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Navigating The Male Preserve Of Higher Education Leadership: A Feminist Poststructural Discourse Analysis Of Presidential Inaugural Addresses By Women At Colonial Colleges

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NAVIGATING THE MALE PRESERVE OF HIGHER EDUCATION LEADERSHIP:

A FEMINIST POSTSTRUCTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENTIAL

INAUGURAL ADDRESSES BY WOMEN AT COLONIAL COLLEGES

A Dissertation

Presented to the

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

Amanda G. Goldstein

March 2022

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my child(ren) and to the mother they created in me. I dedicate this work to my mother and grandmothers, and to all those in my life who made difficult decisions when facing the socialization of their gender and the normalization of gender inequities.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation has been a labor of love. I first approached Dr. Pamela Eddy three years ago with my interest in researching the small group of women appointed to the presidency at the oldest and most prestigious colleges and universities in the United States. With her own research interests in gender and leadership, our partnership was a natural fit, but our relationship means so much more to me on a personal level. Pam has become a mentor, a pseudo mother, and an inspiration to work hard and give grace to myself and others. When I became pregnant with my daughter during the dissertation process, she reassured me that while I may feel like I have lost my mind sometimes, my head is still attached. She gave me hope that I could do both—become a mother and a scholar. Now, my daughter is over two years old, and here I am writing the acknowledgments for a dissertation that is complete and meaningful to my agenda in the field of higher education. For your support, your confidence, your impeccable attention to detail, and your willingness to empower those around you, Pam—thank you!

Thank you to my mother, Helena Kuhnley, who is my biggest cheerleader in both my scholarly work and in life. You have read every version as I crafted each chapter, and you are the first person I call to share in the moments of joy that have come from making improvements along the way. You have always believed in me, and I am incredibly grateful to have you by my side in this moment of my life.

Thank you to my writing partner and friend, Dr. Angela Bartee, who has shared in this journey with me since before our comprehensive exams. You have encouraged me, celebrated me, cared for me, and for all of this and more, we are forever connected in heart and mind.

Thank you to my husband, Dan Goldstein, who has remained patient as the response to every request is "once my dissertation is done." I know that it has not been easy watching me

experience the stress and anxiety that comes from pouring years into a research project while also juggling full-time employment, motherhood, a pandemic, and so many other pressures. I know that you are proud of me and that you believe in me, and for that, I am so grateful.

Thank you to my friends and family who have supported me in this journey, with special acknowledgments given to Michelle Winz, Madeline Earles, Kathryn Emons, and Lauren Goldstein. You all stood by me on my wedding day, and you are still my constant source of support and sisterly love that I need to take one more step forward. Also, to my father, Ralph Kuhnley (Jr.), and my late grandparents, Ralph (Sr.) and Anna Kuhnley—you have given me every opportunity to spread my wings in this world that likes to keep women on sticky floors.

Thank you to the faculty and my peers in the EPPL program who have given me the opportunity to challenge assumptions, question norms, and engage in meaningful conversations about educational policy, planning, and leadership. Special acknowledgements must be given to Dr. Dawn Edmiston, Todd Moellendick, and Dr. Angela Bartee (again), for serving as peer debriefers in my data analysis. I am grateful for the time and care you gave in reading and coding individual speeches using my codebook so that I could check my own biases and assumptions in the review process. Your feedback was invaluable in improving the product of my work.

Finally, thank you to my outstanding committee members—your commitment and faith in me during this process is appreciated more than I can express in words. Dr. Leslie Grant, thank you for your willingness to invite me to the table in your work and bringing the practice of leadership to the foreground in our conversations. Dr. Elizabeth Allan, thank you for your willingness to share your time and knowledge from a distance. Your inspired reimagining of feminist poststructural discourse analysis as a methodology challenged me in ways that I could never have predicted. I am privileged to have learned alongside both of you in this process.

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Abstract

Followers grant legitimacy to leaders whom they perceive to be a good fit for the role, yet the conceptual framework for this study illustrated how dominant discourses related to gender and leadership continue to negatively affect a woman's potential in achieving legitimacy as an academic president. This study examined the predominant discourses taken up by women during their inaugural addresses to legitimate their role as leaders of the colonial colleges—a unique sample of institutions because of their long legacies of male leadership and strong organizational sagas deeply rooted in masculine preferences and cultures. The inaugural address represents a celebration of the organizational saga while also being a challenge of discourse for any new leader in establishing legitimacy before becoming fully incorporated into the institution's community. By applying a feminist poststructural approach to discourse analysis, the methods of this study involved multiple phases of deductive and inductive coding of the speeches along with a parallel interrogation of the data which revealed gendered subjectivities that positioned the women in this study as relatively powerful or powerless in their quest for presidential legitimacy. The conceptual model that emerged from this analysis illustrated how the negotiation of gendered discourses and the accommodation of discourses related to institutional, environmental, and moral legitimacy positioned the women as relatively powerful in their speeches, and thus, charted a course for navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership. Perspectives provided from this study challenged the dominant discourses of gender differentiation and expanded the discourses available to those aspiring to the college presidency.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The organizational context of higher education is changing due to globalization, shifting demographics, technological advances, and the questioning of social authority. Consequently, leadership theories and practices are transitioning from an individualistic and hierarchical-focused mentality emphasizing power over followers to a collective and context-oriented perspective centered on the mutual power and influence between leaders and followers (Kezar, 2014b; Kezar et al., 2006). Within this new perspective, leadership is not merely something a leader possesses; rather, leadership is a process involving a dynamic relationship with followers (Northouse, 2016). By considering leadership through the lens of followership, the focus shifts from the individual to the value and virtue that can emerge when leaders and followers interact and support one another. Followers grant legitimacy to leaders through the complex interactions of their attitudes toward a leader and through their expectations and perceptions of who is seen to be appropriate for the role (Bornstein, 2003; see also Hollander, 1993; Hollander & Julian, 1978), and this legitimacy determines a leader's strength of power and influence as a source of authority (Bess & Dee, 2012b). Thus, leadership is a socially constructed phenomenon (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010; Kezar, 2014b), and yet, scholarship related to leadership in higher education is only beginning to consider ways in which discourse—the dynamic constellations of words and images that produce and legitimate a given reality (Allan, 2008)—constructs and continually shapes contemporary images of leadership.

As a discursive practice (Baxter, 2003), our understanding of leadership and the expectations we place on leaders arise from dominant discourses, or the discourses readily

available to us in our social surroundings. Therefore, it is important for leaders in higher education to understand how dominant discourses shape, and may support or constrain, their ability to achieve and maintain legitimacy in the eyes of their followers. In a discourse analysis of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, which is one of the most widely read periodicals focused on higher education, Allan et al. (2006) revealed gendered constructions of leadership influencing and shaping perceptions of men and women in positions of leadership. In a follow-up inquiry using the same data source, Gordon et al. (2010) discovered tensions between the discourses of femininity and masculinity in addition to gendered norms and expectations for leaders. Most recently, Iverson et al. (2017) returned to the same data source to focus on the discourses used to shape these gendered images of leadership. They found that the discursive constructions of femininity and masculinity contribute to the assumption that men are generally more competent than women in leadership roles—an assumption that aligns with the "think manager, think male" stereotype (Schein, 1973, 1975, 2001). They also confirmed the well-established notion that women are caught in the double bind of trying to meet male norms of leadership even though they are evaluated based on the expectations of their gender (Carli & Eagly, 2016; Eddy, 2009; Jablonski, 2000).

The findings from this series of research on leadership discourse align with reviews on the current status of women in higher education, which describe the experiences of women in institutions of higher education as being subject to persistent male norms of leadership and gendered organizational structures (Allan, 2011; Detweiler et al., 2017; Eddy & Ward, 2017; Ford, 2016; Frances, 2018; Longman et al., 2018). Thus, the social construction and reification of these gendered discourses further constitutes higher education leadership as a male preserve, or an activity typically reserved for men. However, the aforementioned research on leadership

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discourse highlights how discourse as an analytic lens has the disruptive potential for challenging the male preserve of higher education leadership by revealing alternative images of leadership that include women as legitimate leaders.

As a society, we are moving away from the deliberate exclusion of women in leadership roles, but women still face invisible barriers, or the proverbial glass ceiling, when seeking the highest level of authority at institutions—the college presidency (Bornstein, 2008, 2009, 2014; Bucklin, 2014; Diehl, 2014; Eddy & Ward, 2017; Sulpizio, 2014). The percentage of women being appointed to the college presidency has increased steadily over the past 30 years; however, women remain underrepresented and typically follow different paths to the presidency than men (Gagliardi et al., 2017). According to a 2017 survey by the American Council of Education, women represent 30% of all college presidencies in the United States; but women are somewhat more likely to lead public institutions (32.8%) than private institutions (27.2%), and they are substantially more likely to be leading associate-granting institutions (35.8%) than doctorate-granting institutions (21.8%).

In creating a profile of these women appointed to the college presidency, they are less likely to be married, less likely to have children, and more likely to have altered their career paths to care for a dependent, spouse, or child than their male counterparts (Gagliardi et al., 2017). These altered career paths that result from fractured patterns of employment due to life circumstances do not easily align with the traditional route to the presidency (Fitzgerald, 2014; Woollen, 2016), which involves the historically recognized trajectory through every level of the academic hierarchy—faculty member, department chair, dean, and provost (Birnbaum & Umbach, 2001; Cohen & March, 1974). Notably, the few women who do ascend to the college presidency are more likely than their male counterparts to have followed this traditional route

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serving as a chief academic officer, provost, or dean in their prior position (Gagliardi et al.,

2017). This captured trend of women adhering to the traditional route to the presidency could be

because women with alternative or non-traditional career paths are rarely considered for

presidential appointments (Woollen, 2016). Thus, women face the double bind of having

competing work and personal demands that may alter their career paths while simultaneously

being expected to follow the historically recognized trajectory to the presidency when being

considered as a legitimate candidate for the role.

The profile differences between men and women currently serving as college presidents

reflect a subtle, possibly unintentional, and yet, powerful form of gender discrimination.

Commonly referred to as second-generation gender bias, this form of discrimination stems from

the "cultural assumptions and organizational structures, practices, and patterns of interaction that

inadvertently benefit men while putting women at a disadvantage" (Ibarra et al., 2013, para. 11).

Unlike forms of explicit discrimination confronting women (referred to as first-generation

gender bias), second-generation gender bias is difficult to address because it involves practices

that appear neutral within everyday settings and women might even be unaware of the barriers to

the same social advantages that their male counterparts seem to have when seeking leadership

positions. For example, Tessens et al. (2011) described academic gatekeeping, or the allocation

of professional development resources and opportunities, as being gendered, and thus, focused

more on male values. Furthermore, communities of practice within higher education are typically

based on masculine preferences and cultures (Burkinshaw, 2015; Eddy & Ward, 2017), which

place women at a disadvantage in comparison to their male counterparts when developing the

necessary networks and mentorships that lead to the highest levels of leadership in higher

education (Ford, 2016; Gallant, 2014; Madsen, 2010).

When looking for guidance on how to define and overcome second-generation gender bias in a woman's quest for presidential legitimacy, most of the current literature focuses on the intersections of gender, role, and structure (Khwaja et al., 2017), specifically within community colleges (Eddy & Cox, 2008; Eddy & Khwaja, 2019; Eddy & VanDerLinden, 2006); small private colleges (Steinke, 2006); and large research universities (Khwaja, 2017). The attention placed on community colleges and small private colleges makes sense based on the increased percentage of women leading these types of institutions (Gagliardi et al., 2017). The attention placed on research universities also makes sense because "they possess power and influence in the field of higher education, serve as models for other institutions that are considered lower in the institutional hierarchy, and have a large impact on society" (Khwaja, 2017, p. 44; see also Geiger, 2004; Hornig, 2003; Lewis & Hearn, 2003; Morphew & Huisman, 2002).

However, the conversation on gender and leadership within higher education represented in this literature is incomplete in both scope and historical context. The current literature fails to include the influence of the organizational saga (Clark, 1972) in shaping the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership. The organizational saga of an institution defines the identity of the institution's community and captures the allegiance of its members while also having the ability to marginalize a new leader simply because she violates the historic image of a college president. Thus, when navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership, women must understand how the intersections of gender, role, structure, and saga socially construct the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership.

To fully demonstrate why saga should be included in the conversation on gender and leadership in higher education, this study draws attention to the colonial colleges of the United States. The colonial colleges provide the necessary historical context for exploring the influence

of organizational saga on the experiences of women navigating the male preserve of higher

education leadership because of their foundational mission of exclusively educating young men,

their reluctance to introduce coeducation, and their long legacy of male leadership. The colonial

colleges refer to the nine institutions of higher education chartered in the thirteen colonies before

the first shots of the Revolutionary War in 1775, which led the United States of America to

becoming a sovereign state. According to Nidiffer (2010b), the original mission of these colleges

was to prepare young boys (typically age 14) to enter the ministry, politics, or academic life, and

most of the men involved in the formation of these colleges believed that women had smaller

brains with little need for a college education, thus establishing higher education in the United

States as a male preserve. Although few in numbers, the men who attended these colleges were

among the most literate, outspoken, and influential people of the generation, which is how the

colonial colleges became renowned for shaping the American mind (Hoeveler, 2002).

Specifically, these institutions constructed and reified the intellectual ideas that were read and

understood by the key actors in the history of higher education (Nidiffer, 2010b). Therefore, in

attempting to reveal the deeply rooted effects of the organizational saga on the reification of the

male preserve of higher education leadership, this research focused on the colonial colleges.

In 2018, William & Mary appointed Katherine A. Rowe as president of the historic

colonial college. In celebrating 325 years since William & Mary's founding in 1693, Rowe is the

first woman to hold this position. As noted in Table 1, now more than half of the nine colonial

colleges have appointed women to the presidency, and some of the colonial colleges have had

women lead consecutive terms, which represents a new meaning for the tipping point of gender

representation as we move beyond the first women holding this role. However, this snapshot of

women leading colonial colleges, while comprehensive in nature, glosses over the fact that these

women have ascended to the presidency at these institutions only within the past 25 years. Given the historical nature of the colonial colleges, this recent timeline represents a relatively novel phenomenon compared to the long legacy of male leadership at these institutions. Moreover, four of the nine colonial colleges have never appointed a woman to the presidency, thus preserving the male norms of leadership at these institutions.

Table 1

Women Appointed to the Presidency at Colonial Colleges

Founding	Modern Name	President	Term
1636	Harvard University	Drew Faust	2007-2018
1693	William & Mary	Katherine Rowe	2018-present
1701	Yale University	--	--
1740	University of Pennsylvania	Judith Rodin	1994-2004
		Amy Gutmann	2004-present
1746	Princeton University	Shirley Tilghman	2001-2013
1754	Columbia University	--	--
1764	Brown University	Ruth Simmons	2001-2012
		Christina Paxson	2012-present
1766	Rutgers State Univ. of New Jersey	--	--
1769	Dartmouth University	--	--

As a result of the long legacy of men leading colonial colleges, these institutions represent a rich example of how increasing gender representation can result in a false sense of gender equity in higher education (Glazer-Raymo, 2008), especially when including the organizational saga in the conversation. For example, an article from *The Washington Post* at the time of Rowe's appointment opined that "Rowe's appointment, as the first woman to hold an office that 27 men previously held, comes in an era when female leadership in higher education

is routine" (Anderson, 2018, para. 11). This statement perpetuates a false sense of gender equity because it inadvertently eclipses the significance of Rowe's ascension to the presidency after a long legacy of male leadership at the institution by diverting attention to the "routine" nature of women as leaders in higher education today. The word "routine" implies that higher education has reached an appropriate level of gender representation in higher education leadership rendering the conversation gender neutral. When considering the discursive effects of second-generation gender bias, this perspective is problematic because it minimizes the historic ascension of a woman to a role previously held exclusively by men while also disseminating a false sense of gender equity in higher education leadership via a widely-read publication.

While the overall percentage of women being appointed to the college presidency (30%) has increased steadily over the past 30 years (Gagliardi et al., 2017), the representation of women in this role falls short of the percentage of women in the student body (57%; U.S. Department of Education, 2020, Table 303.10). Furthermore, more than half of all doctoral degrees are awarded to women (54%), and yet, men still hold a higher percentage of tenured faculty positions at every type of institution (U.S. Department of Education, 2020, Table 318.10). This phenomenon is commonly referred to by the phrase "the higher, the fewer" (H. L. Johnson, 2017), which recognizes that despite the number of women available for leadership positions, women are not ascending beyond entry-level, service, or teaching-only positions at the same rate as their male counterparts. Thus, the challenge remains to reach more equitable representation of women in leadership roles, which involves more than increasing the number of women in leadership roles; it involves an understanding of the lived experiences these women encounter when trying to establish legitimacy as leaders, especially when considering the intersections of gender, role, structure, and saga when navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership.

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Problem Statement

Because followers accord legitimacy to a president they view as a good fit with the institutional culture (Bornstein, 2003; see also Hollander, 1993; Hollander & Julian, 1978), the male preserve of higher education leadership can inadvertently benefit men while putting women at a disadvantage when ascending to the presidency. Women face the same challenges as their male counterparts in establishing legitimacy, which depends on the intersection of five factors: individual, institutional, environmental, technical, and moral (Bornstein, 2008, 2009). However, when these factors become conflated with gender, women must also overcome structural and cultural biases that result from traditional male models of leadership and gendered organizational structures (J. Acker, 1990, 2012; Detweiler et al., 2017; Eddy & Ward, 2017; Iverson et al., 2017; Longman et al., 2018). Moreover, the first woman appointed to the presidency of an institution could face additional scrutiny because she is "an oddity, a novelty, even a cultural misfit" (Bornstein, 2009, p. 214) within the male-normed perspective of college leaders. Thus, gender is often an impediment for women when establishing legitimacy as an academic president.

One way to better understand the interaction between gender and leadership is to frame presidential legitimacy as a social construction of expectations that can be influenced by the management of meaning through discourse (Fairhurst, 2011; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996; Smircich & Morgan, 1982). Therefore, the focus for this qualitative inquiry is the presidential inaugural address because this event may be the first time the institution's community engages with the newly appointed president as she frames her worthiness as a leader (Lawrence-Hughes, 2017). The inaugural address is significant to this research because it is a celebration of the organizational saga imbued with institutional culture, history, and tradition while also

representing a challenge of discourse for any new leader in establishing legitimacy before being fully incorporated into the institution's community. Yet, women have the added challenge of being authentic in their inaugural addresses when navigating the dominant discourses of gender and leadership (Bornstein, 2014; Khwaja, 2017).

Because of the tight coupling between language and identity (Gee, 2014; Khwaja et al., 2017), a discourse analysis can explore how women legitimate their role as leaders during their inaugural addresses. Specifically, a feminist poststructural approach to discourse analysis (Allan, 2008; Baxter, 2003) creates an opportunity for revealing the differences between and among women without depending on the dominant discourses created and perpetuated by the men who previously held the role of president in the selected institutions. Thus, the intent of this research was not to establish a universal truth about women or to supplement one dominant discourse with another; rather, the goal of this study was to share the emergent nature of the alternative voices of women that often are marginalized in the male preserve of higher education leadership.

Research Questions

The guiding research question framing this study was *What are the predominant discourses taken up by women during their presidential inaugural addresses to legitimate their role as leaders within the male preserve of the institution at the colonial colleges?* More specifically, the explicit questions examined in the study include the following:

1. How are the discourses used in presidential inaugural addresses by women at colonial colleges gendered?

2. How do the discourses used in presidential inaugural addresses by women at colonial colleges contribute to their legitimacy as leaders?

