The adversarial tone of the newspapers in their reports on Denton is unusually harsh and gives rise to the question whether the reason for the harshness was her sexual orientation. Denton's suicide left the higher education community stunned and many wondered how a role model like her reached a breaking point. "She was a gay woman who was a chancellor and an engineer," Carol Tomlinson-Keasey, chancellor of the University of California, Merced, said in an interview, "You know that she came through some pretty difficult times, as many people who are breaking down barriers did" (Glater, 2006, ¶ 6). Denton was a nontraditional

chancellor owing to her gender, sexual orientation, and disciplinary background, and she was followed by a more traditional president George Blumenthal.

George Blumenthal. George Blumenthal was appointed as acting chancellor after Denton's unexpected death ("Biography/George Blumenthal," 2014). After serving as acting chancellor for 14 months he was named chancellor in September 2007, a position he holds to date ("Biography/George Blumenthal," 2014). Blumenthal's disciplinary background is in astrophysics and he has a Ph.D. in physics from UC San Diego ("Biography/George Blumenthal," 2014). According to his bio on the UC Santa Cruz website, the Blumenthal era has seen increased diversity, expansion of graduate and undergraduate programs, increased funding, construction of new buildings, increased sustainability, and improvement in relationships and cooperation with the community ("Biography/George Blumenthal," 2014).

Blumenthal is married to Kelly Weisberg, a law professor at UC Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco and they have two adult children ("Biography/George Blumenthal," 2014). Weisberg's bio is available on Blumenthal's page, which is unusual for the leaders included in this sample. According to her bio, she serves as the chancellor's "associate" ("Associate of the chancellor," 2014). Interestingly, the names of their two children are mentioned on Weisberg's page but not on Blumenthal's page.

University of Cincinnati. Founded in 1819, the University of Cincinnati (UC) is a public research university located in Cincinnati, OH ("About UC," 2014). Total student enrollment at UC is 43,691 and the total faculty count is around 2,700 ("About UC," 2014). UC has an annual operating budget of \$1.12 billion ("UC facts," 2014). As the largest employer in the Cincinnati region, UC has an economic impact of \$3 billion

("About UC," 2014). UC had its first woman president Nancy Zimpher from 2003 to 2009 ("Dr. Nancy L. Zimpher," 2014). Zimpher succeeded Joseph Steger's 19 year stint (1983-2003) as president of UC (Hand, 2013). During his long tenure, Steger is credited with a \$1 billion renovation of the campus, improved profile of the university, raising the endowment of UC from \$1.5 million to over \$1 billion, international collaborations, and a "Pedagogy Initiative" that focused on enhancing student learning (Hand, 2013, ¶ 4). Steger's inaugural address is not available on the UC website.

Nancy L. Zimpher. Nancy Zimpher followed the long, and by all appearances, successful tenure of Steger in 2003 as the first woman to lead UC in its history ("Dr. Nancy L. Zimpher," 2014). An Ohio native, Zimpher earned a master's degree in English literature, and a Ph.D. in teacher education and administration in higher education from the Ohio State University ("Dr. Nancy L. Zimpher," 2014). During her career, Zimpher has served as the Executive Dean of the Professional Colleges and Dean of the College of Education at the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio ("Dr. Nancy L. Zimpher," 2014). From 1998 to 2003, she was the Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, the first woman in that position, and held a faculty position in the School of Education ("Dr. Nancy L. Zimpher," 2014). In 2009, Zimpher left her position at UC to become chancellor of the State University of New York System (SUNY) system, again the first woman to hold that position ("Dr. Nancy L. Zimpher," 2014). Zimpher is married to Dr. Kenneth R. Howey, who is a research professor in education at SUNY Albany, and there is no mention of any children ("Dr. Nancy L. Zimpher," 2014).

During Zimpher's presidency, she introduced a strategic plan known as UC|21 that led to the restructuring of the university decision-making process, raising admission

standards without compromising on UC's commitment to diversity and access, and important decanal appointments, all of which resulted in the expansion of student enrollment considerably, and rise in UC profile and rankings among colleges ("Dr. Nancy L. Zimpher," 2014). However, despite her successful leadership, Zimpher was embroiled in controversy when she fired the UC men's basketball coach Bob Higgins (Powers, 2006). Zimpher had demanded that athletics programs maintain the same academic standards required of other students, and Higgins's athletes were not keeping good academic standing which resulted in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) revoking their scholarships and taking UC to task for not being able to control the program (Powers, 2006). The basketball team struggled to recapture success after Higgins's exit, and many never forgave Zimpher for taking a hardline with Coach Higgins even though UC athletes were able to improve their academic performance on her watch (Peale, 2009).

As SUNY chancellor, Zimpher has enjoyed great success and is credited with "increasing enrollment, expanding course offerings and working to boost college preparedness programs. She also successfully pushed the state Legislature in 2011 for a so-called 'rational tuition' program that increased tuition \$300 a year through 2015" (Spector, 2014, ¶ 7).

Zimpher's presidency was followed by the short-lived tenure of Gregory H. Williams from 2009 to 2012 (Peale, 2012). Williams stepped down abruptly citing personal reasons but there were indications that he was unable to cultivate a trusting relationship with the board and had to resign (Peale, 2012). He was quickly replaced by Provost Santa J. Ono who was later appointed permanent president and is serving in the

position to date (“Santa J. Ono, PhD,” 2014). Williams’s inaugural address is unavailable from the university website.

University of Connecticut. Founded in 1881, the University of Connecticut (UConn), a public research, land grant university is located in several areas of Connecticut with its main campus in the village of Storrs, CT (“2014 Fact sheet, 2014;” “About UConn,” 2014). The total student population at UConn is 31,119, and total full time faculty number is 1,485 (“2014 Fact sheet,” 2014). UConn ranks among the top 20 public universities, and 58th overall in the US according to the *US News and World Report* (“2014 Fact sheet,” 2014). UConn’s total operating budget for fiscal year 2015 is \$2.1 billion (“2014 Fact sheet,” 2014”). The president of UConn oversees all five regional campuses. The current president Susan Herbst is the first woman to lead the university in its history (“Biography/Susan Herbst,” 2014). Herbst was preceded by Michael J. Hogan who served from 2007 to 2010. Inaugural addresses of both are available on UConn’s website, and a brief bio of each follows.

Michael J. Hogan. Michael J. Hogan was appointed to the office of president of UConn in 2007. Hogan’s disciplinary background is in history and he earned his Ph.D. from the University of Iowa (Omara-Otunnu, & Grava, 2007). Hogan began his career as faculty member at Miami University in Oxford, OH (Omara-Otunnu, & Grava, 2007). Hogan later joined Ohio State University as a faculty member, where he also served as chair of the history department from 1993 to 1999, dean of the College of Humanities from 1999 to 2003, and executive dean of the Colleges of the Arts and Sciences from 2003 to 2004 (Omara-Otunnu, & Grava, 2007). Prior to his appointment as president of UConn, Hogan had been executive vice president and provost at the University of Iowa

from 2004 to 2007 (Omara-Otunnu, & Grava, 2007). Hogan is married with four adult children (Omara-Otunnu, & Grava, 2007).

From the outset, Hogan's tenure at UConn was a tumultuous one as he refused to move into the university housing for the president on account of his wife's allergy to the mold there, and the university had to pay for him to move to a different house (Kiley, 2012a). Hogan ordered costly renovations to the main administrative building, and had an expensive inauguration ceremony at the university's expense at a time when UConn, like all state schools, was facing funding shortages (Kiley, 2012a). However, his lavish spending was only the tip of the iceberg, and Hogan soon fell afoul of the UConn faculty who felt that he did not include them in decisions and interacted with them in "formulaic ways and did not broadly incorporate faculty input into his strategic plan" (Kiley, 2012a, ¶ 12). Hogan left UConn in 2010 to join the University of Illinois as its president, however, he had the same issues with the faculty there and had to resign in 2012 (Kiley, 2012a).

Susan Herbst. With Hogan's sudden departure, UConn had an interim president before Susan Herbst was appointed in 2011 as the first woman president in UConn's history ("Biography/Susan Herbst," 2014). Herbst has a bachelor's in political science from Duke University and a Ph.D. in communication theory and research from the University of Southern California ("Biography/Susan Herbst," 2014). During her career, Herbst served as a faculty member at Northwestern and Temple universities ("Biography/Susan Herbst," 2014). At Northwestern, she was a professor of political science as well as chair of the department, and at Temple she was dean of the College of Liberal Arts ("Biography/Susan Herbst," 2014). From 2006 to 2007, Herbst served as

provost and executive vice president at SUNY Albany, and was then executive vice chancellor and chief academic officer at the University System of Georgia until her appointment as UConn's president ("Biography/Susan Herbst," 2014). Herbst is married and has two teenage children ("U. of Connecticut announces," 2010).

As UConn president, Herbst has focused on strengthening teaching, research, and service at the university with a four year plan to add 300 new tenured or tenure track faculty to UConn ("Biography/Susan Herbst," 2014). Herbst's tenure has also seen major investment by the State of Connecticut in UConn, as well as plans to expand the physical infrastructure of the university ("Biography/Susan Herbst," 2014). Herbst is also leading a campaign to eventually raise UConn's endowment to \$1 billion ("Biography/Susan Herbst," 2014).

Herbst has faced criticism for the 2013 handling of the rape cases at UConn in which students complained that their sexual assault allegations were not handled properly by the university in violation of Title IX (New, 2014a). Seven students filed a Title IX complaint with the US Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights, and the university was forced to reach a settlement with them to stay out of court (New, 2014a). In the aftermath of the lawsuit, Herbst has vehemently denied allegations that UConn is indifferent to the issue of sexual assault on its campus and has put in place several measures to assist rape victims such as launching a UConn webpage with resources for victims, creating a new position of assistant dean of students for victim support services, appointing staff to investigate assault cases, and establishing a new Special Victims Unit in the campus police department (New, 2014a). Despite this obstacle, the board of

trustees appears to have faith in Herbst as her contract has been extended until 2019 and she has also received a large salary boost (Hladky, 2014).

University of Iowa. Founded in 1847, the University of Iowa is a public research university located in Iowa City, IA ("History," 2014). Student enrollment at the University of Iowa stands at just over 31,000 ("About the University," 2014). The university's estimated budget for fiscal year 2015 is \$3.513 billion, and the university received \$1.386 billion in endowments in 2014 ("Budget," 2014). The University of Iowa ranks among the top 30 public universities in the United States ("Rankings," 2014), and it was the first public university in the United States to admit women and men on an equal basis in 1855 ("Firsts," 2014). From 1995 to 2002, Mary Sue Coleman served as the first woman president of the university and left her position for her appointment as president of the University of Michigan ("University of Iowa Presidents," 2014). Coleman's inaugural address is not available on the university website. Coleman was followed by an interim president, and then by David J. Skorton who served from 2003 to 2006 ("University of Iowa Presidents," 2014). Skorton's inaugural is also unavailable from the website. Skorton was followed again by an interim president until the appointment of the current president Sally Mason in 2007.

Sally Mason. Sally Mason started her tenure as president of the University of Iowa on August 1, 2007 ("Biography/Sally Mason," 2014). Mason's disciplinary background is in developmental biology, and she is also a professor of biology at the University of Iowa ("Biography/Sally Mason," 2014). Prior to her appointment as president, Mason was a faculty member at the University of Kansas where she later served as department chair, associate dean, and dean of the College of Liberal Arts and

Sciences (“Biography/Sally Mason,” 2014). From 2001 to 2007 she served as provost of Purdue University (“Biography/Sally Mason,” 2014). She is married to Ken Mason who teaches biology at the University of Iowa (“Biography/Sally Mason,” 2014).

Mason’s biography on the University of Iowa website focuses on the successes her tenure has seen including the rebuilding of the campus after the 2008 flood, construction of campus buildings, diversity, and student success initiatives (“Biography/Sally Mason,” 2014). However, Mason caused controversy when she commented on recent sexual assaults on her campus that while the ideal would be to completely eradicate sexual violence but it is “not a realistic goal just given human nature” (“Q&A, Mason talks sexual assault,” 2014, ¶ 4). When her words sparked criticism and protests, she apologized and asserted, “I believe there is no excuse for sexual assault. I have zero tolerance for sexual misconduct” and assured her university’s commitment to the prevention of sexual crimes (Agnew, 2014, ¶ 5).

University of Michigan. Founded in 1817, the University of Michigan (Michigan) is a public research university located in Ann Arbor, MI (“Michigan almanac,” 2014). Women were not admitted to the university until 1870 (“Michigan almanac,” 2014). Michigan’s total student population is 43,710 and it employs 4,878 faculty members (“Michigan almanac,” 2014). Michigan has a total annual budget of \$6.1 billion, and it spent \$1.32 billion on research in fiscal year 2012, more than any other public university according to national data (“Michigan almanac,” 2014). Michigan is currently ranked at No. 4 among public universities and No. 29 overall by *US News and World Report* (“Undergraduate academic program ranking,” 2014). In 2002, Michigan welcomed its first woman president Mary Sue Coleman. Coleman was

preceded by Lee Bollinger and followed by Mark Schlissel. All of their inaugural addresses are available on the university website and included in this study. A brief bio of each follows.

Lee C. Bollinger Jr. Lee C. Bollinger Jr. served as Michigan's president from 1996 to 2002 ("Lee C. Bollinger," 2001). Bollinger earned his law degree from Columbia Law School ("Lee C. Bollinger," 2001). He started his career as a law clerk for Judge Wilfred Feinberg on the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit and for Chief Justice Warren Burger on the United States Supreme Court. In 1973, he joined the faculty of law at Michigan and in 1987 he was selected as the Dean of the Law School ("Lee C. Bollinger," 2001). In 1994, he served as provost of Dartmouth College and two years later he returned to Michigan as its president ("Lee C. Bollinger," 2001). Bollinger is married to Jean Magnano Bollinger, an artist, and they have two adult children ("Lee C. Bollinger," 2001).

Bollinger followed James J. Duderstadt into the office of president as Duderstadt was forced to resign by the Board of Regents ("Lee C. Bollinger: The legacy," 2001). Bollinger received a great deal of positive attention when he was at the forefront of defending the University of Michigan's policies on affirmative action ("Lee C. Bollinger: The legacy," 2001). The case outlasted his tenure at Michigan, finally ending in 2014 with the US Supreme Court ruling in favor of Michigan State's ban on affirmative action in state college admissions (Liptak, 2014), but it brought him attention and the admiration of many ("Lee C. Bollinger: The legacy," 2001). Bollinger's tenure saw the university's profile and endowment reach unprecedented heights. Bollinger also established the Life Sciences Institute, and brought in renowned architects to unify the campus physically

("Lee C. Bollinger: The legacy," 2001). Bollinger also faced some challenges during his tenure, chief among them some forced resignations under allegations of mismanagement in the athletics department ("Lee C. Bollinger: The legacy," 2001). These events sparked student protests, and he was also criticized by students for focusing more on fundraising, research, and policy than on students' issues ("Lee C. Bollinger: The legacy," 2001). Nevertheless, Bollinger was popular with the majority of the Michigan community and he left of his own volition to take on the presidency of Columbia University in 2002 where he remains to date.

Mary Sue Coleman. Mary Sue Coleman assumed the office of Michigan's president on July 1, 2002 (Connell, 2003). Coleman belongs to the discipline of biochemistry, and she earned her Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina (Connell, 2003). Coleman did her post doc at North Carolina, and the University of Texas at Austin (Connell, 2003). She was a faculty member at the University of Kentucky for 20 years where she also directed a cancer research center (Clarke, 2013). She was president of the University of Iowa for seven years before her appointment as president of Michigan (Clarke, 2013). Coleman is married to Kenneth Coleman and they have one son (Connell, 2003).

Coleman was the fourth-longest serving president of Michigan, and began her presidency at a time when the state of Michigan was entering the worst economic downturn in its history (Clarke, 2013). Coleman led the call to transform Michigan's economy from one based in manufacturing to one rooted in technology, alternative energy, and health sciences (Clarke, 2013). She led Michigan in establishing an economic development collaboration—University Research Corridor—with Michigan

State and Wayne State universities (Clarke, 2013). Coleman continued work started by Bollinger: brought the Life Sciences Institute to completion; advocated on behalf of the university in the affirmative action case in the US Supreme Court; and deepened the university's commitment to diversity (Clarke, 2013). Her tenure saw an expansion in Michigan's infrastructure, and she raised more than \$3 billion in private funds (Clarke, 2013). In 2013, she announced her decision to retire from the presidency after a total of 19 years as president at two universities (Clarke, 2013). By all measures, Coleman has had a successful presidency, and she was even hailed by *Time* magazine as one of the best university presidents in the country, and she was also popular with the university community and appreciated for her "personal touch" (Baldoni, 2014, ¶ 3).

Mark S. Schlissel. Mark S. Schlissel became president of Michigan in July 2014 ("Biography/Mark S. Schlissel," 2014). Schlissel belongs to the discipline of medicine, and earned his bachelor's from Princeton, and his MD and Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University ("Biography/Mark S. Schlissel," 2014). In his career, he served as a faculty member at Johns Hopkins, and UC Berkeley where he served as dean of biological sciences ("Biography/Mark S. Schlissel," 2014). He was the provost at Brown University from 2011 until his appointment as president of Michigan ("Biography/Mark S. Schlissel," 2014). He is married to Monica Schwebs, an environmental and energy lawyer, and they have four adult children ("Biography/Mark S. Schlissel," 2014).

Even though Schlissel is only months into his position as president, he has already experienced some crises particularly in terms of understanding the culture of a large public university given his Ivy League pedigree (Jesse, 2014), and the ongoing federal investigation of the Michigan's handling of sexual assault cases (Anderson, 2014).

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Chartered in 1789, the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill opened its doors in 1795 (“About UNC,” 2014). Located in Chapel Hill, NC, it is the first public research university in the country (“About UNC,” 2014). UNC Chapel Hill has a total student body of over 29,000, and 3,600 faculty members (“About UNC,” 2014). The university has a total operating budget of \$2.4 billion, with state funding accounting for less than 20% of the total budget (“Budget FAQs,” 2014). Due to its status as a state university, budget cuts at the state level since the economic crisis in 2008 have meant that UNC Chapel Hill has had to absorb \$231 million in state budget cuts to date (“Budget FAQs,” 2014). UNC Chapel Hill is routinely ranked among the top public universities in the United States (“Recent rankings and ratings,” 2014). UNC Chapel Hill is currently led by its first female chancellor Carol L. Folt. She was preceded by Holden Thorp whose inaugural address is not available on the university website. Thorp was chancellor from 2008 to 2013 and saw the university through the economic crisis that started soon after he took office (Kiley, 2013). For Thorp, the economic challenges were compounded by a scandal in which student athletes were involved in academic fraud with the complicity of the university’s African and Afro-American studies department (Kiley, 2013). As a result, Thorp left his position to join the University of Washington at St. Louis as the provost, an unusual move for academic presidents since most choose to return to faculty positions or move on to presidencies at other institutions (Kiley, 2013). The academic fraud scandal at UNC Chapel Hill would become even more serious in 2014 with Carol Folt at the helm.

Carol L. Folt. Carol Folt became the first woman to lead UNC Chapel Hill in October 2013 (“Biography/Folt,” 2014). Folt’s disciplinary background is in ecology, and she had been a faculty member and administrator at Dartmouth for 30 years (“Biography/Folt” 2014). Immediately before becoming chancellor of UNC Chapel Hill, Folt was the interim president of Dartmouth from 2012-2013 (“Biography/Folt,” 2014). Folt is married to David Peart, a biology professor at Dartmouth and they have two adult children (“Biography/Folt,” 2014).

In 2014, the academic fraud scandal at UNC Chapel Hill received national attention when a damning report was released by an independent investigator Kenneth Wainstein that highlighted the involvement of university employees in systematic fraud that spanned two decades (New, 2014b). Folt responded quickly and decisively by firing or putting under review nine employees who had been involved in the fraud (Kane & Stancill, 2014). At this writing, the names of the nine employees were revealed to the press, and Folt released this memorandum in response to criticism that the names had not been revealed earlier:

Just over two months ago...the university pledged its full commitment to restoring trust, continuing to implement a broad range of reforms, and holding individuals accountable based on facts and evidence and consistent with fair process and appropriate respect for their privacy. (Kane, 2014, ¶ 20)

The UNC Chapel Hill fraud scandal is unprecedented in American higher education and contributed to the exit of Chancellor Thorp. Time will tell if Folt’s strategy to take the scandal head on would prove to be successful.

University of Pennsylvania. Established in 1740, the University of Pennsylvania (Penn) is one of the prestigious private Ivy League universities and a regular in the top ten US universities lists ("Introduction to Penn," 2014). Penn's urban campus in Philadelphia, PA has a total student population of 24,806, and a total of 4,555 faculty members ("Penn facts," 2014). Penn's total budget for 2015 is \$7.25 billion, and its endowment for 2014 was \$9.58 billion ("Penn facts," 2014). Penn is unique in the sample for this study because it has been led by women presidents for the last 20 years. After the stint by interim president Claire Fagin from 1993 to 1994, Judith Rodin served as the first woman president of Penn from 1994 to 2004 ("History of the presidency," 2014). Rodin holds the distinction of being the first woman to serve as a permanent president of an Ivy League university, and her tenure as Penn's president saw a great deal of growth and enhancement of its research profile ("History of the presidency," 2014). Rodin's inaugural address is not available on Penn's website.

Amy Gutmann. The current president of Penn, Amy Gutmann, was appointed in 2004. Gutmann belongs to the discipline of political science, and served as the provost at Princeton before her appointment as Penn's president ("Biography/Amy Gutmann," 2014). Before becoming provost at Princeton, Gutmann performed administrative services including dean of the faculty and academic advisor to the president, and she was also a professor of politics ("Biography/Amy Gutmann," 2014). Gutmann is married to Michael W. Doyle, a law professor at Columbia University, and they have one adult daughter who is associate professor of chemistry at Princeton ("Biography/Amy Gutmann," 2014).

Since taking the helm at Penn in 2004, Gutmann has worked to realize her vision for Penn—the Penn Compact—that she had outlined in her inaugural address, and reiterated in 2013 in the Penn Compact 2020 (“Biography/Amy Gutmann,” 2014). The Penn Compact focuses on access, knowledge integration, and local, national and global engagement (“Biography/Amy Gutmann,” 2014). Gutmann’s tenure has so far seen successful fundraising initiatives, introduction of interdisciplinary majors and professorships, and expansion of Penn’s physical infrastructure (“Biography/Amy Gutmann,” 2014).

University of South Florida. Founded in 1956, the University of South Florida (USF) is a public research university located in Tampa Bay, FL (“About USF,” 2014). The total student population at USF is about 48,000, and it has 1,743 full time faculty members (“USF system facts,” 2014). USF has an annual operating budget of \$1.5 billion, and has an economic impact of \$4.4 billion annually (“About USF,” 2014). USF had its first woman president Betty Castor from 1994 to 1999. Castor’s inaugural address, and indeed any other information about her, is unavailable from the USF website. Castor did return to USF to lead a research center at USF (Colavecchio-Van Sickler, 2006), and has been serving on the Fulbright board since her appointment as member by President Obama in 2011, and she is set to head the worldwide Fulbright Program starting in 2015 (Irwin, 2014). Castor was followed by interim presidents until the appointment of Judy Genshaft in 2000.

Judy Genshaft. Judy Genshaft has been the president of the University of South Florida System and the University of South Florida since 2000 (“Dr. Judy Genshaft,” 2014). Genshaft’s disciplinary background is in counselling, and she has held

administrative positions at Ohio State University and SUNY Albany, as well as being the first woman to chair the NCAA (“Dr. Judy Genshaft,” 2014). Genshaft is married and has two sons (Genshaft, 2000).

According to her bio on the university website, Genshaft’s tenure has led to USF being recognized as one of the top 50 research universities in the country (“Dr. Judy Genshaft,” 2014). Genshaft’s participation in the “economic development engines: The Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce, Tampa Bay Partnership and the Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100” has meant a greater impact of USF in the region’s economic development (“Dr. Judy Genshaft,” 2014, ¶ 3).

Genshaft’s tenure has not been without controversy. In 2001, after the September 11 attacks, a USF computer science professor of Palestinian origin Sami Al-Arian was embroiled in allegations of terrorist activity (Kumar, 2003). Genshaft immediately sent Al-Arian home on paid leave and threatened to fire him for months before finally terminating him following his arrest on federal charges for terrorism (Kumar, 2003). Genshaft was criticized for her hastiness to see Al-Arian as guilty until proven innocent, and not giving him a chance to defend himself (Kumar, 2003). The charges against Al-Arian were eventually dropped (“Government drops charges,” 2014).

Genshaft was, once again, involved in an academic freedom issue when she condemned the American Studies Association’s (ASA) call to boycott Israeli institutions to protest against Israel for curbing the academic freedom of Palestinian students (Erchid, 2014). Genshaft’s critics called attention to her financial ties to Israel where she has investments as reason to believe that conflict of interest was evident in her position on the

issue while some faculty members felt that Genshaft should have consulted the faculty before articulating a position on the issue (Erchid, 2014).

Another controversy arose in 2013 when in response to Genshaft's one year budget plan Graham Tobin, USF vice provost for strategic and budget planning, resigned claiming that it was not in alignment with USF's mission (Straumsheim, 2013). Genshaft's one year plan was also criticized for not involving the university community (Straumsheim, 2013). As a result of Tobin's resignation, the plan was amended to a three year plan more in alignment with what the original plan had been with Tobin as the "architect" (Straumsheim, 2013, ¶ 8).

University of Virginia. Located in Charlottesville, VA, the University of Virginia (UVA) was founded in 1819 ("Facts at a glance," 2015). UVA's student population is 21,238 ("Current on-grounds enrollment", 2015), while full time research and instructional faculty numbers stand at 2,637 ("Faculty and staff," 2015). UVA has a total operating budget of \$2.78 billion, and a \$5.3 billion endowment ("Finance & endowment," 2015). UVA is consistently ranked among the top universities in the nation, and it is currently ranked 2nd among public universities and 23rd overall ("Rankings/UVA," 2015). UVA welcomed its first woman president Teresa Sullivan in 2010. Sullivan replaced John Casteen III who had been in office for two decades ("President Emeritus John T. Casteen III," 2015). The speeches of both are available on the website and included in the sample for this study. Brief bios of both follow.