Conceptual Framework

Situated within the social constructionist paradigm, discourse is "capable of becoming the objective repository of vast accumulations of meaning and experience, which it can then preserve in time and transmit to following generations" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 37). Because individuals construct meaning based on the "available stock of discursive resources" (Luke, 1995, p. 15), some discourses become dominant while also obscuring alternative discourses that are not as apparent. Consequently, dominant discourses often become taken for granted or institutionalized (Mills, 1997). When considering the organizational impediments and the second-generation gender biases that continue to negatively affect a woman's quest for presidential legitimacy, the conceptual framework for this study (see Figure 1) provides a visual representation of how the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership have led to the social construction and reification of higher education leadership as a male preserve.

Similar to Pearce's (1995) *Sailing Guide for Social Constructionists*, the conceptual framework for this study metaphorically draws from the ways in which sailors of old mapped previously uncharted waters to aid future voyagers. During the day, sailors would set their course using the cardinal directions of a compass, and at night, they would rely on the constellations of stars for guidance. In continuing this metaphor, the conceptual framework for this study serves as the compass for navigating the conversation related to gender and leadership in the literature while discourse as an analytic lens provides the constellations of words and images (Allan, 2008) that can help women navigate the male preserve of higher education leadership in their quest for presidential legitimacy.

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Figure 1

Compass for Navigating the Male Preserve of Higher Education Leadership
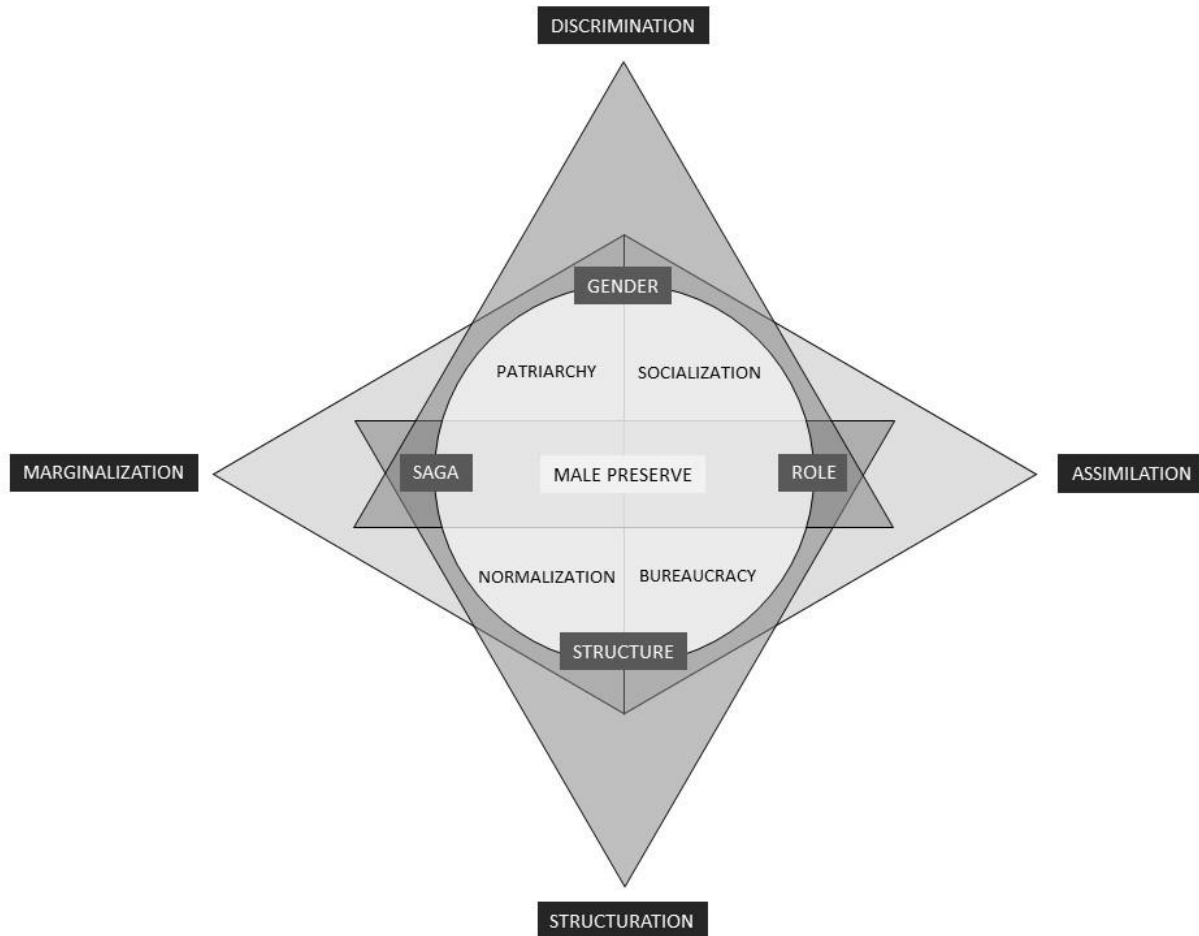
To fully understand the complexity of this conceptual framework, the following sections deconstruct the compass into three layers representing the main themes that constitute the male preserve of higher education leadership—the organizational context of higher education, second-generation gender bias, and the consequences resulting from the gendered expectations related to presidential legitimacy. These emerging themes framed the review of related literature in Chapter 2 and informed the data analysis of this study.

Organizational Context of Higher Education

The central idea within the conceptual framework is that higher education leadership is a male preserve, or an activity typically reserved for men. In creating a foundation for this framework, the center of the compass describes how the organizational context of higher education reproduces, sustains, and renders legitimate the male image of leadership through the interactions of gender (J. Acker, 1990; Lester et al., 2017); role (Bornstein, 2003; Birnbaum, 1992); structure (Ballenger, 2010; Detweiler, 2017; Eddy & Ward, 2017; Ford, 2016; Iverson, 2011; Madden, 2005); and saga (Clark, 1972; see Figure 2). The colonial colleges provide a specific organizational context in higher education that highlights the importance of including saga in the conversation related to gender and leadership.

Figure 2

The Organizational Context of Higher Education
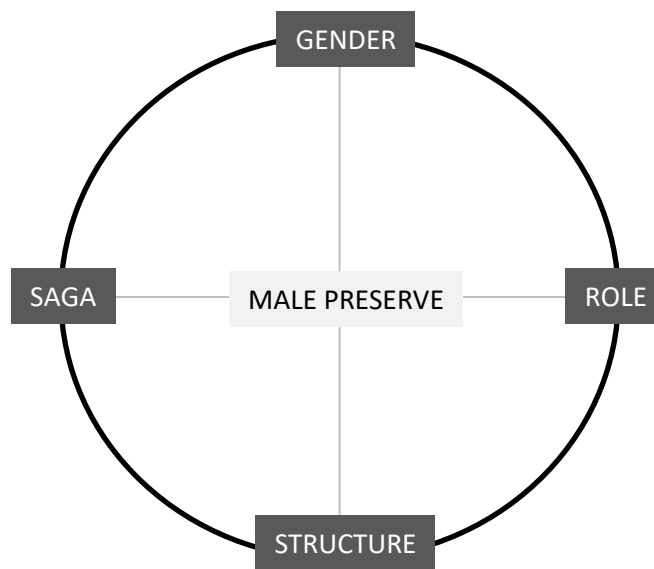
Second-Generation Gender Bias

When women attempt to enter the male preserve of higher education leadership, they often find themselves navigating an intricate web of invisible barriers and prejudices that stem

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from second-generation gender bias (Ibarra et al., 2013; Opoku & Williams, 2019; Sturm, 2001; Trefalt et al., 2011). Second-generation gender bias is difficult to address because of its neutral appearance, which stems from the socialization of women into gendered roles (Bucklin, 2014; Eagly et al., 2000; Kanter, 1993; Pounder & Coleman, 2002; Tierney & Bensimon, 2000; Warner, 2005; West & Zimmerman, 1987) and the normalization of male leadership in higher education through the perpetuation of ideal worker norms (Lester & Sallee, 2017; Ward & Bensimon, 2003; Williams, 2000). Second-generation gender bias still exists because most organizational and leadership theories describe higher education as a professional bureaucracy (Kezar, 2014a; Mintzberg, 1979) without acknowledging the underlying patriarchal structures that reinforce traditional male hierarchies (Detweiler et al., 2017; hooks, 1984; Nidiffer, 2001b). By applying a feminist poststructural perspective, the conceptual framework situates the concepts of socialization, normalization, bureaucracy, and patriarchy within the organizational context of higher education (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

Second-Generation Gender Bias

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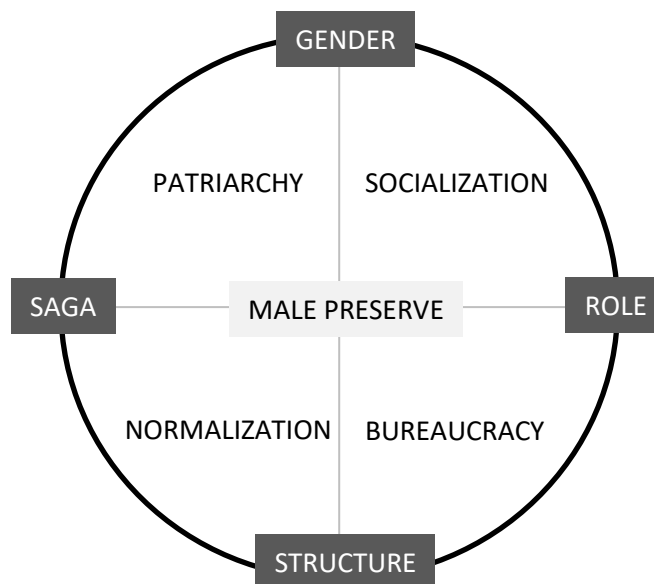
The placement of these concepts within the compass is intentional and meaningful. Socialization involves the interaction of gender and role; bureaucracy involves the interaction of role and structure; normalization involves the interaction of structure and saga; and patriarchy involves the interaction of saga and gender. Furthermore, the opposing placements of socialization and normalization along with patriarchy and bureaucracy are not by chance; these influencing concepts are related but they are often discussed in the literature separately highlighting the disparity between dominant discourses in organizational and leadership theories and the alternative discourses related to gender. Thus, the conceptual framework for this study intentionally connects these concepts to help women navigate second-generation gender bias within the context of higher education leadership.

Gendered Expectations for Presidential Legitimacy

Dominant discourses related to gender and leadership construct and actively shape expectations concerning women in the college presidency. These socially defined expectations result in real consequences for women such as marginalization, assimilation, discrimination, and structuration (see Figure 4). Historically, women have maintained a marginalized status in higher education leadership (Nidiffer, 2001a, 2010a, 2010b; Smooth, 2010; Solomon, 1985) and, because institutions of higher education remain deeply gendered structures (Eddy & Ward, 2017; Glazer-Raymo, 1999), women often assimilate male norms of leadership to integrate themselves into the institutional identity and to achieve legitimacy in leadership roles (Bornstein, 2014; Dean et al., 2009; Tarule et al., 2009). Furthermore, the norms within an institution dictate how individuals, specifically women, are judged (Eagly & Diekman, 2005; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Thus, women often face gender discrimination, whether implicit or explicit, when seeking legitimacy as a leader. Finally, because these norms are institutionalized, they perpetuate the

male preserve of higher education leadership through structuration, or the process of producing

and reproducing social systems based on a set of established norms (Bess & Dee, 2012a;

Giddens, 1984; Pounder & Coleman, 2002).

Figure 4

Consequences of Gendered Expectations for Presidential Legitimacy
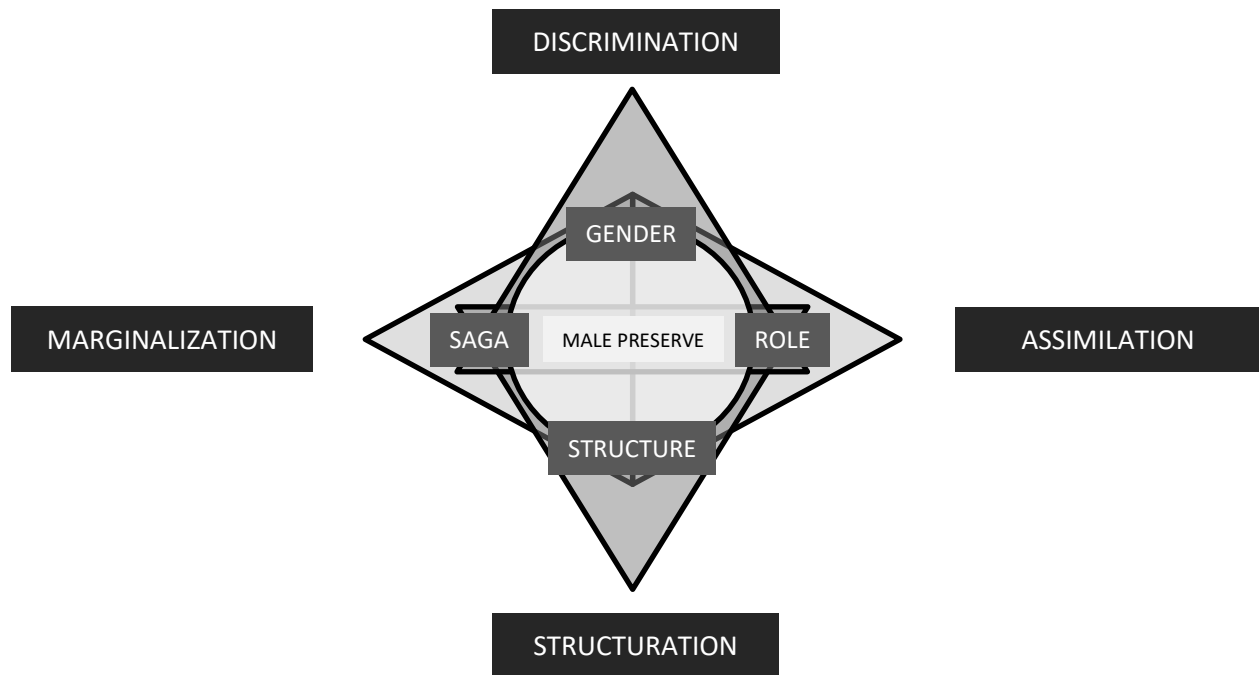
Within the conceptual framework, these consequences mark the four cardinal points of

the compass suggesting that the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership often guide

women to one of these four outcomes in their quest for presidential legitimacy. Once again, the

placement of these consequences within the compass is intentional connecting related concepts

in the model. By isolating each intersecting triangle, these connections become clear, so that

marginalization stems from the interaction of structure, saga, and gender; assimilation stems

from the interaction of gender, role, and structure; discrimination stems from the interaction of

saga, gender, and role; and structuration stems from the interaction of role, structure, and saga.

In summary, the conceptual framework for this study provides a visual representation of how the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership have led to the social construction and reification of higher education leadership as a male preserve and illustrates how these discourses continue to guide women to one of four outcomes in their quest for presidential legitimacy: remaining a marginalized group; assimilating male norms; facing gender discrimination, either explicit or implicit; or conceding to the powerful form of structuration, which is the production and reproduction of social systems based on established norms.

Significance of the Study

This research problem is significant and timely because it acknowledges that "women in higher education stand at the critical intersection of personal agency and organizational structures" (Eddy & Ward, 2017, p. 31) in their quest for legitimacy as leaders. Through their discursive choices, women in highly visible leadership roles, such as the college presidency, have the platform to form new leadership norms and identity stories that build upon the past while also adding to the collective strengths of the present (Dean et al., 2009). The presidential inaugural address is an important moment of public discourse for these women because the event celebrates the institution's history and heroic figures while also announcing a new era (Bornstein, 2003). When adding organizational saga to the conversation on gender and leadership, the long legacy of male leadership at the colonial colleges presents a unique challenge to women appointed to the presidency when attempting to establish legitimacy as leaders. Thus, the discursive choices made by women at colonial colleges during their presidential inaugural addresses are important to understanding how they navigated the male preserve of higher education leadership at these institutions.

From a theoretical perspective, this research problem is significant because it applies a contemporary feminist lens that moves beyond the traditional comparison of men and women to challenging the patriarchal structure of existing social systems (Dicker & Piepmeier, 2003; Henry, 2004; hooks, 1984, 2013; Iannello, 1992, 2010; Vetter, 2010). Because most scholarship related to female discourse relies on the comparison of female discourse with male discourse, traditional "feminist theory unwittingly upholds male epistemological power structures, which perpetuates difference and inequalities, and excludes the possibilities of more fluid and dynamic interpretations of human identity within women's lives" (Baxter, 2003, p. 17). Furthermore, within the current literature, "theorizing may also be constrained as scholars draw from available discourses to make sense of data and build theories about leadership" (Iverson et al., 2017). Thus, this research study sought to reveal the differences between and among women without relying on the dominant discourses created and perpetuated by the men who previously held the role of president in the selected institutions.

As an exercise in discourse analysis, this research problem is significant because it avoids any reference to the commonly used identifiers "woman president" or "female president," which are journalistic norms for mentioning the non-default sex in any given field (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013). The words "woman" and "women" are nouns, and the process of reducing the grammatical application of these words to adjectives strips a woman of her identity and implies that she is an attribution for something else (Spender, 1980)—in this case, the expected man in the role of academic president. Furthermore, the adjective "female" creates a gendered image that almost always results in negative or inferior connotations within the dominant discourses related to leadership. Thus, this research study was intentional in not perpetuating the patriarchal influences that normalize a default male perspective in the literature.

Definition of Terms

The following definitions, listed in alphabetical order, provide additional contextual understanding of specific terms used throughout the study.

Colonial College

The colonial colleges refer to the nine institutions of higher education chartered in the thirteen colonies before the first shots of the Revolutionary War in 1775. Seven of the nine colonial colleges remain private institutions and participate in the Ivy League athletic conference, including Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, University of Pennsylvania, Brown, and Dartmouth. Meanwhile, William & Mary and Rutgers University are now public institutions. During the American Civil War, William & Mary suffered significant damage resulting in the need for public support in the 1880s to maintain operation. Thus, by 1906, William & Mary transitioned from a private institution to a public college. Similarly, the privately-owned Queens College became Rutgers College after several years of closure due to economic depression after the War of 1812. Rutgers became the land grant college for New Jersey in 1864 under the Morrill Act of 1862, and later became the state university of New Jersey after World War II.

Discourse

Although often used synonymously with the term *language*, the term *discourse* offers a sociological lens that is more encompassing than language because it considers the social context surrounding language (Chalaby, 1996; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008). Similar to *metaphor*, discourses operate subconsciously by influencing people's thoughts, attitudes, and beliefs (Baxter, 2010; Sunderland, 2004). Important to the conceptual framework for this study, discourse is the key site for the social construction of meaning (Allan, 2008; Cameron, 1998) not only in relation to reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) but also to our sense of self in relation to

these realities (Allan, 2010; Weedon, 1997). As a form of social or ideological practice, discourse is never neutral; rather, they are "forms of knowledge or powerful sets of assumptions, exceptions and explanations, governing mainstream social and cultural practices" (Baxter, 2003, p. 7). Thus, this research study intends to use discourse theory as an analytic tool for exploring and critiquing the larger conversations on gender and leadership in society.

Discourse emerges in stretches of text which are open to the analysis of patterns (Baxter, 2003; Cameron, 2001) and "the study of discourse (discourse analysis) includes the examination of both talk and text and its relationship to the social context in which it is constructed" (Allan, 2003, p. 47). Although discourse analysis can be descriptive or critical, Gee (2014) opined that all discourse analysis needs to be critical because context cannot be separated from the dominant discourses that shape it. Critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2010), which emerged from critical theories and the practice of systemic linguistics, often applies a structural approach that can attend to the construction of gender inequalities; however, feminist poststructural discourse analysis (Allan, 2008; Baxter, 2003) combines feminist and critical theory to place questions and problems related to gender at the forefront. Even though Baxter (2003) focused on spoken discourse and Allan (2003, 2008) focused on the written texts of policies, this research study applied their feminist poststructural approaches to analyzing written texts of presidential inaugural addresses by women at colonial colleges.

Gender

Unlike sex which is based on socially agreed-upon biological criteria for classifying persons as females or males, gender is an activity that requires the management of normative attitudes and activities socially defined as appropriate for one's sex category (West & Zimmerman, 1987). As a social construct, "gender is a fundamental category within which

meaning and value are assigned to everything in the world, a way of organizing human social relations" (Harding, 1986, p. 57). From a feminist perspective, the social treatment of women and men is different based on the expectations that others place on their gender (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013), even though gender is not a static or binary quality of an individual, but rather exists on a continuum or intersection of identity leading to a multifaceted definition of gender (Eddy, 2009; Eddy & Ward, 2017). Thus, for the purposes of this research, it is important to view gender as a dynamic social construct that is ever changing and inextricably linked with other social categories, such as race, ethnicity, social class, language, and sexual orientation—a perspective commonly referred to as intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991).

Gendered Discourse

Based on the assumption that gender is not neutral, gendered is a qualifying term meaning 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" (J. Acker, 1990, p. 146). Gendered discourse occurs "when messages about gender categorizations are superimposed on the basic content of the discourse" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013, p. 214). The dominant discourses of masculinity and femininity along with the negotiation between these discourses provided the framework for exploring how the discourse used in presidential inaugural addresses by women at colonial colleges is gendered.

Inaugural Address

The inaugural address refers to the first official public address delivered by a new president of any type of institution, usually at an inaugural ceremony. As a formal and symbolic incorporation of a new president, the inaugural address is "a highly ritualistic kind of theater that

combines words, gestures, and backdrops to create a stylized effect" (Widmer, 2005, p. 36).

Therefore, the inaugural address is a form of discourse between the new president and the

institution's community. Some institutions refer to this moment of public discourse as an

inaugural speech. For the purposes of this study, the terms address and speech are used

interchangeably in referring to the inaugural address.

Male Preserve

A male preserve is an activity, role, or institution that is commonly reserved for men.

Within a feminist poststructural perspective, higher education leadership at the colonial colleges

is a male preserve because the long legacy of male leadership at these institutions may steer

followers to hold expectations and to make decisions based on structures of tradition that have

historically excluded women. The conceptual framework for this study operationalizes higher

education leadership as a male preserve.

Presidential Legitimacy

Legitimacy in leadership refers to the source of authority flowing from the power and

influence granted to leaders by their followers (Bornstein, 2003; see also Hollander, 1993;

Hollander & Julian, 1978). Because leadership is a socially constructed phenomenon (Fairhurst

& Grant, 2010; Kezar, 2014b), followers grant legitimacy to leaders who adhere to behaviors

that are "desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms,

values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). Within the context of higher education,

Bornstein (2003) describes the process of gaining presidential legitimacy as being dependent on

five intersecting factors: individual, institutional, environmental, technical, and moral. These

factors influencing presidential legitimacy provide the framework for exploring how the

discourse used in presidential inaugural addresses by women at colonial colleges contributed to their legitimacy as leaders.

Summary

In addressing the false sense of gender equity in higher education leadership, this study recognizes that in their quest for presidential legitimacy, women must overcome structural and cultural biases that result from traditional male models of leadership and gendered organizational structures. By focusing on the discourse used in their presidential inaugural addresses, the goal of this study was to share the emergent nature of the alternative voices of women that often are marginalized in the male preserve of higher education leadership. In this chapter, I introduced the study, including the problem statement, research questions, conceptual framework, significance, and definition of terms. In the next chapter, I expand upon the conceptual framework by providing a review of the literature organized by three main themes related to the male preserve of higher education leadership, namely the organizational context of higher education, second-generation gender bias, and the consequences resulting from the gendered expectations for presidential legitimacy.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Dominant discourses related to gender and leadership have led to the social construction and reification of higher education leadership as a male preserve. The conceptual framework for this study provides a working compass for navigating this male preserve by identifying the organizational impediments related to gender (J. Acker, 1990; Lester et al., 2017); role (Bornstein, 2003; Birnbaum, 1992); structure (Ballenger, 2010; Detweiler et al., 2017; Eddy & Ward, 2017; Ford, 2016; Iverson, 2011; Madden, 2005); and saga (Clark, 1972), as well as the second-generation gender biases (Ibarra et al., 2013; Opoku & Williams, 2019; Sturm, 2001; Trefalt et al., 2011) that continue to negatively affect a woman's potential in achieving legitimacy as an academic president. By leveraging discourse as the guiding constellation, this research builds on the existing research about dominant discourses shaping contemporary images of leadership in higher education. In this chapter, I specifically review the literature related to three main themes emerging from the conceptual framework, namely the organizational context of higher education, second-generation gender bias, and the consequences resulting from the gendered expectations for presidential legitimacy.

Organizational Context of Higher Education

There is a significant history to viewing institutions of higher education as organizations (Birnbaum, 1988; Clark, 1983; Perkins, 1973), and more recently, as corporate-like structures (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Research on higher education leadership often relies on the same organizational theories that inform business practices. Accordingly, much of the literature referenced in this review comes from outside of higher education, but the general theories and

practices have direct implications for colleges and universities (Bess & Dee, 2012; Manning, 2018). In pulling from this literature, the goal of this first section is to explain why the organizational context of higher education, which includes "the structural, cultural, and power configurations that characterize a particular college or university, as well as the external environment in which that institution operates" (Dee & Heineman, 2016, p. 10), is important to the study of gender and leadership, and how the interacting forces of gender, role, structure, and saga preserve the male image of leadership within the context of higher education.

As noted in Chapter 1, leadership is a socially constructed phenomenon that allows for the interpretation and negotiation of the subjective meanings related to power, influence, and authority among individuals (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010; Kezar, 2014b). However, the earliest studies on leadership did not allow for such a subjective understanding of the phenomenon; rather, these early studies emphasized positivist research assumptions, such as universal truths and universal perceptions of those truths, regarding constructs of leadership (Kezar et al., 2006). From this positivist research emerged traditional theories of leadership, such as trait theories, behavioral theories, power and influence theories, and contingency theories (see Kezar et al., 2006; Komives et al., 2013). Consistent with positivist assumptions, these traditional theories of leadership relied on the idea that traits and behaviors transcend context and that individuals' perceptions of these traits and behaviors are universal. Even contingency theory, which appears to examine situational and organizational context, still frames this context within a single reality in which everyone shares the same experience (Kezar et al., 2006).

The goal of this early research was to identify generalized principles for guiding leaders while also predicting outcomes related to effective leadership. The trait approach was the first systematic attempt to study effective leadership (Northouse, 2016). The theories developed from

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these studies became known as the "great man" theories because they focused on the innate

qualities and personal characteristics possessed by great social, political, and military leaders

who were predominantly men; and in turn, they determined that effective leaders typically

embodied masculine traits, such as decisiveness, confidence, competition, and dominance

(Birnbaum, 1988; Kezar et al., 2006; Sulpizio, 2014; Vetter, 2010). The profound consequence

of this research was the "think manager, think male" stereotype (Schein, 1973, 1975, 2001).

Thus, the discourse of masculinity shaped the study of leadership, and the positivist assumptions

of this research established the male image of leadership as the hegemonic norm.

Over time, scholars began to challenge the positivist assumption of a single reality and, in

turn, embraced alternative paradigms, such as social constructivism, critical theory, and

postmodernism (Kezar et al., 2006). This shift in thinking expanded the understanding of

leadership to include the role of followers, the constantly changing environment, and the

influence of culture, gender, and race on power relationships (Eddy & VanDerLinden, 2006;

Kezar et al., 2006; Iverson et al., 2017). Thus, it is important to consider the larger organizational

context in which leadership is occurring when interpreting and understanding the perceptions and

subjective experiences of people that influence definitions of effective leadership (Bess & Dee,

2012b; Birnbaum, 1992; Bolman & Deal, 1984, 2017; Heifetz, 1994; Kezar et al., 2006;

Manning, 2018). In this section, I discuss how the organizational context of higher education

reproduces, sustains, and renders legitimate the male image of leadership through the interaction

of gender, role, structure, and saga.

Gendered Discourse

In following the recommendation by Glazer-Raymo (2003), this study considers gender

as an analytic lens rather than a demographic variable. More specifically, this study focuses on

the gendered discourses that have shaped the organizational context of higher education.

Gendered discourses provide both the complexity and the nuance to address the male preserve of

higher education leadership because, like metaphors, these discourses operate subconsciously by

pervading the thoughts, attitudes, and beliefs of individuals, as well as constituting the collective

norms and values of an organization (Baxter, 2010; Sunderland, 2004). The dominant discourses

related to gender rely on the differentiation between men and women suggesting that the

conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity generally operate as two poles of a gender

binary (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013; Sunderland, 2004). Baxter (2010) provided an

example of gender differentiation in the perception of men and women, such that men appear to

be "more rational, independent, competitive, and confrontational," while women appear to be

"more irrational, dependent, co-operative, passive, and conciliatory" (pp. 43-44). Consequently,

the polarized nature of these qualities encourages the continued comparison of men and women,

and the discourse of gender differentiation remains the overarching means by which other

gendered discourses are reproduced and sustained in the literature (Baxter, 2010).

Gender differentiation presents a problem for this study, however, because it provides a

discourse that attempts to reflect gender while feminist poststructural perspectives view

discourse as a means to shape gender (Sunderland, 2015). Decades have passed since Cameron

(1992) provided the sobering observation that "every word we say on the subject of difference

just underlines the salience and the importance of a division we are ultimately striving to end" (p.

40), and yet, most of the literature on leadership and organizations recirculates the dominant

discourse of gender differentiation. In continuing to reference this literature as the foundation for

my analysis, I am being intentional in acknowledging that gender differentiation has dominated

the extant literature, while also calling attention to the alternative perspectives that account for

intersectionality, queer theory, and positionality in the study of gendered discourses (see Bendl et al., 2008, 2009; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Kezar, 2000, 2002; Manning, 2018).

Gendered Leadership. In the study of leadership as a gendered construct (Iannello, 2010), the dominant discourse of gender differentiation continues to influence research on whether men and women espouse different leadership styles. One perspective claims that women have a distinct leadership style that is less hierarchical, more cooperative and collaborative, and more oriented to empowerment and empathy (Astin & Leland, 1991; Helgesen, 1995; Jablonski, 2000; Rosener, 1995). Conversely, another perspective claims that there are no meaningful differences between men and women with respect to leadership styles (van Engen et al., 2001). In response to these conflicting perspectives, several scholars have synthesized the related literature finding that contrary to stereotypical expectations, men and women did not differ in their interpersonal and task-oriented leadership styles, but women were more likely to lead using a democratic style of leadership in comparison to the autocratic style of their male counterparts (Eagly et al., 2003; van Engen & Willemsen, 2004). A recent meta-analysis conducted by Shen and Joseph (2021) revealed that women have an advantage over men when it comes to engaging in transformational leadership behaviors—a claim which aligns with the literature praising the contributions of women to higher education leadership (Diehl, 2014; Kezar, 2014b; Kezar et al., 2006; Nidiffer, 2001b). However, this analysis also revealed that this advantage fails to provide any discernable difference between men and women in measurements of leadership effectiveness, and women are still less likely to emerge as leaders relative to men (see also Badura et al., 2018; Bornstein, 2008, 2009, 2014; Eagly & Karau, 1991).

So far, the referenced literature highlights how the discourse of gender differentiation dominates the conversation on gender and leadership. In attempting to isolate the traits and

behaviors that result in effective leadership, researchers continue to compare men and women as gender binaries. However, some scholars are breaking from this tradition by proposing alternative gendered discourses. Nidiffer (2001b) proposed an integrated model of leadership that builds on the historic gender binaries and argues that the skills demanded of contemporary leaders include a blend of attributes stereotypically associated with both men and women, and that the precise blend depends on the context of the institution. Eddy (2010) expanded upon this model by acknowledging the social construction of gender allowing for an individual's identification of gender to fall on a continuum ranging from male to female. This multidimensional model of leadership allows for a more authentic evaluation of gender and leadership. The problem remains, however, that when leadership occurs within a gendered organization, anyone not identifying as a cisgender man (a person whose gender identity corresponds with his birth sex) will be judged based on male norms of leadership (Eddy & Khwaja, 2019).

Gendered Organizations. By viewing gender as an integral part of organizational life rather than simply a demographic variable, J. Acker (1990) was able to break from the established view of organizations as gender neutral, and in turn, examined "organizations as gendered processes in which both gender and sexuality have been obscured through a gender-neutral, asexual discourse" (p. 140). J. Acker's work came alongside other feminist scholars who had been studying the relationship between gender and organizations (see also Ferguson, 1984; Kanter, 1993; MacKinnon, 1979; Martin, 1990; Ressner, 1987), but J. Acker's article highlighted the theoretical constraints from which these scholars were operating. She argued that the available discourses in both traditional and critical approaches to organizational research conceptualized hierarchies and jobs as abstract categories with no occupants, no bodies, and thus,

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no gender. In applying the discourse of gender differentiation, earlier feminist scholars were able to demonstrate how men and women experience organizational life differently, but their research focused on the different attitudes and behaviors of individuals while maintaining the gender-neutral, asexual, and disembodied view of organizations.

J. Acker (1990) recognized the need to synthesize this scholarship into a framework that addressed "how deeply embedded gender is in organizations" (pp. 144-145). J. Acker expanded the discourse of gender differentiation to the organization itself, by explaining:

> 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)

According to J. Acker, gendering occurs within organizations through five interacting processes: the construction of division along gender lines; the construction of symbols and images that explain, reinforce, and or oppose those divisions; the interactions among men and women that enact dominance and submission; the production of gendered components of an individual's identity; and the ongoing process of socially constructing organizational structures. From this framework, J. Acker was able to express how the study of organizations originated from a male perspective, and how the disembodied worker assumed in organizational theories and models was, in reality, 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" (J. Acker, 1990, p. 149). This gendered perspective of the disembodied worker has since been referenced as the ideal worker (Williams, 1989, 2000) in organizational scholarship.

In line with the heteronormative organizational theories and models, institutions of higher education were created by and for men relying on the cisgender family structures that enabled male faculty to work long hours and be available because their wives took care of any domestic and private needs (Sallee, 2012, 2014). The discourse of successful academia became synonymous with the ideal worker (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008), and university policies and cultural norms continue to operate under the assumption that workers—faculty and administration—privilege work over all other life events and responsibilities (Lester, 2020). As women navigate this male preserve of higher education, they often have to make constrained choices between work and family life knowing that the consequences of these choices have different effects on men and women (Eddy & Ward, 2017; Gardner, 2013; Hart, 2016; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008). Growing research is challenging the ideal worker norms to account for the changing demographics of academia (Lester & Sallee, 2017), but a recent discourse analysis conducted by Eddy and Khwaja (2019) found overwhelming evidence that ideal worker norms prevail despite the increase in feminist perspectives on organizational theory in the literature. Thus, institutions of higher education remain deeply gendered structures (Glazer-Raymo, 1999).

J. Acker's (1990) article represented a significant shift in the study of organizations, and as a testament to its seminal nature, a quick search on Google Scholar conducted at the time of this study resulted in more than 8,600 citations. However, a meta-analysis conducted by Lester et al. (2017) revealed several limitations and implications in how scholars have applied the underlying epistemological and ontological beliefs of gendering within organizations. Most important to the present study is the implication that J. Acker's original work reinforced gender binaries by assuming that organizations are inherently masculine and by privileging gender over other significant social and demographic identities. Since the original publication, J. Acker

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(2006, 2009, 2012) has addressed this limitation by combining her concept of gendering processes with racializing and class creating processes to study them as complex and mutually reinforcing or contradicting processes. By adopting the long-ignored arguments made by feminists of color (Crenshaw, 1989; Davis, 1981; hooks, 1984; Joseph, 1981), J. Acker (2012) updated her framework to include the intersections of gender, race, and class, and reinforced the argument that any theory or research conducted on issues of inequity, dominance, and oppression must pay attention to the power inherent in these intersections.

Intersectionality, Queer Theory, and Positionality. As noted previously, the dominant discourses related to gender rely on the differentiation between men and women, and much of the extant literature related to gender and leadership continues to compare genders as collective binaries. Consequently, the literature often fails to acknowledge the differences among women and obscures alternative discourses that allow for fluid and subjective expressions of gender. To explore the full range of gender identities, new avenues of research are challenging existing questions related to gender inequity by adopting theoretical frameworks centered on intersectionality, queer theory, and positionality.

Intersectionality. Crenshaw (1989, 1991) coined the term intersectionality as a metaphor to explain the ways in which Black women are often caught between multiple systems of oppression (e.g., race, gender, class) without being recognized for their unique experiences at the convergence of these systems. Over time, scholars have extended her theory to explain why single-issue frameworks have failed to capture the continued marginalization of myriad groups of people (Smooth, 2010). However, this widespread appropriation of the term has lost sight of Crenshaw's original intention, which was to expose how the simultaneous experience of race and sex discrimination felt by Black women often rendered them invisible through the early

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discursive practices of both feminist and critical race theory. According to Poisson (2018), White

feminist discourse has oversimplified the term to mean that different people have different

identities leading them to different experiences. She argued that this use of the term is vague and

fails to acknowledge that not all intersections of identity are equal. Poisson posited an

understanding of Crenshaw's original theory in which intersectionality is not a label or identity,

but an institutional practice based on a complex system of power and oppression with the

purpose of maintaining the status quo. Although this study does not attempt a methodology for

intersectional research, I intentionally deviated from the comparison of men and women to focus

on the differences among women with the understanding that various systems of institutional

power affect Black women differently than White women.

  Queer Theory. Feminist theorists have long criticized organizational theories and models

for obscuring the female voice, but Manning (2018) observed that feminist theorists have also

failed to provide an equitable alternative to approaching organizational analysis because they

often exclude the full range of genders. Within the feminist perspective, there is often an

underlying assumption of heteronormativity (heterosexuality as the only legitimate sexual

orientation) in the study of the "division of power and the related division of labor based on the

dual-gender construct" (Bendl et al., 2009, p. 627). As an alternative discourse to gender

differentiation, queer theory provides a poststructural approach to deconstructing identity,

challenging heteronormativity, and eliminating the gender binary (Bendl et al., 2008). Moreover,

queer theory allows for gender identity to be more complex than a continuum between male and

female, and instead, aims to add complexity to gender identities by incorporating other personal

dimensions, such as age, race, class, religion, and sexual orientation. Although this study does

not lean on queer theory as part of its theoretical framework, I intentionally deviate from the

comparison of men and women to focus on the differences among women with the understanding that their gender identities are much more complex than checking off the demographic variable of female.