John T. Casteen III. John T. Casteen III served as UVA's president from 1990 to 2010 ("President Emeritus John T. Casteen III," 2015). Casteen earned three degrees from UVA including his PhD in English ("President Emeritus John T. Casteen III,"

2015). Casteen started his academic career at UC Berkeley and later joined UVA as a faculty member (“President Emeritus John T. Casteen III,” 2015). Casteen then served as admissions dean at UVA before his service as Virginia’s Secretary of Education from 1982 to 1985 (“President Emeritus John T. Casteen III,” 2015). Prior to his UVA presidency, he was president of the University of Connecticut from 1985 to 1990 (“President Emeritus John T. Casteen III,” 2015). Over his two decades in office, Casteen introduced several initiatives including major institutional planning programs like Virginia 2020; increase in access to students with financial need as well as increased enrollment and faculty numbers; expansion of the physical infrastructure; development of international programs; growth in the university’s endowments; all of which led to significant growth in UVA’s profile (“President Emeritus John T. Casteen III,” 2015). Perhaps one of the most remarkable feats of Casteen’s presidency was UVA’s “success in refinancing itself following historic reductions in state tax support at the beginning of the decade,” a challenge with which almost all public universities are grappling (“President Emeritus John T. Casteen III,” 2015, ¶ 1). Casteen’s webpage on UVA’s website mentions that Casteen is married to Betsy Foote Casteen, and they have five children and four grandchildren (“President Emeritus John T. Casteen III,” 2015).

Teresa A. Sullivan. Casteen’s successor and current president is Teresa A. Sullivan who assumed office in 2010 (“Teresa A. Sullivan/Biography,” 2013). Sullivan’s disciplinary background is in sociology, and she earned her doctorate from the University of Chicago (“Teresa A. Sullivan/Biography,” 2013). Sullivan started her career as a faculty member at the University of Texas at Austin, where she also served as executive vice chancellor for academic affairs for the University of Texas System from 2002 to

2006 (“Teresa A. Sullivan/Biography,” 2013). Sullivan then served at the University of Michigan as provost and executive vice president for academic affairs, a position she held until her appointment to UVA’s presidency (“Teresa A. Sullivan/Biography,” 2013). Sullivan is married to Douglas Laycock, who is professor of law at UVA and they have two adult sons (“Teresa A. Sullivan/Biography,” 2013).

Since assuming office, Sullivan has led several initiatives for UVA’s advancement: she sought input from faculty, students, staff, alumni and other community members for a strategic plan for the university’s future course of action; and in view of enormous financial strain on higher education today, she “developed a new financial model for the University to ensure stability and transparency and to spur innovation in a period of significant financial pressure in higher education” (“Teresa A. Sullivan/Biography,” 2013, ¶ 1). Sullivan has also successfully led the campaign started by her predecessor to raise \$1 billion in funds for UVA (“Teresa A. Sullivan/Biography,” 2013). Other issues on Sullivan’s agenda that are ongoing are affordability, faculty salaries, and online education (“Teresa A. Sullivan/Biography,” 2013).

Despite her successes, Sullivan has had more than her share of controversy since taking office at UVA. In 2012, UVA’s Board of Visitors led by Helen Dragas announced that Sullivan had offered her resignation due to “philosophical difference of opinion” (Rice, 2012, ¶ 1). However, it soon became clear that it was not Sullivan’s decision to step down, rather she was being ousted for “her unwillingness to consider dramatic program cuts in the face of dwindling resources and for her perceived reluctance to approach the school with the bottom-line mentality of a corporate chief executive” (Vise & Kumar, 2012, ¶ 3). The contest that pitted the university’s first female president,

Sullivan, against the university's first female rector, Dragas, drew massive media scrutiny and rocked the UVA campus that came out in large numbers to support their president (Vise & Kumar, 2012). Sullivan's ouster was quickly reversed by the board under immense pressure from the campus community and the state governor (Kiley, 2012b). In a surprising move, Virginia Governor McDonnell reappointed Dragas to another term on the board, which he claimed was meant to promote reconciliation between the two parties who happened to be the first women in their respective positions at UVA (Jaschik, 2012). In a New York Times article, Rice (2012) remarked that what happened at UVA was an instance of a "clash between two fundamentally different theories of leadership" (§ 13). Sullivan's position as a woman and an outsider preceded by the UVA educated John Casteen counted against her in this case, but her popularity with the university community, particularly faculty support based on her stellar academic credentials saved her presidency (Rice, 2012).

Sullivan was once again in the spotlight in 2014 when in response to a *Rolling Stone* magazine article describing the alleged rape of a female student at a UVA fraternity house in 2012 Sullivan temporarily suspended all UVA fraternities (Young, 2014). More recently, despite the unravelling of the *Rolling Stones* story, Sullivan has articulated her commitment to end sexual assault on college campuses (DeSantis, 2014; Mulhere, 2014).

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the 22 institutions and 34 presidents included in this study. As evident from this overview, most women included in this study are the first to lead their institution in its history. Some presidents in this study are following, or have followed, tumultuous presidencies. Some were forced to resign

because their leadership style did not align with the culture of the university, while some were ousted by faculty or boards because relationships could not be forged. The presidents' workplace contexts vary depending on the nature and objectives of the university they lead. Smaller private schools with enrollment in the thousands are very different from large public universities with tens of thousands of students. Budgetary concerns too vary widely with context. Thus, presidents' rhetoric is tailored to the context and organizational goals of the institutions they lead. In the next chapter, I present the analysis of the rhetoric contained in the inaugural speeches organized around major themes that have emerged.

Chapter 5: Findings

The leaders included in this study brought varied backgrounds and perspectives to their role as president. The use of rhetoric in their inaugural addresses was the main focus for this study. However, because this study used a discourse analysis methodology, the context of each president's background was included as part of the analysis. The presidents' background and contexts also highlight the setting in which the discourse model for inaugural addresses by presidents of high profile research universities emerged. In this chapter, I highlight the significant themes that became apparent from the analysis of the addresses using a feminist poststructural discourse analysis lens. The inaugural address discourse model that contained these themes will be discussed in Chapter Six. Recall, the building tasks for Gee's (2014) discourse model include: politics, identities, practices, relationships, significance, connections, and sign systems and knowledge.

The inaugural addresses included in the study are rich in language meant to convince the audience that the new president is their leader. Even though some are sparser than others, all addresses focus on the institution's history and the presidents' vision for the future. The themes that emerged across the addresses include: past and current events frame messages; disciplinary metaphors and evocative imagery; presidents without precedents; sign systems and knowledge frame messages; subject positions; family, spouses/partners, and disembodied leadership; and feminist activism. The themes are illustrated with direct quotations from the addresses to highlight how presidents framed their messages.

Past and Current Events Frame Messages

Presidents invoked historical as well as current events to emphasize the importance and responsibility of higher education to society. Since the timeframe for the speeches included in this study covers the last six years of the 20th century and the first 14 years of the 21st century, the zeitgeist of a transitioning era provided the backdrop for arguments for change, and a frame for the future course of action. For example, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute's Shirley Jackson's 1999 inauguration theme was "Honoring Tradition, Changing the World: Rensselaer in the 21st Century" (§ 7). The linking of the past century with the new one was also a popular framing device as evident in this example from Michigan State's Lou Anna K. Simon's 2005 address:

Just as the establishment of the Agricultural College of the State of Michigan gave impetus to the work of Justin Morrill to create the land-grant system to prepare for the 20th century, let us work together to create the platform for a new covenant for 21st century America and the world. Today I'm calling for a new land-grant revolution, the next bold experiment—the land-grant university for the world. (§ 8)

Here, Simon referred back to the Morrill Act to establish links between the past and the future of the university. Even leaders of young universities like UC Santa Cruz's George Blumenthal emphasized the significance of their institutions' roots. Blumenthal asserted in his 2008 address:

Our founders asked us to be a University for the 21st Century. Well, that is now, and we are already meeting that challenge, every day.
But, I want more. And you should expect more.

We had a mandate from the start to be about the future. So we must always be the University for the Next Century. (§ 144-146)

Like Simon, Blumenthal linked his vision for the university with its founding principles, and the context of the transition from one century to another provided the perfect backdrop for this connection.

The presidents used current political, economic, and social crises to frame their proposed future directions for the university. For example, all presidents inaugurated immediately following September 11, 2001, referred to that national crisis in their inaugural speeches. Some even rewrote their speeches after they learned of the event. Shirley Tilghman, who was installed on September 28, 2001 as Princeton's president framed her speech in light of the events on September 11, 2001:

Our vision of that future was forever changed by the tragic events of September 11 at the World Trade Center, the Pentagon and a field in Pennsylvania. In the aftermath of those events, I modified the address that I had been writing in order to speak with you about what is foremost on my mind. President Bush, in his address to a joint session of Congress last week, declared war on international terrorism, a war whose form and outcome are difficult to imagine. Given the enormous challenges and the uncertainty that lie ahead, what is the proper role of the academy during this crisis and in the national debate we are sure to have? How can we contribute as this great country seeks the honorable path to worldwide justice and to peace? (§ 2)

Tilghman set the stage for her speech with a current national crisis, and in the rest of her speech she went on to shed light on what she saw as the role of higher education in a time

of crisis. The events of September 11, 2001, were also mentioned in Harvard's Larry Summers's October 10, 2001 speech:

We meet now in the shadow of the terrible and tragic events of September 11th.

These events give fresh meaning to Franklin Roosevelt's words from this stage 65 years ago. Said Roosevelt: "It is the part of Harvard and America to stand for the freedom of the human mind and to carry the torch of truth."

And so, in our present struggle, we do our part, we carry that torch,

When we show support for the victims and their families;

When we honor those who defend our freedom and the calling of public service;

When we stand as an example of openness and tolerance to all of goodwill;

And, above all, when we promote understanding -- not the soft understanding that glides over questions of right and wrong, but the hard-won comprehension that the threat before us demands.

We will prevail in this struggle -- prevail by carrying on the ordinary acts of learning and playing, caring and loving -- the extraordinarily important acts that make up our daily lives. And we will prevail by recognizing anew that each of us owes it to all of us to be part of something larger than ourselves. And here we are.

Today we recommit ourselves to the university's enduring service to society -- through scholarship of the highest quality, and through the profound act of faith in the future that is teaching and learning. (§ 9-15)

Like Tilghman, Summers used the current national crisis to frame the responsibility of higher education. He evoked patriotic imagery in his speech with reference to "the torch"

from the Statue of Liberty and the alignment of Roosevelt's words about freedom.

Tapping into the public consciousness of the event set the stage for Summers's speech.

As late as 2004, University of Pennsylvania's Amy Gutmann cited the events of September 11, 2001 to illustrate and emphasize the exigency of Penn's commitment to diversity:

We also must make the most of what Penn's increased diversity affords us. This is not simply a matter of justice for those who deserve to have access. It is also an educational benefit for all of us.

Let us show the world how very much there is to learn from cultural diversity, and how productive respectful disagreements can be.

Let us extend the example of Muslim and Jewish students at Penn who pursued dialogue and fellowship after the tragedy of 9/11. (¶ 47-49)

Gutmann invoked the event in retrospect to illustrate how the university has promoted greater understanding through diversity, whereas Summers and Tilghman could only speculate what would follow that momentous event. They all made the compelling connection between a major historical event and higher education.

Since 2008, inaugural speeches largely focused on the impact of the economic downturn on higher education, particularly on questions about whether higher education investments are worth it for students in an uncertain economic climate. This focus on costs was more prevalent in, but not unique to, speeches by public university presidents. For instance, Ann Weaver Hart of the University of Arizona, a public university, spoke these words in her address on November 30, 2012:

While the budgetary events beginning in 2007-08 were catastrophic, they are now a part of history. Like a deep-sea volcano, these events can be catalytic – venting, brewing, stewing and spewing up nutrients, the building blocks for new land and new life. Out of that turbulence, we can and will become a 21st century university that not only attracts the best and brightest students, faculty, staff and partners, but also attracts visitors from around the world to see how we are doing it. And part of this success will be modeling change by disrupting the past, as an ongoing process to create the 22nd century university. As Albert Camus said, “In the middle of winter, I... learned there was in me an invincible summer.” A great vision for our hot and invincible Arizona summer! (§ 11, italics in original)

Hart’s volcanic imagery served to present the economic crisis as an opportunity for a new beginning for the university. She returned to the volcano metaphor to frame her vision for innovation by embracing disruption in all aspects of knowledge.

Anticipating the global economic downturn, Michigan State University’s Lou Anna K. Simon in her 2005 address referred to the dwindling state funding of public universities:

[W]e have a responsibility—an expectation—that we will marshal our intellect and our will to assure that our value to society globally and to those whose lives we touch directly will continue to grow and to appreciate over time, no matter what circumstances we face.

Today this covenant is at risk. It’s been hit by a cold wave driven by an Arctic front of national and global economic and social stress, and this is having a chilling effect on local levels of regard for—and support of—public higher

education. The impact of this front can be seen in declining state funding—for Michigan State, a decrease from two-thirds of our budget in 1970, when I first came here, to now less than half—and it continues to drop. (§ 3-4)

In the context of Michigan's gloomy economic outlook at the beginning of the century, Simon's words anticipated how the changing economic climate would impact higher education in the first decade of the 21st century. Importantly, she also underscored the shift over time from thinking of higher education as a public good to now viewing a college degree as a private good. Public universities have been hit the hardest with dramatic reductions in state funding that has left them no choice but to raise tuition and engage in private fundraising to unprecedented degrees.

The impact of the economic downturn has been felt far and wide and even Ivy League schools have not been immune to the repercussions. In 2012, Christina Paxson of Brown University spoke about the skepticism regarding the value of higher education in the current economic climate:

We hear charges that American universities have gone off-track: Their costs are too high; they use hide-bound teaching methods; resources that could go to teaching are being siphoned off for research on arcane subjects; and students are studying poetry and postmodernism when they could be preparing for jobs.

These concerns are heightened by our current economic environment which is, in truth, still somewhat gloomy. We are in the midst of a slow recovery from a severe recession; there is still substantial instability in world financial markets and uncertainty about our country's economic future. That is especially true in Rhode Island, where state and local governments are struggling to provide services, and

unemployment still exceeds 10 percent. It is not surprising that, at times like this, we question the value of our public and private institutions, including universities, especially those that appear to many to provide little immediate value. (¶ 15-16)

Paxson debunked these fears by calling attention to the fundamental purpose of higher education:

I believe that much of the current criticism of higher education stems from a short-sighted misconception of its fundamental purpose and a lack of imagination about its potential. We are not in the business of producing widgets, in the form of standardized “career-ready” graduates. Instead, our aim is to invest in the long-term intellectual, creative and social capacity of human beings. (¶ 23)

Paxson’s Ivy League context enabled her to emphasize the personally edifying aspects of higher education over employability. For those leading public universities, the covenant they have with the nation and their communities takes precedence over the intellectual edification of the individual, thus, the framing varies with context. Therefore, it is critical to examine the rhetoric framed in current events through the lens of institutional contexts.

Current events specific to the institution’s context frame exigency. Presidents included in this study often used their institution’s particular context to frame their message and create exigencies for action in their inaugural addresses. Particularly, leaders of public schools framed their messages in the context of their state, since their institutions have a close financial and community connection with their states. For example, in 2009, Stony Brook University’s Samuel L. Stanley spoke at length about the impact of the economic downturn on New York State, where Stony Brook is located, and offered a critique of the state’s shortsightedness in cutting funding to state schools like

Stony Brook: “We are in the midst of the most serious economic crisis our country has faced since the Great Depression. New York, which built much of its economy on the financial markets, is facing record deficits” (§ 11). Stanley (2009) further elaborated:

Stony Brook is currently dealing with \$13 million out of more than \$28 million in cuts to our state support component, and have yet to determine how much more we face from the recent \$90 million cut just announced by the governor.

Let me be blunt again. Cutting SUNY’s budget is fundamentally the wrong strategy. SUNY and Stony Brook are solutions to the economic crisis. They are not a quick fix, they are very much a long-term solution, but they are an absolutely vital part of what needs to happen if New York is to regain its economic strength and develop its quality of life. Why do I say this?

If Long Island and New York are going to recover, we need a highly educated workforce; we need sites of innovation as well as more innovators; we need to create new companies and attract existing business to our region and state; we need individuals who understand global markets and different cultures and who can be effective in this “flat” world; and we need new approaches to energy, climate change, health, and disease. We, and every other community, also want cultural and recreational activities that enrich people’s lives, health care that we can afford, and citizens who think critically and who can see beyond shouting and demagoguery. (§ 13-15).

Stanley set up his critique by framing it in the context of a current global event. Then, he zeroed in on the local context of his state and his institution, to make his point that universities like Stony Brook are the answer to the crisis, and rather than slashing their

budgets, they must be funded as part of a long term solution for the state's economic woes.

In her 2002 speech, Mary Sue Coleman of the University of Michigan referred to an ongoing affirmative action legal case (see details in Chapter Four) that was being heard by the US Supreme Court at the time of her inauguration. Coleman observed:

The University of Michigan is engaged in an historic struggle to preserve admissions policies that serve the widest possible array of communities within the United States and the world. This is a fight that the institution has been willing to wage because it is our pledge to create a broadly diverse university community. The principle we are defending has become part of the fabric of our society, as reflected in the broad spectrum of support for our cases inside and outside the academy.

Everyone here today knows that the final legal battle is about to begin at the highest court in our nation.

We are asking the court to affirm America, by re-affirming affirmative action. No matter what the outcome may be -- as an institution, we shall remain committed to the ideal of a diversely interactive community, dedicated to the highest standards.

If we win, we will have a hollow victory unless we renew our commitment to learning with, and learning from, diverse others every day, in every action, in every classroom, in every living arrangement, in every research and public service endeavor. The nation will be looking to the University of Michigan for leadership and inspiration, however the decision of the Court is crafted.

Our challenge now is to exhibit the discipline it takes to transform the vision of a diverse learning community into the reality of ensuring that all students, and all members of our community, are in fact valued. I am determined to bring this ideal to life, and I ask you to join me in this endeavor. (§ 48-54)

Coleman used the affirmative action case to emphasize her university's commitment to diversity as well as to get buy-in and a sense of unity around a shared ideology from her audience. She focused on the University of Michigan's identity as a national leader in the fight for affirmative action. The US Supreme Court eventually upheld the Michigan State constitutional ban on affirmative action in admissions to state institutions (Liptak, 2014).

Historical events frame institutional identities and future direction. Another device incoming presidents used to frame future direction for the institution was to refer to a well-known past event and draw connections between the past and future. For instance, comparing the American Revolution in the 18th century to the knowledge revolution unfolding in the current century, Teresa Sullivan (2010) of UVA asserted:

These two bold experiments - the American Republic and the University of Virginia - were connected at the very beginning. They remain connected now. They share a close and prolonged association of mutual benefit. Their relationship was symbiotic then, and it is symbiotic now.

Like Jefferson, we live in revolutionary times. The revolution led by Jefferson and his collaborators was a political and military revolution played out in Independence Hall and at Lexington and Concord, at Bunker Hill and Valley

Forge and Guilford Courthouse, at Yorktown and other battlefields where patriots fought and died to secure their freedom - and ours.

Our revolution is a knowledge revolution playing out in classrooms, laboratories, and libraries around the world. The frictions of time and space have been forever altered. In this new revolution, technological advances have obliterated barriers to information-sharing, made distance largely irrelevant, and opened new pathways to collaboration across disciplines. The pace of discovery and the pace of disseminating information have quickened beyond anything Mr. Jefferson could have imagined. The volume of information grows exponentially. (§ 16-18, emphasis in the original)

Sullivan chose a critical historical event that took place centuries ago to make connections with the future direction her university needs to take not only because of the leadership of Jefferson in Virginia during the revolution, but also because of the legacy Jefferson still holds as the founder of the University of Virginia. Her context is a traditional university with a long history and a founder who was one of the heroes of the American Republic, therefore, it was important for her to communicate that the future direction is rooted in the past.

In his 1991 inaugural address, Charles Vest of MIT used a similar strategy to draw upon history to articulate the identity of his institution:

MIT has played a remarkable role--at critical moments--in shaping our nation and our world. We have done so through individual creative genius and through grand institutional ventures. Like America itself, we have responded in an heroic and innovative manner to sudden challenges, such as the onset of World War II or

the launching of Sputnik. Today we are challenged once again on a grand scale. But this time by slow, corrosive forces rather than by sudden, galvanizing events. By the erosion of our global environment rather than by explosions at Pearl Harbor. By declines in scientific literacy and industrial competitiveness rather than by the launching of a satellite. (§ 7)

Here, Vest alluded to the role MIT had played in historic events that had a global impact to draw parallels with MIT's current and future challenges. Even though the challenges have changed over time, Vest's message implied that MIT would be involved in finding solutions to today's vexing problems just as it had in the past.

Some past events are more relevant to certain institution types. For example, several leaders of land grant universities mentioned the objectives of the historic Morrill Act of 1862 as their institutions' *raison d'être*, and as a rationale for the guiding principles for their future direction. For example, in her 2010 inaugural speech, Waded Cruzado of Montana State University framed the future direction of her university in light of its past:

When we read the Morrill Act, we hear echoes of our Declaration of Independence. As a new nation, first we wanted freedom. As a young country, we secured education. Together, these two pillars would protect each other. We would be free to educate and be educated--and this, in turn, would make us free. Up until then, only a privileged few had the means to attend the handful of private colleges that were mostly clustered on the east coast. In giving our citizens the education necessary to prosper in their careers and their lives, the land-grant university strengthened American democracy, transforming our lives forever.

As a proud alumna and servant of the land-grant university, I believe deeply in what it stands for and what it can accomplish. I also believe that the great lessons from its past illuminate our great projects for the future of MSU. (§ 11-13)

Ann Weaver Hart (2012), the leader of another land grant university, the University of Arizona also framed her university's mission in light of the historic Morrill Act of 1862:

As we know, a college education was once something for the privileged. This is one of the reasons President Lincoln *signed* the Morrill Act. This fundamentally and dramatically made education accessible to many more people – a principle we follow down to this very day.

This is why we invested \$168 million for student financial aid in Fiscal Year 2012, and why our students have some of the lowest debt upon graduation in the nation. It is also why we have promised 100 percent participation in the “Arizona Experience” for all students. (§ 53-54, italics in original)

Lou Anna K. Simon (2005) of Michigan State University also used the historical significance of the Morrill Act of 1862 to frame the importance of that legacy for the future of her institution:

This vision—our pioneering vision of a university—was a bold new experiment that became the model for the land-grant legislation first sponsored in 1857 by then Congressman Justin Morrill of Vermont, who, after a five-year struggle, succeeded in establishing the Act of Congress known as the Morrill Act, which Abraham Lincoln signed into law in 1862. Today, we gather to reaffirm the values—the ideals—behind that vision and to recommit ourselves to continuing

our pioneering work of advancing knowledge and transforming lives in the years ahead. (¶ 1)

The Morrill Act provided leaders of land grant universities an appropriate historical framework to emphasize the identity and purpose of their institution. In particular, modern day presidents invoked the act to underscore the role of their current day land grant universities in providing access and education that benefits the state and the nation.

M. R. C. Greenwood (1997) president of UC Santa Cruz, another public land grant university, framed her message about the changing identity of her institution in light of massive reductions in state funding:

One of our continuing challenges will continue to be the erosion of state and federal support. We no longer can define ourselves as a state-supported university; now we are state-assisted universities--and, unless there is change, soon we may be forced to call ourselves state-located universities. (¶ 27)

As evident from the speeches included in this study, leaders of land grant universities extolled the historic roots of their institutions that opened up higher education beyond the privileged few. However, even though their mission remains the same with diversity and access as their foremost principles, they have been struggling financially due to the change in the economic climate, and reduction in state support for higher education. These institutions were founded on the principle that education serves the public, but the shift over time to less public support may recast this original mission focus.

Some presidents in this study appear to be heeding Winston Churchill's advice to never let a good crisis go to waste. They used current and past crises to argue for a course of action. Alluding to past events to frame current identity and future direction

can be a powerful way to make connections. Presidents generally cited well-known events from US history, which are likely to be familiar to all audience members, and made connections with current and future realities. Presidents also invoked quotes from famous, admired leaders of the past to link the reputations of these individuals with that of the goals of the incoming presidents. Use of metaphors and imagery was also evident in the speeches, which is explored in the next section.

Disciplinary Metaphors, and Evocative Imagery

Some presidents framed their message with images and metaphors from their field of expertise, while others borrowed from disciplines in which they have no professional background. Two examples follow that illustrate these differing approaches. Princeton's Shirley Tilghman, who has a disciplinary background in biochemistry, made these remarks in her inaugural address in 2001, "If you will forgive a biologist the impulse to use a scientific metaphor, the American educational landscape is like a complex ecosystem, full of varied niches in which a rich diversity of organisms grow and thrive" (¶ 3). Here, Tilghman was able to reference her scientific pedigree and also tap into the general public's knowledge of the environment with an example drawn from elementary school science.

In contrast, in 2003 University of Michigan's Mary Sue Coleman, another biochemist, chose anthropological imagery to frame her message to look simultaneously toward the past and the future of the university:

I believe we can provide strength to ourselves and to the world by upholding the two notions I suggested at the outset: highlighting the traditions we value, while at the same time advancing our aspirations.

There is a symbol from Ghana, known as the sankofa, which embodies a message relevant to us today. The sankofa is a bird that is moving forward, while its head is turned backward. The proverb associated with the symbolism of the bird is:

“Look to your roots, in order to reclaim your future.”

The glory of the University of Michigan resides in its ability to re-invent itself continually, to cherish its roots while inventing the future. (¶ 14-17)

Coleman’s reference to the Ghanaian symbol and proverb is an example of the use of metaphor to evoke an image in her audience’s minds so the message framed with the metaphor can be memorable and impactful. This example also demonstrates that presidents borrow powerful metaphors from across disciplines to frame their messages. In Coleman’s case, the message was to innovate without losing sight of the mission and traditions of the university.

Instances of evocative imagery using metaphors and similes also color other inaugural addresses. For instance, Ann Weaver Hart (2012) of the University of Arizona, with a background in the discipline of educational leadership, wove the metaphor of the volcano throughout her speech to illustrate how seismic disruptions are not a sign of trouble but the beginning of something new. This quote from Hart’s 2012 address illustrates the use of metaphor to support the president’s vision:

Rather than struggle to preserve what is for its own sake or in an attempt to show respect for the past and present, we should embrace disruption and opportunism.

Like an undersea volcano, we will bathe in the energy, nutrients and turbulence that can be huge assets when we seize the opportunity they represent. To

paraphrase historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, well-behaved people seldom make history. And we intend to make history, so maybe the volcano is an apt metaphor for the future we will make! (§ 25)

Hart linked her metaphor of volcanic disruption with her paraphrase of the famous quote by historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich (stealthily replacing the word *women* with *people*) to stress the importance of disruption. Elsewhere in her address, Hart also chose a musical metaphor to articulate the new direction for her institution with emphasis on interdisciplinary knowledge and innovation: “We will, like the best jazz ensembles, compose a new and inspiring future” (§ 18). The metaphor of jazz music evokes the sounds of harmony and chaos simultaneously. The assumption here appears to be that all audience members are familiar with jazz music, and all Hart has to do is mention it and the message is received by the audience. The range of metaphors from geology to music also indicates an awareness of the range of interests represented in the audience. Thus, Hart’s use of a variety of metaphors was an effort to sway stakeholders belonging to a range of disciplines.