 ***Positionality*.** In attempting to move beyond the traditional male perspectives associated with leadership, feminist standpoint theories adopted the discourse of gender differentiation to place value on women's unique experience in comparison to the experiences of men. However, Kezar (2000, 2002) criticized the reliance on standpoint theory because it focuses only on gender as the point of difference, and it privileges an essentialist perspective on gender that treats women as a collective waiting to be made visible. By championing the theory of positionality, Kezar argued that the discourse of gender differentiation obscures the reality that people have multiple, overlapping identities (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity, role in the institution, field of study, etc.), and that one's position is subject to the ever-changing social and political contexts (Kezar & Lester, 2010; see also Alcoff, 1988; Collins, 1986; Haraway, 1991). While acknowledging that gender is significant in the study of leadership, the conceptual framework for this study views gender as only one of the interacting forces shaping the context of higher education, alongside role, structure, and saga. Therefore, the intent of this study was not to establish a universal truth about women or to supplement one dominant discourse with another; rather, the goal of this study was to share the emergent nature of the alternative voices of women that often are marginalized in the male preserve of higher education leadership.

Roles of Authority and Leadership

 As men and women assume formal roles of authority, they become more alike than different because the organizational context defines the acculturated view of that role (Coleman, 2003; Tarule at al., 2009). Within the context of higher education, formal roles of authority have

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become synonymous with leaders (Sulpizio, 2014), and the definition of what a leader is and does relies on the dominant discourses shaping images of academic leadership (Allan et al., 2006; Gordon et al., 2010; Griggs, 2012; Iverson et al., 2017; Wilson & Cox, 2012). Because men have historically filled the roles of authority within institutions, any definitions of these roles grew from and reflect a male image of leadership (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Nidiffer, 2001a). What is missing from this perspective, however, is the conceptual difference between authority and leadership (Sulpizio, 2014). Thus, women must understand the difference between their formal role of authority and the dominant discourses reproducing, sustaining, and rendering legitimate the male image of leadership in their quest for presidential legitimacy.

Role Theory in Organizations. Under the assumptions of role theory, an organization consists of individuals who occupy roles, and roles derive meaning from other roles in the system (Katz & Kahn, 1978). There are two approaches to defining organizational roles—role as a functional position and role as an expected behavior (Bess & Dee, 2012a; Hardy, 1987). As a functional position, roles serve specific purposes within an organization, and they are connected by a network of interlocking responsibilities that may be tightly or loosely coupled depending on the type of organization. Within institutions of higher education, roles tend to be loosely and informally related (Weick, 1976); however, the role of the academic president is inextricably linked to the overall community of the institution, and thus, individuals holding this role are granted the authority necessary for leading the institution (Bornstein, 2003; Bess & Dee, 2012a; Birnbaum, 1992). Therefore, the functional position of the academic president is a formal role of authority and the legitimate power inherent in this role stems from the hierarchical position of the role within the institution.

When considering roles as a set of expected behaviors, the focus shifts from the hierarchical position of the role to the demands and expectations placed on the incumbent by organizational members. Within institutions of higher education, academic presidents are expected to exhibit leadership, and they are considered effective leaders based on the perception and interpretation of their behavior (Bornstein, 2003; Birnbaum, 1992). The positivist assumptions of role theory encourage scholars to identify the expected behaviors for predicting outcomes of effective leadership within specific contexts; however, social constructivists criticize this perspective for maintaining the status quo and obscuring the alternative images of leadership that include women as legitimate leaders (Bess & Dee, 2012b). Thus, as women navigate the male preserve of higher education leadership, they must realize the conceptual difference between holding a formal role of authority and being viewed as a legitimate leader.

Role of the Academic President. The role of the academic president has evolved over the years to account for the changing context of higher education (Bornstein, 2003). In the colonial era, most of the academic presidents were clergymen who saw their leadership role as an extension of their work in the church (Durnin, 1961). As the chief teacher and moral leader of the student body, the early academic presidents were responsible for instruction and student discipline, while the administrative functions were left to the governing boards of the college (Geiger, 2015). As colleges began to increase in size and mission, the governing boards became less involved with the daily operations and relied more on the academic president to serve as an expert advisor and liaison between the board and the faculty (Schmidt, 1930). As a result, the power of the academic president grew while the range of that power was left up to interpretation by various stakeholders.

During the Industrial Revolution, the economic and social changes in the United States caused many institutions to adjust their mission and purpose to align with the advancements of science and the market economy. A new generation of entrepreneurial presidents took advantage of the discretionary wealth generated by the American corporations to capitalize on large-scale philanthropy for building what became known as the great research universities (Thelin, 2019). Because their influence reached beyond the campus into local, state, and national affairs, they became known as presidential "giants" (Thelin, 2019, p. 125). Consequently, the role of the academic president evolved from a patriarchal figure concerned with the education and spiritual welfare of students to a political leader guiding the national debate on important public issues.

Throughout the 20th century, expanded access and growing national investments in the higher education system increased the need for administration in planning the internal operations of the institution as well as mitigating the influence of external forces. Consequently, higher education went through a managerial revolution that transformed the academic president into a full-time administrator leaving little room for scholarship and instruction (Bess & Goldman, 2001). At the core of this revolution was the preoccupation in viewing the academic presidency as a profession (Thelin et al., 2020). In response, scholars have conducted extensive research on the career paths to the academic presidency (Birnbaum & Umbach, 2001), and found that individuals who successfully ascend to that role engage in similar professional development activities (Madsen, 2010; Tessens et al., 2011). This research provides what appears to be a playbook for women to follow in their quest for presidential legitimacy, and women have been encouraged to play by these rules when seeking the highest level of authority at institutions (S. Acker, 2010; Sandberg, 2013). Yet, women remain significantly underrepresented in the role of

academic president (Gagliardi et al., 2017), especially at some of the oldest institutions of higher education in the United States (see Table 1).

Structure of the Organization

In problematizing the false sense of gender equity in higher education leadership, scholars generally agree that structural barriers prevent women from reaching the highest levels of authority; however, there are myriad approaches to unpacking the concept of structure. Some scholars address structure as a formal hierarchy that reproduces hegemonic norms through gendered divisions of labor (Iverson, 2011; Lester & Sallee, 2017), while others focus on the informal structure that privileges male communities of practice (Eddy & Ward, 2017) and the good old boy network (Ballenger, 2010). Some scholars focus on how the academic reward structure benefits men because of the value placed on individual achievement over community engagement (Detweiler et al., 2017; Ford, 2016), while still others dig deeper into the sociocultural substructure that relies on gender stereotyping to reinforce a masculinized context within higher education (Madden, 2005). The multiplicity in these perspectives reinforces the idea that "organizational structure provides the frames through which individuals see their world" (Jacobides, 2007, p. 457). Thus, as women navigate the male preserve of higher education leadership, they must be able to view the organizational structure of institutions from multiple cognitive frames.

The practice of framing organizations was first made popular by Bolman and Deal (1984), who consolidated major schools of organizational thought into four major frames— structural, human resource, political, and symbolic. This framework is practical in nature; leaders can use these frames to interpret events and solve problems within organizations. These frames influence how a problem is defined, what questions are asked, what information is collected, and

what action needs to be taken (Bolman & Deal, 2017). Because each frame serves as a powerful lens for interpreting organizational behavior, the most effective leaders are those who can apply multiple frames when approaching organizational problems. Thus, the power of reframing emerges from a leader's capacity for navigating the multiple realities of organizations.

Similar to Bolman and Deal's recommendation for reframing, Birnbaum (1988) recommended that academic leaders must be able to recognize the interactions between the bureaucratic, collegial, political, and symbolic processes in colleges and universities. In a large-scale study on higher education leadership, focusing particularly on presidential leadership, Birnbaum (1992) discovered that each of these cognitive frames gives leaders a distinctively different way for approaching and responding to institutional problems, and the most effective leaders are those who can apply multiple frames simultaneously. This finding echoes the work by Bolman and Deal (1984) while also situating the research into the specific context of higher education. Most important to the present study, however, is Bensimon's (1989) critique of the cognitive frames for not exploring issues of gender in their underlying assumptions. In continuing to reference the multiple cognitive frames used for describing organizational structure, I am being intentional in leveraging the power of reframing while also providing a critical perspective on the dominant discourses shaping these cognitive frames.

The Bureaucratic Frame. The bureaucratic frame focuses on the mechanistic hierarchies constituting the formal structure of an institution (Bensimon et al., 1989; Birnbaum, 1988; Bolman & Deal, 1984). The classic schools of thought associated with this frame include Frederick Taylor's (1911) scientific management, Henri Fayol's (1916/1949) principles of administration, and Max Weber's (1924/1947) bureaucratic structures, which are defined by clearly established lines of authority and divisions of labor (Bolman & Deal, 2017; Gonzales et

al., 2018; Manning, 2018). These theories define the organizational structure as the roles and processes specifically designed to maximize organizational effectiveness. Thus, the bureaucratic frame prioritizes putting people in the most effective roles and relationships for achieving organizational goals.

The problem with the bureaucratic frame is that it assumes a masculinized context (Bensimon, 1989). In applying a critical feminist perspective, the gendered nature of organizations reveals how the dominant discourse of gender differentiation reinforces the division of labor along gender lines. According to J. Acker (1990), a feature of gendered organizations is that "organizational logic assumes a congruence between responsibility, job complexity, and hierarchical position" (p. 148). For example, the most senior positions, such as the academic presidency, require the worker to be fully committed to the job while embodying the image of the ideal worker (Lester & Sallee, 2017; Williams, 2000), while those workers who must divide their commitments with domestic life remain in the lower positions, which are disproportionately occupied by women (Costello, 2012; Iverson, 2011). Coupled with pay inequality and shallow career progression masked as advancement, the division of labor along gender lines keeps women in low-status, low-paid positions (Rainbird, 2007)—a phenomenon typically referred to as being stuck on a sticky floor (Reskin & Padavic, 2006). Consequently, Myerson and Fletcher (2000) observed that "it's not the glass ceiling that's holding women back; it's the whole structure of the organizations in which we work" (p. 136). The structurally embedded sexism and classism within gendered organizations reinforce hierarchies that continue to marginalize women while also legitimating the male image of leadership within higher education (Detweiler et al., 2017; Iverson, 2011). Thus, women navigating the male preserve of higher education must reimagine the bureaucratic frame using the analytic lens of gender to

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break through the discursive tensions between the gender-neutral application of organizational theory and the deeply gendered structural barriers that prevent women from advancing to leadership roles.

The Collegial Frame. The collegial frame focuses on the human relationships that comprise the informal structure within an institution (Bensimon et al., 1989; Birnbaum, 1988; Bolman & Deal, 1984). Unlike the bureaucratic frame which views workers as interchangeable parts in a system, the collegial frame considers the alignment between the needs of the organization and the needs of the individual. Rooted in the organizational behavior school of thought, the collegial frame evolved from the early work by Mary Parker Follet (1918) on the importance of human relations. Follet explored how authority emerges from expertise held in the lateral processes within a hierarchy and sought to flatten the organizational structure in ways that now seem quite popular in the current literature on higher education (Gonzales et al., 2018; see also Daly & Dee, 2006; O'Meara et al., 2017). For example, scholars have painted the image of colleges and universities as being comprised of communities of scholars who, by virtue of their professional expertise and shared value systems, influence the institution (Bensimon, 1989; Millett, 1962). From a structural standpoint, this large operating core of faculty aligns with Mintzberg's (1979) model of a professional bureaucracy, which values professional training and indoctrination for maintaining control (Bolman & Deal, 2017). Thus, the collegial frame prioritizes investing in people for achieving organizational goals.

The problem with the collegial frame is that it favors masculine communities of practice (Bensimon, 1989; Burkinshaw, 2015). In applying a critical feminist perspective, Eddy and Ward (2017) connected the paradigmatic beliefs about knowledge creation with the dominant discourse of gender differentiation to illustrate how the scientific creation of knowledge privileges the

masculinized context of objectivity, and thereby, restricts the full participation of women in communities of scholars (Harding, 1986). Thus, masculine communities of practice create structural power dynamics and cultural climates that make women feel like outsiders, especially in STEM fields (Eddy & Ward, 2017; see also De Welde & Laursen, 2011; Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2011; D. R. Johnson, 2011; Rosser, 2004). The male norms operating in these communities have deep roots in the history, purpose, and mission of higher education. Dean et al. (2009) articulated the self-replicating nature of masculine communities of practice:

> Founded by men for men, the academic world propagates career architectures and rewards behaviors that are masculine in nature and origin, suited to the men who once exclusively pursued them. Consequently, these behaviors and attributes continue to form the basis of legitimized leadership behaviors in academe. (p. 240)

The resulting male-only professional network, more commonly known as the good old boy network, creates a culture of exclusion based on gender preventing the professional development and advancement of women into leadership positions (Ballenger, 2010; Eddy, 2008; Yearout et al., 2017). Thus, women navigating the male preserve of higher education must reimagine the collegial frame using the analytic lens of gender to see how their individual needs—both personal and professional—are not being met by organizations that reinforce masculine communities of practices.

The Political Frame. The political frame focuses on the conflict emerging from formal and informal groups competing for power to control institutional processes and outcomes (Bensimon et al., 1989; Birnbaum, 1988; Bolman & Deal, 1984). Rooted in political science, this frame evolved from the idea that organizations are comprised of various coalitions with enduring differences (Cyert & March, 1963). These differences ultimately result in conflict among

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coalitions, but the political frame views conflict as normal and inevitable while emphasizing

strategies for decision-making as opposed to conflict resolution (Bolman & Deal, 2017). Within

the context of higher education, researchers have applied the political frame for exploring how

administrations, faculty, and boards negotiate between their various, competing goals (Gonzales,

et al., 2018; see also Eckel, 2000; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1974). Thus, the political frame prioritizes

processes of bargaining and negotiating for achieving organizational goals.

The problem with the political frame is that it subscribes to a masculine conception of

power based on control and domination (Bensimon, 1989). From a critical feminist perspective,

gendered organizations are a product of political maneuvering aimed at preserving man's power

through the control of resources, which often enables men to achieve leadership positions more

easily than women (Morgan, 1997). To counter this dominant discourse of power as a repressive

force, many feminist theorists have turned to the work of French philosopher Michel Foucault

who reconceptualized power as a productive force articulating the connection between power,

knowledge, and discourse (A. Allen, 1999; Vetter, 2010). Within this poststructural perspective,

"the position of women in a patriarchal order is shifted from merely *resisting* dominant and

coercive forces of power to *participating* in the production of power" (Allan, 2008, p. 23,

emphasis in original; see also Diamond & Quinby, 1988; Mills, 1997). Thus, women navigating

the male preserve of higher education must reimagine the political frame using the analytic lens

of gender to challenge the dominant discourse of power as a form of oppression, and instead,

view power as something that can be produced through language and discourse.

The Symbolic Frame. The symbolic frame focuses on the cultural systems of shared

values, symbols, and meanings that make up the structures and processes of an institution

(Bensimon et al., 1989; Birnbaum, 1988; Bolman & Deal, 1984). The symbolic frame expands

upon the human relations focus of the collegial frame by considering how individuals experience organizations differently depending on their interpretation of the organizational culture (Tierney, 1989). Rooted in social and cultural anthropology, the symbolic frame explains how myths and symbols help individuals makes sense of their world (Bolman & Deal, 2017). Within the context of higher education, the symbolic frame reveals how rituals, ceremonies, sagas, architecture, and language socially construct and preserve the organizational culture of colleges and universities (Manning, 2018). Thus, the symbolic frame prioritizes the social construction of organizational culture for achieving organizational goals.

The problem with the symbolic frame is that it privileges a male-dominated culture (Bensimon, 1989). From a critical feminist perspective, leaders within an organization have the power to shape organizational culture, and since men have held the majority of leadership positions at colleges and universities, the cultural systems within these institutions privilege the values and norms of the men who created and sustained them over many years (Longman et al., 2018; see also Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Helgesen & Johnson, 2010; O'Neil et al., 2008). From this perspective, the structural barriers preventing women from ascending to leadership positions are less about organizational culture and more about organizational ideology—a concept used by critical theorists to reveal how organizations privilege a particular construction of reality while silencing others. The problem with organizational ideology is that it is often implicit and remains unquestioned; many organizational members unconsciously accept the dominant ideology even if it conflicts with their own interests and well-being (Bess & Dee, 2012a). Thus, women navigating the male preserve of higher education must reimagine the symbolic frame using the analytic lens of gender to uncover the ideology of their institution and to determine who is privileged and who is disadvantaged by the prevailing cultural systems.

Saga of the Organization

The organizational context of higher education also presents cultural barriers preventing women from reaching the highest levels of authority (Ballenger, 2010; Longman et al., 2018), and many of these barriers are constructed and reinforced through the organizational saga of an institution—a concept relatively unexplored in the literature on gender and leadership. Burton Clark (1983) defined saga as "a collective understanding of current institutional character that refers to a historical struggle and is embellished emotionally and loaded with meaning" (p. 82). This type of narrative reveals the values and assumptions held deeply by an organization while also establishing normative behaviors and creating standards of excellence that will likely define the future direction of the organization (Bess & Dee, 2012a; Kuh & Whitt, 1988; Manning, 2018). Thus, the concept of organizational saga is a vital component in examining how the organizational context of higher education reproduces, sustains, and renders legitimate the male image of leadership.

There are two stages in the development of an organizational saga—initiation and fulfillment (Clark, 1972). The initiation stage can occur under varying conditions, such as when an organization is in a moment of crisis or when an organization is ready for evolutionary growth, but the most obvious setting is when a new organization emerges with a strong purpose and autonomous structure. The fulfillment stage follows as the saga is embodied in the organizational practices and values, usually taking decades to develop through traditions, ceremonies, written histories, and a general "air about the place" (Clark, 1972, p. 182). The development of an organizational saga helps to explain how a formal organization becomes a beloved institution to which individuals devote unwavering loyalty (Clark, 1972). Therefore, I set the research parameters of this study based on the two stages in the development of an

organizational saga—initiation of the colonial success story and fulfillment of this story during the inaugural address.

Initiation of the Colonial Success Story. The history of American higher education always begins with a description of the colonial colleges, and yet, they are rarely discussed as a group in contemporary studies on higher education. Most scholars rely on the Carnegie classifications for identifying groups of comparable institutions to use in their research, but the Carnegie framework focuses on the present-day reality for any given institution and fails to acknowledge the historical context of the institution. When considering the influence of the organizational saga on the experiences of women navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership, the colonial colleges provide the historical context for exploring the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership within institutions of higher education.

The colonial colleges refer to the nine institutions founded before the Revolutionary War—familiar today as Harvard, William & Mary, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Brown, Dartmouth, Rutgers, and the University of Pennsylvania. Not only are these colleges old, but they also have capitalized on their colonial heritage to develop strong organizational sagas. Following the centennial celebration of the nation in 1876, the old colleges benefitted from a larger movement of colonial revivalism that "energetically combined historical preservation, ancestor worship, and patriotism" for shaping the "colonial success story" (Thelin, 2019, p. 2). In viewing the colonial colleges as the "ancestors, direct or indirect, of all institutions of higher learning in the United States" (Morison, 1936, p. 246), this movement led the American public, as well as academics, to subscribe to the idea that the colonial tradition was a source of academic excellence (Thelin, 2019). In turn, the old colleges leveraged the resurrection of colonial motifs as an academic strategy for attracting prospective students; however, this strategy reinforced and

rendered legitimate the historic image of White men leading other White men to prosperity. Therefore, in attempting to reveal the deeply rooted effects of the organizational saga on the reification of the male preserve of higher education leadership, this research focused on the colonial colleges.