Like Hart, Lou Anna K. Simon (2005) of Michigan State, with a disciplinary background in higher education, chose earth science imagery. Simon illustrated the changing climate of public higher education by comparing it to the climate change that the earth is experiencing:

Today, higher education and, in particular, public research universities are suffering not just a storm but a climate change. We, by nature of our historic relationship with our states, are joined in a covenant with society. For a land-

grant public research university, this covenant entails special, unique responsibilities and special expectations. (§ 3)

Simon took the climate change metaphor further to illustrate how public higher education, as noted above, is besieged by “an Arctic front of national and global economic and social stress, and this is having a chilling effect on local levels of regard for—and support of—public higher education” (§ 4). Simon’s use of analogy is a powerful way to communicate the catastrophic impact cuts in state funding have had on state schools. As noted earlier, the dramatic shift in state support has led some like M. R. C. Greenwood (1997) of UC Santa Cruz to question the nomenclature used to identify state schools in her inaugural address.

Some presidents also mixed metaphors in their speeches to frame their messages. For example, Harvard’s Drew Gilpin Faust, a historian, mixed disciplinary metaphors in her 2007 address:

As John Winthrop sat on board the ship *Arbella* in 1630, sailing across the Atlantic to found the Massachusetts Bay Colony, he wrote a charge to his band of settlers, a charter for their new beginnings. He offered what he considered “a compass to steer by” – a “model,” but not a set of explicit orders. Winthrop instead sought to focus his followers on the broader significance of their project, on the spirit in which they should undertake their shared work. I aim to offer such a “compass” today, one for us at Harvard, and one that I hope will have meaning for all of us who care about higher education, for we are inevitably, as Winthrop urged his settlers to be, “knitt (sic) together in this work as one.” (§ 7)

Faust's selection of the timeframe was undoubtedly intentional as it closely preceded Harvard's 1636 founding. Faust also compared her leadership to a compass, "not a set of explicit rules," i.e., she was someone who would point out the direction but would not micromanage. Thus, she was essentially telling her audience what they could expect from her as a leader. Faust's emphasis on her leadership style is significant to note considering she was following the controversial presidency of Larry Summers who possessed a very different leadership style. She also worked in Winthrop's quote which itself utilized the metaphor of a fabric that is knit together, in essence calling for unity.

Faust also used the metaphor of a wedding to describe the inauguration ceremony:

Today we mark new beginnings by gathering in solidarity; we celebrate our community and its creativity; we commit ourselves to Harvard and all it represents in a new chapter of its distinguished history. Like a congregation at a wedding, you signify by your presence a pledge of support for this marriage of a new president to a venerable institution. As our colleagues in anthropology understand so well, rituals have meanings and purposes; they are intended to arouse emotions and channel intentions. In ritual, as the poet Thomas Lynch has written, "We act out things we cannot put into words." But now my task is in fact to put some of this ceremony into words, to capture our meanings and purposes.

(¶ 3)

Faust's rumination on the inauguration as a wedding, and the anthropological significance of ceremonies is meant to communicate the significance, and indeed the sacredness, of this event in an institution's and a president's life. Faust made this connection at the outset to frame her speech as a sacred promise, much like wedding

vows, and highlighted her intention to hold the bond as important. Given the history of her predecessor's departure, Faust needed to offer assurances of her intention to uphold the values of the institution, and indeed emphasize the role of women at Harvard. The feminine metaphor was likely intentional as it allowed Faust to underscore her identity as the first woman president.

Use of images and metaphors to describe institutional identity. Another way presidents used metaphors and images was in service of articulating the institution's identity. For example, Sally Mason of the University of Iowa who belongs to the discipline of developmental biology wove the metaphor of the star through her 2007 address titled "The University of Iowa: Pole Star, Rising Star," to frame her university's identity:

I see The University of Iowa as a shining star that embodies the hopes and dreams of the citizens of our great state and nation. As with the North Star, those who seek a journey of discovery look to us for direction and guidance. And like the stars above us, we also represent the farthest horizon, where our vision and aspirations reside. (¶ 5)

The North Star metaphor is unusual for the addresses in this study. Since it is a fixed object, and many presidents emphasized change and innovation, there are no other instances of the use of the star as a metaphor evident in the speeches in this study. The use of the North Star to characterize the institution in this case signified strong mooring and a model for others to follow. Another unusual metaphor was used by Susan Hockfield of MIT, who belongs to the discipline of life sciences. Hockfield used an athletic metaphor to describe the essence of her institution:

The world knows a lot about MIT, but some of the most remarkable things, you just can't know until you get here. For example: the incredible energy of the place! There's a kind of crackling drive and curiosity that fills the air. MIT feels like a stadium with no seats; everyone is in the game, sometimes 24 hours a day!

(¶ 9)

The metaphor of a stadium with no spectators but just players communicates a place where all are involved and no one is on the sidelines, thus signifying inclusiveness as well as friendly competition and team spirit.

A recurring metaphor across addresses is that of the university as a house or a home. To illustrate, Waded Cruzado (2010) of Montana State described her land grant institution in these words:

Since my arrival last spring, we have explored the pervasive nature of what we now call, 'The One MSU': with our four campuses, one museum, seven agricultural centers, and extension offices serving all 56 counties, the state of Montana is our campus. The One MSU is a big house with many doors to welcome our students and serve our communities. We accomplish these tasks through our tripartite mission devoted to outstanding teaching and learning, exciting research and creativity, and outreach and service that enriches lives. (¶

14)

Mark Schlissel of the University of Michigan also used the metaphor of the house at his 2014 inauguration to describe his aspirations for his institution: "Michigan's house must be big and its doors open" (¶ 60). In this case, Schlissel not only invoked the ideals of

inclusivity and openness for the university, he referred to a strong symbol on campus, namely the “Big House” as the Michigan Stadium is known.

Similarly, Sally Mason (2007) of the University of Iowa characterized her university as a house: “[W]e, as leaders, should never claim credit without acknowledging the efforts of individuals and groups who have built this fine house in which we all live” (§ 14). This statement allowed acknowledgement of her predecessors and alumni too. Case Western’s Barbara Snyder’s 2007 inaugural address theme was: “Home is where one starts from” (§ 42), which was inspired by a T. S. Eliot poem from which she quoted in her address:

We shall not cease from exploration
 And the end of all our exploring
 Will be to arrive where we started
 And know the place for the first time. (§ 43)

The metaphor of house or home calls to mind comfort, safety, family, and allegiance, meant to instill a sense of unified purpose and loyalty in the audience.

Religious imagery. Some presidents made use of religious imagery in their inaugural addresses. For example, in his inaugural address as president of Ohio State University, E. Gordon Gee (2007) used a biblical reference to speak of his return to the presidency of Ohio State:

In Luke 15, some of you can remember that New Testament story of the prodigal son. Well, I am that son. I left. I experienced the world. I made my way in a different way and a different time, but this place, this father, this magnificent

institution never forgot me, and has now forgiven me and welcomed me home. (§

5)

Gee used the popular biblical reference to embellish his personal identity as the leader who returned home, and the institution as his father.

Other than Brown's Christina Paxson (2012) who quoted the translation of the university's motto "In God We Hope," John Casteen III of UVA was the only one to mention God when he said in his 1990 address:

I undertake this task with hope and courage, and I vow to respect the University's ancient spirit, to maintain its noble ideals, and to serve gladly with whatever strength I have. All this I shall seek to do, and with God's help I will. (§ 1)

In the context of a conservative setting like Virginia, Casteen appeared to be taking an oath in the presence of witnesses and God to serve the ideals of his institution as its president. Casteen's oath also calls to mind Drew Faust's (2007) metaphor of marriage for the inaugural ceremony. Both of these references served to speak to the religious values of many in the audience, but at minimum conjured up images of permanence and commitment of the incoming president for the lay person.

In her 1999 inaugural address, Rensselaer's Shirley Ann Jackson used the Catholic imagery of sin and confession to illustrate the relationship between teaching and research:

My final word on balance is this: Teaching and research are the clasped hands of the university. I quote John Slaughter, former president of Occidental College: "Research is to teaching as sin is to confession. If you don't participate in the former, you have very little to say in the latter." (§ 27)

This tongue-in-cheek religious metaphor allowed Jackson a means to promote the notion of the importance of research at a time that the public was demanding more higher education focus on teaching and student learning. A rare example of a reference to a non-Judeo-Christian religious image can be found in Case Western's Edward Hundert's 2002 inaugural address:

In closing, I want to share what I view as a philosophical context within which we need to take our responsibilities for these students upon whom the future so clearly depends. It's a philosophy that emerged for me partly from the fact that my wife and I have three daughters, and partly from our shared interest in comparative religions. On one of our trips to India to learn about Hinduism, we were introduced to a Hindu philosophy about how to raise your daughters. Now, because of the Hindu belief in reincarnation, and the very real possibility that you can die while your daughter is still of child-bearing age, the thought experiment suggests what would happen if you were reincarnated in your own daughter's womb. This is something that would actually never happen in any form of Hinduism, of course, but it suggests a remarkable thought: that you should raise your daughter as if you might be raising your own mother. A mind-blowing concept, I know, but think about it: how would you raise your daughter if there were some chance you might be raising your own mother?

To me there's a simple analogy here: that we should teach our students as if we might be teaching the very people who will be responsible for solving the deep problems that our country and our world face today. That's how we should teach our students. (§ 34-35)

Here, Hundert used a religious philosophical thought experiment to articulate the cyclical nature of teaching and learning, much like the Hindu belief of the cycle of reincarnation.

In the sample for this study, women presidents were more likely to use metaphorical language and evocative imagery, whereas with the exception of Shirley Jackson, religious imagery was used mostly by male presidents. Even though presidents used a variety of metaphors in their inaugural addresses, evocative imagery was not very common in the sampled speeches. One reason for this could be that in the limited time that they have a captive audience they want to economize on their words and be as direct as possible. Although, as Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) observed, metaphors are powerful tools in communication, overly literary and flowery language could serve to distract from the message. In contrast to the relative paucity of metaphorical language, the use of quotes or citations from famous historical actors was abundant, a theme explored in the next section.

Presidents without Precedents

A large majority of the presidents in this study's sample quoted and/or cited someone famous. Not surprisingly, when they quoted a luminary from history or from their field, overwhelmingly, they quoted men. Across the 34 addresses included in this study, I coded a total of 220 instances where men were cited or quoted, and 56 instances where women were cited or quoted. Some universities included in the sample boast centuries of history, but only recently do women even make an appearance as characters in their stories. None of the universities in the sample were founded by women; therefore presidents cannot refer to the historical characters in their institution's saga without referring to men. Indeed, one can draw a comparison of women's absence from the

academy to women's absence from language itself considering that both were created for and by men (Spender, 1981). This absence of women from history acts as a constraint for women leaders who are assuming positions for which there are few precedents of women leaders, and indeed women experts in their fields.

Citing or quoting famous men and women. The addresses in the sample are replete with quotes from famous men, past and present. A recurring character in the speeches was Thomas Jefferson who was deservedly mentioned around 39 times across the speeches, 21 of those in University of Virginia's Teresa Sullivan's 2010 inaugural speech. The references to Jefferson at the University of Virginia are not surprising given the almost cult like status he holds at the institution he founded. Two of the citations of Jefferson's vision for higher education appear in speeches by Harvard's Drew Faust (2007) and University of Michigan's Mary Sue Coleman (2003). Faust quoted Jefferson as well as DuBois to argue for the significance of a liberal higher education:

From the time of its founding, the United States has tied its national identity to the power of education. We have long turned to education to prepare our citizens for the political equality fundamental to our national self-definition. In 1779, for example, Thomas Jefferson called for a national aristocracy of talent, chosen "without regard to wealth, birth, or other accidental condition or circumstance" and "rendered by liberal education ... able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow-citizens." As our economy has become more complex, more tied to specialized knowledge, education has become more crucial to social and economic mobility. W.E.B. DuBois observed in 1903 that

“Education and work are the levers to lift up a people.” Education makes the promise of America possible. (§ 11)

Similarly, Mary Sue Coleman used Jefferson’s words to frame the importance of the public university:

One of the earliest proponents of public universities was Thomas Jefferson, who was determined to create what he termed a “natural aristocracy” — an educated, egalitarian population that would not rely on the older social order of inherited wealth, or of birth into aristocracy. (§ 22)

The examples above illustrate that presidents from different contexts used quotes from illustrious historical characters to frame their messages for their respective universities, demonstrating their mastery of the art of framing (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). The subtle exchange of the word *natural* with *national* by Faust, a historian, in her paraphrasing of Jefferson is important to note as it is an example of framing a historic quote in the service of the message she wanted to disseminate. Coleman, the biochemist, did not alter the word *natural* perhaps as a nod to natural systems.

Famous men referred to in the speeches belonged to all walks of life: political leaders, US presidents, academic leaders, philosophers, authors, musicians, scientists, astronauts and so on. Whereas Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Franklin, and Lincoln were recurring characters in the speeches, Margaret Mead, Ruth J. Simmons, Mary Sue Coleman and Shirley Tilghman were the few women who were mentioned in more than one speech. Aside from current higher education leaders and academics, women were often quoted in literary references. For example, in 1997, Lee Bollinger of the University of Michigan cited Virginia Woolf to frame his views on the inaugural address:

It is somewhat difficult to know what to say at an inauguration, especially one's own. One has the feeling the context yearns for the profound, which only insures that any self-conscious effort to meet the expectation will be mediocre. In the opening scenes of Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway*, one of the books I treasure most in life, a mysterious motorcar with shades drawn, and dove grey interior, appears suddenly on Bond Street, and a crowd gathers believing they may be as near to greatness as they'll ever get. (Is it the Queen? Is it the Prime Minister? people ask). "[M]ystery had brushed them with her wing . . ." Simultaneously, a plane overhead begins "making letters in the sky" that all assume will signify the greatness of the moment. But the limousine disappears, and it turns out the plane is just like those that fill the skies over Michigan Stadium every Saturday, in this case spelling out the word "toffee." "It was toffee; they were advertising toffee," someone says matter of factly, and anticipation of a moment of great portent is wholly deflated. And so I fear that at the end of this you too will feel as if you had just heard the word "toffee." (§ 1)

Here, Bollinger chose an iconic British Bloomsbury group author to contemplate the importance, or lack thereof, of the inaugural address. Bollinger was not alone in citing an international woman literary figure. University of Arizona's Ann Weaver Hart quoted, and indeed drew inspiration for the title of her 2012 address "The Risk to Blossom" from Cuban/French/American author Anaïs Nin:

In this time and place, at the University of Arizona, the words of author Anaïs Nin resonate for me now more than ever. She observed, "The day came when the risk to remain tight in a bud was more painful than the risk it took to blossom." (§ 49)

Hart used Nin's words to illustrate the importance of change, and indeed even instill a notion of anarchy given the State of Arizona's track record of dramatically cutting higher education funding. France Cordova (2007) of Purdue ended her address with a quotation from Edna St. Vincent Millay's poem *Renascence* in homage to 22 Purdue alumni who became astronauts:

"Above the world is stretched the sky,

No higher than the soul is high . . ."

We have set our soul on an exhilarating course. The sky is not the limit.

Go Boilers! And Hail Purdue! (§ 64)

The poem also served to inspire the audience to reach for the metaphorical sky where others who rejected human limitations have literally reached for the sky. Thus, Cordova used a literary reference to highlight the university's auspicious history in participating in the space program.

A rare example of a nonliterary woman cited by multiple presidents was anthropologist Margaret Mead. Edward M. Hundert (2002) of Case Western University quoted Mead to emphasize his idealistic vision for his university. Hundert used these words in his 2002 speech:

Have I laid out some ambitious goals here? Yes. Do I believe we can achieve them? Absolutely. And why do I believe such a thing? Because I am continually inspired by the words of Margaret Mead, who once said, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed people can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has. It's the only thing that ever has." (§ 34)

Margaret Mead was also cited by Christina Paxson (2012) of Brown University when she spoke of the importance of change:

When Margaret Mead visited Brown in 1959, she ventured her anthropological opinion that the capacity to change was becoming the most essential element of survival in the modern era. Her view was that change had become a constant, and that it was the specific purpose of education to instill a readiness for change. The spirit of independence and creativity that is so deep at Brown gives us strong protection against complacency. I am eager to join my new colleagues in imagining new and better ways to advance our mission. (§ 29)

Here, Paxson framed her message for change with Mead's actual visit to Brown. Paxson was not the only one to link Mead's thoughts to the identity of their institution. Denice Denton (2005) of UC Santa Cruz quoted Mead to illustrate the importance of diversity:

As Margaret Mead said, "if we are to achieve a richer culture, rich in contrasting values, we must recognize the whole gamut of human potentialities, and so weave a less arbitrary social fabric, one in which each diverse human gift will find a fitting place." (§ 42)

When Denton (2005) spoke of diversity, it was not just in the racial and ethnic terms that are usually understood in US society, but also in terms of "gender, gender identification, sexual orientation, culture, religion, academic discipline, class, ability/disability, nation of origin, diversity of perspective, age, socioeconomic status, and any other aspect of difference that characterizes humanity" (§ 59). This wide expanse of diversity, accounting for a "whole gamut of human potentialities" was aided by the use of a quote from a woman (Denton, 2005, § 42).

Denice Denton (2005) also quoted prominent UC Santa Cruz alumnae bell hooks and Gloria Anzaldua to emphasize what the UC Santa Cruz learning experience should be. Citing bell hooks, she noted:

Another way to characterize the UC Santa Cruz learning experience is captured by this statement from the renowned author and philosopher, one of our distinguished alumni, bell hooks.

“To educate as the practice of freedom is a way of teaching that anyone can learn. ...To teach in a manner that respects and cares for the souls of our students is essential if we are to provide the necessary conditions where learning can most deeply and intimately begin.” (§ 18-19)

Denton was the only president to cite and quote feminist scholars. Nevertheless, the fact that 12 years ago a male president (Hundert, 2002) cited a woman scholar as his intellectual and leadership philosophy inspiration, and 18 years ago another male president (Bollinger, 1996) quoted a woman writer as his favorite, points to the likelihood that presidents are not explicitly gendered in their choice of role models and whom they give significance to in their speeches. The fact is that they are constrained by fewer precedents to cite when they wish to refer to famous women and female predecessors.

Citing or quoting former presidents. The paucity of female precedents is clearest in references to former presidents of universities. Since many women in this study are the first women to lead their universities, they have no choice but to refer to the legacies of their male predecessors when articulating the connection of their vision for the future with the history of the institution. With more women in presidential roles, the

situation is improving; however, long term legacies of current and recent women presidents will only become evident with time.

Examples of citing or quoting former presidents abound. To name just a few, Harvard's Summers (2001) cited past presidents Holyoke and Eliot, both of whom have prestigious roots in higher education history. Princeton's Tilghman (2001) mentioned past presidents of Princeton Dodds, Goheen, Bowen, Shapiro, and Woodrow Wilson. MIT's Hockfield (2004) thanked her predecessors in the audience Johnson, Gray, and Vest, and cited MIT founder William Barton Rogers, and past president Karl Compton. The University of Michigan's Mary Sue Coleman (2002) cited former presidents Tappan, Angell, Fleming, Bollinger, and Duderstadt. Coleman's successor Schlissel (2014) also mentioned past presidents Tappan, Angell, Ruthven, Shapiro, Fleming, and Coleman. President Harold Shapiro was cited at both Princeton and the University of Michigan, indicating his enduring impact on the institutions.

In recent years, women have started to appear in these references to past presidents. E. Gordon Gee (2007), for instance, mentioned the immediate former president Karen Holbrook along with another former president Brit Kirwan in his address at the start of his second term at Ohio State:

To our alumni and our friends, I do particularly want to acknowledge my predecessors. It's been 10 years. Brit Kirwan is a great friend of mine and remains a great friend of mine. He did a wonderful job at this institution and I hope we continue to acknowledge that great work. He certainly takes great pride in his achievements, as does Karen Holbrook. I did not know Karen Holbrook as well, but I got to know her and admire her, and I know that she has done

remarkable things and in this time, and in this effort, it is important for us to know that. So I appreciate that. (§ 20)

Another male president to express appreciation for his female predecessor was Samuel Stanley of Stony Brook who cited Shirley Strum Kenny in his address alongside male presidents:

Let me sum up this section of how far we have come. Because of the efforts of a superb and dedicated faculty, an energetic and enormously talented student body, an accomplished and loyal staff, farsighted and committed political leaders who have championed our cause, the citizens of New York who have funded so much of our efforts, and the outstanding stewardship of three great presidents who have collectively led Stony Brook University for more than 42 years, John Toll (who could not be here today), Jack Marburger, and Shirley Strum Kenny, Stony Brook has become one of the premier public research universities in the world. I salute you, and all you have accomplished. (§ 9)

One woman president who has been cited by several presidents in their speeches was Mary Sue Coleman. Coleman served as president of two RU/VHs, the University of Iowa and the University of Michigan, during her illustrious career. For example, Mark Schlissel (2014) of the University of Michigan thanked Mary Sue Coleman in his address:

I offer special thanks to President Emerita Mary Sue Coleman for her remarkable stewardship of this institution. She has given us a faculty rich in intellectual diversity, a stunning physical campus, and numerous academic programs that are amongst the best in the world.

She has been particularly generous with her time, and at every turn gracious throughout this leadership transition. (§ 6-7)

Schlissel's acknowledgement of Coleman as his immediate predecessor is not unusual since most presidents thanked their immediate predecessor. However, the acknowledgement Coleman received in the University of Iowa's Sally Mason's (2007) speech was unusual in its appreciation of a former woman president's enduring legacy:

We have these many fine men to thank for igniting the original spark and growing the bright light that is The University of Iowa. I pause briefly at 1995 for an event that is significant in my mind and significant in the history of this great university. In 1995, Mary Sue Coleman blazed a trail as Iowa's first woman President, thereby creating many more opportunities for women to advance to significant positions here, myself included. Also an advocate for developing deep connections to the state, President Coleman worked to make sure the UI served citizens from border to border and into the 21st century. (§ 12)

Mason's acknowledgement of Coleman's role as pioneer is both personal and political. A similar example can be found in Brown's Christina Paxson's (2012) address who mentioned her iconic predecessor Ruth Simmons, president emerita of Smith and Brown, as well as Nannerl Keohane, president emerita of Wellesley and Duke, and Princeton's Shirley Tilghman, all of whom were in the audience:

When I asked Shirley Tilghman if she would represent the academy, I didn't know that she would soon be announcing the close of her long and successful presidency of Princeton University. Shirley has been a tremendously supportive mentor. She is joined here today by my friend and former colleague, Nan

Keohane, president emerita of Wellesley and Duke, and our own Ruth Simmons, president emerita of Smith and Brown. The three of you have not just cracked a glass ceiling — you have shattered it. I and other women who will step into roles such as this are the beneficiaries. Thank you. (§ 5)

Presidents acknowledging women pioneers in presidential positions is a sign of changing times, and these precedents enable women to see themselves in these leadership roles as a norm rather than an exception. Yet, the focus so far is on appreciating women presidents for being the *first* rather than *great* leaders. For example, Coleman has been acknowledged as one of the best college presidents by reputable publications like *Time* magazine (Baldoni, 2014). Although she did get appropriate mention in Schlissel's and Mason's addresses, yet she did not get the applause she deserved not only for being one of the first women presidents of research universities, but for being one of the great presidents in recent history.

Some women presidents are now appearing in male presidents' speeches as not just historic figures but personal mentors. For example, MIT's Susan Hockfield was cited by Rafael Reif (2012) as his mentor. Princeton's Christopher Eisgruber (2013) acknowledged Shirley Tilghman's role in his ascension to the presidency in his speech. These examples are further elaborated next.

Women mentoring women and men. Some women in this study mentioned their mentors by name in their inaugural addresses, but only one president, Brown's Christina Paxson (2012) mentioned another woman president Shirley Tilghman as "a tremendously supportive mentor" (§ 5). With men presidents following female presidents in recent years, we begin to see some instances of acknowledgement of the

mentorship provided by the women. For example, in his 2013 inaugural address, Princeton's Christopher Eisgruber acknowledged his predecessor Shirley Tilghman's role in his ascension to the presidency.

Of course, by returning to Princeton, I had also come home to a university that I loved more than any other, and where the responsibilities of administration would be more meaningful to me than anywhere else. Princeton's wonderful 19th president, Shirley Tilghman, realized that before I did, and she changed my life by offering me the opportunity to become her provost. (§ 3)

Similarly, in 2012, MIT's Rafael Reif also acknowledged his immediate predecessor Susan Hockfield's role in his career:

I still have a great deal to learn about the task of leadership, and I have been blessed with remarkable teachers. I have worked at the Institute under four MIT presidents. Three — Paul Gray, Chuck Vest and Susan Hockfield — have already provided me with superb advice on many subjects, and I know I will continue to seek and benefit from their wisdom. And I will always be grateful to Susan for the opportunity to serve as MIT provost in her administration. (§ 36)

Thanking former presidents is a common theme across the speeches, and now men and women both are hailed for being leaders. However, the acknowledgement of former presidents as mentors is not common and when they were named, they were usually women.

Instances of recognizing women in leadership positions other than former presidents of the same university are also evident from the speeches. For example,

Samuel Stanley (2009) of Stony Brook appreciated SUNY chancellor Nancy Zimpher's role in including him in the SUNY Strategic Plan steering committee:

We are fortunate that we can do this planning in conjunction with the development of the SUNY Strategic Plan. I am pleased to be a member of the steering committee for the plan and thank Chancellor Zimpher for including me in this vital activity. (¶ 36)

The citing of women in current and former positions of power is a welcome sign indeed, as it not only highlights women in leadership positions but also their enduring impact through mentorship.

The acknowledgement of the mentorship provided by women is an important development in recent years and has implications for future generations of leaders. The increased presence of women in visible leadership roles has meant that women are now seen as mentors and leaders who can serve as role models not only for women but also for men who aspire to these positions of leadership.