Fulfillment During the Inaugural Address. The inaugural ceremony is a celebration of the organizational saga; it connects the future to the past and symbolically incorporates the new president into the institutional culture (Bornstein, 2003). A key component of the ceremony is the inaugural address, which is an opportunity for a new president to leverage the imagery of the organizational saga as a means of fulfillment. Thus, the inaugural address becomes a challenge of discourse in which a new president must rely on language to establish legitimacy before being fully incorporated into the institution's community. The examination of presidential inaugural addresses has produced a rich body of literature (Lawrence-Hughes, 2017; see also Black, 1994; Campbell & Jamieson, 1985; Holman, 2016; Vigil, 2013; Zarefsky, 2004), but Khwaja (2017) observed a lack of research analyzing the relationship between language and leadership that emerges during inaugural addresses given by academic presidents. Most significant to this study was her application of gender as an analytic lens for exploring this relationship. In building on this existing research, this study focused on presidential inaugural addresses.

In this section, I discussed how the organizational context of higher education reproduces, sustains, and renders legitimate the male image of leadership through the interaction of gender, role, structure, and saga. A review of the literature resulted in a collection of organizational theories that explains the existence and persistence of structural and cultural barriers facing women in the male preserve of higher education leadership. These organizational theories represent the foundation of the conceptual model for this study, and yet, these theories

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are constrained by the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership. In the next section, I use the concept of second-generation gender bias to draw attention to the invisible barriers preventing any substantial change in the status of women in higher education leadership.

Second-Generation Gender Bias

Some of the best attempts at theorizing about gender and leadership have failed to make any advancement in gender equity because change efforts often target overt forms of discrimination while ignoring the subtle gender dynamics deeply embedded in the culture, norms, and practices of an organization (Ibarra et al., 2013; Opoku & Williams, 2019; Sturm, 2001; Trefalt et al., 2011). In distinguishing overt from covert forms of discrimination, Sturm (2001) classified issues of gender bias into two distinct generations. While the first generation refers to the deliberate practices of exclusion, second-generation gender bias refers to the unequal treatment resulting from cognitive or unconscious bias. Second-generation gender practices are difficult to address because they appear normal and natural on the surface, and yet, they can have powerful consequences for diverse groups of women and men. Most significant to this study is the idea that what appears normal and natural on the surface reflects the values and life situations of men who have dominated in the public domain of work (Trefalt et al., 2011). By looking beneath the surface, however, the male preserve of higher education leadership stands upon a web of interrelated concepts, namely socialization, normalization, bureaucracy, and patriarchy. These concepts are related, but they are often discussed separately in the literature highlighting the disparity between dominant discourses in organizational and leadership theory and the alternative discourses related to gender. In this section, I connect these discourses to create a transparent model for understanding issues related to gender and leadership.

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Socialization and Normalization

Most scholars agree that gender is a social construction while also upholding the assumption that sex is a biological category (Hyde et al., 2019; Muehlenhard & Peterson, 2011; Padavic & Reskin, 2002; Ropers-Huilman, 2003). This perspective explains why the process of gender socialization reinforces conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity that generally operate as two poles of a gender binary (Bucklin, 2014; Eagly et al., 2000; Pounder & Coleman, 2002; Tierney & Bensimon, 2000; Warner, 2005). West and Zimmerman (1987) suggested that "if we do gender appropriately, we simultaneously sustain, reproduce, and render legitimate the institutional arrangements that are based on sex category" (p. 146). Examples of "doing gender" within the organizational context include the divisions of labor along gender lines and gendered expectations for leadership roles based on ideal worker norms (Lester & Sallee, 2017; Ward & Bensimon, 2003; Williams, 2000). Therefore, the idea of doing gender based on sex categories has normalized the dominant discourse of gender differentiation within organizational and leadership theories.

However, there is a subtle difference between the dominant discourse of gender socialization based on sex categories and the alternative discourse of language as a normalizing power. By leveraging a Foucauldian sense of regulatory discourse, Butler (1990) challenged the normalization of gender differentiation by arguing that this dominant discourse shapes the language used to describe biological sex as a natural binary while also obscuring alternative discourses. According to her perspective, men and women are not socialized into fixed genders, but rather, they become gendered through their interactions with discourse. Therefore, alternative discourses of gender have the potential to account for multiple roles and positions:

Women and men are different because language positions us differently. In this view, subjectivity—our sense of ourselves—is something constructed, not pre-given and our gender identities are not fixed. We take up positions in our enactment of discourse practices so our identities are constructed moment by moment. (Talbot, 1998, p. 141)

This perspective provides an alternative discourse to gender, arguing instead that there is a range of ways in which people can speak and act without the obligation of women having to be feminine and men having to be masculine (Baxter, 2010). Moreover, this perspective provides the rationale behind the intent of this research, which was not to establish a universal truth about women or to supplement one dominant discourse with another; rather, the goal of this study was to share the emergent nature of the alternative voices of women that often are marginalized in the male preserve of higher education leadership.

Bureaucracy and Patriarchy

Feminist scholars have long acknowledged that organizations have a dual structure – bureaucracy and patriarchy (J. Acker, 1990; Baron et al., 2007; Kanter, 1993; Ressner, 1987). On the surface, most large organizations fundamentally follow a bureaucratic structure whereby power, status, and other rewards are allocated according to the rights and responsibilities associated with formal roles and offices (Bess & Dee, 2012a). The logic of bureaucracy appears to be gender neutral, and yet, it is also intrinsically linked with masculinity and patriarchy, which is an ideology that produces and reproduces unequal distributions of power between men and women (Lorber, 1994). For example, the most basic element of bureaucracy is the division of labor (Weber, 1924/1947), but the unfavorable ratio between men and women holding formal roles of authority is the result of underlying conditions of patriarchy that leave women at a disadvantage based on historical constructions of gender (Kanter, 1993). Thus, as previously

discussed in the last section of this review, organizational ideology plays a major role in the

oppression of women and the preservation of gender inequity in higher education leadership.

This connection of bureaucracy and patriarchy is not radical or novel, but as research on

organizations has migrated to schools of business in recent years, Gorman and Mosseri (2019)

advocated for a return to a more interdisciplinary approach to address the alternative discourse

that patriarchal organizations are not simply the setting of gendered interactions and processes,

but rather, they play an active role in producing and reproducing gender inequities. In response,

this research study is intentional in acknowledging the patriarchal influences that normalize a

default male perspective in the literature related to gender and leadership.

In this section, I discussed the concepts of socialization, normalization, bureaucracy, and

patriarchy to draw attention to the disparity between dominant discourses in organizational and

leadership theory and the alternative discourses of gender. A review of the literature connected

the dominant discourse of gender differentiation with the normalizing power of language while

also highlighting the default male perspective in bureaucratic structures. By framing this

discussion within the larger concept of second-generation gender bias, I have created a

transparent model for exploring issues related to gender and leadership. In the next section, I

specifically explore the consequences for women resulting from the gendered expectations for

presidential legitimacy.

Gendered Expectations for Presidential Legitimacy

Dominant discourses related to gender and leadership construct and actively shape

expectations concerning women in the academic presidency. The factors influencing legitimacy

interact differently in each presidency, but for women, these factors become conflated with the

gendered expectations for leadership (Bornstein, 2008, 2009) resulting in real consequences for

women such as marginalization, assimilation, discrimination, and structuration. In this section, I provide examples of how gender is often an impediment for women when establishing legitimacy as an academic president.

Factors Influencing Presidential Legitimacy

Bornstein (2003) described five factors that can either contribute to or impede a new president's ability to establish legitimacy, namely individual, institutional, environmental, technical, and moral legitimacy. Individual legitimacy refers to the background, experiences, and personal characteristics that a new president brings to the position, but the quest for individual legitimacy is more challenging for women because they face the double bind of having competing work and personal demands that may alter their career paths while simultaneously being expected to follow the historically recognized trajectory to the presidency (Birnbaum & Umbach, 2001; Cohen & March, 1974; Fitzgerald, 2014; Woollen, 2016). As noted in Chapter 1, women who ascend to the college presidency are less likely to be married and less likely to have children than their male counterparts (Gagliardi et al., 2017). These personal characteristics align with the findings from the Do Babies Matter? project (Mason et al., 2013), which explored the effects of family formation on career advancement for women and men in higher education. However, these personal characteristics also violate the gendered expectations for women as mothers and wives reinforcing the issue of the double bind.

Institutional legitimacy refers to the internal structural and cultural context in which the president and her constituents are interacting, but the literature related to gender and leadership speaks loudly to the fact that women face structural and cultural biases resulting from traditional male models of leadership and gendered organizational structures (J. Acker, 1990, 2012; Detweiler et al., 2017; Eddy & Ward, 2017; Iverson et al., 2017; Longman et al., 2018). When

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considering this male-normed perspective, the first woman to ascend to the academic presidency

faces significant prejudice based on her gender (Eagly & Diekman, 2005; Eagly & Karau, 2002)

and she is often compared unfavorably with her male predecessors (Bornstein, 2009). Moreover,

the organizational saga has the power to marginalize a new leader simply because she violates

the historical image of leadership (Clark, 1972).

Environmental legitimacy and technical legitimacy both refer to the effectiveness of a

president for dealing with external and internal issues related to the institution. Environmental

legitimacy brings up the larger challenges of dealing with the economy, legislation, enrollment

patterns, and community issues, but women are less likely to have the necessary networks and

mentorships that would prepare them for meeting these challenges in comparison to their male

counterparts due to the masculine communities of practice in higher education (Ford, 2016;

Gallant, 2014; Madsen, 2010). Whereas technical legitimacy refers to the president's ability to

manage the internal and external operations of the institution, but women are often perceived in a

less positive manner than their male predecessors because of the inconsistency between female

gender norms and the male norms of leadership and management (Carli & Eagly, 2016; Eagly &

Diekman, 2005; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eddy, 2009; Jablonski, 2000).

Finally, moral legitimacy involves ethical decision-making when acting as the

embodiment of the institution, but for women, this factor presents a significant challenge to

personal authenticity (Bornstein, 2014; Dean et al., 2009). As women navigate the pathways to

good decision-making in their quest for presidential legitimacy, they are often held to a higher

standard than men. As a result of this increased scrutiny, women may feel the need to suppress

their personal and political opinions, change their language and demeanor to appease their

constituents, and reinforce asymmetrical relationships that meet a specific agenda for lobbying or

fundraising (Bornstein, 2009). These challenges to authenticity may help to explain why so few women pursue the academic presidency.

Consequences From Gendered Expectations for Presidential Legitimacy

When viewing institutions of higher education as gendered organizations, Glazer-Raymo (1999) observed that women who are invited to become college presidents are expected to adapt to existing institutional norms, and it is at the point of entry that women are blocked by "entrenched perceptions and cognitions associating leadership with maleness" (Freeman, 2001, p. 39). Thus, when establishing presidential legitimacy, women face the initial hurdle of accounting for their gender:

> The issue of one's feminism or one's female status as a leader requires thought and negotiation. There is no way to erase the fact that one is a female and in a leadership role. It leaves, thus, the issue of how much one assimilates and resonates with dominant practices and how much one does not. (Tarule et al., 2009, p. 45)

Women must make decisions based on existing institutional norms and structures that have historically excluded them resulting in one of four outcomes in their quest for presidential legitimacy: marginalization, assimilation, discrimination, or structuration. Thus, women can choose to maintain their marginalized status in higher education leadership (Nidiffer, 2001a, 2010a, 2010b; Smooth, 2010; Solomon, 1985), assimilate male norms of leadership to integrate themselves into the institutional identity (Bornstein, 2014; Dean et al., 2009; Tarule et al., 2009), face gender discrimination, whether implicit or explicit, because of prejudice toward their gender (Eagly & Diekman, 2005; Eagly & Karau, 2002), or concede to the powerful forces of structuration, which produce and reproduce social systems based on the established male norms of leadership (Bess & Dee, 2012a; Giddens, 1984; Pounder & Coleman, 2002). These outcomes

demonstrate that "despite the freedom for women to make choices, there is not gender equality in the consequences of such choices" (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008, p. 256). How women navigate the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership in their quest for presidential legitimacy is a relatively unexplored area of research, to which this study is a contribution.

Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed the literature related to three main themes emerging from the conceptual framework, namely the organizational context of higher education, second-generation gender bias, and the consequences resulting from the gendered expectations for presidential legitimacy. Because the dominant discourses in the literature related to gender and leadership operate to construct and actively shape expectations concerning women in the academic presidency, there needs to be more exploration of alternative discourses that advocate for women as legitimate leaders in higher education. A discourse analysis from a feminist poststructural perspective that does not rely on the dominant discourse of gender differentiation is rare in the literature. In the next chapter, I detail the research design of this study, addressing its paradigm; theoretical perspectives; methods for data collection and analysis; quality indicators; assumptions, limitations, and delimitations; and ethical considerations.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Through their discursive choices, women in highly visible leadership roles, such as the college presidency, have the platform to form new leadership norms and identity stories that build upon the past while also adding to the collective strengths of the present (Dean et al., 2009). The presidential inaugural address is an important moment of public discourse for leading this transformation because the event celebrates the institution's history and heroic figures while also announcing a new era (Bornstein, 2003). However, the long legacy of male leadership at the colonial colleges presents a unique challenge to women appointed to the presidency at these institutions when considering the influence of the organizational saga on the gendered expectations related to presidential legitimacy. Thus, the discursive choices made by women at the colonial colleges during their presidential inaugural addresses are important to understanding how they navigated the male preserve of higher education leadership.

In applying a feminist poststructural approach to discourse analysis, the guiding research question framing this study was *What are the predominant discourses taken up by women during their presidential inaugural addresses to legitimate their role as leaders within the male preserve of the institution at the colonial colleges?* More specifically, this study examined the following questions:

1. How are the discourses used in presidential inaugural addresses by women at colonial colleges gendered?

2. How do the discourses used in presidential inaugural addresses by women at colonial colleges contribute to their legitimacy as leaders?

To answer these questions, this study combined the epistemological perspectives of social constructionism (Berger & Luckman, 1966; Pearce, 1995) and the investigative practices of postmodernism (Bloland, 1995; Lather, 1991) within an exercise of discourse analysis (Allan, 2008; Baxter, 2003). The theoretical perspectives for this study drew from Baxter's (2003) development of feminist poststructural discourse analysis (FPDA) as a methodological approach for studying spoken discourse, while the specific methods of data analysis outlined in this study resemble Allan's (2008) reimagining of FPDA as a framework for analyzing the written texts of policies. By applying a feminist poststructural lens for analyzing discourse, this research design had the potential for challenging the dominant discourse of gender differentiation while also revealing any underlying assumptions related to language, power, and meaning in the discourse used by women in their presidential inaugural addresses. This chapter details the research design of the study, addressing its paradigm; theoretical perspectives; methods for data collection and analysis; quality indicators; assumptions, limitations, and delimitations; and ethical considerations.

Research Paradigms

Paradigms are ways of looking at and interpreting the world based on a set of assumptions that guide both research and practice (Bess & Dee, 2012a). Often recognized as the first scholar to conceptualize paradigms, Thomas Kuhn (1962) challenged the prevailing assumption that scientific knowledge develops exclusively through incremental additions to previous research findings, and instead, argued that after long periods of stability, the scientific community eventually faces an inexplicable problem that undermines the leading paradigm and forces the community to question their basic assumptions. This intellectual crisis can often lead to a revolutionary period characterized by innovation and competition among differing ideas on

how to move the field forward. Thus, shifts in thinking occur when the community recognizes the shortcomings of the current paradigm and actively embraces emerging problems with a new way of thinking.

Higher education leadership is undergoing a paradigm shift that reflects significant changes in the organizational context (Kezar, 2014a). According to Kezar (2014b), one of the driving forces behind this shift is the emergence and recognition of women in leadership roles, which has led to a fundamental rethinking of higher education leadership as a phenomenon. Because the conversation on gender and leadership in higher education is evolving, this research study relied on more than one interpretative paradigm for exploring this phenomenon from a vantage point of multiple perspectives—social constructionism (Berger & Luckman, 1966; Pearce, 1995) and postmodernism (Bloland, 1995; Lather, 1991). Social constructionism and postmodernism are discrete but related philosophies sharing the perspective that knowledge is constructed rather than discovered, contextual rather than foundational, and egalitarian rather than hierarchical (Baxter, 2003). However, while social constructionism recognizes a multiplicity in perspectives, postmodernism allows for the critical analysis of those perspectives and their underlying assumptions. The following two sections describe the core tenets of social constructionism and postmodernism as they relate to the current research study.

Social Constructionism

Social constructionism is a theory of knowledge that examines the development of socially constructed understandings of the world based on shared assumptions about reality (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). In their book, *The Social Construction of Reality*, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966), articulated the theory of social constructionism as a rejection of the dualistic nature of positivist thinking. Most significant to this research study, is their

emphasis on 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). Therefore, from an epistemological perspective, social constructionists believe that knowledge is produced and reproduced through communication and negotiation (Bess & Dee, 2012a).

Unlike social constructivists who view communication as a cognitive process of knowing, social constructionists view communication as a social process of creating the world (Pearce, 1995). Through this social process, individuals begin to share common understandings of reality that eventually become institutionalized as social constructs. Researchers who share the epistemological perspectives of social constructionism often explore the ways in which people and society establish these social constructs in particular areas of interest (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Thus, I developed a conceptual framework (see Chapter 1) to visually represent my understanding of the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership as a way to explore the social construction and reification of higher education leadership as a male preserve. With the assumption that gender, language, leadership, and legitimacy are social constructs, this framework served as the backdrop for my data analysis.

Postmodernism

Postmodernism is a movement characterized by its rejection of the grand narratives of modernism and its acute sensitivity to the role of ideology in asserting and maintaining power (Lather, 1991). Inspired by the work of French philosopher, Michel Foucault, postmodernists believe that knowledge is inextricably linked with power. Foucault (1972) argued that power explains how certain individuals or groups are able to construct and maintain hierarchies that serve their own interests. He posited that those in power use knowledge for controlling less-

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dominant groups by regulating accepted norms and practices. Foucault (1979) also argued that practices of social control stem from the discursive construction of knowledge into binary opposites with one pole privileged over the other (e.g., masculinity over femininity in patriarchal discourse). This hierarchical ordering of discourse has contributed to the idea that dominant discourses become normalized through institutions, including institutions of higher education (Bloland, 1995, 2005). Thus, a central tenant of postmodernism is that the prevailing discourses in any society reflect the interest and values of the dominant group. However, Foucault (1978) articulated the connection between power and discourse in a way that shifted the focus from analyzing subjects who possess power to analyzing how subjects become constituted through the exercise of power. This reconceptualization of power as a productive force rather than a repressive force opened the door for critical theorists (e.g., feminists) to investigate the ways in which discourse shapes the power relations within society.

By closely examining language through discourse analysis, researchers who engage in the investigative practices of postmodernism confront the social structures and systems that produce and reproduce dominant discourses (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). For example, with respect to academic leadership, we often discuss what is a legitimate credential and what is not, alongside a comparative analysis of male and female leadership (Pounder & Coleman, 2002). This comparison devalues alternative images of leadership that include women as legitimate leaders because women continue to be compared with the default male image of leadership (Carli & Eagly, 2016; Eddy, 2009; Iverson et al., 2017; Jablonski, 2000). In acknowledging the power struggles inherent in binary opposites, the intent of this research study is to reveal the differences between and among women without depending on the dominant discourse created and perpetuated by the men who previously held the role of president in the selected institutions.

Therefore, my research focus was limited to the inaugural addresses given by women without feeling the need to compare their discursive choices with their male predecessors.

In combining the epistemological perspectives of social constructionism and the investigative practices of postmodernism, this research approached the study of discourse through qualitative methods that sought out the subjective meanings present in language. Furthermore, the combination of these philosophical assumptions acknowledge that gender, language, leadership, and legitimacy are social constructs, and that the dominant discourses surrounding these constructs provide an advantage to men while leaving women at a disadvantage. To explore the discourses taken up by women in their presidential inaugural addresses to legitimate their role as leaders within the male preserve of higher education, the social constructionist and postmodern paradigms required a methodology that is both flexible and critical in its analysis. Thus, I chose to conduct an FPDA that applies the theoretical perspectives described by Baxter (2003) and the specific methods prescribed by Allan (2008). The following sections provide an overview of the research design in addition to clarifying how my methodological choices align with the aforementioned paradigms.

Theoretical Perspectives

Within the context of qualitative research, a theoretical perspective "provides an overall orienting lens for the study of questions" (Creswell, 2014, p. 64). This research study applied a feminist poststructural perspective for analyzing discourse based on the FPDA methodology pioneered by Judith Baxter (2003). This method of discourse analysis is different from other forms of critical discourse analysis because it adopts a Foucauldian sense of discourse and draws from Chris Weedon's (1997) theories of poststructural feminism. The following discussion provides a basic overview of the theoretical perspectives related to FPDA.

Foucauldian Discourse

Scholars have provided various definitions of discourse depending on the context and methodology of their research; however, Tannen et al. (2015) grouped these definitions into three main categories: (a) anything beyond a sentence, (b) language in use, and (c) a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language. The first category distinguishes discourse from semantics or linguistics by referring to anything beyond the level of the sentence. The second category refers to how individuals use language in a specific context. Finally, the third category expands the definition of discourse beyond language and refers to the underlying assumptions and meanings that people share when they engage in conversation either through direct dialogue or through a larger social discussion. This final category is most relevant to FPDA.

Specifically, FPDA adopts a Foucauldian sense of discourse, which refers not to the language of an individual communication, but rather, to the larger system of thought within a particular historical and cultural context that determines which things are thinkable or sayable while also regulating who can say them (Foucault, 1972). Foucault effectively drew a distinction between legitimate and illegitimate discourse by deciding what can be said and by whom, whose words should be regarded as truth and whose words should be ignored, and who deserves a stage on which to speak, and who should be silenced. Thus, a Foucauldian sense of discourse reinforces the idea that discourse is inextricably linked with power, and that competing discourses constitute power relations within any given context (Baxter, 2003).

FPDA recognizes that power stems from the way in which individual speakers position themselves, and are positioned, within a specific discursive context, and that some speakers are more powerful than others because of their privileged positioning within the dominant discourses

of a particular context (Baxter, 2003). However, FPDA also recognizes that individuals are rarely powerful across all discourses; rather, it is possible for a speaker to be relatively powerful within one discourse and relatively powerless in a competing discourse (Baxter, 2003). Specific to this study, there are dominant discourses shaping the gendered expectations related to presidential legitimacy, but there are also alternative discourses advocating for women as legitimate leaders in higher education. The way in which women negotiate between these competing discourses in their inaugural addresses can reveal how they position themselves as relatively powerful or powerless in their quest for presidential legitimacy.

Foucault (1972) also described the conditions for the application of discourse which ultimately impose specific rules on who has access to them and how they can use them. The most visible of these conditions is ritual. Foucault describes ritual as a system of restriction that defines the qualification of a speaker when entering a discourse. Thus, the ritual defines who can hold a specific position and make specific statements within a specific context. In this study, the ritual of the presidential inauguration serves as a condition of access in which a new president must meet specific qualifications to be a speaker for the institution while also performing within the constraints of the gendered discourse surrounding the college presidency. By reviewing the inaugural addresses given by women, this study aimed to explore how women legitimate their role as leaders while navigating the dominant discourses shaping the gendered expectations related to presidential legitimacy.

While other forms of critical discourse analysis often associate their theoretical perspectives with a Foucauldian sense of discourse, Baxter (2008) clarified that FPDA is different from these other methodologies because it avoids any ideological agenda that, in Foucault's (1972, 1980) terms, may become a will to truth, and therefore a will to power,

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replacing one grand narrative with another. Rather, FPDA offers a transformative approach to the study of discourse by recognizing the multiplicity of discourses, some of which are competing with each other while others are reinforcing in their relationship. According to Foucault (1978), it is this multiplicity of discourses which opens spaces for resistance:

> We must make allowances for the complex and unstable processes whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. (p. 101)

Thus, FPDA supports the larger quest of challenging dominant discourses (e.g., gender differentiation) while giving space to marginalized or silenced voices—a theoretical perspective espoused by poststructural feminism.

Poststructural Feminism

The terms poststructuralism and postmodernism are sometimes used interchangeably, however, their definition and application within this study are distinct. Postmodernism is the larger paradigm, or worldview, in which reality is dynamically constituted through discourse. Poststructuralism refers to a group of loosely connected theories that share in Foucault's departure from the structuralist assumptions related to language. Rather than viewing language and discourse as static entities that can be investigated as such, poststructuralists view language as the "site for the construction and contestation of social meaning" (Baxter, 2003, p. 6). Weedon (1997) articulated the importance of language to poststructural thinking:

> For poststructural theory the common factor in the analysis of social organization, social meanings, power, and individual consciousness is *language*. Language is the place where

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actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political

consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of

ourselves, our subjectivity, is *constructed*…Language is not the expression of unique

individuality; it constructs the individual's subjectivity in ways which are socially

specific. (p. 21, emphasis in original)

Situated within the postmodern paradigm, this poststructural perspective on language aligns with

Foucault's idea that discourse is dynamic and productive creating a particular version of reality

in which we continually engage in a process of defining ourselves as we draw on discourses

within specific historical, cultural, and social contexts.

The philosophical implication of poststructuralism is the idea that we are subject to the

discursive practices within a given context, and from a feminist perspective, gender

differentiation is "one of the most pervasive discourses across many cultures in terms of its

systemic power to discriminate between human beings based on their gender" (Baxter, 2008, p.

248). Weedon (1997) introduced the theory of poststructural feminism for exploring the social

construction of gendered subjectivities:

The social institutions which we enter as individuals—for example, the family, schools

and colleges, teenage fashion and pop culture, the church and the worlds of work and

leisure—pre-exist us. We learn their modes of operation and the values which they seek

to maintain as true, natural or good. As children we learn what girls and boys should be

and, later, what women and men should be. These subject positions—ways of being an

individual – and the values inherent in them may not be all that compatible and we will

learn that we can choose between them. As women we have a range of possibilities. In

theory almost every walk of life is open to use, but all the possibilities which we share

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with men involve accepting, negotiating or rejecting what is constantly being offered to

us as our primary role—that of wife and mother. (p. 3)

As women negotiate their identities, relationships, and positions in the world they adopt multiple

subject positions, and in most cases, woman may be simultaneously powerful in some of their

subject positions but distinctly less powerful in others (Baxter, 2003). When considering the

multiplicity and fluidity of women's identities as well as the often-conflicting subject positions

taken up by women in leadership roles, the data analysis for this study explored the gendered

subjectivities that women navigated in their quest for presidential legitimacy, and the findings

from this analysis revealed alternative discourses of gender that emerged from the language used

in the inaugural addresses.

In summary, even though Foucault did not explicitly position himself as a discourse

theorist or discourse analyst, his work advanced poststructural ideas about conducting discourse

analysis (Allan, 2008). Based on a Foucauldian sense of discourse, FPDA operates under the

assumption that "language is always *discursively* produced" and that "speakers produce

fluctuating meanings in relation to how powerfully they are positioned within a range of

competing discourses" (Baxter, 2003, p. 10, emphasis in original). Moreover, FPDA leverages

Weedon's (1997) theory of poststructural feminism as a lens for critically analyzing these

competing discourses while also drawing attention to the unintended consequences that arise

from using established theories within a patriarchal structure (Allan et al., 2010). The following

section describes how these theoretical perspectives related to FPDA informed the research

design for this study.

Data Collection

According to Allan (2008), sampling criteria in a discourse analysis depend on the overall goal of the investigation. Since the overarching phenomenon under review in this study is the quest for presidential legitimacy by women at the colonial colleges in the United States, the sampling process began with identifying the women who served as the academic presidents of colonial colleges. In reviewing the histories of the nine colonial colleges, only five of these institutions have ever appointed a woman to the presidency with two cases of women leading consecutive terms. Thus, the total population under review in this study consists of seven women and, therefore, seven inaugural addresses (see Table 2).

Inaugural Addresses

The primary documents under review in this study are the transcripts from the inaugural addresses given by the seven women appointed to the presidency at the colonial colleges in the United States. As noted by the speech dates in Table 2, these documents represent a 25-year period of history in higher education (1994-2019).

Table 2

Presidential Inaugural Addresses by Women at Colonial Colleges

President	Modern Name	Speech Date	Data Collection
Judith Rodin	University of Pennsylvania	Oct. 21, 1994	Almanac Magazine
Shirley Tilghman	Princeton University	Sept. 28, 2001	University Website
Ruth Simmons	Brown University	Oct. 14, 2001	Personal Comm.
Amy Gutmann	University of Pennsylvania	Oct. 15, 2004	University Website
Drew Faust	Harvard University	Oct. 12, 2007	University Website
Christina Paxson	Brown University	Oct. 27, 2012	University Website
Katherine Rowe	William & Mary	Feb. 8, 2019	University Website

Most of the transcripts were accessible via the institutions' websites, either on a webpage about the college presidency or within archived files available to the public. The transcript for Rodin's speech was not available on the institution's website, but the Special Collections department at the University of Pennsylvania was able to provide a link to the transcript within an archived copy of *Almanac Magazine*. The transcript for Simmons's speech was not available on the institution's website and the Special Collections department at Brown University could not provide any further assistance in locating the document. However, Simmons was able to provide a transcript of the speech directly through personal communication.

Secondary Sources

Because the audience for an inauguration extends beyond the campus community to include alumni, parents, and external stakeholders, the event is often documented extensively by both the institution and the media. To capture the discursive context surrounding the event, secondary sources reviewed in this study included various publications related to the presidential appointment and early stages of presidency leading up to the inauguration. These sources included formal announcements made by the institution, articles in student newspapers and alumni magazines, media coverage by the local and academic community, published interviews with the presidents, biographies of the presidents, and so forth. From a social constructionist perspective, these secondary sources provided the necessary historical, cultural, and social contexts for framing the discourse used by women in their presidential inaugural addresses. From a postmodern and poststructural perspective, however, these sources also revealed underlying assumptions related to language, power, and meaning in the dominant discourses surrounding the inaugural event.

In limiting the scope to publicly accessible information, the main source of data collection for secondary sources was the Internet. I surveyed the website of each institution for any publications related to the presidential appointment and inauguration, including official press releases, interviews with the new president, and alumni magazine articles. To ensure that I exhausted the institutional records of the events, I contacted the Special Collections department at each institution to follow up on any archived documents that may be useful in establishing the necessary historical, cultural, and social contexts. To gather a robust sampling of perspectives on the events, I also conducted a Google search for any local or national media coverage on the events including any references to the presidents in the well-known higher education publication, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. I knew I had reached saturation in my search when new sources produced little to no new information to support the data analysis (Guest et al., 2020).

Data Analysis

Baxter (2003) introduced FPDA as a theoretical and methodological framework, but she oriented her study of discourse toward the interaction between speakers, focusing her analysis on spoken discourse rather than written discourse. Therefore, Baxter's theoretical framework for FPDA informed this research, but her methods are not the best fit. Allan (2008) reimagined FPDA as a method for policy discourse analysis, which is "an approach to policy analysis that works to uncover policy silences and make visible the powerful discourses framing policy initiatives" (p. 1). Because of her focus on written texts within the context of higher education as well as her commitment to interrogating the visible, I chose to adopt Allan's methods for data analysis. Figure 5 provides a visual comparison between Allan's analytic process for policy discourse analysis and the methods of data analysis conducted for this study.

Figure 5

Comparison of Allan's Analytic Process for Policy Discourse Analysis (Left) and the Process for

Data Analysis in This Study (Right)
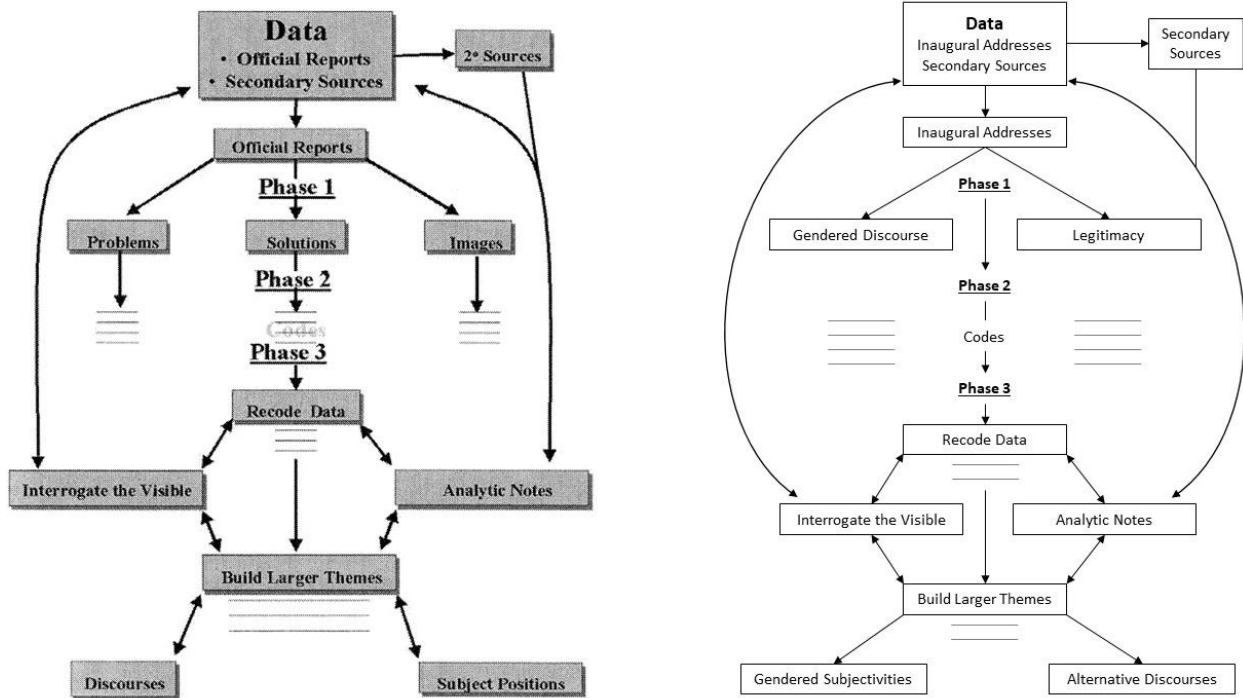
Note. The flow chart on the left describes the analytic process of policy discourse analysis. From *Policy Discourses, Gender, and Education: Constructing Women's Status* (p. 59), by E. J. Allan, 2008, Routledge. Copyright 2008 by Elizabeth J. Allan. Reprinted with permission.

Data analysis for qualitative research follows a general process of preparing and organizing the data, reducing the data into themes through coding and categorizing, and reporting the data either through tables, visuals, or discussion (Creswell & Poth, 2018). As illustrated in Figure 5, Allan (2008) proposed three distinct phases of data analysis that flow from deductive and inductive coding to the identification of predominant themes and potential silences in the discourse. In distinguishing her methodology from other approaches to discourse analysis, Allan advocated for full disclosure of the analytic process in the reporting of data.

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Therefore, I begin by describing how I prepared the documents for coding and analysis, and then I describe the three phases of data analysis as they applied to this study.

Preparing the Documents for Coding

A code is "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 4). Thus, coding is a process by which the researcher translates data into self-generated constructs for further analysis. To begin the data analysis process, I prepared the primary documents for manual coding by converting the gathered speeches into text files with line and page numbers using Microsoft Word. I created separate electronic file folders for storing coded text along with the contextual data from secondary sources for each inaugural address in this study. By preparing the data for manual coding and by sorting the data into electronic files, I became more familiar with the contents of the data while also initiating the basic analytic process of pre-coding—the process of highlighting key words or passages that may be worthy of attention (Saldaña, 2016).

Phase 1: Initial Deductive Coding Based on Research Questions

In following Allan's (2008) process of data analysis (see Figure 5), the initial deductive coding employed an a priori approach in reviewing the primary documents for segments of text that correspond with predetermined codes gleaned from the concepts and theories related to the research questions guiding this study. To accomplish this initial phase of coding, I used the comments feature in Microsoft Word to highlight segments of text that corresponded with the predetermined codes based on the descriptions provided in the codebook (see Appendix A) while also noting any observations related to the presence of the specific codes in the text. The following two sections identify the specific concepts and theories that informed the descriptions

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of these predetermined codes which are grouped into two categories—*gendered discourse* and *presidential legitimacy*.

Gendered Discourse. The first research question asked how the discourses used in presidential inaugural addresses by women at colonial colleges are gendered. Gendered discourse occurs "when messages about gender categorizations are superimposed on the basic content of the discourse" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013, p. 214). Iverson et al. (2017) analyzed the predominant discourses taken up to depict the contemporary images of administrative leadership within *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and from this analysis, interpreted how these leadership images are gendered. They identified the dominant discourses of masculinity and femininity that gave rise to images of leaders as autonomous or relational, respectively. For example, the male image of leadership is "strong and athletic, in control, analytical, decisive, and forceful" as well as being "independent from close relationships" and "someone who will not back down" (p. 57). In contrast, the female image of leadership is "caring, nurturing, relational, collaborative, and supportive" (p. 57) while also "valuing relationships over directive hierarchy" (p. 58). For the purposes of this study, these attributes associated with male and female images of leadership informed the initial coding of gendered discourses.

Both men and women can leverage the available images of leadership when making discursive choices in their inaugural addresses but the conceptual framework for this study illustrated how gendered norms and expectations related to the academic presidency often require women to negotiate between their gender and their role as leader. Nidiffer (2001b) described this phenomenon as a "female-deficit model of leadership" (p. 112), and in turn, proposed an integrated model of leadership which allows for the negotiation between the socialized attributes of gender and the acquired proficiencies that may violate gendered

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expectations. Because negotiation opens the space for alternative discourses of gender that are not limited to the dominant discourses of gender differentiation, the initial coding also highlighted segments of text indicating the negotiation of gendered discourses in support of the first research question.

Presidential Legitimacy. The second research question asked how the discourses used in presidential inaugural addresses by women at colonial colleges contribute to their legitimacy as leaders. Within the context of higher education, Bornstein (2003) described the process of achieving presidential legitimacy as being dependent on five intersecting factors: individual, institutional, environmental, technical, and moral. For example, individual legitimacy manifests in a president's description of her background, experiences, and personal characteristics, whereas references to the organizational saga of the institution fosters institutional legitimacy. Environmental legitimacy arises from references to the challenges facing the institution as well as the larger context of higher education, whereas technical legitimacy appears in the language used in reference to the management of the institution. Finally, moral legitimacy emerges from questions of ethical decision-making. For the purposes of this study, these five factors informed the initial coding of presidential legitimacy in support of the second research question.