Citing or quoting faculty, alumni, and student leaders. References to faculty and student leaders are quite gender balanced in the addresses included in this study. One of the most encouraging aspects of naming women faculty as leaders is that many of them are scientists, and in a position to serve as role models for other women in disciplines that are among the last bastions of male enclaves. Barbara Snyder (2007) of Case Western listed several achievements by men belonging to her university: medical doctors, economists, engineers, and so on, but she made sure to mention a woman scientist in their midst:

From water and wind to the high altitudes of Tibet, Professor Cynthia Beall is a member of the National Academy of Science, reknown (sic) for her research focusing on human adaptation to the high altitudes and genetics of adaptive traits and evidence for natural selection. (§ 32)

MIT's Rafael Reif (2012) named several MIT women scientists in his address:

In Norway, two weeks ago, I had the thrill of seeing the prestigious Kavli Prize awarded to three MIT researchers: Professor Millie Dresselhaus, Professor Ann Graybiel and Dr. Jane Luu from MIT Lincoln Laboratory. (§ 24)

The mention of women scientists was not limited to faculty. Some presidents such as UC Santa Cruz's M. R. C. Greenwood (1997) named as role models alumni who had made their mark in the sciences as well as the arts:

By deliberate intent, UC Santa Cruz always has fostered an unusual creativity, as the achievements of our faculty, staff, and students give testimony. Examples abound. Among our alumni, we count astronauts, who step literally into the unknown with audacious confidence. You just heard Kathy Sullivan speak, and there is Astronaut Steven Hawley, who recently walked in space to adjust the Hubble Telescope, itself a work of genius to which UC Santa Cruz faculty contributed significantly. We see that characteristic leading-edge intellect also in contemporary chroniclers, such as Pulitzer prize (sic) winners Laurie Garrett, who brilliantly focused our attention on the coming plagues, and photographer Annie Wells, who visually captured the drama of a natural disaster. (§ 13)

The careful balance of mentioning women alongside men, and the sciences alongside the arts is quite evident in presidential speeches.

Students, too, appear in speeches as important actors in the lives of the presidents. Most remain unnamed but some examples can be seen such as one in Harvard's Larry Summers's (2001) speech. Speaking of the fundamental importance of the relationship between teacher and student, Summers only mentioned one former student by name in his speech and she was a woman:

And what is most crucial is this: Whether in the classroom or the common room, the library or the laboratory, we will assure more of what lies at the heart of the educational experience -- direct contact between teacher and student.

I speak from experience. A moment ago, Karen Kelly mentioned her freshman Ec 10 section -- the first class she took at Harvard and the first class I ever taught. Karen, as we sat in my office talking about elasticity, I don't think either of us imagined that we would be here a quarter century later. I don't know if you and your classmates learned anything much in that class, but I do know that I learned very, very much. (§ 53-55)

As a teacher, Summers could testify to how much teachers learn from their students, thus, showcasing that the ideal pedagogy is a two-way process where the teacher learns as much as the student. What is also evident from this excerpt is that the teacher-student relationship transcends the roles of teacher and student, and at that moment Karen was no longer his student but a colleague, thus the bond is lifelong.

The acknowledgement of women's achievements is an important recent development. Women luminaries from literature and anthropology have made guest appearances in presidents' speeches over the last two decades; however, recently women from all sorts of fields including academic leadership and the sciences have started

making regular appearances. The next section explores the use of sign systems and knowledge to frame messages.

Sign Systems and Knowledge Frame Messages

According to Gee (2014), sign systems and knowledge constitutes one of the seven building tasks of discourse analysis (see Appendix B). Selective use of language and framing (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996) enable presidents to use a variety of sign systems and knowledge in their speeches to emphasize or deemphasize them in service of their messages. In the speeches included in this study, some presidents utilized this building task by using multiple languages to emphasize the importance of diversity. For example, Denice Denton (2005) of UC Santa Cruz commenced her address with salutations in several languages, as well as acknowledging the Muslim holiday of Eid ElFitr:

Welcome, Regent Marcus; President Dynes; Chair Crosby; Ms. Barnes; UC Santa Cruz students, staff, and faculty; community leaders; and other friends and colleagues. I also want to greet campus partners visiting from Hokkaido University in Japan, led by Dr. Ino Satoru, president of the university.

Ino-sensei – UC Santa Cruz-ni yo'koso irasshaimashita

President Ino, welcome to UC Santa Cruz!

I would also like to recognize that today is one of the most important holidays of the Muslim year--Eid Elfitr, marking the end of Ramadan. Eid Mubarak.

In addition, I want to acknowledge Dr. Shirley Jackson, president of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, who delivered an outstanding keynote address yesterday to launch our symposium. Thank you, Shirley.

Quisiera tambien extender una bienvenidas especial a todos los que hablan espaol como su primer idioma, y tambien a toda la comunidad Latina que es una parte importante del futuro de este estado. La universidad es la suya y ojal que continuamos trabajando juntos para abrir las puertas a todos los estudiantes de California. Gracias.

(I also want to greet all of you for whom Spanish is a first or additional language. The University of California is for you, and together, we will open the gates to all of the students of California.) (§ 2-7)

In the racially and linguistically diverse context of the State of California, Denton's use of several sign systems was meant to communicate how important diversity was to her and her leadership. Diversity of sign systems was used here to signify diversity of the campus community. Denton's predecessor, M. R. C. Greenwood (1996) also used several languages in her address to expand upon the university's motto:

For our students and our partners, knowledge is power.

Not knowledge to be used to control or intimidate, but knowledge that liberates the spirit and the mind...knowledge that leads us out of the darkness and into the full light of wisdom and understanding... knowledge that leads to personal fulfillment and an enlightened society.

This is the true definition of our motto. FIAT LUX. In more contemporary languages, in English, LET THERE BE LIGHT; in Spanish, SEA HECHA LA LUZ; in Russian, DA BUDYET SVYET. (§ 40-42, emphasis in the original)

Greenwood used the university's motto to frame the meaning of knowledge as it was understood in the context of her institution, and not in the context of the motto's biblical origins.

Presidents used sign systems that represent their university's beliefs and values as framing devices for the message they wanted to emphasize. The university's motto was a popular choice in this exercise, for instance, in addition to Greenwood's example above, Michael Hogan (2007) of the University of Connecticut used UConn's motto *Robur* to frame his call for cohesion:

In a very basic way this spirit of unity is already much rooted in the mighty heart of the university of Connecticut. It is part of our university motto, *Robur*, which is the Latin word for strength and which captures the familiar notion that in unity there is strength. That notion should be on our minds today as we map our future together. Where we had previously seen the pieces, I ask that we see the whole, to imagine the possibilities of collaboration and to turn those possibilities into real strategies, real partnerships, and ultimately real successes in which we can all take pride. I ask that we join together to think about our duties in more cohesive ways and I ask that we work together to establish a solid union of our departments, colleges and campuses, and to build an academic culture that will support this union, because in unity we will discover our true strength. Our ability not just to get by but to move forward through the changing landscape of higher education in the 21st century. (¶ 7)

Sign systems and knowledge, including the meaning of mottos, also change over time, and presidents pointed out this reality in their addresses. For example, Harvard's

Drew Faust used the change in the meaning of Harvard's motto *Veritas* to frame the purpose of American higher education:

The "Veritas" in Harvard's shield was originally intended to invoke the absolutes of divine revelation, the unassailable verities of Puritan religion. We understand it quite differently now. Truth is an aspiration, not a possession. Yet in this we – and all universities defined by the spirit of debate and free inquiry – challenge and even threaten those who would embrace unquestioned certainties. We must commit ourselves to the uncomfortable position of doubt, to the humility of always believing there is more to know, more to teach, more to understand. (§ 24)

With Harvard's long history, it was inevitable that meanings even of the motto would change over time. Princeton's Christopher Eisgruber (2013) made a similar point about different interpretations of texts at different points in time when he quoted Madison's Federalist paper:

In one of the most famous passages from his extraordinary arguments on behalf of constitutional ratification, Madison wrote, in Federalist 51, "What is government ... but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary." [Madison, Fed. 51; Rossiter ed. 322] Madison used gendered language, but I have no doubt that in this respect at least James Madison was a feminist: He meant his skepticism to apply equally to both sexes. If people were angels, they would cooperate, look out for one another, and generally do good deeds. They would need no laws, no courts and no constitutions. But people are not angels, so they need constitutions that create institutions, define processes and separate powers. (§ 7)

Eisgruber demonstrated how much sign systems have changed since Madison's time. Even though the ideas remain the same and grounded, and retain their value, the language expressing the ideas has become outdated. The fact that Eisgruber pointed out the gendered vocabulary and even used the word *feminist*, a much reviled term in recent years, to describe Madison is noteworthy as it served to send out a powerful message, and framed feminism as important and positive.

Interdisciplinary knowledge. In their inaugural addresses, presidents generally emphasized the significance of knowledge from multiple disciplines. Teresa Sullivan (2010) of UVA traced the significance of interdisciplinary knowledge to UVA's founder, Jefferson:

When he was an old man, as the nation was approaching its half-century mark, Jefferson shaped a plan for the University of Virginia that was as revolutionary as the truths he had expressed to define a free people. He designed this University to be radically different from other universities that existed at the time. Its curriculum, rather than focusing on a few, constrained areas of specialization, would, in Jefferson's words, "be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind, to explore and to expose every subject susceptible of its contemplation." (¶ 12)

Continuing Jefferson's legacy, presidents in this study emphasized the importance of a liberal arts education with equal attention to science and humanities as well as interdisciplinary studies. Consider this example from MIT's Charles Vest's 1991 inaugural speech:

Our campus should be a place in which humanistic and artistic scholarship and creation can flower in unique and important new ways. I further believe that we at MIT have an unusual opportunity for the humanities and engineering to enrich each other. While the continuum from the humanities to the natural sciences has long been recognized, the continuum from humanities to engineering is less well explored. In general, such exploration in my view has been hindered by a utilitarian view of the humanities and social sciences on the part of many engineering educators, and by a lack of appreciation of the intellectual content of modern engineering by many humanists. An MIT education should enlarge an individual's choices--and so should include a common experience in the sciences and mathematics, a serious exploration of the humanities, arts, and social sciences, and a continuing conversation among these fields. (§ 38)

Even though Vest's disciplinary background was in mechanical engineering, and his context was an institute of technology, he articulated a vision for MIT where science and humanities "enrich each other." Vest was not alone in his emphasis on the importance of interdisciplinary knowledge. University of Pennsylvania's Amy Gutmann asserted in her 2004 address:

Penn has made worthy strides in integrating knowledge. Yet for all of our progress, we, like our peers, still remain too divided into disciplinary enclaves.

We must better integrate knowledge in order to comprehend our world.

The time is ripe for Penn to achieve a truly successful partnership between the arts and sciences and the professions. And I know that our faculty will join me in putting this principle into ever more effective practice. (§ 54-55)

Gutmann's own disciplinary background is in political science, however, she included interdisciplinary research as a main point in her speech to support her argument that the current challenges the world is facing cannot be ameliorated by any one discipline. She illustrated her argument with an example in her speech, "We cannot understand the AIDS epidemic, for example, without joining the perspectives of medicine, nursing, and finance with those of biochemistry, psychology, sociology, politics, history, and literature" (§ 50).

Taking a social constructivist view of the disciplines, Ann Weaver Hart (2012) of the University of Arizona articulated her vision of the integration of disciplinary knowledge:

Continuing the theme of integration and application, we will further strive to advance cross-cutting innovations in the nature of human knowledge. Knowledge is organized in categories invented by humans. We designed it; we can redesign it. The University of Arizona has the cultural, physical and virtual infrastructure that will advance innovations in education, research and community and global impact. (§ 28)

Hart's view of the disciplines as social constructions is a useful one as it sought to empower the audience to break down the barriers among disciplines, and to reconstruct the institution for the better.

UC Santa Cruz's Denice Denton (2005) talked about how critical breaking down silos among disciplines had been to UC Santa Cruz's success as a research institute:

By transgressing the boundaries between disciplines and breaking the barriers that typically characterize academic organizations, UC Santa Cruz has escaped the

stratification--and stultification--that can occur when thinking is “silo-ed” and research is limited to the scope of a single discipline.

Instead, UC Santa Cruz has a reputation for interdisciplinarity that is uniquely enhanced by our agility and youth. This drives the inclination to explore frontiers that occur at the borders of disciplines. UC Santa Cruz has truly earned its reputation for “thinking at the edge.” (§ 23-24)

Denton’s successor, UC Santa Cruz’s Blumenthal (2008) also emphasized the interdisciplinary research that is the hallmark of the university. Blumenthal noted: “We pioneered interdisciplinary studies, long before it became a catchword” (§ 41). His colleague at UC Davis Linda Katehi made a similar claim in her 2009 speech: “We have led the nation in multidisciplinary research” (§ 38). Regardless of who pioneered interdisciplinarity, a majority of presidents in this study endorsed it.

When they did not speak specifically of interdisciplinary knowledge, presidents mentioned disciplines falling under the broad categories of the sciences and the arts side by side. For example, Mark Schlissel (2014) of the University of Michigan stressed the significance of scientific as well as literary knowledge produced by his university:

Our scholars have discovered organic free radicals and the gene for cystic fibrosis, furthering our understanding of human life.

Michigan alumni have written Pulitzer Prize-winning words and Grammy Award-winning music, soared into space, created Google and the iPod, and occupied the Oval Office. (§ 73-74)

Similarly, Judy Genshaft (2001) of the University of South Florida characterized her institution's approach to knowledge in her speech by placing scientific knowledge alongside artistic knowledge:

The search for knowledge at USF is contributing to society's efforts to find cures for cancer, brain diseases, and other diseases; protect fresh water resources and delicate marine environments; develop more effective educational and social welfare methods; improve infrastructure systems; unlock secrets of the human mind and behavior; contribute to the national defense; identify meaning and significance in literature and historical events; and achieve human balance through artistic creation and appreciation. And USF has shown a strong capacity to form research-based partnerships with business, government, and other educational institutions to propel sound economic development of this region. (¶ 32)

In addition to expressing the importance of all disciplines, presidents also expressed their commitment to the support of all disciplines. For example, Sally Mason (2007) of the University of Iowa promised equal attention to the sciences and the arts in her address:

Just as our life and biomedical sciences are growing and expanding, we are also committed to the liberal arts and sciences, including and especially the creative and fine arts. We will continue to make certain they intersect, inform, and infuse all areas of the University, including the professional schools. (¶ 24)

Most presidents included in this study expressed their support for, and commitment to, knowledge from multiple disciplines, regardless of their own disciplinary background or

the potential of the discipline to attract research funding, perhaps in an effort to appease the faculty.

In his inaugural speech, Harvard's Larry Summers (2001) brought up a very important point about society's, and indeed his institution's, acceptance of lack of scientific knowledge:

Still, we live in a society, and dare I say a university, where few would admit -- and none would admit proudly -- to not having read any plays by Shakespeare or to not knowing the meaning of the categorical imperative, but where it is all too common and all too acceptable not to know a gene from a chromosome or the meaning of exponential growth.

Part of our task will be to assure that all who graduate from this place are equipped to comprehend, to master, to work with, the scientific developments that are transforming the world in which we will all work and live. (§ 74-75)

Summers's point is well-taken that liberal education goes both ways: it is important for scientists to have knowledge of the fine arts, and it is equally important for non-science majors to learn the basic principles of science since they impact all our lives in the world in which we live.

Regardless of their disciplinary background, presidents in this study focused on making research more interdisciplinary in nature ostensibly with a view to helping solve complex global problems in the 21st century. The emphasis on the significance of all disciplines and a well-rounded liberal arts education also challenges the neoliberal approach to higher education as a commodity with emphasis on employability. At a more practical level, the emphasis on all disciplines in the speeches is most likely aimed

at appealing faculty from a range of disciplines. From a feminist poststructural point of view, interdisciplinarity is an important message for presidents to send since feminized disciplines such as the arts and humanities are often relegated in research funding and faculty remuneration. By emphasizing the importance of arts and humanities side by side with the sciences, presidents are essentially arguing for the arts and humanities as important disciplines with great research potential. Vest's (1991) argument for increased exploration of the continuum from humanities to engineering has a great deal of validity. Similar arguments can be made for the connections between humanities and new technologies as well as the application of qualitative research methods to the pure sciences.

Freedom of expression. Another refrain in the speeches is the importance of freedom of expression and the responsibility of higher education institutions to safeguard it. John Casteen (1990) of UVA traced the principle of freedom of speech to the founding of the nation and the founder of UVA, Thomas Jefferson:

The attachments that bind us to the University of Virginia are both physical and spiritual. We live in the shadow of a mind that was determined to find light in darkness, that turned what might have been the most violent and destructive of times to concepts of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We have the rare privilege to live in this academical village that is dedicated to the illimitable freedoms of the human mind, to free and open discourse, to the pursuit of truth no matter where it may lead. (§ 28)

In contrast to Casteen's strategy to frame the message on freedom of speech in a historical perspective, Princeton's Shirley Tilghman (2001) framed her message

highlighting the significance of freedom of expression with reference to the crisis of September 11 attacks in her speech:

American universities have been granted broad latitude not only to disseminate knowledge, but to be the home of free exchange of ideas, where even the rights of those who express views repugnant to the majority are vigorously protected. Defending academic freedom of speech is not particularly difficult in times of peace and prosperity. It is in times of national crisis that our true commitment to freedom of speech and thought is tested. History will judge us in the weeks and months ahead by our capacity to sustain civil discourse in the face of deep disagreement, for we are certain to disagree with one another. (¶ 9)

Tilghman's emphasis on freedom of speech during a time of national tragedy and crisis was a call to safeguard the very basic beliefs that the university, and indeed the nation, are built on. Thus, Tilghman also played to the groundswell of patriotism in the aftermath of 9/11.

Recent inaugural addresses continued to emphasize freedom of expression. For example, Brown's Christina Paxson (2013) stressed the importance of the tradition of freedom of speech and religion at her university:

Brown may sit atop a steep hill; but this is no Ivory Tower. The charter of what was then Rhode Island College is a document of more than ordinary significance, proclaiming from the outset that this would be an institution dedicated to teaching in the vernacular as well as the classical languages and to protecting the freedoms of speech and religion that we should never take for granted. These values

endure; they define us; they are mixed in with the bricks and mortar that you see about you. (§ 10)

In hindsight, Paxson's remarks are ironic in light of events at her university that shortly followed her proclamation when student protests on her campus prevented the New York City police commissioner from speaking at Brown ("Protests lead Brown," 2013).

Paxson continued to stand by her commitment to freedom of speech and denounced the protests ("Protests lead Brown," 2013). In 2014, University of Michigan's Mark Schlissel referred to the 2013 events at Brown—when he was provost there—to frame his focus on the danger of suppressing freedom of expression:

One of the most important modes of learning is through discussion – in the classroom, at public lectures, in residence halls and in student organizations.

That is why I am concerned about recent trends that can diminish learning opportunities in a misguided effort to protect students from ideas that some might find offensive or disturbing.

Last spring, such accomplished individuals as former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, IMF Director Christine Lagarde, and Chancellor Emeritus Robert Birgeneau of UC-Berkeley were disinvited or felt forced to withdraw as graduation speakers at prominent institutions because others disagreed with their work, their presumed beliefs, or the organizations they led.

As provost at Brown University, I saw this firsthand when those who disagreed with Ray Kelly, the former police commissioner of New York City, shouted down and prevented his public lecture.

A related challenge to open discourse is the issue of self-censorship.

In the aftermath of this episode at Brown, for example, some students said they were hesitant to express their own opinions for fear of offending fellow students who themselves were offended by the speaker.

This type of wrongheaded courtesy and political correctness weakens the frank discussions that might otherwise lead to heightened understanding.

Ideas go unchallenged.

Opportunities for learning and growth are missed.

We fail as educators. (§ 84-93)

Given the events listed by Schlissel at universities across the United States where freedom of speech was stifled, it is no surprise that presidents feel it necessary to remind their audience of this most basic and dearly held of American beliefs. With greater emphasis on diversity at US institutions of higher education, the diversity of ideas needs to be safeguarded more than ever. The next section focuses on how presidents bring themselves in their speeches.

Subject Positions

Many women presidents included in this study are the first women to lead their universities. However, they rarely point to their status as pioneers and what that means for higher education leadership. The few exceptions that can be seen are not overt but rather indirect references to their subject positions as women who have overcome societal and organizational structures to reach their positions. Therefore, when Harvard's Drew Faust (2007) praised universities for their malleability, she surreptitiously slipped in a reference to her own status as the first woman president at Harvard:

In the past half century, American colleges and universities have shared in a revolution, serving as both the emblem and the engine of the expansion of citizenship, equality and opportunity – to blacks, women, Jews, immigrants, and others who would have been subjected to quotas or excluded altogether in an earlier era. My presence here today – and indeed that of many others on this platform – would have been unimaginable even a few short years ago. Those who charge that universities are unable to change should take note of this transformation, of how different we are from universities even of the mid 20th century. (§ 12)

Faust called attention to her unprecedented, and indeed unanticipated, role as a female president once again with a recent story:

Last week I was given a brown manila envelope that had been entrusted to the University Archives in 1951 by James B. Conant, Harvard's 23rd president. He left instructions that it should be opened by the Harvard president at the outset of the next century "and not before." I broke the seal on the mysterious package to find a remarkable letter from my predecessor. It was addressed to "My dear Sir."
(§ 26)

Faust's emphasis on "My dear Sir" called attention to how much things have changed at Harvard for women. In 1951, it was unthinkable that a woman could be president of Harvard, or indeed any of the other major research universities. For Faust to slip this story into her speech is a subtle way to celebrate and underscore her status as a pioneer.

Faust was not the only woman to be the pioneer woman president at her university. Many others such as University of Virginia's Teresa Sullivan, University of

Michigan's Mary Sue Coleman, Shirley Tilghman of Princeton, Susan Hockfield of MIT, to name a few have all been the first women to lead their institutions. However, none of them felt compelled to point out their status as the first woman president at their institution. Why was Faust the only one who did so? The context of her inauguration can be seen in light of Larry Summers' troubled time at Harvard. As mentioned earlier, Summers had made some remarks about women in the sciences that were perceived as regressive (Hemel, 2005). These remarks caused a great deal of controversy despite Summers's assurances that they were taken out of context. Nevertheless, it is entirely possible that Faust's indirect references to her position as the first female president framed in the context of the changing university were an attempt to distance the university from Summers's legacy.

In contrast to women presidents, some men presidents talked about themselves and any challenges they may have faced. For example, E. Gordon Gee (2007) of Ohio State closed his address with his own example as a student who would not have been able to afford a higher education if it were not for state schools:

I can remember still one time when I conducted commencement I just happened to ask here of all of these people gathered having a great time, I said, "Would all those who are first generation students stand up?" Over half of those students graduating.

This is the American dream.

I'm a product of that. I grew up in a very small town--Vernal, Utah. Without a great public university, I would not be here today.

This is the American dream, the front door to the future, and today, I stand before you because you have fulfilled my dream, so I thank you very much. (¶ 66-69)

Similarly, Mark Schlissel (2014) of Michigan shared his struggles as a student:

I did not grow up in a wealthy family. During my freshman year of college I travelled home every weekend to stock shelves and work as a cashier at a supermarket to help pay for school.

With income from work-study jobs, and with help from scholarships, need-based aid and student loans, I graduated on time from an outstanding university with an education and set of experiences that changed my life. (¶ 54-55)

As these two examples illustrate, in the sample for this study, men presidents more easily and directly talked about themselves and any adversity they may have faced, while women talked more about others rather than themselves. A rare exception was Sally Mason (2007) of the University of Iowa who framed the importance of public education for students with modest means by recounting her experience as a student:

I come from a background like that of many of our students here at Iowa. My family was of very modest means, yet my parents believed in the power and value of education. They supported my desire to learn and they sacrificed so that I could go to college. I attended public universities, where I discovered my passion for learning and discovery with the encouragement of talented mentors. It was because of this passion for learning, along with hard work and the help of others, that I find myself standing here today as President of one of the world's great universities. (¶ 3)

It is evident from the examples above that while both male and female presidents framed the importance of affordable higher education with stories of personal struggles, the woman president spoke more about family support for her through the adversity, while the men tended to speak of their own agency and institutional support in overcoming adversity.

Therefore, the findings indicate that both female and male presidents told personal stories about how they were able to overcome financial impediments, but there is no mention of barriers due to gender or race. Thus, the lack of focus on gender and race indicates that these are still taboo topics to discuss in a high profile situation like the inaugural address pointing to the continuation of gendered and racist structures in higher education that inhibit such discourse. The next section explores how presidents speak of their families and spouses in their inaugural addresses.

Family, Spouses/Partners, and Disembodied Leadership

A majority of the presidents included in this study, 23 out of 34, mentioned their families. The mention of family ranged from a fleeting acknowledgement of family to recounting histories and introducing parents, siblings, children, and spouses.

An overwhelming majority of the presidents included in this study are married or have been married, and most have at least one child. Some presidents named their spouses and families in the speeches. For example, in her 2007 speech, Purdue president France Cordova talked at length about her husband, children, siblings and parents within the opening paragraphs. Of the 34 presidents included in this study, 15 mentioned their spouse's name. Of the 15, only five were men, Lee Bollinger and Mark Schlissel of the University of Michigan, UConn's Michael Hogan, Stony Brook's Samuel Stanley, and

Rafael Reif of MIT. Lee Bollinger's (1997) homage to his wife deserves highlighting as he went beyond just thanking her for her role in his success but provided social commentary on how social structures are biased against women:

Now, some things that need to be said today are absolutely clear. I want to acknowledge and express my love and affection for several people, beginning with my wife, Jean. Jean and I have been married for nearly 30 years. We have as strong a relationship and are as devoted to each other as any couple I know. There is great joy in our family and hard work. Jean and I have both spent so much time and effort in trying to improve each other you would think by this point we would be quite extraordinary people. Alas, that is not the case. It is only fair that I acknowledge today that my taking this position imposes inevitably burdens on Jean, especially on her efforts to develop her own career as an artist. And so I say: For resisting a world that is too slow to catch up with our ideals of social fairness, I am deeply admiring. For patiently and graciously enduring some of what we cannot change, I am empathetic. And for voluntarily embracing with enthusiasm and elegance so many parts of my life, I am forever grateful. (¶ 4)

Bollinger's touching and thoughtful tribute to his spouse was a rare instance in the speeches included in this study. Still more significant is the framing of gender inequality in the context of his own family life. He was essentially communicating here that he has seen the social unfairness to women up close. He was also acknowledging the role his spouse had played in who he was as a leader.

Nancy Zimpher (2003) of the University of Cincinnati also gave a detailed introduction to her husband and his professional interests:

To round out these introductions, please meet my husband, Ken Howey. Ken's primary interests are in teacher education and urban school renewal. A prolific writer and scholar, he has a magnetic effect in attaining millions of dollars in extramural funding and has led significant national networks of school/university partnerships.