Phase 2: Subsequent Inductive Coding

After completing the initial phase of coding, I used the DocTools Extract Data add-in for Microsoft Word to extract the comments from the primary documents into a single table. Because I had labeled each comment with the corresponding code, I was able to sort the comments by code generating a report for each code along with the related segments of text and my observations across the primary documents. From these reports, I conducted a second phase of coding inductively, whereby I developed both descriptive and interpretive emergent codes

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from my reading of these reports to create a list of subcodes for each code in the two categories previously described. Specifically, I employed in vivo coding, which captures the actual language used by the participants via direct quotations (Saldaña, 2016). I chose this type of coding because it aligns with the social constructionist perspective that there are multiple realities and an individual's interpretation of reality emerges from the language she uses in communication with others. Moreover, this type of coding protected the voices of the individual women in this study.

The process of analyzing the data in fragments also allowed me to consider intertextuality, or how the texts of different inaugural addresses spoke to one another. To accomplish this, I read through the reports again and made "analytic notes related to patterns and regularities as well as complications and irregularities emerging [within the codes]…with an eye toward making connections among them" (Allan, 2008, p. 60). Therefore, this method of data analysis allowed for "themes, patterns, and stories to emerge on multiple levels" (Allan, 2008, p. 61) by examining the data in its original form as well as in these fragments.

Phase 3: Category Mapping and Interrogating the Visible

During the third phase of data analysis, I engaged in a process similar to theme building in that I examined the codes generated from the other two phases apart from their original sources and mapped out how they related to each other based on the study's conceptual framework and research questions. What makes Allan's (2008) analytic process unique in comparison to other generic forms of theme building was the process of category mapping for creating a visual representation of the data analysis. Thus, in continuing the navigation metaphor from Chapter 1, the conceptual framework for this study served as the compass, gendered discourse provided the constellations of words and images (Allan, 2008), and the multiple phases

of data analysis produced a figurative map that ultimately can help women navigate the male preserve of higher education leadership.

As an investigative practice, Allan's methods (2008) also called for a parallel analysis "with a focus toward interrogating that which was made visible" (p. 61) in the speeches to inform the category mapping. Unlike the previously described phases of coding, which focused on what was articulated or made evident in the inaugural addresses, the parallel analysis involved a subsequent review of secondary sources to explore what may be taken for granted or considered natural in the discourse used in the speeches. To accomplish this parallel analysis, I wrote short summaries that documented the discourses appearing in each of these secondary sources and made analytic notes that acted "as reflexive points to calibrate and test the credibility of the primary document analysis" (Allan & Tolbert, 2019, p. 143) as it related to gender and presidential legitimacy. For example, if a secondary source employed the term *woman* or the concept of *women's issues*, I leveraged the conceptual framework for this study to reflect on any hidden assumptions related to gender and leadership in the discourse surrounding the event— assumptions that could have influenced the discursive power of the inaugural address. This uncovering and analysis of silences revealed the gendered subjectivities that women in this study navigated in their quest for presidential legitimacy as well as alternative discourses of gender that emerged from the language used in the inaugural addresses by these women.

Research Quality

Unlike quantitative research which relies on the positivist notions of validity and reliability to defend an objective truth, qualitative research is inherently subjective and personal, and thus, it calls for alternative approaches in establishing research quality. The term "quality" is value-laden and encompasses many different perspectives in its definition; however, the

equivocal nature of the term permits qualitative researchers to draw from a variety of established

practices for ensuring quality based on their philosophical assumptions (Savin-Baden & Major,

2013). Many scholars have articulated alternative terms for describing research quality, such as

credibility (Patton, 1990); trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985); authenticity (Guba &

Lincoln, 1989); relevance (Hammersley, 1990), and so forth, but Savin-Baden and Major (2013)

argued that the term selected by a researcher is less important than the employed strategies and

the assessment of research quality.

Within FPDA, Baxter (2003) asserted that any act of research comprises a series of

methodological choices and textual strategies that create a specific context for inquiry. Thus,

research is a constitutive process that requires self-reflexivity to ensure quality during the data

analysis process and in the reporting of the findings. Based on the recommendations summarized

by Allan and Tolbert (2019), I engaged in several practices to enhance the overall quality of my

data analysis and reporting such as maintaining an audit trail documenting my analytic decisions,

foregrounding my assumptions and positionality related to the research in a researcher as

instrument statement (see Appendix B), and producing rich, thick descriptions in data reporting

with connections back to the conceptual framework for this study.

As a method of "theory/perspective triangulation" (Patton, 1990, p. 464), I also worked

with peer reviewers to help check potential biases and assumptions in my interpretation of the

data. To accomplish this, I provided a few of the inaugural addresses to three of my colleagues

who were interested in my study along with my codebook (see Appendix A), which includes

detailed descriptions of the codes. I asked them to code the speeches on their own, but I was

available to answer any questions they had about the codes. During these exchanges, I was able

to make clarifications in the descriptions of my codes and reflect on any discrepancies when

comparing their coded speeches with mine. Within the specific context of this study, these established practices for ensuring quality contributed to the transparency of my research design and to my credibility as a researcher.

Assumptions, Limitations, and Delimitations

I brought several assumptions to this study including the most basic assumption that gender, language, leadership, and legitimacy are social constructs, and that the dominant discourses surrounding these constructs provide an advantage to men while leaving women at a disadvantage. These male-normed discourses remain dominant in higher education because of the enduring patriarchal theories and practices related to organizational structure and leadership roles. Specifically, I believe that men and women are treated differently when seeking legitimacy as a college president, especially when following a long legacy of male leadership at an institution. While I do not believe that the subtle form of second-generation gender bias is intentional, it remains a powerful deterrent in a woman's quest for presidential legitimacy.

Limitations of this study stemmed from the choice to study the written transcripts of presidential inaugural addresses. I did not witness the delivery of the speeches. Video captures were available publicly online for some of the speeches, but not for all of them. Therefore, I did not include this form of multimedia as part of my data collection process. If this level of analysis was possible, it would have been interesting to use the SPEAKING model developed by Dell Hymes (1974) for analyzing the delivery of the speech including tone, inflection, and body language, as well as the audience's reaction to the speech as delivered.

This study also had several delimitations. First, the sample population of inaugural addresses was delimited to women who have ascended to the academic presidency at the colonial colleges. As noted in Chapter 1, more women serve as college presidents at public associate

degree-granting institutions (Gagliardi et al., 2017). However, this study was delimited to colonial colleges, and the rationale for choosing colonial colleges is two-fold: (a) to draw attention to their long legacy of male leadership, and (b) to explore the influence of the organizational saga on the gendered expectations related to presidential legitimacy. Second, the analysis of discourse was delimited to inaugural addresses even though academic presidents deliver many kinds of speeches. The rationale for focusing on inaugural addresses is three-fold: (a) to provide an example of ritual, (b) to focus on a particular type of speech that contributes to a leader's achievement of legitimacy, and (c) to ensure consistency across cases. Finally, the question of gender was delimited to women because there is currently no data available on academic presidents that identify as anything other than male or female. Therefore, I was not aiming for a generalizable conclusion; rather, my goal was to offer a perspective concerning the discourse used by women in their presidential inaugural addresses at the colonial colleges while also opening up space for any alternative discourses related to gender and leadership to emerge.

Ethical Considerations

The data collected for this study was limited to the texts of inaugural addresses and secondary sources freely available through the Internet, and thus, this research study did not require approval from the William & Mary Education Institutional Review Committee (EDIRC). However, this qualitative inquiry still involved ethical considerations. From a feminist poststructural perspective, this study aimed to explore the emergent nature of the alternative voices of women that often are marginalized in the male preserve of higher education leadership. Therefore, I had a responsibility to look beyond the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership, and in turn, be open to alternative discourses that account for the fluid and subjective expressions of gender. I also had a responsibility to provide rich, thick descriptions of the

discourse employed by the women in this study to ensure that I was opening spaces for the voices of women who may be experiencing the same social constructs within the same context but may be experiencing them differently due to their unique intersections of other social identities, such as race, class, sexuality, spirituality, and so forth.

Summary

This study combined the epistemological perspectives of social constructionism and the investigative practices of postmodernism within an exercise of discourse analysis. The theoretical perspectives underpinning the data analysis included a Foucauldian sense of discourse and poststructural feminism. Data sources included transcripts of inaugural addresses as well as secondary sources for establishing the historical, cultural, and social context surrounding the inauguration. Data analysis included multiple phases of deductive and inductive coding along with a parallel interrogation of the data to explore what may be taken for granted or considered natural in the discourse used in the inaugural addresses. By applying a feminist poststructural lens for analyzing discourse, this research design had the potential for challenging the dominant discourse of gender differentiation while also revealing any underlying assumptions related to language, power, and meaning in the discourse used by women in their presidential inaugural addresses. The credibility of this research was enhanced by engaging in several established practices for ensuring quality and transparency in the research design and analysis.

CHAPTER 4: MAPPING THE DISCOURSE

When considering the long legacy of male leadership at the colonial colleges, women appointed to the presidency at these institutions face unique challenges when attempting to establish legitimacy as leaders because of the gendered expectations related to the role. In studying how these women navigated the male preserve of higher education leadership, their inaugural addresses provided an important moment of public discourse in which they had a platform to form new leadership norms and identity stories that built upon the past while also adding to the collective strengths of the present (Dean et al., 2009). In leveraging discourse as an analytic lens, this chapter examines the predominant discourses taken up by these women in their presidential inaugural addresses. More specifically, this chapter examines how these discourses are gendered and how these discourses contribute to their presidential legitimacy within a male preserve of higher education leadership at the colonial colleges. Because the goal of this study was to share the emergent nature of the alternative voices of women that often are marginalized in the male preserve of higher education leadership, this chapter includes direct quotations from the inaugural addresses to frame my interpretations of the discourse.

Gendered Discourse

In this analysis, I identified language in the inaugural addresses that gave rise to male and female images of leadership based on the dominant discourses of masculinity and femininity. In navigating the tension between these dominant discourses of gender, the women in this study offered several ways to negotiate between the male and female images of leadership. In this

section, I examine these gendered discourses and consider how the negotiation of gendered discourses opens space for an alternative discourse of gender.

Male Image of Leadership

When reviewing the inaugural addresses for gendered discourses, dominant discourses of masculinity appeared in language that evoked a sense of autonomy, control, courage, or force. Although the women in this study did not rely heavily on this male image of leadership, all of them used one or more of these discourses in their inaugural addresses. The presence of these gendered discourses highlights the ways in which masculine traits are taken for granted as desired leadership behaviors within higher education (Iverson et al., 2017). In this section, I provide examples of text that gave rise to a male image of leadership within the inaugural addresses.

Iverson et al. (2017) identified the autonomous leader as the predominant discourse of masculinity taken up to depict contemporary images of administrative leadership within higher education. According to Allan et al. (2006), "the discourse of autonomy shapes an image of the leader as an individual who is uniquely qualified, competent, and morally principled" (p. 48). When reviewing the inaugural addresses, the discourse of autonomy appeared in statements that used the possessive pronoun "my" rather than the collective pronoun "our" when describing their role in leadership. For example, when Gutmann (2004) said "I pledge to do everything in my power" (para. 46), she is referring to the power that she alone holds in her position. Other examples of where similar discourse appeared in the text include Faust (2007) referring to "my task" (para. 3); Paxson (2012) referring to "my approach" (para. 12); Rodin (1994) referring to "my place" (para. 2) and "my vision" (para. 3); and Rowe (2019) referring to "my game plan" (para. 6). These discursive examples conjure up an image of a leader who is autonomous in her

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ability to act independently and unencumbered by external constraints. Notably, Tilghman and Simmons were the only presidents in this study who did not evoke the image of the autonomous leader in their speeches, but their inaugurations occurred only days following the September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2001—a time when the surrounding discourse centered on collective action.

The dominant discourse of masculinity also foregrounds the importance of leaders being in control (Iverson et al., 2017). When reviewing the inaugural addresses, the discourse of control appeared in two of the speeches as the women sought to control the narrative surrounding their presidency. The most striking example came from Simmons's 2001 inaugural address when she said, "let me be clear" (personal communication, 2019)—a statement that signals to the audience that she wants to control the interpretation of her words. Rodin (1994) made similar attempts to control the narrative by making strong proclamations, such as "I am committed" and "I am determined" (para. 48). By expressing these statements, Rodin took control of the narrative related to her abilities as a leader. When considering that Rodin was the first woman to serve as the permanent president of an Ivy League university or colonial college and Simmons was the first African American to lead this type of institution, the presence of this discourse in their speeches becomes amplified by their unique circumstances of being the first among firsts.

Another trait that characterizes the dominant version of Western masculinity is courage (Allan et al., 2006). According to a recent op-ed from the Harvard Business School, courage is the quality that distinguishes great leaders from excellent managers (George, 2017). The presidents in this study used the discourse of courage in their inaugural addresses, but the way they aligned themselves with this masculine trait changed over time. The earliest presidents in this study celebrated the courageous efforts of the institution rather than speaking to their

individual courage. For example, Rodin (1994) said, "it has been the spirit of daring" (para. 7)

that enabled the University of Pennsylvania to be the first in so many areas. Likewise, Simmons

connected the institution's courage to its organizational saga when she explained in her 2001

inaugural address that "when the university [Brown] has shown a distinctiveness of vision,

courage of action and dedication to its own ideals that it has been most ennobled" (personal

communication, 2019). Tilghman (2001) offered a slightly different version of this discourse by

focusing on how the students and alumni of Princeton will serve the nation and the world

through "their leadership, their vision and their courage" (para. 13). These discursive examples

demonstrate how the earliest presidents in this study aligned themselves with the masculine trait

by calling attention to the courage of others.

By the time Gutmann became the second woman to ascend to the presidency at the

University of Pennsylvania in 2004, the presidents in this study were using the discourse of

courage differently—they were using it to bolster their vision for their respective institutions. For

example, Gutmann proposed a compact that "expresses our boldest aspirations for higher

education" (para. 33) and Faust (2007) described her inaugural address as an opportunity for

"unleashing our most ambitious imaginings" (para. 5). These discursive examples demonstrate

how these presidents were able to align themselves with the masculine trait by referring to the

collective sense of courage needed for implementing their vision.

The final two presidents in this study, however, offered a different version of this

discourse. They spoke to their personal beliefs on what it means to be courageous in higher

education leadership. In 2012, Paxson made the following statement to the community at Brown

University: "I believe emphatically that confronting the problems of the world outside the Van

Wickle Gates head-on makes our work stronger, our value tangible, and our mission directly

relevant" (para. 30). Likewise, Rowe (2019) described her "game plan, which is to go for the long pass at every opportunity" (para. 60). These discursive examples were subtle in comparison with the direct references to courage and bold action, but they also demonstrate how the most recent presidents in this study were able to move beyond courage as a collective act, and in turn, align the masculine trait with their personal leadership style.

The dominant discourse of masculinity also supports the image of a heroic leader who is "a remarkable force, and someone who will not back down" (Iverson et al., 2017, p. 57). This description aligns with what Allan et al. (2006) called the *warrior* subject position, which is "evidenced by repeated references to leaders operating in an environment represented as a battleground" (pp. 54-55). When reviewing the inaugural addresses, the discourse of force appeared in statements that implied a warrior mindset. For example, Simmons embodied the warrior mindset in her 2001 inaugural address when she said that "universities must fight for robust support" (personal communication, 2019). Likewise, Faust (2007) suggested that "we in higher education need to seize the initiative in defining what we are accountable for" (para. 17). Rodin (1994) offered a slightly different version of this discourse when describing her commitment to "focusing forcefully on undergraduate education" (para. 30) during her presidency. In making this statement, Rodin used the discourse of force to demonstrate the strength and power in her convictions. The presence of this discourse in the speeches by Rodin and Simmons is notable because they were the first woman and the first African American to lead an Ivy League university or colonial college, suggesting that the heroic image of leadership is a way to navigate the White, male preserve of these institutions; and because Harvard is the oldest and most prominent of these institutions, the presence of this discourse in Faust's address

reinforces this discursive strategy. However, the absence of this discourse in the other speeches indicates that the heroic leader is not the only legitimate image of leadership at these institutions.

All the women in this study used language in their inaugural addresses that gave rise to a male image of leadership by evoking a sense of autonomy, control, courage, or force. As the first woman to take on the male preserve of higher education leadership at the colonial colleges, Rodin was the only president in this study to use all the identified discourses of masculinity in her speech. Faust and Simmons relied on the dominant discourses of masculinity more than any other president in this study, but they leveraged different discourses in their speeches. Finally, all the presidents evoked a sense of courage, but the ways in which the women aligned themselves with this masculine trait changed over time. In Chapter 6, I present a conceptual map that leverages these discourses of masculinity as constellations for navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership.

Female Image of Leadership

When reviewing the inaugural addresses for gendered discourses, dominant discourses of femininity appeared in language that evoked a sense of relatedness, empathy, service, dependency, or domesticity. The women in this study relied heavily on this female image of leadership within their inaugural addresses even though many of them were the first woman to hold the position after a long legacy of male leadership at their respective institutions. The presence of these gendered discourses highlights the changing image of higher education leadership due to the contributions of women moving into roles of authority and emphasizing collaboration over the traditional notions of leadership that valued an individualistic and hierarchical-focused mentality (Kezar, 2014b; Kezar et al., 2006). In this section, I provide examples of text that gave rise to a female image of leadership within the inaugural addresses.

Iverson et al. (2017) identified the relational leader as the predominant discourse of femininity taken up to depict contemporary images of administrative leadership within higher education. When reviewing the inaugural addresses, the discourse of relatedness appeared in statements that used the collective pronouns "we" and "our" when describing their role in leadership. Gutmann (2004) made it clear why she used the collective pronouns, declaring: "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" (para. 10). In this statement, Gutmann blended the discourse of relatedness with the concept of family. Rowe (2019) made a similar connection in her opening remarks:

> I'd like also to welcome my family—parents, siblings, nephew, nieces—you have embraced our new William & Mary family wholeheartedly. My dad, brother and sister and sister-in-law walked among the delegates today, making this ceremony so special for me. (para. 7)

Simmons also referenced the "many people who have mattered in my life," including both her family and the former teachers, supervisors, students and colleagues that "identified in me a leader that I could not see" (personal communication, 2019) in her 2001 inaugural address. However, the four other presidents in this study did not mention their families at all. When delivering a presidential inaugural address, women are more likely to mention their families in comparison to their male counterparts (Khwaja, 2017), but when considering the differences between and among women, there is no apparent consistency in the absence or presence of this discourse. This observation suggests that the varying mention of family in their speeches is likely a personal choice.

The discourse of relatedness also appeared in statements that referred to collaboration and shared leadership, such as when Paxson (2012) said, "I look forward to working with you" (para. 1) and addressed the need for collaboration and partnership between the institution and the local community. Rodin (1994) also advocated for a stronger relationship between the institution and the local community by saying "we are, and must be, truly one" (para. 14) and then ending her address with a series of statements beginning with the word "together." These statements suggest a sense of shared responsibility for the future of the institution similar to how Rowe (2019) ended her address with a series of "we" statements and Faust (2007) ended her address by saying, "let us embrace those responsibilities and possibilities; let us share them 'knit together…as one;' let us take up the work joyfully" (para. 29). Tilghman (2001) also spoke about the need for standing together so that the institution could best serve the nation in the days following the September 11 terrorist attacks. These discursive examples conjure up an image of a leader who values collaboration, cooperation, and relationship building—a discourse that Allan et al. (2006) identified as an alternative to the autonomous leader.