In fact, Ken and I have just completed a text on presidential leadership in which Joe Steger offered an in-depth reflection on UC's leadership in urban school renewal. Both Ken and I have been students of leadership for all the time we've been together. Who wouldn't like a guy who once said, "I love your leadership style!" (¶ 10-11)

Here, Zimpher hailed her spouse's accomplishments while highlighting how he supported her leadership aspirations. Zimpher's focus on her spouse's success with garnering funds is particularly interesting since leaders of public universities like Cincinnati are expected to have the ability to raise private funds in view of reduced state spending on higher education. Zimpher also highlighted her spouse's interest in her leadership, essentially communicating that she brought not only her own but her spouse's leadership abilities to her role.

The only president in a same-sex relationship in the sample for this study was Denice Denton of UC Santa Cruz. Denton (2005) named her long-time partner in her inaugural address alongside her family:

I am very grateful for the support I've received from my family, academic mentors, and many friends over the years. I want to acknowledge especially my

partner Gretchen Kalonji, the director of International Strategy Development at UCOP, who is in the audience here today.

My mother, Carolyn, who was a single mom supporting three kids as a high school math teacher, also served as a great role model, as have many others in my life, to whom I want to express my deepest gratitude. (§ 11-12)

In the sample for this study, Denton was not just the only president to proclaim her identity as a lesbian, but also the only president to mention a partner who was not a spouse.

The mention of family was more common than the naming of the spouse or partner since 23 of the 34 presidents, 15 women and eight men, made references to their family, albeit some in more detail than others. For example, University of Pennsylvania's Amy Gutmann (2004) introduced her family in her address in these words:

Without the love of my immediate family, I would not be here today. I am proud of my husband, Michael Doyle, and our wonderful daughter, Abigail Gutmann Doyle. I also proudly bear the name Gutmann. It honors my parents, Beatrice and Kurt Gutmann. They instilled in me a great love of learning, a commitment to defending the dignity of all people, and the confidence to pursue my dreams. (§ 11)

Gutmann's words convey the significance of her family in her personal and professional life, as they participate in shaping her as a leader. The repeated use of the word "proud" communicates that her confidence as a leader is rooted in her family.

Mary Sue Coleman (2002) of the University of Michigan also acknowledged the significance of her family and its history in her life and work:

One of the joys for me today is to be able to surround myself with my own history. Joining us are many members of my family, whose love and dedication have been without boundaries. Many of you know my husband Ken, who has joined the ranks of students here at Michigan, and who is experiencing the intellectual challenges and exhilaration that are shared by so many whose lives have been touched by our university. My mother, Margaret Wilson, has enjoyed the delights of winter in Ann Arbor with us. Our son Jonathan and his wife Aimee are here, and my family has another cause for celebration today: Jonathan's 32nd birthday. (¶ 3)

Coleman's warmth is evident from her introduction to her family. Instead of dwelling on her spouse's achievements, she characterized him as a student. The mention of her son's birthday indicates that she was sharing her family's joy with her audience, essentially letting them know that they were part of the celebration.

Recent male presidents also mentioned their families and their role in supporting them as a leader. For example, Mark Schlissel (2014) of Michigan who followed Coleman acknowledged his family:

I must also thank my spouse, Monica Schwebs, and our four children who are here today – Darren, Elise, Gavin, and Madeline.

I have somehow managed to maintain Monica's love and support, while too often putting her in the position of trailing spouse. She is an accomplished attorney, a devoted mother and a profoundly supportive partner.

And to make up for those distant days when her much-too-serious son would not acknowledge her presence at the back of the classroom on parents' day, I offer a very public "Hi, Mom!" and thank my mother, Lenore.

She and my father Aaron were a constant source of encouragement for an unusual kid who liked school so much that he never left. (§ 8-11)

Like his predecessors at Michigan, Schlissel acknowledged his family and spouse, and their role in his success. Like Bollinger, Schlissel commented on the constraints his spouse has faced because of the demands of his career.

Some examples of stories from presidents' family history can also be found. For example, Rafael Reif (2012) of MIT shared the story of his parents' escape from Nazi Europe:

I want to conclude by celebrating and thanking the good people of this world, while at the same time honoring a most important couple in my life. Each of you listening may recognize a couple like them in your own family, the kind of couple that dreams of a better life for their children. The couple in my story left Eastern Europe in the late 1930s, during one of the darkest periods in its history, and found refuge in South America. This couple raised four sons under extremely difficult circumstances, but raised them with principles, with integrity and values, taught them neither rancor nor hatred, taught them understanding and respect for different points of view, and taught them the value of education and hard work. Out of the goodness of good people, this couple escaped direct catastrophe to eventually see their children have a better life than that they had. Today, I want to honor everyone who is struggling and who dreams of a brighter future for their

children, and to tell each of them that there is hope — because the youngest son of the couple in my story eventually became the 17th president of one of the most remarkable educational institutions the world has ever seen. (§ 38)

Reif shared this story to communicate that his family history was important in shaping his own character as a leader.

Susan Herbst (2011) of UConn also recounted her father's escape from Nazi Europe as well as her mother's childhood adversity to frame the importance of public higher education in her own life:

Both of my parents were from modest means, and public higher education was their way to success; education was that enchanted, transformational force we know it to be. My father fled the Nazis, went back to Europe to fight them, and then attended college on the GI bill, like so many UConn students did in the past, and do today. It was a dream come true, as it was for my mother, daughter of a struggling single mom, who was able to go to Brooklyn College only because it cost a few bucks a semester. (§ 14)

Sharing a story from her family history allowed Herbst to highlight what public education meant to her personally as well as emphasize the importance of education for immigrants. Storytelling here is an effective device to make connections between the leader's past, and her beliefs and values guiding her leadership.

In contrast to the examples above, Barbara Snyder of Case Western Reserve University made fleeting mention of her family in the closing sentences of her 2007 address:

My family and I thank you for the warm welcome. I am grateful for the trust that has been placed in me and our outstanding team of academic leaders, and we will work every day to live up to that trust. We appreciate your continued support in the work that lies ahead. Thank you. (§ 23)

Snyder's predecessor, Edward Hundert (2002) also mentioned his family briefly without naming his spouse or children. Shirley Jackson (1999) of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute also made little mention of her family, but she did acknowledge their role in her success: "I especially salute my family, whose encouragement, support and love have sustained me throughout my life and brought me to this day" (§ 7).

There were others who did not mention spouses, life partners, or families at all. The wide range of focus on leaders' families is likely a personal choice. However, it is interesting to note that all presidents at the same institution such as the University of Michigan and MIT chose to dwell on their family lives while both presidents from Harvard, for example, did not mention their families at all. This observation points to organizational cultures that may or may not be conducive to the inclusion of family in the leader's identity. Thus, it is entirely possible that some presidents do not wish to mention their family and/or spouse because they wish to demonstrate complete devotion to their leadership role. In that case, leaders are unwittingly perpetuating the male worker norm (Williams, 2000). On the flipside, some presidents may just be private individuals and do not want to put their family in the spotlight. We cannot know for certain the reasons for the varying mention of family in the speeches.

Feminist Activism

The inaugural address is a rhetorical situation that presidents can use to establish themselves as leaders, and bring up issues to put on the institutional agenda during their tenure. However, not all presidents took advantage of this situation. This chance for activism and advocacy is particularly relevant for women leaders who are opening up the leadership position not just for themselves but for all women who will follow them. Presidents in this study who did take advantage of this platform to articulate feminist activism, however subtly, did so in admirable fashion. Consider, for example, University of Pennsylvania's Amy Gutmann's (2004) assertion:

As you know, many Penn alumni have made their mark on history. Yet we have never had a Penn alum as president of the United States -- unless you count William Henry Harrison, who studied medicine at Penn for four months in 1791. Fifty years later, Harrison stood hatless and coatless under snowfall to deliver a presidential inaugural address that ran for two hours.

I don't intend to follow in his footsteps. Harrison did manage to keep his promise not to seek a second term: He caught pneumonia and died one month later. I suspect he would have done better to complete his Penn education.

One day, I predict, Penn will claim a far wiser president. And I know that we will all be proud of her! (§ 14-17)

To casually slip in *her* to refer to a future US president is a subtle maneuver to engage in feminist activism. Linguistic cues such as these convey a possible social reality to the audience. The use of a simple word *her* ensures that even though there is no past

reference for it, what the audience members picture in their heads is the image of a woman president of the United States.

University of Michigan's Lee Bollinger (1997) who has been cited above also used subtle language to challenge the status quo that has produced unfair structures for women. To engage in feminist activism while referring to his wife was a powerful way to communicate that he had seen this social injustice at home and that he cared very deeply about challenging and ending it.

More practical feminist activism is evident in MIT's Charles Vest's 1991 speech: We must double and redouble our efforts to attract the brightest and best from all races, both women and men, not only to our undergraduate program, but to our graduate school and to our faculty. There are many social and historical forces mitigating against success in this endeavor. It will require renewed commitment on the part of each of us to identify and recruit these scholars and, once they are here, to do our part to see that they attain their full potential.

As one step, we will begin implementing during the coming weeks a program proposed by the Equal Opportunity Committee to recruit more women to our faculty. And we will reaffirm and reinvigorate our policies and programs for bringing more underrepresented minority members to our faculty. As we succeed, and in order to succeed, with these and other efforts, we must work to ensure that MIT is a place that respects and celebrates the diversity of our community. Just as we celebrate learning about the physical universe, or the political and economic worlds or the creative arts, so must we celebrate learning about, and from, each other. Such change is rewarding, but it is seldom easy.

During the years ahead we must refuse to let the centrifugal forces of intolerance and injustice pull us apart. We must be held together by respect for the individual and by a commitment to the values we hold in common. (§ 24-25)

Vest's words were not mere lip service as his vision and efforts to increase the number of women faculty paid off, and during his immediate successor Susan Hockfield's tenure, women faculty numbers in science and engineering departments had nearly doubled since 1999 (Jaschik, 2011). Susan Hockfield (2004) had also mentioned the importance of continuing the tradition of increasing gender and ethnic diversity in her inaugural address:

MIT has always welcomed remarkable numbers of first-generation college students; to maintain that commitment, we need to amplify our ability to offer financial aid. We also need to sustain our rich diversity of ideas and cultures by building a powerful pipeline of young women and underrepresented minority students, eager to pursue advanced degrees and academic careers. (§ 35)

More than two decades after Vest's speech, Rafael Reif (2012) in his inaugural address referred to the achievements since then in his characterization of his institution:

The MIT that welcomed me 32 years ago was unlike anyplace I had ever seen. Meritocratic in principle, it welcomed talent from everywhere. Then as now, MIT radiated a spirit of openness, fairness and decency, from the commitment to need-blind admissions to the practice of not favoring legacy applicants. Later, MIT's willingness to publicly acknowledge and correct inequities for women faculty made MIT a national model for progress. No one here at the time can forget how proud we felt to belong to MIT. (§ 30)

The fact that all three successive MIT presidents, female and male, emphasized the significance of promoting women faculty at MIT as a starting point to increasing diversity represents a remarkable progression of feminist activism across presidencies.

Some presidents also focused on the significance of female role models for other women. For example Sally Mason (2007) of the University of Iowa dwelt on the importance of women role models when she spoke of Mary Sue Coleman as a trailblazer for herself and other women. Christina Paxson (2012) also mentioned her personal experience of having a female mentor like Shirley Tilghman.

UC Santa Cruz's Denice Denton's (2005) address is unique among the speeches included in this study for her focus on feminist activism. At her request, Denton's inauguration was informal and organized around a symposium on "Achieving Excellence Through Diversity," led by Rensselaer's Shirley Ann Jackson ("Celebrating Chancellor Denton's arrival," 2005). Denton used the discussions from the symposium to frame her feminist activism. Denton also quoted feminist scholars such as bell hooks and Gloria Anzaldua, as well as a study by Catalyst, a nonprofit organization that promotes women in the businesses. Denton cited feminist scholar and UC Santa Cruz alumna, Gloria Anzaldua and Rensselaer's Shirley Jackson when she explored the level of diversity at UC Santa Cruz, finding it less than ideal:

Yet, is this oft-claimed celebration of diversity at UC Santa Cruz truly warranted? Based on the discussions at this morning's sessions, it is clear that our proclaimed values of inclusion and acceptance of difference are not experienced equally by all members of our campus community. For example, we heard today that:

Santa Cruz is a place where people aren't comfortable disagreeing. It's about "you have your view; I have mine: Can we just not argue?" One comment. Second comment: Many students--maybe even all students--sometimes feel uncomfortable with certain classroom situations. They need to have safer ways for that discomfort to be felt and responded to by faculty--preferably in a way that demonstrates accountability.

A third observation from the morning: We need to build processes that ensure that conversations among undergraduates, graduate students, staff, and faculty get to intersect and that the new ideas inform the planning process.

And then this comment: Obvious difference, such as race and sometimes class, are often focused on first. And, therefore, other aspects of diversity are often marginalized.

These are all important points.

As Dr. Jackson said yesterday, "Diversity, and discussions of it, can be turbulent and uncomfortable. But, it also is clarifying, illuminating, leading to a deeper understanding of one's self and one's world. Diversity advances innovation--diversity powers excellence."

Another perspective is offered by Gloria Anzalda, a UCSC alumna, in her book *Borderlands/LaFrontera*, which transformed the field of cultural and feminist studies.

She states: "But it is not enough to stand on the opposite river bank, shouting questions, challenging patriarchal, white conventions. A counterstance locks one into a dual of oppressor and oppressed.... The counterstance refutes the dominant

culture's views and beliefs, and, for this, it is proudly defiant.... But it is not a way of life. At some point, on our way to a new consciousness, we will have to leave the opposite bank, the split between the two mortal combatants somehow healed so that we are on both shores at once and, at once, see through serpent and eagle eyes."

These conversations are difficult, and we do have to find ways to work together. Some of you may have received the "alternative" program on your way into the ceremony today. And, on the back of it, as Professor Crosby said, "on the back of your program," you will see "Tell Denton to get with the program." (¶ 69-79)

Denton's sustained focus on diversity issues is unusual, and perhaps a side effect of the theme surrounding the celebration of her investiture. Nevertheless, she made good use of her platform and even encouraged audience participation during her speech. As noted in Chapter Four, her identity as an openly lesbian president of a research university is unique and perhaps one of the reasons she was so deeply invested in all kinds of diversity. Undoubtedly, her status as a woman scientist who was openly lesbian exposed her to a number of challenges owing to her unusual identity. Denton's authenticity in her inaugural address is unusual and admirable; however, we know that she was brutally criticized, even bullied ostensibly for reasons that other presidents routinely get away with. Thus, Denton's case points to the resilience of oppressive structures in higher education that ostracize those whose identities fall outside the realm of tradition.

Summary

The inaugural addresses included in this study contain a wide variety of framing devices that serve to aid the leaders in presenting a certain reality to their audience

members. Several commonalities exist in the speeches such as referring to historic and current events to frame the future course of action, using metaphorical and evocative imagery to frame meaning, quoting or citing famous people and past presidents, privileging certain sign systems and knowledge over others, mentioning family and spouses, and acknowledging mentors.

One recurring message was the focus on interdisciplinary research and knowledge, emphasizing the ideal of higher education as a public good. The focus on higher education as a public good was also framed in the context of the economic climate and neoliberal ideals casting higher education as a private good.

References to past presidents and famous people overwhelmingly favored men as fewer female precedents exist in national and institutional histories, and scientific disciplines. However, in more recent speeches, we see instances where women presidents are beginning to be hailed as personal mentors, albeit instances of praising women for their strong leadership are still rare. Some presidents told stories from their family history to frame the role and importance of higher education. However, stories of personal adversity only focused on financial challenges, and none of the presidents brought up gender or race barriers in their leadership journey. As well, gendered organizational structures were not directly critiqued in the speeches. Hence, few instances of framing messages from subject positions, and feminist activist rhetoric can be found in the speeches. The next chapter provides a discussion of the main themes in light of the research questions for this study, and offers conclusions and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

Presidents of high profile research universities are in a visible position of leadership, and make use of a wide range of devices to frame the messages in their rhetoric. The variety in their professional background and regional settings means that even though their institutional contexts drive the rhetoric, their individual experiences help them frame meaning. Ultimately, the rhetoric seeks to maintain their individual voices. The inauguration is a rhetorical situation (Bitzer, 1992) in which presidents are usually expected to speak to their audience, and set the tone for their upcoming tenure. Research universities served as the context for this study mainly due to the enormous influence they have both within higher education and in society generally (Geiger, 2004; Hornig, 2003; Lewis & Hearn, 2003; Morphey & Huisman, 2002). In recent years, the number of women leading research universities has increased (ACE, 2012), providing the opportunity to study the rhetoric in their inaugural addresses in comparison with their male counterparts. Using a feminist poststructural discourse analysis lens (Gee, 2014; Allan, 2003, 2008, 2010), this study set out to answer two main research questions:

1. What is the discourse model of inaugural addresses by presidents of high profile research universities?
 - a. What are the similarities and differences in the inaugural speeches by men and women?
 - b. How do the inaugural addresses compare when a female president follows a male president or a male president follows a female president at the same research university?
2. To what extent, if at all, is the language used in inaugural addresses gendered?

This chapter starts with a sketch of the typical president included in this study to highlight context. Since one of the objectives of this study was to find out the inaugural address discourse model based on inaugural addresses by presidents of high profile research universities, the commonalities in demographics, and the academic and professional backgrounds shared by the participants in this study highlight the context in which this discourse model emerged. Then, I present a discussion of the findings and associated analysis that responds to the research questions. Finally, I offer conclusions and implications for future research.

The “Typical” Research University President

As the brief introduction to each president illustrated in Chapter Four, the presidents included in this study belong to various disciplines and have varying backgrounds and experiences. However, some patterns stand out in their profiles. As outlined in Appendix A, the sample for this study included a total of 22 institutions and 34 presidents representing these institutions. Of the 34, 21 are women and 13 men, or a ratio of approximately 62% women to 38% men (see Table 6.1). This gender breakdown does not represent the percentages of men and women leading doctorate granting institutions, but reflects the participant selection requirements for this research. The majority, 29 out of 34, or 85% were married; four were divorced, and one was in a same sex relationship. Those with children also made up the overwhelming majority: 30 out of 34 (88%). Thus, it was most common for the research university presidents to be married and to be a parent. Table 6.1 illustrates a comparison of the demographics of presidents in this study with the characteristics of presidents overall, and presidents of doctorate granting universities, indicating that the demographics for the presidents in the sample

align with as well as differ from those of presidents of doctorate granting institutions and presidents overall.

Table 6.1

A Comparison of Presidents in the Sample with Presidents of Doctorate Granting Institutions, and Presidents Overall

Demographics	Presidents in Sample Percent	Doctorate Granting Institutions Percent	Presidents Overall Percent
Men	38	78	74
Women	62	22	26
Married	85	87	85
Has children	88	85	85
<u>Previous position</u>			
CAO/Provost	50	60	34
President	18	21	20
Senior Admin	15	4	23
Faculty Member	12	1	4
Nonacademic	6	9	11
<u>Discipline</u>			
STEM	47	20	11
Humanities	12	10	14
Social Sciences	18	28	12
Education	9	16	38

Note. Data source: ACE (2012)

The pathways to the presidency followed common patterns as most of the presidents in this study served as provost or chief academic officer (CAO) immediately before their appointment to the presidency. These positions represent a historic stepping stone into presidencies (ACE, 2012). Table 6.1 also illustrates how the presidents in the sample compare with the overall national percentages regarding previously held position, and the percentages for doctorate granting university presidents, and reveals that 50% of the presidents included in this study served as provost immediately before their appointment as president versus the overall rate of 34% for all institutions of higher

education, and compared to leaders of doctorate granting institutions (60%). Thus, this traditional route to the presidency held true for the sample of this study.

A total of six presidents in this study, E. Gordon Gee, Mary Sue Coleman, Ann Weaver Hart, France Cordova, Nancy Zimpher, and John T. Casteen held presidencies or chancellorships at other universities before their appointment as president. As shown in Table 6.1, 18% of presidents in this study held presidencies immediately prior to their appointment as president versus the national average of 20% overall and 21% for doctorate granting universities. The recycling of presidents from other institutional presidencies implies a track record of leadership. Senior administrators such as deans made up about 15% of the sample (three women and two men) but represented only 4% of doctorate granting institution presidents, and 23% of presidents overall. Nonacademic presidents represented 6% (one man and one woman) of the sample compared with 9% of doctorate granting university presidents, and 11% of presidents overall. Perhaps, what makes the sample differ considerably from the averages is the number of faculty members (two men and two women) appointed to the presidency in the sample: 12% versus 4% nationally, and around 1% of presidents of doctorate granting institutions. Thus, the representation of presidents who had been faculty members immediately prior to their presidency was above average in the sample. The presidents in the sample who ascended to the presidency from faculty positions were Shirley Tilghman of Princeton, Larry Summers and Drew Faust of Harvard, and George Blumenthal of UC Santa Cruz. Of the four, Blumenthal served as interim president after Denice Denton's suicide before his appointment as permanent president. The rest were appointed to permanent presidencies from faculty positions.

Doctorate granting universities also tend to make in-house appointments as indicated by data reported in 2012 where 30% of doctorate granting universities appointed presidents from within the institution (ACE, 2012). In the sample for this study, about 15% of the presidents were in-house appointments, which provided them a home field advantage. Those who were hired in-house (a total of five) were provosts Rafael Reif of MIT, Lou Anna Simon of Michigan State, and Christopher Eisgruber of Princeton; and faculty members Shirley Tilghman of Princeton, and George Blumenthal of UC Santa Cruz.

In terms of disciplinary background, the majority in the sample, 16 out of 34, 10 women and six men, belonged to the field of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM). The next disciplinary group by size was humanities and social sciences with 13 presidents, 10 women and three men. The smallest disciplinary group was law with five presidents, four men and one woman (see Appendix A). Table 6.1 illustrates how the presidents' disciplinary backgrounds compare with national, and doctorate granting institution averages, indicating that presidents belonging to STEM fields were highly represented in the sample at 47%, their representation far above the national average of 11%, and the doctorate granting university average of 20%. Presidents in the sample with a background in humanities (two women and two men) fell closer to the average at 12%, where the figure for doctorate granting universities stands at 10%, and 14% for the national average. Social science backgrounds were more highly represented in doctorate granting institutions at 28%, compared with 18% in the sample (five women, one man), and 12% nationally. A disciplinary background in education had

low representation in the sample at 9%, (three women), compared to the doctorate granting figure that stands at 16%, and the national average of 38%.

The presidents included in this study are similar to and different from the average president in the country overall, and presidents of doctorate granting institutions. In terms of family and spouses, the sample is highly representative of overall trends. However, the sample shows above average representation of presidents with STEM backgrounds, and lower than average representation of presidents with backgrounds in education. The high representation of STEM fields indicates a focus on STEM in the decades, i.e., the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, that the presidents were hired. Moreover, since women outnumber men in the sample, a disciplinary background in STEM also appears to favor women who aspire to lead elite research universities. The ability to secure grants is partly at play here since STEM fields attract more research funding, and presidents are increasingly under pressure to raise private funds.

In-house appointments were also lower than average, which would indicate a comparatively more level playing field for all presidents as the majority did not have the home advantage. Another difference that stands out is the above average representation in the sample of presidents who were faculty members immediately prior to their presidency. Since the usual route for presidents is via administrative positions such as provost or dean, the perspectives of presidents who were, and some who continued to be faculty members during their presidency, are important to consider as they can give an idea of how nontraditional presidents who defy norms navigate the presidency. The differences among the presidents in the sample, presidents of doctorate granting

universities, and presidents overall can be attributed to the fact that there are more women in the sample than men, 62% versus 38%, whereas the ratio for presidents overall favors men with only 26% of women presidents overall, and 22% women leading doctorate granting universities. Thus, the sample highlights how women's pathways and professional histories converge with, and diverge from the overall norms.

Discussion

Using the theoretical framework of feminist poststructural discourse analysis employing Gee's (2014) and Allan's (2003, 2008, 2010) approaches to discourse analysis, and bolstering these frameworks with the use of Bitzer's (1992) theory of rhetorical situation allowed a nuanced analysis of the inaugural addresses. In particular, the three areas of influence for the study, gender and leadership, organizational context, and leadership rhetoric provided a context rich in detail.

Due to the parameters set in the study design, not all speeches in the target population could be obtained. As described in Chapter Three, a total of 34 speeches were publicly available, 21 by women and 13 by men. The 34 presidents belonged to 22 institutions; seven private and 15 public. Of these, nine institutions had pairs or triads of speeches by successive female and male presidents at the same institution (see Appendix A). Thus, the sample is not symmetrical in terms of gender or institutional control context. Nevertheless, since this is a qualitative inquiry, the story is not contained in numbers but in words, and there were plenty of words. Next, I provide the inaugural address discourse model for the inaugural addresses included in this study. I then discuss the similarities and differences between inaugural addresses by men and women. Then I discuss how speeches by successive female and male presidents compare. Finally, I

discuss whether, and in what ways, the inaugural addresses included in this study were gendered.

Inaugural address discourse model. Gee (2014) held that we build meaning for ourselves and for others through language. We articulate meaning in accordance with the discourse models we create in our minds, and then communicate the models through our words (Gee, 2014). Similarly, when we see meaning being enacted by others through words, we recognize what is happening by comparing it with discourse models we have in our minds (Gee, 2014). Therefore, when we see or hear an inaugural address, we recognize certain cues that make the speech recognizable to us as an inaugural address. Thus, one of the questions this study set out to answer was: What is the discourse model of inaugural addresses by presidents of high profile research universities?

We know that men and women tend to use language differently in their daily lives, often in accordance with their socially prescribed gender roles (Burke, 1993; Coates & Pichler, 2011; Lakoff, 1973; Spender, 1981; Tannen, 1994a, 1994b). Based on the detailed analysis of the speeches in this study using Gee's (2014) seven building tasks, the overall discourse model that emerged provided evidence of more similarities rather than differences; however, closer examination of the components of the discourse model revealed important differences between the rhetoric by men and women leaders. As a reminder, Gee's (2014) seven building tasks are politics, identities, practices, connections, relationships, significance, and sign systems and knowledge (see Appendix B). The discourse model was obtained by coding in NVivo all the speeches using Gee's seven building tasks, and using the frequency of NVivo codes for each building task coded to create a chart. This chart representing the inaugural address discourse model of

all 34 speeches is visually represented in Figure 6.1, and indicates that inaugural addresses by presidents of research universities follow a certain pattern in terms of the level of focus on each of the seven building tasks. Furthermore, it is remarkable that when speeches by men and women were disaggregated, they followed the same model. Figures 6.2 and 6.3 illustrate the discourse models of speeches by women and men respectively, and evidence of similar patterns can be seen in all three models. Next, the representation in the speeches of each of the seven building tasks is explored.

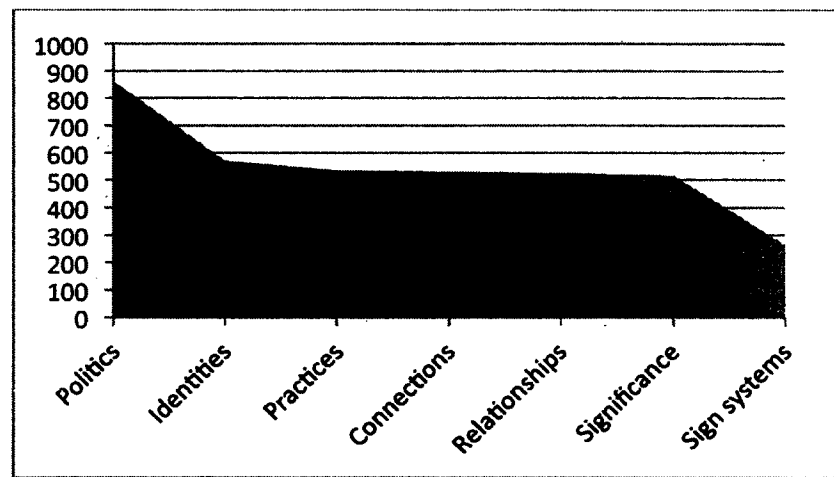


Figure 6.1. Inaugural address discourse model

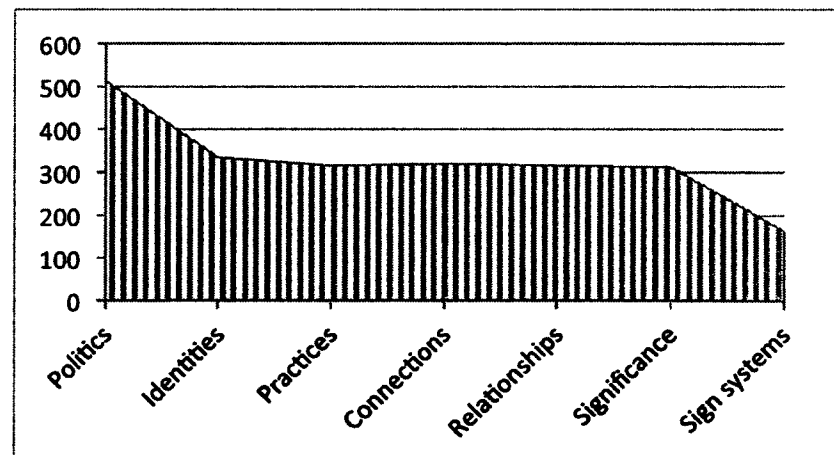


Figure 6.2. Discourse model of 21 addresses by women

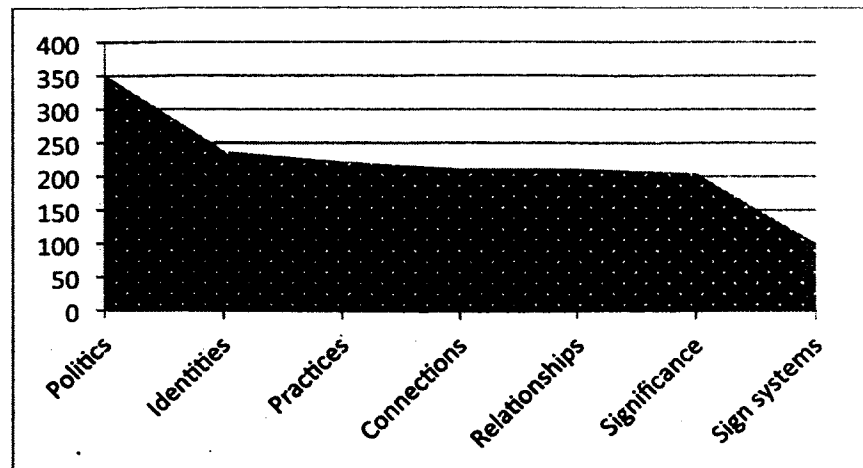


Figure 6.3. Discourse model of 13 addresses by men

Politics. As illustrated in Figure 6.1, the building task that presidents focused most on was politics. The sub-codes embedded under the main code for politics were: characterizing something as good/normal/correct etc.; the way things are; the way things ought to be; power as a productive force; social effects constructed; consequences of social effects; and constraints on language flowing from traditions, beliefs, objectives etc. (see Appendix B). Since within the building task of politics, presidents could characterize what is good as well as describe the status quo (the way things are) and articulate their vision (the way things ought to be), it is no surprise that this building task was most prominent in inaugural addresses that are meant to set the tone and articulate a vision for the presidency. The sub-codes within politics regarding social effects also received attention from most presidents as they explored the value of higher education generally, and their institution particularly, to society. As an example, Rafael Reif (2012) of MIT asserted in his inaugural address:

Let me underscore this point: The research university is not an ornament or a luxury that society can choose to go without. The research university may be the most powerful source of leaders, ideas and economic growth that the world has

ever known. A potential decline of the residential campus model, and of the research university in particular, may hurt society in ways that no one has begun to estimate.

As you can see, the risks are great. But I promised you that I would focus on the opportunities — and I believe the opportunities are even greater. The pressures of cost and the potential of new technologies are presenting all of us in higher education with a historic opportunity: the opportunity to better serve society by reinventing what we do and how we do it. It is an opportunity we must seize. (¶ 12-13)

In the example above, Reif used the social good aspect of higher education, particularly the research university to argue for support—financial and otherwise—for research universities, as well as to challenge emerging questions about the utility of higher education.

Identities. The next most frequently used building task in the discourse model was identities which again contained seven sub-codes: identity for the speaker; identity for others; subject position; identities are fluid; constraints on language use due to identity; institutional identities; and identity as leader (see Appendix B). Not surprisingly, identities received much attention in inaugural addresses as the rhetorical situation of the inauguration demands an introduction to the leader's identity, and what he or she believes are the identities of the followers and how they align. Furthermore, the presidents' characterization of institutional identity communicated their understanding of the institution's culture and objectives. Therefore, all presidents dwelt to varying degrees on personal, political, and institutional identities. For example, Rensselaer's Shirley

Jackson (1999) articulated her identity as a leader and a scientist as well as the identity of her new institution:

As I stand before you this morning, I am proud to accept the charge and the challenge of serving you as the 18th President of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

As you might expect of a scientist, I believe in the power of the fundamentals.

Let me share with you my fundamentals:

Excellence is the mantra and the metric—in all that we do.

Leadership must be claimed—in research and in pedagogy.

Community is what we are—for there is but one Rensselaer.

With this foundation, let us reflect on the theme for today's Inauguration:

“Honoring Tradition, Changing the World: Rensselaer in the 21st Century.”

Rensselaer enjoys a storied history, 175 years of leadership in technological education and scholarship. Throughout that time, it has remained true to our founder's mission, “the application of science to the common purposes of life.”

Through the pursuit of that objective, down through almost two centuries,

Rensselaer people, in fact, have changed the world. (¶ 10-16)

Here, Jackson was presenting herself as a leader, emphasizing the alignment of her identity as a scientist, and the institutional identity of Rensselaer as a bastion of scientific knowledge.

Practices. The next most frequently used building task was practices which subsumed the sub-codes exigence, and feminist activism (see Appendix B). This building task received less attention than I had anticipated because my assumption was that the inaugural address would provide an opportunity for leaders to call for action and

change on campus. As explained by Bitzer (1992), exigence is “an imperfection marked by urgency” (p. 6) that can be corrected with rhetoric. Not many presidents explicitly called attention to the imperfections in their new workplaces, therefore, the practices they did talk about concerned continuing practices that were already taking place, or new ones that did not disrupt the status quo. Some exceptions like Arizona’s Ann Weaver Hart (2012) can be seen who focused on disruptive innovation to come up with new funding models for her university in view of dwindling state funding in her inaugural address titled “The Risk to Blossom”:

I also find no utility in adherence to rules and regulations that have persisted long past their useful lives. We operate under many such rules, regulations and laws at the university, ABOR system and state levels that were designed for an era that has passed, and which have outlived their usefulness. We will remove these barriers, eliminating dysfunctional rules that no longer serve the purposes for which they were enacted and which may have become an end to themselves. We will need new frameworks to protect goals while advancing the execution of a prosperous future. We have already begun this conversation at the Arizona Board of Regents; let's see it through. Disruptive innovations by definition disrupt! (§ 12)

However, such candid exhortations for change were not common. Since the building task of politics was foremost in the speeches, disturbing the status quo was not a priority. This lack of focus on transformation aligns with Birnbaum’s (1992) findings that academic leadership is rarely transformational since most universities have strong organizational cultures grounded in long histories, thus, making change very difficult.

An excerpt from the University of South Florida's Judy Genshaft (2000) exemplifies the focus on continuing past successes common in the speeches:

The most important lesson I have learned about USF is that we do have the character to stand firm for excellence. USF's route to preeminence will be through discovering ways to apply these standards of excellence to a rapidly changing society.

My four major goals to keep USF on this track are to continue the development of this institution into:

- * A premier national research university.
- * One with high-quality undergraduate and graduate instruction, which promotes learning and personal growth through a diverse, student-friendly, student-focused environment.
- * One that strengthens the social, educational, and cultural development of Florida and the Tampa Bay Region.
- * One that undergirds the economic development of Florida through research that drives job creation, and through teaching that, with our community college partners, prepares a work force for those jobs. (¶ 36-38)

Unlike Hart, Genshaft focused on the continuation of the track her university was on, rather than to introduce a new direction.

Although less prevalent than anticipated, exigence did receive a moderate amount of attention, as illustrated in the preceding examples, whereas feminist activism was a rare occurrence. However, the few examples that could be found where presidents took a

feminist perspective were framed eloquently. The following example from UC Santa Cruz's Denice Denton (2005) stands out as a rare instance of overt feminist activism:

The practical benefits of inclusion are well documented. A study by Catalyst, the organization that works with business and professions to expand opportunities for women, connected gender diversity and financial performance for 353 of the Fortune 500 companies.

It used as a metric of success Return on Equity and Total Return to Shareholders. The results reported that companies with the highest representation of women on their top management teams enjoyed 35% higher return on equity and 34% higher total return to shareholders. Do you think that those are numbers and results that your portfolio manager would notice? They're big numbers, and these significant increases to the bottom line leave no doubt that more inclusive management teams lead to better performance. (§ 62-63)

Denton's approach to feminist activism entailed using data to support her argument that women leaders are beneficial to organizations, an argument that is well-documented but not often highlighted by leaders.

Connections. The building task of connections contained four sub-codes: highlights connections, mitigates connections, connections between discourse and subject position, and metaphor or simile used (see Appendix B). Of the sub-codes, highlights connections was the most prevalent, which demonstrates that presidents tend to use positive language. Thus, rather than say two things are not connected, they generally made positive connections. For example, Stony Brook's Samuel Stanley (2009) highlighted the connection between research and economic growth in his address:

If we are to further innovation truly and grow the regional and state economies, we must grow and expand our research efforts. This is one area where numbers speak for themselves and the coin of the realm is external funding support. Every time we get money from the federal government for a research project, it is like starting a small business; we hire skilled workers, we purchase supplies, we add administrative support, and as we grow we build new facilities. And, of course, the fruits of our basic and applied research are the foundation for new technologies, new processes, company formation, and ultimately, economic growth. (§ 18)

Use of metaphor and imagery also served the purpose of making connections and provided embellishment. Although not pervasive, metaphor and imagery were used to great effect by presidents. For instance, University of South Florida's Judy Genshaft (2000) pointed out the similitude between the rise of young universities and the rite of passage of earning a doctorate:

When our students earn doctorates, there is a rite of passage. It's not enough that they demonstrate excellence at research methods and a mastery of the accumulated knowledge of their specialties. To earn the doctorate, their work must result in the contribution of new, original, validated knowledge to their field. The rite of passage for rising universities is much the same. When a young research university successfully competes against more established institutions to win funding for a major research center, the judges quite often will issue this cautionary note: "You have done all the right things. You have brought all the right people together. You have collected the latest data and developed it into a

strong case. You have marshaled your institutional resources. But you haven't proved what you've got to prove yet. You're going to have to do something no one else has done before if you're going to be eminent." (§ 25)

The simile provided by Genshaft here served the purpose of articulating the identity of a young research university like her institution.

For the few instances where presidents chose to mitigate connections, the usual intent was to question the notion of higher education as a private good. Michigan State University's Lou Anna K. Simon's (2005) words aptly exemplify the approach of mitigating connections:

Increasingly, the public sees the success of the great public research universities in garnering private funds and federal research dollars, the economic benefits to our graduates, and the demand for our innovations in the marketplace as reasons to disinvest, rather than to invest in us. Instead, the language of entitlement and private good is drowning out the language of the land-grant movement, which is higher education built on cutting-edge research and engagement for the public good. By seizing upon the private good of education at public research universities, lawmakers across the country think they have discovered a strategy to help balance the short-term budget; but in the long term, this strategy may ultimately deny the American dream to future generations and diminish our impact around the world. (§ 4)

This questioning of higher education as a private good was not limited to presidents of state universities, as presidents of private universities too warned against supporting

higher education for purely utilitarian purposes, arguing that the connections of higher education with society run deeper than immediate outcomes.

Relationships. The building task of relationships received due attention, and there were no differences between female and male presidents in their references to the overall building task of relationships. This building task contained sub-codes audience, constraints on language due to relationships, family, and global relationships (see Appendix B). Almost all presidents acknowledged family, friends, and personal and professional relationships at the outset of their speeches. This excerpt from MIT's Susan Hockfield (2004) illustrates this focus on relationships:

Thank you! To all of you gathered here in the great embrace of Killian Court – to all the students, faculty, alumni, staff, members of the Corporation, and friends – thank you for your welcome to the great global family of MIT.

The MIT family is enlarged today, and honored, by the presence of delegates from many of the world's leading colleges and universities. We are proud to count you as colleagues, and delighted to count you as friends. The institutions you represent have been powerful drivers to democratize education, helping to liberate the minds and lives of people around the world. Together, we share a duty to guide and guard this legacy of freedom. (§ 1-2)

Thus, in one sweep, Hockfield accounted for personal and professional, local and global relationships

The sub-code family was further divided into two child codes: using language to evoke family relationships, and names spouse in the address. Although the main code for this building task was almost identical for men and women in the sample, the sub-codes

told a different story as women were relatively more likely to mention their spouse or partner by name, and use language to evoke family relations. These differences are discussed in later sections.

Significance. The building task significance subsumed three codes: highlights significance, lessens significance, and cites historical event (see Appendix B). As with connections, presidents overwhelmingly highlighted significance rather than mitigate it. Thus, they simply did not mention something rather than state explicitly that it was insignificant, which seems appropriate because of the limited time they have in their rhetorical situation. Presidents were inclined not to mention something unless it was significant and helped them frame their message. One of the recurring themes in the speeches was the emphasis on interdisciplinary research, as the following excerpt from Rensselaer's Shirley Jackson's (1999) address illustrates:

Today, more than ever, we see that much of what is important and exciting lies in interdisciplinary areas—at the interstices (as it were) of traditional disciplines.

We say that we have low walls at Rensselaer. Let us “walk that talk,” completely.

(¶ 25)

The reference to “low walls” is notable because it serves as a metaphor for easy access among disciplines at Rensselaer. Thus, Jackson admitted that there were walls among disciplines but they were low enough to be surmountable.

As evident in the findings from this research, presidents used significant historical events such as the 9/11 terror attacks as framing devices to communicate and link their messages to the importance of the events, as well as to make connections between significant past or current events and future directions.

Sign systems and knowledge. The building task that was least evident in the speeches was sign systems and knowledge. The two subcategories embedded in this building task were: constraints on sign system or knowledge system which contained sub-codes cites or quotes men, and cites or quotes women; and integration of knowledge from multiple disciplines (see Appendix B). As with the building tasks of connections and significance, presidents privileged sign systems by mentioning them. They did not explicitly disprivilege sign systems but rather did not mention them. For instance, Christina Paxson (2012) of Brown used the sign systems and knowledge of her discipline to discuss the value of higher education in the current economic climate:

Brown's growth, from its inception to today, reflects its ambitious mission "to serve the community, the nation and the world by discovering, communicating and preserving knowledge in a spirit of free inquiry, and by educating and preparing students to discharge the offices of life with usefulness and reputation." Today, I would like to consider how that mission squares with some of the concerns we hear today about the value and purpose of higher education in America.

One warning: Although this topic can be viewed through many lenses, my own approach is shaped by my intellectual roots as an economist. I realize this may leave many of you concerned that this could be a very gloomy set of remarks. The textbook definition of economics — "the study of the allocation of scarce resources toward competing ends"— is anything but inspirational! I am not attracted to the field of economics because of its focus on scarcity, however, but because of the link between resource allocation and human well-being.

Specifically, I am interested in how institutions shape the way that resources are stewarded and invested for the benefit of human welfare. (§ 11-13)

Here, Paxson used the sign system of the university's mission as well as knowledge from her disciplinary lens to frame her response to the questions about the value of higher education. The building task of sign systems and knowledge may have received relatively less attention in the speeches, nevertheless, the categories within this building task contributed to another level of analysis which is discussed in later sections.

To sum up, in terms of Gee's (2014) seven building tasks: politics, identities, practices, connections, significance, and sign systems and knowledge, overall no differences are apparent in the patterns found in the inaugural address discourse model between the rhetoric by men and women presidents in this sample. However, when the data were scrutinized more closely to see who dwelt more on what aspect of the building tasks, there were several differences. The similarities and differences in the content of the addresses by men and women presidents are discussed next.

Similarities. Aside from the overall inaugural address discourse model, which is almost identical for men and women, the deep analysis and reading of all addresses revealed other similarities that are illustrated in Chapter Five and further discussed here. All presidents acknowledged their audience members, thanked distinguished guests such as governors and academic leaders, and most thanked their families. In fact, it was the norm for presidents to start their speeches with acknowledgements. Most presidents, men and women, articulated the mission of their institution, and highlighted their vision in alignment with the core mission. A majority talked about the significance of higher education as a public good. Almost all spoke of the responsibility of higher education in

light of history and/or current events. Female and male presidents emphasized the significance of relationships in similar ways. Women talked as much as men about fiscal matters. Some metaphors like comparing the university to a house were used across the speeches by both men and women.

The similarities in the inaugural addresses by men and women are to be expected given their similar leadership roles in somewhat similar contexts (Engen et al., 2001). The similar patterns support Bitzer's (1992) contention that all rhetorical situations are subject to constraints. All leaders also went through similar selection processes which ensured their relative homogeneity (Pfeffer, 2000). Additionally, the scrutiny that new presidents are subjected to ensures that they choose their words carefully (Bornstein, 2009), and many seek help from speechwriters to help them craft the message perfectly. The speeches in the sample for this study are generally eloquent, and use proper grammar and employ impactful vocabulary.

The similarities in the speeches by men and women are also reflective of organizational cultures that require conformity with the culture (Birnbaum, 1992), in this case prestigious research universities. Some institutions included in the sample for this study have long histories and there is great pride in the traditions that make up the identities of these institutions. Presidents overwhelmingly highlighted these identities and proud traditions in their inaugural addresses as a way of conveying that they will uphold these traditions and honor these histories. References back to Thomas Jefferson abounded as a touchstone to colonial roots and alignment with the building of a nation.

Several overlaps in terms of individuals cited or quoted are also evident in the speeches. As mentioned earlier, Thomas Jefferson was cited dozens of times. Some

women such as Margaret Mead also made repeat appearances across the speeches. Since most presidents included in this study are White Americans, they share similar heroes, and the common propensity is to link the future of higher education to the nation's founding, thus, the major actors in that history are all men. In terms of experts in scientific fields, too, it is difficult to avoid citing men, so unsurprisingly, that was the norm for the speeches included in this study.

Similarities were also evident in speeches by presidents of similar institutions, i.e., public or private. Public university presidents, both female and male, dwelt upon the importance and responsibility of higher education institutions to their communities. Presidents of private universities, such as the Ivy Leagues, in comparison, focused on the long term impact of higher education arguing that initially it is a private good but ultimately it benefits society at large. For presidents of public universities the notion of higher education as a benefit to society as well as the focus on employability placed constraints on their rhetoric as they had to speak to both aspects of the responsibilities of higher education as a public as well as private good. Private university presidents, in contrast, could approach higher education more idealistically, and focus on its role in creating discerning minds rather than producing any immediate, tangible results directly related to student employability. In the case of private universities, it was assumed that the well-honed, interdisciplinary, liberal arts education received by students would translate to employment without the presidents having to make reference to this outcome.

Public universities are also facing unprecedented state funding shortages, and almost all public university presidents, men and women, focused on these challenges to varying degrees. Some public research university presidents like M. R. C. Greenwood

(1996) of UC Santa Cruz wondered if the term *state universities* is even valid anymore given that they are now largely privately funded. Nevertheless, most public university presidents in the sample emphasized their roots as public institutions and their covenant with their communities. Private schools are also not immune to questions about the utility of higher education and access issues; therefore, some private university presidents also dwelt upon the impact of the economic downturn, and defended the long-term utility of higher education for individuals as well as society. However, gender differences were not apparent in presidents' focus on fiscal matters. Two examples follow that illustrate how presidents addressed budgetary matters. The first is from Purdue's France Cordova (2007) who focused on her university's potential given its resources:

We have a lot of power behind our plan: about 90,000 engines in all -- one for each student, each staff member, and each faculty member of Purdue; a system wide budget of \$1.8 billion; and a new \$304 million student access and success fundraising campaign under way. We are focused; we are ready for launch. (¶ 62)

Here, Cordova used the university's budget and human resources to highlight Purdue's potential, and motivate action. Samuel Stanley (2009) of Stony Brook, too, spoke about his university budget, and then went on to link it with its impact on the local economy:

Our annual operating budget is approximately \$1.9 billion, with about two-thirds of that allocated to the Medical Center (that figure is matched by the revenue generated from those operations). In a study done using 2007 numbers, our economic impact on Long Island was estimated at \$4.65 billion annually and nearly 60,000 jobs. Put another way, one out of every 12 jobs in Suffolk County

is dependent upon Stony Brook University. But the really amazing figure comes when you look at return on investment. Stony Brook's state allocation is approximately (with the recent budget cuts) \$300 million. That translates into a return on investment of 1,600 percent, or put differently, for every dollar invested by the state, it gains \$16 in economic output. (§ 26)

Stanley essentially argued for investment in higher education as a long term solution to the economic woes of the State of New York. Thus, even though none of the presidents went into minute details of institutional budgetary matters in their inaugural addresses, female and male presidents brought up fiscal facts where appropriate to frame their messages.

When speeches were examined from a perspective of institutional prestige, similar rhetoric by men and women became evident at similarly positioned institutions. For example, presidents of highly prestigious and influential universities, like the Ivy Leagues, as well as highly regarded public schools, like the University of Michigan, used very similar rhetoric. Presidents at these institutions, both men and women, also appeared to push the envelope in their feminist and social justice activism more so than presidents of schools lower in prestige such as, for example, Purdue, and Case Western. The prestige factor, thus, appears to enable presidents, both men and women, to capitalize on their institutions' legitimacy to enhance their own individual legitimacy as leaders. Exceptions exist, such as Denice Denton's rhetoric at UC Santa Cruz, a university with comparatively lower prestige. However, in Denton's case, the issue of lower institutional prestige also accounts to some extent for the enormous challenges she faced in gaining legitimacy as a president promoting social justice.

Even though disciplinary backgrounds in the STEM fields were strongly represented in the sample of presidents, most presidents emphasized the significance of a liberal arts education, and gave as much attention to the importance of arts and humanities as they did to the sciences. This pattern was evident regardless of disciplinary background, gender, and institutional context.

Differences. Although the overall discourse model for men and women presidents included in this study was almost identical, there were several subtle differences between their approaches to the model. First, male presidents were likely to talk about themselves more, and some even highlighted their subject positions and any adversity they may have faced as students in order to emphasize the importance of access. Most women leaders, on the other hand, did not make direct references to any challenges they may have faced in their leadership journeys due to race, gender, or class. The only African American woman in the sample was Rensselaer's Shirley Ann Jackson, and she did not make any references to her status or her struggles as a double minority. In fact, her address is quite unique in this sample for its directness and practical approach. A few other women presidents also belong to minority groups such as Waded Cruzado of Montana State who is Puerto Rican, and France Cordova of Purdue who is part Latina, yet they did not address their gender and ethnic identities, or any barriers they might have encountered on their leadership journey. The only minority male president in the sample was Rafael Reif of MIT, and he not only highlighted his parents' struggles as refugees who fled Nazi Europe to make a new life for their children in South America, but also linked his family's struggles with his current day success as a leader. Thus, it is apparent from the speeches included in this study that although presidents felt that class struggles

were legitimate issues to discuss in the inaugural address, gender and race were not, pointing to the continued unease with gender and race in the context of research universities.

Furthermore, male presidents articulated their role as a leader in a more direct way than did women presidents. Consider this example from the inaugural address by Rafael Reif (2012) of MIT:

I humbly recognize that I am just the steward of something much bigger than myself, and much bigger than all of us. I am the temporary guardian of an institution that means so much to so many, and, in that capacity, I sincerely thank you all for being here. I want to offer a special greeting to those present, or watching, who are among MIT's 127,000 living alumni — the great, global force that lives out MIT's values and mission in the world. (§ 2)

Reif highlighted his role as a “steward” and a “guardian.” In contrast, Drew Faust (2007) of Harvard compared her inauguration to a wedding ceremony, thus characterizing herself as a spouse or partner—as a female, a historically unequal partner, I may add—rather than a leader. Although both dwelt upon relationships, Reif by thanking his extended audience, and Faust by acknowledging her new extended professional family, it was the male leader who was more open about his status as a leader, whereas the woman leader's tendency was to cast her leadership role as a partnership. Mary Sue Coleman (2002), like Faust, used these words to describe the beginning of her role at the University of Michigan: “Every day, you inspire me and instruct me. It is a privilege to join you” (§ 5), thus, characterizing herself as a student, and a colleague.

Second, women in the sample for this study tended to use more metaphorical language than men. They used evocative language more often than the male presidents. Male presidents, however, used religious imagery more than women presidents. Albeit, as noted in Chapter Five, even though the use of metaphorical and evocative language was not pervasive, those who used it did so quite effectively. Women presidents used metaphors from their own disciplines and/or borrowed from a range of disciplines to, perhaps, gain gendered credibility. Issues of leader legitimacy (Bornstein, 2008) link up with gendered credibility. Women leaders with STEM backgrounds carried legitimacy because of their success in these disciplines. Since the majority of the women in the sample belong to STEM disciplines, they bolstered their STEM credentials with knowledge from other disciplines, a balancing act not apparent in the speeches of male presidents. The heavy representation of STEM backgrounds among the women presidents itself points to gendered credibility as in this sample the “right” credentials for women appear to be a socialization in the more masculine STEM fields.

Third, although both men and women spoke about family in about the same way, women were more likely than men to name their spouse or partner. Women were also more likely to use language to evoke family relations. As an example, University of Pennsylvania’s Amy Gutmann in her 2004 address emphasized her Penn family:

I have had the pleasure of getting to know you and so many other members of my Penn family. You have informed me, you have advised me, and you have even fed me more than anyone could deserve -- or in the matter of food, more than I could ever need.

But most of all you have helped me envision how Penn can better meet our responsibilities to higher education and the world. That is our mandate. I say “our” because I consider you not only partners but now also part of my extended public family. Family in the public and personal sense is important to me. (§ 9-10)

Several other women in the sample made similar references to their university community as family; however, no instances of men using similar language could be found in the sample.

Fourth, women were more likely than men to quote famous people or past presidents in their speeches. What is most remarkable is that women were more likely than men to quote men, while men showed more tendency than women to quote women. This particular difference could be unintentional, and presidents tend to quote words that help them frame their message. But on the flipside, references to men by women could also be an intentional attempt to get a halo effect by associating with successful men. Thus, the paucity of quotes from women by women presidents could either be an artifact of fewer female precedents or it could be an attempt at gaining legitimacy as new leaders (Bornstein, 2009). Moreover, the fact that men have quoted women relatively more than women either reveals that leaders do not necessarily look up to people of the same gender, and they can indeed be inspired by anyone regardless of gender, or it could be seen as an intentional attempt at pandering to women in the audience.

Fifth, women in the sample were also relatively more likely to support integration of sign systems or interdisciplinary knowledge. As illustrated in Chapter Five, only two presidents in the sample used multiple languages in their inaugural addresses, and they

were both women. The emphasis on interdisciplinary knowledge, however, was more evident. This quote from the University of North Carolina's Carol Folt (2013) aptly exemplifies the emphasis on multidisciplinary:

We are on the cusp of the most significant change in how we think about education in America in a century, and it will make our students even more active and flexible learners and better prepare them for the changing world they are inheriting.

At the same time, our commitment to the broad-based, multi-faceted liberal arts is as strong as ever. Galileo said, "You cannot teach a man anything, you can only help him find it within himself." Exposing our students to the breadth of human knowledge fosters their own search for enlightenment. Analysis of human values, appreciation of history, social context, philosophical reasoning, and artistic expression opens minds and develops a fuller appreciation of the world in all of its beauty, its tragedy, and its intricacy. (§ 39-40)

The focus on interdisciplinary knowledge and research is an important message to send as it gives due significance to the highly feminized arts and humanities alongside the strongly masculinized sciences.

Last, even though none of the presidents spoke of power overtly, the rare and subtle references to power as a productive force, whether of the leader or of higher education, were made mostly by men. For example, Edward Hundert (2002) of Case Western spoke of the importance of using one's position of power to safeguard open discourse:

Another member of our faculty noted that university leaders can set a tone and take initiatives that can be controversial, referring to the recent incidents at the University of North Carolina, where there was strong opposition to a required summer reading by students of a book about the Koran. He notes: "To the extent this university wants to promote 'societal engagement' or 'engagement with the rest of the world,' these are politically loaded subjects." All the more reason, I would say, to nurture a learning environment that promotes moral discourse in a culture of deep respect for human differences. (§ 15)

Hundert referred to a discussion that took place on campus to highlight the role of university leaders in protecting values that American institutions of higher education cherish. Even though women made subtle references to power too, men were more likely to do so in this study. This difference is important to note as women appear to be less comfortable talking about power, particularly their own. The lack of feminist activism in the speeches is also indicative of this underestimation of the positive impact one can have from a position of power (Allan et al., 2010).

In sum, presidents tend to frame (Fairhurst, 2011; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996) their messages with devices such as historical contexts, metaphors, and quotes from famous individuals. All presidents used one or more of these framing devices in service of their messages. The speeches are generally articulate as expected since the speakers are all highly educated, and most probably had access to expert help to compose their public messages. Almost all speeches begin with messages of gratitude and salutations, some more detailed than others. In the limited time they have for the inaugural address, presidents tend to highlight significance and connections rather than diminish them;

therefore, positive language was evident throughout the sample. Differences between speeches by men and women are also evident. Women were more likely than men to dwell on family, name their spouses, and use evocative imagery, while men were more likely to speak of themselves as leaders, and mention any adversity they may have faced.

Successive presidents' speeches. The speeches from successive presidents at the same university also revealed the importance of context as successive presidents tended to talk about similar issues. For instance, all leaders at MIT spoke of the importance of promoting women and minority participation especially in the science and engineering faculty. In fact, as illustrated in MIT's example, the progression in the idea of promoting women faculty can be seen across all three presidents' speeches: Vest (1991) talked about the need for it, Hockfield (2004) spoke of sustaining pipelines of women students, and Reif (2012) highlighted MIT's efforts to remove gender inequalities. Undoubtedly, MIT's context was at play with the presidents' choice in focusing on women science faculty since in the 1990s and 2000s MIT was rocked by gender discrimination scandals (Glazer-Raymo, 2008). The president at the helm at the time was Charles Vest, and he acted swiftly and decisively by acknowledging the wrongs committed, and getting several other presidents of research universities on board in a collective pledge to end gender discrimination on their campuses (Glazer-Raymo, 2008).

Similarly, all three presidents at the University of Michigan mentioned their family and spouses, and in contrast, both presidents at Harvard made no mention of their families or spouses. Both women presidents who had back to back tenures at UC Santa Cruz, M. R. C. Greenwood (1996) and Denice Denton (2005) used languages in addition

to English in their inaugural addresses. However, their male follower, George Blumenthal (2007) did not continue that tradition.

The similar choices in their rhetoric by presidents at the same institution are reflective of the significance of organizational culture (Birnbaum, 1992). Thus, when both John T. Casteen (1990) and Teresa Sullivan (2010) of UVA dwelt at length on Jefferson's legacy, they were both connecting their vision for the future to the roots of their historic university that takes immense pride in its history. Similarly, all three leaders at MIT, Charles Vest, Shirley Tilghman, and Rafael Reif spoke of the importance of promoting women and minority participation in the science and engineering faculty. Also, all three presidents at the University of Michigan, Lee Bollinger, Mary Sue Coleman, and Mark Schlissel introduced their family and spouses in detail.

A new institutional culture can potentially trip up a new president coming from a different background. As illustrated in Mark Schlissel's case, although all universities included in the study are classified as RU/VH, the culture of a large public campus like the University of Michigan is very different from that of an Ivy League like Brown and may have contributed to the struggles Schlissel faced in trying to understand his new environment at Michigan (Jesse, 2014). To make up for their lack of shared culture, presidents like Schlissel studied, and in their inaugural addresses quoted from, their predecessors' biographies and inaugural addresses to communicate continuity of leadership.

Analyzing successive speeches also revealed that although almost all presidents acknowledged their predecessors, in recent years some male presidents following female presidents went beyond simply appreciating their immediate predecessor, and described

them as their mentors. Both male presidents in the sample who were appointed in-house, MIT's Rafael Reif (2012) and Princeton's Christopher Eisgruber (2013), acknowledged their female predecessors as their mentors. The use of the referent of mentor implies that men are increasingly looking to women as models for the presidency, whereas only two decades ago, it was hard to find these models. This modelling of the role of president by women has the potential of changing academic leadership from an overwhelmingly masculine concept to an integrative one (Nidiffer, 2001).

Another important aspect of successive presidencies is whether a president followed a campus legend or a failed presidency. Some presidents who followed controversial presidents distanced themselves from their legacies. For example, Susan Herbst (2011) of UConn, who followed the tumultuous presidency of Michael Hogan (2007), did not mention him in her speech at all, while Hogan had mentioned his immediate predecessor in his address. As noted in Chapter Four, Hogan had been criticized for his insensitivity in his lavish spending of UConn funds for his inauguration and living expenses when his public institution was grappling with the impact of reduced state funding (Kiley, 2012a). Hogan did not speak of financial challenges in his address, while in contrast, Herbst in her much shorter inaugural speech devoted considerable space to this important issue.

Drew Faust (2007) of Harvard followed Larry Summers (2001) into office. As previously mentioned, Summers made controversial statements about women in the sciences and had to resign in the aftermath of his ill-advised rhetoric. Faust acknowledged him as her predecessor; however, she was the only woman president in the sample to subtly highlight her status as a pioneer female president as well as her

institution's ability to redress past injustices. Thus, she indirectly hinted that her presidency was not a continuation of Summers's legacy. Perhaps, Summers had to be replaced by a woman president, notably a woman historian who focused on women's issues in her research, for Harvard to distance itself from his legacy. For Faust it meant more scrutiny of the reasons for her appointment. Indeed, she was the focus of faculty speculation whether she was truly a good choice given her lack of experience as an administrator (Jaschik, 2007). Faust's supporters noted that Summers had also been a faculty member with no administrative background; yet, he did not face such speculations (Jaschik, 2007). Nevertheless, Faust's appointment was hailed by women leaders and aspiring leaders as a landmark for women in academic leadership (Jaschik, 2007).

Understandably, the usual course of action for presidents following campus legends is to focus on continuity. For example, as mentioned earlier, all presidents at MIT built on their predecessor's vision to articulate their own vision. Similarly, at the University of Michigan, Mary Sue Coleman (2002) followed the successful presidency of Lee Bollinger (1996), and in her address praised him and his immediate predecessor James Duderstadt for their leadership. The theme for Coleman's inaugural address was to look to the legacies of the university to plan for the future. Thus, she quoted from one of her presidential predecessors, Angell's, inaugural address. She made sure to mention her immediate predecessor Bollinger's life sciences initiatives for the university that she pledged to continue. Coleman, too, enjoyed a successful presidency and was even hailed by *Time* magazine as one of the best university presidents (Balodni, 2014). Her successor, Mark Schlissel (2014) too thanked Coleman as his immediate predecessor. Moreover, Schlissel quoted from several other predecessors' inaugural addresses and

biographies in an effort to assure his audience of the continuity of mission, and perhaps to deflect suspicions that he might not be a good fit for Michigan given his Ivy League pedigree. However, unlike Coleman, he did not dwell on any particular initiatives started by his predecessors, but spoke more of his vision for the university.

The change in political and economic realities separating some successive presidencies has meant that the foci for the inaugural addresses were necessarily very different from each other. For example, in 2001, when Shirley Tilghman of Princeton delivered her speech in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, she focused on the academy's responsibility in response to the tragic events of that day. Tilghman's appreciation of the generous public and private support for higher education contrasted sharply with her follower Christopher Eisgruber's words who in his 2013 address bemoaned the dwindling support for public colleges. Thus, it is evident from this example that even the relatively short span of 12 years can mean an enormous change in context.

Summary. The inaugural address discourse model suggested almost identical points of focus on each of the seven building tasks by female and male presidents. A closer look, however, revealed subtle difference in approaches by men and women, as well as by presidents of public and private universities. The similar discourse model reveals that presidents appear to follow certain patterns in what they need to highlight in their inaugural addresses in response to expectations associated with their role (Engen et al., 2001), and the rhetorical situation (Bitzer, 1992); however, the differences within the contents reveal that they tailor the rhetoric to their personal approaches and contexts. Next, I discuss if the rhetoric in the inaugural addresses is gendered.

Gendered rhetoric? A main focus of this study was the question: To what extent, if at all, is the language used in inaugural addresses gendered? As the inaugural address discourse model for the speeches included in this study illustrates, the speeches by female and male presidents were remarkably similar in the points covered. Men quoted women luminaries wherever appropriate and some even named women leaders as their mentors. Examples of presidents using language not associated with their gender roles abound. For example, MIT's Susan Hockfield (2004) used a metaphor from sports, while Case Western's Edward Hundert (2002) talked about raising daughters, illustrating how teaching needs to be approached with a thought experiment from Hindu philosophy. Thus, the metaphors and images were generally not gendered. Additionally, some male presidents dwelt on the importance of family and their spouse while some female presidents did not mention their family or spouse at all. Thus, the overall rhetoric is not gender-neutral but rather integrative (Nidiffer, 2001) with female and male leaders using both feminine and masculine language and constructs.

Overtly gendered language was evident in just one speech, Purdue's Mitchell E. Daniels's 2013 address, in which he repeatedly used he or his to denote everyone. I quote two examples from his address that was delivered as a letter to his campus community. "We cannot improve low on-time completion rates and maximize student success if no one is willing to modify his schedule, workload, or method of teaching" (§ 37), and "No one can expect his views to be free from vigorous challenge, but all must feel completely safe in speaking out" (§ 41). Daniels made no attempt to balance the pronouns. Perhaps, as a nontraditional president, his background as a governor and training as a lawyer did not sensitize him to gendered language. The fact that the address

with gendered pronouns was delivered to a large, diverse campus community in 2013 is quite remarkable, and contrasts sharply with the speech delivered that same year by Princeton's Christopher Eisgruber, also trained in law, who pointed out James Madison's use of gendered language hundreds of years ago. No doubt, Eisgruber's socialization as an academic administrator and faculty member, as well as the mentorship provided by women like Shirley Tilghman contributed to his heightened awareness of gendered language.

Like the overall discourse model, the language used in the addresses by men and women presidents in the sample was remarkably similar. My peer debriefers who were given addresses with the names of the speakers removed from the documents could not identify the speaker's gender unless evident from the speaker's reference to their spouse. Interestingly, it did not occur to my colleagues that, for example, perhaps a spouse with a male name or the male term husband could be a reference to a man's spouse. This heteronormativity is not surprising since few presidents of RU/VH universities have been openly gay or lesbian. My peer debriefers' inability to identify the gender of speaker from the language alone can be construed as both positive and negative news. On one hand, it means that men and women tend to speak similarly in comparable roles (Bligh et al, 2010; Engen et al., 2001), and do not feel the need to tailor their rhetoric to their socially constructed gender roles. However, on the other hand, the similarity in rhetoric indicates that women have to adopt a more masculine rhetorical style in order to legitimize their status as a leader. Bornstein's (2008) research supported the latter scenario since she discovered that new women presidents avoid calling attention to their gender in their behavior, dress, and speech, and even "downplay their interest in issues

related to women and feminism” (p. 169). Bornstein (2008) cited Nannerl O. Keohane of Duke as an example of a female president who did not turn her focus to women’s issues until her last few years in the presidency in an effort to gain legitimacy as a president before working on her feminist agenda.

Connected to the similarity in rhetoric by men and women is the dearth of feminist activism in the speeches, as is women leaders’ suppression of their subject position as pioneer leaders. As noted earlier, men in the sample for this study talked more openly and more often about themselves and their identities as leaders. They were also able to articulate any challenges they may have faced as students due to their identity such as their class and socioeconomic status. In contrast, women presidents showed less inclination to talk about personal struggles due to gender, race, or class. This discrepancy begs the questions: Do women feel they must appear self-effacing? Do women believe that the mention of their struggles will be seen as complaints or even a sign of weakness? If the answer to these questions is yes, then their rhetoric is gendered, and conforms to the demands of a gendered context that places them in a double-bind in which they have to pass themselves off as leaders who do not bring gendered identities to their role (Catalyst, 2007; Nidiffer, 2001). Or perhaps they are so socialized to a masculinized concept of leadership that they never examine their gendered experiences. In a future study, I hope to interview women presidents to find out their thought processes in composing public messages.

Perhaps the most glaring way that the addresses in this study are gendered is in what is not said. For example, as evident in current news, sexual harassment and assault on campuses are pervasive issues in higher education. Eight of the 22 institutions

included in this study are under federal investigation for their mishandling of sexual assault cases ("US Department of Education," 2014). However, none of the presidents addressed the issue of sexual misconduct in their inaugural address. They did, however, address the issue of sexual assault on their websites and communications to their campus community. The silence in their inaugural address by all presidents, even men and women whose campuses are under federal investigation, on the serious issue of sexual violence indicates that it is not given the public attention it deserves, or is considered a taboo topic to discuss at a public venue. It is indeed ironic that despite the strong focus by a majority of presidents on freedom of expression, some important but controversial issues such as gender, race, and sexual crime on campuses appear to be off-limits in public rhetoric by presidents. The fact that said taboo controversial issues impact marginalized groups points to cultural norms that continue to favor dominant groups, and indicative of political maneuvering to preserve the power of dominant groups (Morgan, 1997). The inaugural address serves as an introduction to the new president, and sets the tone for the presidency, therefore, presidents take this opportunity to articulate what can be expected from them as leaders and what they expect from their campus community. The inaugural address can provide a venue for the presidents to play a role in changing cultures that are toxic by articulating their expectations in their public addresses. However, the inaugural address may or may not be an appropriate venue to directly address highly contentious, and indeed, unpleasant issues like sexual crimes on campuses. Nevertheless, ignoring such issues completely is also a major error. What presidents might have done instead of ignoring the issue of sexual assault on campuses is address the importance of ensuring the safety of all campus members. Therefore, the

omission of a serious issue such as sexual assault, despite evidence that their campus communities are not safe, particularly for women, is noteworthy.

Also rare is commentary on institutional structures that discriminate against women and minorities. Evidence of highlighting the positive aspects of the institutions' identities abounds, yet problematizing the role of institutional structures in holding back women and minorities is addressed, if at all, in indirect ways. This point also links up with the absence of women leaders' subject position in the addresses. By telling their stories of how they were able to overcome structural challenges during their career, presidents can send inspiring messages to aspiring leaders, particularly women, and help improve higher education for everyone. Most presidents included in the study joined their position as president after serving in prominent academic or administrative positions at high profile research universities, and some were promoted in-house after having served as professors or provosts. Since they had served in prominent positions, it is likely that they were able to navigate the system because they molded their behavior to masculine structures. The fact that most women in the sample belong to the STEM disciplines, which are highly masculinized, indicates the likelihood of their adroitness in navigating masculine cultures. Now the important point here is whether they do so by conforming to that culture, and advance by not ruffling feathers or if they resist against it to break down the house that the master built (Lorde, 2003). In terms of language, the resistance is there, but it is an indirect and covert one as illustrated in Harvard's Drew Faust's indirect reference to herself as a pioneer woman leader at an institution that did not foresee a woman ever being president, and in the following excerpt from Brown's Christina Paxson's (2012) speech:

As talented students found their way to this hilltop, the college prospered and grew, its destinies tied to the state and nation it was doing so much to shape.

Women and African Americans were famously not a part of the student body in those early years. But students, alumni and faculty raised provocative questions, as they always have, about the prevailing social customs of the day. Then as now, Brown was a work in progress, ever evolving. (§ 8)

Here, Paxson referred to a time in the past when injustices against women and minorities were the norm to highlight her institution's ability to evolve. However, she offered the caveat that the work is not done, to warn against complacency; an indirect reference to her presence as a woman president (or indeed that of her predecessor Ruth Simmons) not to be taken as an indication that discrimination based on gender and race is a thing of the past.

One rare example of open resistance in the sample for this study was Denice Denton (2005) of UC Santa Cruz. Her inaugural address was an authentic extension of her personal beliefs, and her feminist activism was overt. Yet, we know from her brief biography that she was bitterly criticized for issues such as the expenditure on the presidential house to get it ready for her, and the appointment and salary of her same-sex partner. Denton was not the only president to receive these perks as these are common practices meant to attract strong candidates, yet she was the target of a campaign of personal attacks against her that made it next to impossible for her to lead, and perhaps even contributed to her tragic suicide just months after her investiture. One cannot help but wonder if her authenticity was incompatible with the role of president; and that people who "rock the boat" (Hughes, 2014, § 1) too hard can get thrown off the boat, so

most choose just to row it. Rewards and punishments are used to perpetuate gender norms, and those who choose to defy the norms, such as Denton, are vulnerable to punishment, thus the lack of feminist activism and suppression of women leaders' identity as a marginalized minority is not surprising (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Padavic & Reskin, 2003). Denton's story is an extreme illustration of how a promising individual, with her ideals expressed so eloquently in her inaugural address, can meet a hopeless end. Denton's example also supports Birnbaum's (1992) observation that academic leadership is rarely transformational given the context of organizational cultures that are resistant to change due to their historical grounding.

Summary. The inaugural address discourse model indicated overall similarities between the rhetoric by female and male presidents of high profile research universities. The overall model indicated strong emphasis on the political aspect of discourse, moderate focus on identities, relationships, practices, connections, and significance; and relatively low emphasis on sign systems and knowledge. Differences indicated that women talked less about themselves, used more metaphorical language, quoted men more often, and introduced their spouses in more detail than men. Gendered rhetoric is also evident in the inaugural addresses largely as an artifact of gendered organizations. The gendered rhetoric ranged from the complete omission of issues such as sexist and racist organizational structures, and the sexual assault epidemic on college campuses, to overt gendered language in the speech by Purdue's Mitchell E. Daniels. Differences between the rhetoric by men and women were barely discernable perhaps due to intentional efforts by women presidents to conceal their femininity to gain legitimacy (Bornstein, 2008).

Implications for Practice

The increased participation of women in leadership positions at high profile research universities is a recent development. Yet, the impact of this increase in number is already showing results as women finally start to make an appearance in these institutions' sagas as leaders, and as they leave strong legacies as evident from their generally long and successful tenures. However, the presence of women in visible positions is not sufficient to take care of the phenomenon of gendered organizations (Acker, 1990), and presidents, men and women, as well as higher education institutions can do much more than they are currently doing in terms of using rhetoric in service of making their institutions more welcoming to women and minorities. I enumerate these points below.

First, as noted earlier, what is not said stands out in the addresses. Presidents, men and women, need to explicitly address the issue of gendered organizational structures and treat this situation as an exigence in their inaugural addresses. It has taken centuries for women to enter and reach presidential positions in some of the institutions in this study, and if they just choose to chip away at gendered structures it will take centuries more to dismantle these structures that are designed to keep people out. Thus, the urgency with which gendered organizations ought to be addressed is missing. The omission of addressing the serious issue of sexual assaults in their rhetoric is an incredible instance of neglecting crimes taking place in their institutions that have mostly women as the victims. Rather than avoid it, presidents need to unequivocally address this issue in their public rhetoric, and take measures to end sexual assault on their campuses. Perhaps, the reason why presidents avoid contentious issues like race, gender, and sexual

harassment is that they fear that there might be a backlash due to the context of their gendered organizations. Presidents can use rhetorical devices such as framing (Faithurst, 2011; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996), and combine elements of rhetoric, ethos, pathos, and logos (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995) to articulate their activism without appearing to blatantly impose their beliefs on the audience. Storytelling and metaphors can be very useful in this exercise in the management of meaning (Smircich & Morgan, 1982) as these are subtle and memorable devices to communicate a reality. Some effective examples of subtle references to controversial issues were found in the sample for this study, such as Drew Faust's (2007) reference to her status as a pioneer woman president at Harvard, and Lee Bollinger's (1996) critique of gender discrimination in his tribute to his wife.

Second, another shortcoming in the addresses, particularly those by women presidents, which can be rectified in practice, is that they tend not to speak of their identity as leaders, or the challenges they may have faced in their leadership journey. They generally credit others with their success but do not speak of their own agency in their success. These women are in prominent positions and serve as role models for other women aspiring to reach their position. They can serve as mentors to thousands if not millions in their audience by bringing their stories in their rhetoric. Since framing (Faithurst, 2011; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996) starts with sensemaking (Weick, 1995), leaders have to reconcile their personal beliefs with their cultural contexts to succeed in framing meaning for their audience. This is not an easy task, and as evident from the speeches, many presidents' identities are lost in the process.

Third, in addition to focusing on how generous the institutions are for allowing women to not just survive but thrive, taking a cue from Nidiffer (2001) and Denice

Denton (2005) of UC Santa Cruz, presidents, men and women, need to turn the discourse around and argue how women's participation and leadership are beneficial for higher education institutions. This message is important to send out because organizations are less likely to change if there is no perceived benefit for them. Presidents have a great platform in their inaugural addresses to articulate these facts and change the significance of women's leadership from a benefit to women to a benefit to organizations. Morgan (1997) noted that gendered and racist organizations are the result of political maneuvering aimed at giving unfair advantages to dominant groups. Given the dominance of the building task of politics in the inaugural addresses, leaders can use political maneuvering to their advantage by putting rhetorical (Covino & Jolliffe, 1995) and framing skills (Faithurst, 2011; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996) to use, and creating a counter-narrative toward dismantling unjust organizational structures.

Last, leadership academies as well as mentors to women need to pay attention to the importance of preparing women for rhetorical situations. By studying rhetoric of men and women who are leaders, aspiring leaders can learn a great deal about how they can become effective speakers. As evident from the analysis in this study, even high achieving women have a tendency to be self-effacing and not approach the idea of leadership and power from a subject position. Although this humility is admirable, it does not help other aspiring nontraditional leaders in the audience form an idea of what it means to be a nontraditional leader. Leadership academies, mentors, and professors can help aspiring women leaders overcome this self-effacement that is a disservice to the cause of women in leadership. This idea of embracing one's leadership links up with

Sandberg's (2013) idea of the need to lean in, i.e., for women to stop underselling themselves in salary and promotion negotiations as well as leadership ability.

Implications for Future Study

The inaugural addresses of academic presidents are a rich source of information about the leaders and the institutions they lead. This research study is only one part of the picture as there are many different perspectives that can be explored further and include different institution types and different types of public rhetoric. In this section, I list some possible related studies that can build on this study.

I can envision a larger long term research project in the future that would involve attending the inaugural addresses in person and analyzing not just the text but the physical setting, clothing, gestures, audience response, and ceremonial traditions. Such a study would provide a more complete picture of other aspects of the social construction of gender and leadership in addition to language.

This study only focused on publicly available inaugural addresses. A further step would be to obtain a larger sample of speeches by writing to the presidents' offices to conduct a more inclusive, larger study. This strategy will also allow analyses of a greater number of pairs of successive presidents' speeches to explore more fully how male and female presidents who succeed each other speak similarly or differently.

A quantitative content analysis of inaugural addresses would provide a different perspective of the speeches. A content analysis with a large sample can facilitate statistical analyses to reveal valuable information about whether or not the differences between men and women's rhetoric are statistically significant.

As stated earlier, it would be interesting to interview presidents to find out their thought processes in composing public messages. Such a study would allow a better understanding of how presidents decide to frame their messages, how they do their research for speech writing, what sort of help they get for their speech writing, and how they decide what is significant.

My research on each participating institution revealed a wide range of strategies used by these research universities in presenting information about the institutions and their leaders. Some institutions place the information front and center, and highlight their leadership history, while others make it difficult to find any information about past presidents. It would make an interesting study to do a content analysis of the website presence of leaders of these high profile research universities as well as other institution types to find out how information about their leaders is framed.

Yet another study would be a comparative discourse or content analysis of inaugural addresses across institutional types. Such a study can reveal the relationship between the institutional culture and language choice. Do public university presidents always reference the public responsibilities of their mission? Do private university leaders focus on their well-rounded educational philosophy?

A future study could also focus on a comparative discourse analysis between rhetoric by presidents of color and those belonging to dominant ethnicities. Since this study only included a handful of presidents who belong to minority ethnicities, a clear picture could not be formed. However, since racial and ethnic identities are salient, a study exploring the rhetoric from a critical discourse analysis lens would reveal rich information about what it means to be a higher education leader of color.

Finally, another pertinent study would entail studying the inaugural addresses of presidents who have been in office for some years to see how far they are able to act on the vision articulated in their addresses. Such an approach would also reveal the challenges and pitfalls of leadership as the leader may come in with a clear vision for the university but may or may not be able to get buy-in from her or his campus community.

Conclusion

The inaugural addresses by presidents of high profile research universities included in this study ranged from metaphorically rich to incredibly sparse, yet on the whole, they followed a certain pattern that can be termed the inaugural address discourse model. The most critical elements of this discourse model included a greater emphasis on the political aspects of discourse; moderate emphasis on identities, relationships, practices, connections, and significance; and relatively low emphasis on sign systems and knowledge. However, of note, this monolithic discourse model contained subtle differences between female and male presidents' rhetoric in their inaugural addresses.

The similarities in the patterns in the discourse model of inaugural addresses of men and women presidents indicate the importance of context (Engen et al., 2001), since all presidents included in this study lead or have led high profile research universities. Also, because the inaugural address is a response to a rhetorical situation (Bitzer, 1992), it is carefully crafted to address audience expectations, thus, the similarities are to be expected. Furthermore, presidents of high profile research universities are socialized in that culture during their career; therefore, their similar rhetoric is partly a result of that socialization.

However, the differences between the rhetoric by men and women are instructive as they reveal subtle differences in leadership approaches. For instance, women talked less about themselves in the speeches than men, used more metaphorical language than men, quoted men more often than men, and introduced their spouses in more detail than men. Men, on the other hand, were more likely to speak of power as a productive force, use religious metaphors, and slightly more likely than women to quote or cite women. Therefore, the subtle differences embedded in an almost identical discourse model points to the integrative nature of rhetoric in the addresses (Nidiffer, 2001). Presidents follow a general pattern in the topics they cover in their speeches, however, their identities as individual men and women are evident in their language. Thus, from the overall discourse model, the type of rhetoric is recognizable as an inaugural address, but within that discourse model, subtle differences reveal unique approaches by men and women to the inaugural address.

What is not said in the addresses is just as important as what is said. In general, female presidents' subject positions were not evident in their rhetoric. Therefore, while female presidents hailed other women for being pioneers, they did not call attention to their status as women who shattered gender barriers to become premier women leaders in their universities. Some exceptions like Harvard's Drew Faust can be seen, but even in her case the mention was fleeting and subtle. This observation gives rise to some questions: Is it reasonable to expect women who lead high profile institutions to engage in feminist activism from a subject position at a high profile event such as an inaugural address? Would such focus on gendered identity be perceived as a weakness or seen as inappropriate? According to Allan et al. (2010), "language and meaning produce

dynamic and contradictory subject positions” (p. 5). Women in leadership positions are in a contradictory subject position because when they speak as women, they run the risk of not being accepted as leaders, and if they speak as leaders, they may be rejected as women. This contradiction is sometimes known as a “double bind” (Nidiffer, 2001, p. 112). This double bind puts restraints on women’s inaugural address rhetoric as they grapple with finding a balance so as not to alienate their constituents with feminist rhetoric while at the same time speak authentically as women who broke gender barriers. Thus, the omission of women’s subject positions indicates the resilience of the double bind and structural constraints that women in academic leadership have to struggle with, and that prevent them from leading authentically (Eddy, 2009; Tedrow & Rhoades, 1999).

The examples of feminist activism by presidents of research universities noted earlier are exceptions rather than the rule in the speeches included in this study, which begs the question: Is the inaugural presidential address an appropriate venue for feminist activism? I would answer that yes, the inaugural address is not only an appropriate but an important venue to engage in activism for all kinds of social justice which includes feminist activism. Presidents are in a powerful position to frame and create meaning for the people and institutions they have been selected to lead. They can have a massive impact with careful selection of their language. As Bornstein (2008) noted, new women presidents feel that they have to tread carefully initially to obtain legitimacy, and only later can they focus openly on feminist issues, which speaks to the gendered nature of the context in which they operate where overt resistance may not be tolerated. Thus, we see that the few instances of feminist activism, such as those in University of Pennsylvania’s

Amy Gutmann's or Harvard's Drew Faust's speeches, were couched in indirect or metaphorical language. With the number of women in leadership positions increasing, perhaps we will see a tipping point (Chliwniak, 1997; Martin, 2014) where the discourse will begin to change. Nevertheless, leaders are in a powerful position to use this platform to do their part to promote women as well as minorities. Male leaders, too can, and indeed have, raised their voices in support of women in positions of influence. However, the paucity of such voices is a sign that organizational structures of research universities are gendered (Acker, 1990), and resistant to social justice discourses.

In general, changing the gendered status quo does not appear to be a part of the exigence in the speeches. Presidents in this study appear to approach the task of leadership from a symbolic frame (Bolman & Deal, 2008), and serve as "catalysts or facilitators of an ongoing process" (Bensimon, 1989, p. 110). Since most presidents came to the position of president from high profile academic positions, they are likely socialized in the academic culture and do not wish to rock the boat (Hughes, 2014). Given their socialization, is it reasonable to expect them to engage in overt activism? As leaders, they have a responsibility to change structures that are unfair to some. If they do not participate in rocking the boat, then they are complicit in rowing the boat (Hughes, 2014), thus, playing a role in perpetuating unjust structures. These presidents are in positions of power and they need to acknowledge their power as a positive force (Allan et al., 2010), and put it to good use.

In the sample for this study, the instances of open and detailed acknowledgement of a spouse's or family's integral role in the leader's life were uncommon; and this rarity, in part, points to the disembodied (Acker, 1990; Williams, 2000) nature of the work of

leadership. With a few exceptions, presidents, on the whole, did not acknowledge the inseparability of their personal lives from their professional lives. Perhaps, they are not comfortable acknowledging this inseparability due to institutional cultures, or it is a matter of personal choice. Nevertheless, the similar choice of mentioning or not mentioning family at the same institution by successive presidents supports the role of gendered organizational culture in constraining presidents' choices. Thus, the disembodied leadership norm is evident from the disembodied rhetoric of many of the presidents included in this study as they focused on their identities as leaders disconnected from other dimensions in their lives.

To conclude, one of the most encouraging findings of this study is that the legacy of the presidency has changed for the future because of the pioneer women leaders of high profile research universities. However, I must caution that these few success stories must not be taken as a sign that research universities are no longer gendered. Such an argument would be the equivalent of the irrational claim that since Obama is president of the United States, racism is over. Unfortunately, we have not entered a post-race or post-gender era socially, politically or academically. Much remains to be done and leaders can play a proactive role in realizing gender and race equality on research university campuses. Since research universities lead the way for other institution types (Geiger, 2004; Lewis & Hearn, 2003), any change here has the potential to have a ripple effect on all of higher education and beyond. The rhetoric by presidents of research universities can have a deep and enduring impact on the field of higher education and society generally, and presidents must use their rhetoric carefully, and craft their messages using rhetorical devices to promote social justice. With the rising number of women leading

prestigious research universities, they can begin to push the agenda of gender and race equality in their rhetoric. Organizational cultures are resilient, but they can change as evident from women's increased participation in higher education leadership in recent years. Where just a couple of decades ago, presidents could only name men from their institution's history, women are now leaving strong legacies and their mark on these universities for all posterity, changing the very image associated with the idea of research university president.

Appendix A: Sample

Institution	Type	Rank ^a	President(s)	Gender	Tenure	Family	Previous Position	Academic Discipline
Brown University	Private	16	Christina Paxson	Female	2012-present	Married, 2 children	Dean at Princeton	Economics
Case Western University	Private	38	Edward Hundert	Male	2002-2006	Married, 3 children	Dean University of Rochester	Medicine
			Barbara Snyder ^b	Female	2007-present	Married, 3 children	VP & Provost of Ohio State	Law
Harvard University	Private	2	Lawrence Summers	Male	2001-2006	Married, 6 children	Professor/Chief Economist World Bank	Economics
			Drew Faust ^b	Female	2007-present	Married, 2 children	Professor at UPenn	History
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Private	7	Charles Vest	Male	1990-2004	Married, 2 children	Provost at the University of Michigan	Engineering
			Susan Hockfield ^b	Female	2004-2012	Married, 1 child	Provost at Yale	Life sciences
			Rafael Reif	Male	2012-present	Married, 2 children	Provost at MIT	Engineering
Michigan	Public	35	Lou Anna K.	Female	2005-present	Married	Provost at Michigan	Higher

State University			Simon ^b				State	Education
Montana State University	Public	-	Waded Cruzado ^b	Female	2010-present	Divorced, 2 children	Provost New Mexico State University	Humanities
Ohio State University	Public	54	E. Gordon Gee	Male	2007-2013	Divorced, 1 child	President Vanderbilt, & Brown	Law
Princeton University	Private	1	Shirley Tilghman ^b	Female	2001-2013	Divorced, 2 children	Faculty member at Princeton	Biochemistry
			Christopher Eisgruber	Male	2013-present	Married, 1 child	Provost at Princeton	Law
Purdue University	Public	62	France Cordova ^b	Female	2007-2012	Married, 2 children	Chancellor at UC Riverside	Astrophysics
			Mitchell Daniels	Male	2013-present	Married, 4 children	Governor of the state of Indiana	Law
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	Private	42	Shirley Jackson ^b	Female	1999-present	Married, 1 child	Chairman, Nuclear Regulatory Commission	Theoretical Physics
Stony Brook University	Public	88	Samuel Stanley	Male	2009-present	Married, 4 children	VC Research at Washington University	Medicine
University of Arizona	Public	121	Ann Weaver Hart ^b	Female	2012-present	Married, 4 children	President at Temple University	Educational leadership

University of California, Davis	Public	38	Linda Katehi ^b	Female	2009-present	Married, 2 children	Provost at University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign	Engineering
University of California, Santa Cruz	Public	85	M. R. C Greenwood ^b	Female	1996-2004	Divorced, 1 child	Dean at UC Davis	Physiology
			Denice Denton	Female	2005-2006	Partner	Dean at the University of Washington	Engineering
			George Blumenthal	Male	2007-present	Married, 2 children	Professor, UC Santa Cruz	Astrophysics
University of Cincinnati	Public	129	Nancy Zimpher ^b	Female	2003-2009	Married	Chancellor, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee	Higher Education
University of Connecticut	Public	58	Michael J. Hogan	Male	2007-2010	Married, 4 children	Provost at University of Iowa	History
			Susan Herbst ^b	Female	2011-present	Married, 2 children	CAO/Executive VC, University System of Georgia	Communication Theory
University of Iowa	Public	71	Sally Mason	Female	2007-present	Married	Provost at Purdue University	Biology
University of Michigan	Public	29	Lee Bollinger	Male	1996-2002	Married, 2 children	Provost at Dartmouth College	Law

University of California, Davis	Public	38	Linda Katehi ^b	Female	2009-present	Married, 2 children	Provost at University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign	Engineering
University of California, Santa Cruz	Public	85	M. R. C Greenwood ^b	Female	1996-2004	Divorced, 1 child	Dean at UC Davis	Physiology
			Denice Denton	Female	2005-2006	Partner	Dean at the University of Washington	Engineering
			George Blumenthal	Male	2007-present	Married, 2 children	Professor, UC Santa Cruz	Astrophysics
University of Cincinnati	Public	129	Nancy Zimpher ^b	Female	2003-2009	Married	Chancellor, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee	Higher Education
University of Connecticut	Public	58	Michael J. Hogan	Male	2007-2010	Married, 4 children	Provost at University of Iowa	History
			Susan Herbst ^b	Female	2011-present	Married, 2 children	CAO/Executive VC, University System of Georgia	Communication Theory
University of Iowa	Public	71	Sally Mason	Female	2007-present	Married	Provost at Purdue University	Biology
University of Michigan	Public	29	Lee Bollinger	Male	1996-2002	Married, 2 children	Provost at Dartmouth College	Law

			Mary Sue Coleman ^b	Female	2002-2014	Married, 1 child	President, University of Iowa	Biochemistry
			Mark S. Schlissel	Male	2014-present	Married, 4 children	Provost at Brown	Medicine
University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill	Public	30	Carol Folt ^b	Female	2013-present	Married, 2 children	Provost and Interim President Dartmouth	Ecology
University of Pennsylvania	Private	8	Amy Gutmann	Female	2004-present	Married, 1 child	Provost at Princeton	Political science
University of South Florida	Public	161	Judy Genshaft	Female	2000-present	Married, 2 children	Provost SUNY Albany	Counselling
University of Virginia	Public	23	John T. Casteen	Male	1990-2010	Married, 5 children	President, University of Connecticut	English
			Teresa Sullivan ^b	Female	2010-present	Married, 2 children	Provost at the University of Michigan	Sociology

^a US News and World Report Nationally Ranked Universities

^b First woman president at the university

Appendix B: Coding Scheme

List of A Priori Codes

The following a priori codes are based on the theoretical framework:

1. Significance: use of language to make something significant or insignificant (Gee, 2014)
 - a. Highlights significance (Gee, 2014)
 - b. Cites historical event
2. Practices: use of language to enact practices/activities (Gee, 2014)
 - a. Exigence: discourse that is able to lead to change in practice (Bitzer, 1992)
 - b. Activism: feminist activism from a subject position created by discourse (Allan et al., 2010)
3. Identities: use of language to enact identity (Gee, 2014)
 - a. For the speaker (Gee, 2014)
 - b. For others (Gee, 2014)
 - c. Subject position: language and meaning produce gendered identity (Allan et al., 2010)
 - d. Identities are fluid and contingent upon discourse (Allan et al., 2010)
 - e. Constraints on language use due to identity (Bitzer, 1992)
 - f. Identity as leader
4. Relationships: use of language to build relationships (Gee, 2010)
 - a. Audience : individuals capable of being influenced by rhetoric (present or not) (Bitzer, 1992)
 - b. Constraints on language due to relationships (Bitzer, 1992)

- c. Family: mentions family
 - i. Using language to evoke family relationships
 - ii. Names spouse
5. Politics: use of language to communicate what constitutes as a “social good”
(Gee, 2014)
- a. Normal/good/correct/proper/right/valuable (Gee, 2014)
 - b. The way things are (Gee, 2014)
 - c. The way things ought to be (Gee, 2014)
 - d. Power as a productive force (Allan et al., 2010)
 - e. Social effects constructed (Allan et al., 2010)
 - i. Consequences of social effects (Allan et al., 2010)
 - f. Constraints on language flowing from traditions, beliefs, objectives etc.
(Bitzer, 1992)
6. Connections: use of language to make connections (Gee, 2014)
- a. Highlight connections (Gee, 2014)
 - b. Mitigate connections (Gee, 2014)
 - c. Connections between discourse and subject position (Allan et al., 2010)
7. Sign systems and knowledge: use of language to privilege or disprivilege sign systems or knowledge systems (Gee, 2014)
- a. Constraints on sign system or knowledge system owing to the context of the inaugural address (Bitzer, 1992)
 - i. Cites or quotes men
 - ii. Cites or quotes women

b. Integration of knowledge from multiple disciplines

When I began the process of analysis, some themes started to emerge that merited coding. Additionally, my peer debriefers suggested that I add certain codes. Hence, the following emergent codes were added:

1. Under the main code significance, I added “lessens significance.”
2. Under the main code identities, I added “institutional identities,” and “identity as a student,” to denote an instance where the president spoke of her or his student experience.
3. Under relationships, I added “global relationships.”
4. Under connections, I added “metaphor or simile is used.”

Description of Codes

Since the coding scheme is based on a combination of theories, the codes are described in detail below to facilitate an understanding of how they were used. The descriptions are cited and quoted directly to emphasize the different sources.

Discourse analysis coding. Gee’s (2014) seven building tasks through which discourses are understood were used for coding the data. Additionally, Bitzer’s (1992) theory of rhetorical situation, and the feminist poststructural approach of Allan, Iverson, and Ropers-Huilman (2010) were embedded into Gee’s (2014) discourse analysis building tasks. Gee (2014) gave the following definitions for these building tasks as well as the discourse analysis questions to ask for each building task:

1. Significance

There are things in life that are, by nearly everyone’s standards, significant (for example the birth or death of a child). But for many things, we need to use

language to render them significant or to lessen their significance, to signal to others how we view their significance. (p. 32)

Discourse analysis question: How is this piece of language being used to make certain things significant or not and in what ways? (p. 32)

2. Practices (Activities)

A practice is

a socially recognized and institutionally or culturally supported endeavor that usually involves sequencing or combining actions in certain specified ways...

We use language to get recognized as engaging in a certain sort of practice or activity. For example, I talk and act in one way and I am engaged in formally opening a committee meeting; I talk and act in another way and I am engaged in "chit-chat" before the official start of the meeting.

When we think about practices, we confront a significant "chicken and egg" sort of question

What we say, do, and are in using language enacts practices. At the same time, what we say, do, and are would have no meaning unless these practices already existed. (pp. 32, 33)

Discourse analysis question: What practice (activity) or practices (activities) is this piece of language being used to enact (i.e., get others to recognize as going on)? (p. 33)

3. Identities

We often enact out identities by speaking or writing in such a way as to attribute a certain identity to others, an identity that we explicitly or implicitly compare and

contrast to our own. We build identities for others as a way to build ones for ourselves. (p. 33)

Discourse analysis question: What identity or identities is this piece of language being used to enact (i.e., get others to recognize as operative)? What identity or identities is this piece of language attributing to others and how does this help the speaker or writer enact his or her own identity? (34)

4. Relationships

We use language to signal what sort of relationship we have, want to have, or are trying to have with our listener(s), reader(s), or other people, groups, or institutions about whom we are communicating. We use language to build social relationships. (p. 34)

Discourse analysis question: What sort of relationship or relationships is this piece of language seeking to enact with others (present or not)? (p. 34)

5. Politics (the distribution of social goods)

Social goods are potentially at stake any time we speak or write so as to state or imply that something or someone is "adequate," "normal," "good," or "acceptable" (or the opposite) in some fashion important to some group in society or society as a whole. (p. 34)

Discourse analysis question: What perspective on social goods is this piece of language communicating (i.e., what is being communicated as to what is taken to be "normal," "right," "correct," "proper," "appropriate," "valuable," "the way things are," "the way things ought to be," "high status or low status," "like me or not like me," and so forth)? (pp. 34-35)

6. Connections

We use language to render certain things connected or relevant (or not) to other things, that is, to build connections or relevance.... Even when things seem inherently connected or relevant to each other, we can use language to break or mitigate such connections. (p. 35)

Discourse analysis question: How does this piece of language connect or disconnect things; how does it make one thing relevant or irrelevant to another? (p. 35)

7. Sign systems and Knowledge

There are many different languages (e.g., Spanish, Russian, English). There are many different varieties of any one language (e.g., the language of lawyers, the language of biologists, the language of hip-hop artists). There are communicative systems that are not language (e.g., equations, graphs, images). These are all different sign systems.

Furthermore, we humans are always making knowledge and belief claims within these systems. We can use language to make certain sign systems and certain forms or knowledge relevant or privileged, or not, in given situations, that is, to build privilege or prestige for one sign system or way of knowing over another. (p. 35)

Discourse analysis question: How does this piece of language privilege or disprivilege specific sign systems (e.g., Spanish vs. English, technical language vs. everyday language, word vs. images, words vs. equations, etc.) or different ways of knowing and believing or claims to knowledge and belief (e.g., science

vs. the Humanities, science vs. "common sense," biology vs. "creation science")?
(pp. 35-36)

Rhetorical situation coding. Bitzer's (1992) definitions of the following terms were used:

Exigence:

An exigence is an imperfection marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be. In almost any sort of context, there will be numerous exigences, but not all are elements of a rhetorical situation - not all are rhetorical exigences. An exigence which cannot be modified is not rhetorical; thus, whatever comes about of necessity and cannot be changed - death, winter, and some natural disasters, for instance - are exigences to be sure, but they are not rhetorical. Further, an exigence which can be modified only by means other than discourse is not rhetorical; thus, an exigence is not rhetorical when its modification requires merely one's own action or the application of a tool, but neither requires nor invites the assistance of discourse. An exigence is rhetorical when it is capable of positive modification and when positive modification requires discourse or can be assisted by discourse.

(p. 6)

Audience:

Since rhetorical discourse produces change by influencing the decision and action of persons who function as mediators of change, it follows that rhetoric always requires an audience - even in those cases when a person engages himself or ideal mind as audience. It is clear also that a rhetorical audience must be distinguished

from a body of mere hearers or readers: properly speaking, a rhetorical audience consists only of those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change. (p. 7)

Constraints:

[E]very rhetorical situation contains a set of constraints made up of persons, events, objects, and relations which are parts of the situation because they have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence. Standard sources of constraint include beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, images, interests, motives and the like; and when the orator enters the situation, his discourse not only harnesses constraints given by situation but provides additional important constraints - for example his personal character, his logical proofs, and his style. There are two main classes of constraints: (1) those originated or managed by the rhetor and his method (Aristotle called these "artistic proofs"), and (2) those other constraints, in the situation, which may be operative (Aristotle's "inartistic proofs"). Both classes must be divided so as to separate those constraints that are proper from those that are improper. (p. 8)

Feminist poststructural coding. The feminist poststructural lens described by Allan, Iverson, and Ropers-Huilman (2010) was used for coding:

- A focus on the relationship between discourse and subjectivity—providing a theory for understanding how language and meaning produce dynamic and contradictory subject positions.
- An explanation of identity and sense of self as inevitably fluid, in process, and contingent upon discourse. Poststructural feminism works to

destabilize the rational, fixed, coherent subject of enlightenment
humanism....

- An emphasis on and understanding of power as a productive rather than a repressive force.
- An imperative for examining how particular educational realities have been constituted and regulated through discourse, asking: what social effects are produced and with what consequences?
- An ethic of activism central to feminism while also acknowledging subjectivity as an effect of discourse. (p. 5)

Appendix C: Researcher as Instrument Statement

As a qualitative researcher, I am an instrument in this study, therefore, it is important for me to acknowledge my biases at the outset so I can be aware of them when conducting the analyses. I am a Ph.D. student at the College of William & Mary. As a foreign student in the United States, I have chosen to focus on research in the US versus in my own country. My origin in a different country certainly influences my role as a research instrument. However, having lived in the US for almost three years now, I have come to understand and respect the local culture thanks to my complete immersion in it. I came to the US fluent in the English language as I have studied the language throughout school and college, and in fact, majored in English literature in college. Through my immersion in the local culture, I have developed a better understanding of the nuances of the English language as it is used in everyday life in the US.

I hail from a very conservative and patriarchal culture which gives men advantages over women in all aspects of life. Growing up as a female in Pakistan, a male-dominated society, I have always been inquisitive about the reasons, sources, and means for the inequality between men and women. I had never studied feminism formally in my academic career until I took undergraduate courses at William & Mary in the Women's Studies department to augment my knowledge. I was struck by the inadequacy of the English language, indeed any language, in communicating what it means to be a woman in a world created by men. For instance, the word gynocentric is not recognized by my word processor while the word androcentric is not marked by a red line and happily accepted by MS Word as a bona fide word. Even my computer is complicit in refuting the possibility of anything centering on women.

I have always been interested in languages and was an English literature major in college. I always say that English is my third language, Urdu and Punjabi being the first two, but I have studied English in-depth and examined its nuances in a way I haven't done with my other two languages. I was already aware of the treachery of language even before I started studying feminism as a subject, but the extent of the treachery was brought home to me when I read Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*. Written in 1949, the book was new to me but the ideas in it felt like my own. I realized how often I had felt betrayed by language, all three that I know, because I was speaking as a woman while the default was man. And where did this language come from? We made it up, of course. But looking back at human history it is clear that language, like history, is written by the conquerors. Women were reduced to the second sex not just in everyday life, but in all symbol systems to ensure their subordination to men.

My interest in leadership stems from issues of social justice. I believe that leadership should not be the domain of one gender, class, race, ethnicity, etc. Why are men (White men in the context of the US) default leaders? In the context of Pakistan, why are men belonging to wealthy families and dominant ethnicities default leaders? Women who have led in Pakistan such as twice elected Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto were able to do so because of their connections with powerful male leaders. In Bhutto's case, her father's legacy allowed her to carry his vision forward. I know from experience that having a woman at the helm of a country does not mean that the lot of women in that country will improve. Bhutto did little to help the women of her country but her enduring contribution will be a change in the image that automatically pops into our heads when we think of the Prime Minister of our country. I believe it is a massive change brought

about by a single example. Thus, my interest in women's leadership goes beyond issues of power, and change in ground realities. I think that the visibility of the leader who does not fit the traditional mold challenges our long held beliefs and brings about a paradigm shift much faster than would be possible otherwise.

Academic leadership is similar to political leadership. Presidents, chancellors, and in Pakistan's case vice chancellors and rectors tend to be men. Women presidents are usually to be found at all-women institutions in Pakistan. Thus, it is not surprising that when we speak of leaders, we think of men. However, this image can change almost overnight if more women can reach high profile academic leadership positions.

The situation is changing in the US with more women shattering the glass ceiling in academic leadership. Yet they remain far outnumbered by men, particularly in research universities. These women leaders have had to navigate many barriers and roadblocks on their leadership journey, not the least of which is language. I am deeply interested in finding out how they have used and continue to use language in their role as leaders. Do they speak differently than do men leaders? Do they subscribe to the gender roles in the vocabulary and images they choose to frame their message? What messages does their choice of language communicate to future leaders in their audience?

The status of the leader as a role model is particularly interesting to me, as a leader is not just responsible for her or his own leadership but for the future of leadership itself. Since messages by leaders are fairly permanent and have wide dissemination thanks to digital media, what they say has an enduring impact. I believe a great deal of responsibility rests with leaders to choose their words wisely.

I am willing to discover that leaders use language carefully to ensure positive influences on future leaders. I am willing to discover that leaders problematize the issue of gender and leadership in their public speeches. I am also willing to discover that men and women do not have to speak in accordance with their socially prescribed gender roles to be successful leaders.

I am not willing to discover that leaders do not choose their words mindfully in their public addresses. I am not willing to find out that they do not address issues of social justice, including gender inequality, in their public addresses. I am not willing to discover that in order to be a successful leader, women have to come off as motherly or nurturing in their language or else they might be rejected as women and as leaders.

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