The dominant discourse of femininity also foregrounds the importance of leaders being caring and attending to emotions (Iverson et al., 2017). When reviewing the inaugural addresses, statements that referred to personal feelings and emotions suggested a discourse of empathy whereby the presidents could connect with their audience in an affective manner during their inaugural address. For example, Rodin (1994) shared an emotional response to the day's events:

> Philadelphia is my home town. I first came to Penn three decades ago, wide-eyed, only because of a precious scholarship for local students. Returning here, I find special meaning and emotion in so many of each day's rituals and experiences—not the least of

which was recently joining my Penn contemporary Ed Rendell in presenting this year's

equally proud, determined and wide-eyed Mayor's Scholars. (para. 40)

In sharing these feelings, Rodin encouraged a shared emotional response with the audience

instilling a sense of empathy among her constituents. The other presidents in this study evoked a

similar discourse by sharing their personal feelings about the inaugural event saying phrases,

such as "I am touched," "I am humbled," "I was excited," "I am overwhelmed," "I am honored,"

and "I am grateful." These discursive examples conjure up an image of a leader who does not

shy away from emotions and instead leverages these feelings for making connections with the

audience and the larger community.

The discourse of empathy also appeared in statements that referred to the multiplicity of

perspectives. Notably, this version of empathy appeared in the three most recent inaugural

addresses. For example, when addressing the William & Mary community in 2019, Rowe

suggested that "we can connect diverse disciplines and modes of thinking in flexible ways"

(para. 39) for increasing the sustainability of the institution's mission. A similar discourse

appeared in Paxson's address to Brown University in 2012 when discussing the rising concerns

about the purpose and value of higher education. She acknowledged that "this topic can be

viewed through multiple lenses" (para. 13) before offering her own perspective. In 2007, Faust

provided a slightly different version of this discourse in her address at Harvard University:

> 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. (para. 24)

By calling on the audience to share in the humility that comes from intellectual endeavors, Faust may have been able to instill a sense of empathy among the community members. These discursive examples conjure up an image of a leader who appears to be open-minded to the thoughts and experiences of others while also understanding that empathy plays a key role in bridging cognitive differences among individuals.

One of the major contributions of women in higher education leadership is the fundamental rethinking of how leadership is inherently tied to ethics and that effective leaders are attentive to the greater good of the institution, community, and society (Kezar, 2014b). This ethical approach to leadership gave rise to an alternative conceptualization of leaders as being in service to their followers (Northouse, 2016). The presidents in this study used the discourse of service in their inaugural addresses, but the way they approached this discourse changed over time. When delivering her address to the University of Pennsylvania in 1994, Rodin did not use the word "service" in her speech, but when speaking to her role as a leader, she focused on "Penn's needs, Penn's mission and Penn's common good" (para. 51)—discourse that positions her as in service to the institution.

In the days following the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001, Tilghman and Simmons shifted the conversation about service to the greater moral responsibility of higher education institutions to serve the individual, the community, and society, at large. For example, Tilghman (2001) concluded her address by emphasizing Princeton's motto, "Princeton in the nation's service and in the service of all nations" (para. 13). Meanwhile, Simmons pushed back on what she called "the tyranny of elitism" during her 2001 inaugural address to ensure that all subjects are protected and valued because individually they "serve important societal and intellectual

needs" (personal communication, 2019). These discursive examples expanded the idea of service beyond the walls of the institution.

By 2004, Gutmann was declaring that "universities have a responsibility to use knowledge to serve humanity" (para. 24), and in 2007, Faust noted how "college used to be restricted to a tiny elite; now it serves the many, not just the few" (para. 12). However, when Paxson delivered her address to Brown University in 2012, she argued that "the major purpose of a university is to invest in the service of the common good" (para. 14)—a statement that shifts the conversation on serving the public good from a responsibility to a priority of higher education institutions.

Most recently in 2019, Rowe began her address by saying, "it is a privilege to serve the Commonwealth and William & Mary with you" (para. 3). In this statement, the word "privilege" highlights her understanding that service involves a responsibility to and for the people of the community, and by saying "with you" she extends the image of the relational leader to include a discourse of service. These discursive examples conjure up an image of a leader who understands the importance of being in service to others, either as an individual or as an institution, and the changing nature of this discourse over time aligns with the evolving perspective of higher education in service to the public good.

Another trait that characterizes the dominant discourse of femininity is dependency (Allan, 2008). When reviewing the inaugural addresses, the discourse of dependency appeared in statements that blurred the lines between gratitude and being indebted to others. While some presidents in this study simply thanked their families, mentors, and predecessors for supporting their ascension and transition into the academic presidency, other presidents attributed their successes to others. For example, Gutmann (2004) declared that "without the love of my family,

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I would not be here today" (para. 11), thus attributing her accomplishments to external forces. Similar discourse appeared in Faust's (2007) opening remarks when she bounced back and forth between saying "I am grateful" and "I am indebted" (para. 1) to key members of the audience and the community. Likewise, Paxson referred to herself as a "beneficiary" (para. 5) when thanking the women who had broken through the glass ceiling of higher education leadership. However, the most striking example came from Simmons's 2001 inaugural address:

> Coming at the end of a probationary period in which a new president is given generous room to say and do foolish things, this installation gives me an opportunity to thank so many of you for generously assisting me during the transition…. In this period, you have shown me more patience than I deserved. You tolerated inadequacies; you encouraged me when I lacked confidence; you embraced me when I needed comfort. I am grateful to you all. (personal communication, 2019)

Her remarks offer an emotional, and seemingly apologetic, tone as Simmons blurs the lines between gratitude and being indebted to those who supported her during the transition. These discursive examples conjure up an image of a leader who depends on support from others in achieving and maintaining the role as leader.

The dominant discourse of femininity also reinforces the institutional arrangements based on sex category whereby men embody the ideal worker norms and women must divide any work commitments with domestic life (Lester & Sallee, 2017; West & Zimmerman, 1987; Williams, 2000). When considering that the colonial colleges have had long legacies of male leadership and that ideal worker norms persist in higher education (Eddy & Khwaja, 2019), I expected the women in this study to avoid discourse related to domesticity so as not to call attention to their gender during their speech. However, I was surprised to see that two of the women used

metaphors of home life in their inaugural addresses to navigate the gendered expectations related to the college presidency. For example, women have traditionally been relegated to the home because of "their 'natural' focus on relationships, children, and ethic of care" (Williams, 2000, p. 1), but Gutmann's (2004) description of American society as a "house" (para. 26) metaphorically expanded the domain of women to a larger context. Similar discourse appeared in Rowe's (2019) address when she described how she plans to lead change at the university:

> So in listening to and with the William & Mary community these past months, I sought out our best recipes for transformation. What ingredients for productive change do we have in hand, locally? What techniques are W&M faculty, staff, students and alumni brewing in our academic test kitchens? I invite you to join me in gathering recipes, this spring. (para. 24)

Her references to elements of domestic life (i.e., ingredients, kitchens, recipes) likely resonated with the audience as a discourse of femininity, and thus, Rowe was able to leverage metaphors of the home and household duties to navigate the discursive tension between her gender and her role as a leader of change. These discursive examples conjure up an image of a leader who understands how gendered expectations related to domestic life may influence the perception of her leadership style and abilities. I cannot know for certain whether Gutmann and Rowe were conscious of their discursive choices, but it is interesting to note that they also gave detailed introductions of their family members during their speeches. This observation suggests a deep appreciation of their role in the home.

All the women in this study used language in their inaugural addresses that gave rise to a female image of leadership by evoking a sense of relatedness, empathy, service, dependency, or domesticity. Gutmann was the only president in this study to use all the described discourses of

femininity in her speech, which is an interesting observation since her predecessor—Judith Rodin—was the only president in this study to use all the identified discourses of masculinity in her speech. Rowe also relied heavily on the dominant discourses of femininity despite the numerous references to sports and athletics in her speech. Finally, all the presidents evoked a sense of relatedness, empathy, and service, but they leveraged these discourses differently in their speeches. In Chapter 6, I map these discourses of femininity alongside the discourses of masculinity to illustrate the constellations for navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership.

Negotiation

In navigating the tension between these dominant discourses of gender, the presidents in this study offered several ways to negotiate between the male and female images of leadership such as promoting an integrated model of leadership with both male and female characteristics; challenging the norms and expectations related to gender and the college presidency; addressing gender inequities in higher education, either directly or indirectly; or encouraging others to question what is considered normal or assumed. In this section, I provide examples of text that suggested these methods for negotiating between the default male image of leadership and an alternative image of leadership that includes women as legitimate leaders.

Most of the presidents in this study employed juxtaposition as a rhetorical device for negotiating between dominant discourses of gender by placing characteristics commonly associated with men next to characteristics commonly associated with women. This juxtaposition highlighted their differences promoting what Nidiffer (2001b) described as an integrated model of leadership. For example, Gutmann (2004) made a pledge to the community to do everything in her power to educate students "to think independently and act compassionately" (para. 46). In

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this statement, she combines the discourse of autonomy with the discourse of relatedness suggesting that although different, both characteristics are important in preparing students to be successful, whether as citizens or leaders in society. Similar negotiation between gendered discourses occurred when Rowe (2019) referred to the "warmth and strength" (para. 10) demonstrated by the community gathering for the inaugural ceremony. Likewise, Rodin (1994) applauded faculty who can "inspire and provoke" (para. 12) their students while Faust (2006) advocated for taking "an active and reflective role" (para. 23) in defining American higher education. These examples demonstrate how the juxtaposition of characteristics commonly associated with men and women allows for the negotiation between gendered discourses and opens space for promoting an integrated model of leadership that combines the male and female images of leadership. However, this method of negotiation remains limited because it relies on the dominant discourse of gender differentiation.

Some of the presidents in this study challenged the dominant discourse of masculinity directly by making statements that violate the default male perspective of leadership, particularly with respect to pronouns. For example, when Gutmann (2004) addressed the lack of Penn alumni represented in the United States presidency, she proclaimed, "one day, I predict, Penn will claim a far wiser president. And I know that we will all be proud of her!" (para. 17). By ending the sentence with the female pronoun "her" followed by an exclamation point, it is likely that Gutmann allowed the statement to resonate with the audience for a moment indicating that she was being intentional in violating the default male perspective of presidential leadership in the United States. Similarly, Paxson (2012) described the inauguration as a celebration that helps the president put "his or her role in the institution into context" (para. 6). Her clarification in using both gendered pronouns suggests that she was being intentional in violating the default male

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perspective of presidential leadership in higher education. However, it is important to note that Gutmann and Paxson were each the second woman to serve as president at their respective institutions, and thus, they may have felt emboldened in their choices of pronouns because they did not bear the same discursive weight as those who were the first woman in that position.

Other moments in which the presidents challenged the norms and expectations related to gender and the college presidency were subtle in comparison to the direct use of female pronouns. For example, Gutmann (2004) made a point to talk about how she was proud to bear the name that also honors her parents even though she was married. The custom for women to change their last name harks back to a time when a woman became a man's possession upon marriage (Spender, 1980). By calling attention to the fact that she maintained her name even after marriage, she appeared to be challenging the patriarchal structure in which she was operating. A similar moment occurred when Faust (2007) described how she had received a letter entrusted to the University Archives in 1951 by James B. Conant, Harvard's 23rd president, who had left instructions for the letter to be opened by the Harvard president at the turn of the 21st century. In describing the letter's contents, she began by noting that it was addressed to "My dear Sir" (para. 27). Although she does not offer any further commentary on this phrase, by including this information about the letter's contents, she drew attention to her gender and highlighted how her gender violated her predecessor's expectation of the future Harvard president being a man. These examples demonstrate how even subtle challenges to gendered expectations related to the college presidency can open a space in which to negotiate between the default male image of leadership and the alternative image of leadership that includes women as legitimate leaders.

Some of the presidents offered another method for negotiating between male and female images of leadership by addressing gender inequities in higher education, either directly or indirectly. For example, in praising American universities for their malleability over the years, Faust (2007) addressed the historical exclusion of specific groups of people, including women, while also offering a subtle reference to her pioneering status as the first woman to serve as 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. (para. 12)

In a similar study on the gendered discourses within presidential inaugural addresses, Khwaja (2017) quoted this same passage arguing that Faust's reference to herself was concealed within the larger discussion on the defense of higher education institutions. Thus, Khwaja offered the impression that Faust appeared guarded in the language she used in her address concerning her pioneering status.

The text following this passage, however, offers additional context to Faust's message that leads me to a different impression:

> And those who long for a lost golden age of higher education should think about the very limited population that alleged utopia actually served. College used to be restricted to a

tiny elite; now it serves the many, not just the few. The proportion of the college age

population enrolled in higher education today is four times what it was in 1950; twelve

times what it was before the 1920s. Ours is a different and a far better world. (para. 12)

This subsequent passage produces a discourse of negotiation between what previous generations

considered the "golden age of higher education" and the present version that constitutes a

"different and a far better world." While the reference to her own gender may have been subtle,

her overall commitment to negotiating between competing discourses directly addresses the

historical inequities related to gender and race.

Faust was not the only president to highlight the changing faces within higher education.

When describing the founding of Brown University, Paxson (2012) clarified that "women and

African Americans were famously not a part of the student body in those early years" (para. 8).

By offering this point of clarification, Paxson appeared to be negotiating between the beloved

origins of the university and the stark realities of gender and race inequities in the institution's

history. She acknowledged that students, alumni, and faculty at Brown have always been

provocative in challenging the social customs of the time, but she also cautioned that the

institution continues to be "a work in progress" (para. 8). By directly addressing the historical

inequities related to gender and race, Paxson emphasized – though indirectly – her own gender

and her status as only the second woman to serve as Brown's president following Ruth Simmons,

who was both a woman and African American. Similar discourse appeared in Rowe's address to

William & Mary in 2019, when she said, "Now, on the 100th anniversary of co-education and 50

years after our first African American students were in residence, we celebrate each change that

makes us more ourselves" (para. 40). By acknowledging the historical exclusion of some

individuals while also celebrating the soul of the institution, Rowe found a way negotiate

between these discourses. These examples demonstrate how both direct and indirect discussions on gender inequities can open space to negotiate between the default male image of leadership and the alternative image of leadership that includes women as legitimate leaders.

Elements of negotiation also appeared when the presidents encouraged others to question what is considered normal or assumed. Even though this method of negotiation was not specifically related to gender, the presence of this discourse is important to the social constructivist perspective that maintaining the status quo obscures alternative images of leadership that include women as legitimate leaders. A powerful example of this discourse came from Simmons's 2001 inaugural address when she said, "let us not wallow in the paradigms of the past, the luxury of elitism, the valley of exclusion" (personal communication, 2019). Instead, she advocated for setting new paradigms similar to how Tilghman (2001) encouraged the audience "to challenge prevailing orthodoxies, to depart from the status quo" (para. 7). Likewise, Paxson (2019) admired the community's ability to raise "provocative questions…about the prevailing social customs of the day" (para. 8) and Rodin (1994) promised to protect the freedom of expression on campus, upholding "the right to challenge the accepted, to attack the vogue, to explore the controversial, to embrace the forbidden" (para. 13). However, Rowe (2019) provided a slightly different version of this discourse:

> I began to rethink the underlying assumption that pits old and new always in competition, not collaboration. The question I want to put to you now is: How might new ideas revitalize old ways, while also helping us part with them when we need to? How might old ideas illuminate new ways – test and strengthen innovative practices as they emerge? (para. 14)

In this statement, Rowe encouraged the questioning of assumptions, but she also opened a space for negotiation to be productive rather than repressive – a shift in thinking similar to Foucault's (1978) reconceptualization of power as a productive force to counter the dominant discourse of power as a repressive force. By framing negotiation as a productive force, Rowe illustrated the power in this discursive strategy for forming new leadership norms and identity stories that include women as legitimate leaders. In Chapter 6, I present a conceptual map that leverages the discourse of negotiation as the North Star for navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership.

Presidential Legitimacy

In this analysis, I identified language in the inaugural addresses that gave rise to a legitimate image of leadership based on Bornstein's (2003) factors in presidential legitimacy—individual, institutional, environmental, technical, and moral legitimacy. Of these five factors that can either contribute to or impede a new president's ability to establish legitimacy, the women in this study focused primarily on discourses related to institutional, environmental, and moral legitimacy in their inaugural addresses, with only minimal references to their individual and technical legitimacy—an observation that requires an analysis of the presences as well as the absences in the text. In navigating these factors in presidential legitimacy, the women found ways to accommodate the related discourses by positioning themselves within a particular context. In this section, I examine these discourses and consider how accommodation represents an alternative to the real consequences often associated with gendered expectations and the college presidency such as marginalization, assimilation, discrimination, and structuration.

Individual Legitimacy

Individual legitimacy involves the perception that the president's background, career path, and identity characteristics, such as race and gender, will be a good fit for the institution (Bornstein, 2003). This factor in presidential legitimacy is most significant in the search process and the early stages of the presidency, and yet, the women in this study rarely discussed their professional background or personal characteristics in their inaugural addresses. When they did refer to themselves and the characteristics they bring to the role, they focused on their academic background, notable mentors, or any special connections they have with the institution. In this section, I provide examples of text that spoke to the individual legitimacy of the new presidents during their inaugural addresses.

Most of the presidents in this study referred to their academic background when framing the discourse in their speeches. For example, when describing the purpose and value of higher education during her inaugural address at Brown University in 2012, Paxson offered the following explanation of her academic background in economics:

> 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. (para. 13)

By sharing her academic background in economics, Paxson helped strengthen the perception that she would be an effective leader for guiding the institution during the troubling economic environment facing higher education at the time of her speech. Moreover, she was able to accommodate this discourse by framing the male-dominated field of economics within a feminine perspective of human well-being while also pushing back on the assumption that women do not have the financial skills to manage the presidency—an assumption that could have threatened her individual and technical legitimacy (Bornstein, 2009).

Paxson was not the only president to refer to her academic background. Similar discourse appeared in most of the reviewed speeches, such as when Rodin (1994) referred to herself as a biological and social psychologist, Gutmann (2004) referred to her background in the arts and sciences, and Faust (2007) referred to herself as a historian. However, Tilghman (2001) offered a slightly different version of this discourse when she asked the audience to "forgive a biologist the impulse to use a scientific metaphor" (para. 4). I cannot be certain why Tilghman felt the need to apologize for her academic perspective, but similar discourse appeared in Rowe's inaugural address at William & Mary in 2019:

> So before I continue, I need to pause and note that for the past seven months, I have been fairly restrained with my literary references. Because I am a literary scholar, and it's Charter Day—and our minds are already in the Renaissance—I'm not holding back any more. (para. 16)

It is interesting to see a similar tone of restraint from two presidents who came from very different academic backgrounds with one being more male-oriented and one being more female-oriented in their communities of practice. This observation suggests that the reason for this

restraint may relate to the socialization of their gender, or simply their personality, rather than their chosen academic careers.

Notably, Simmons was the only president in this study who did not refer to her academic background during her inaugural address at Brown University in 2001, but she did refer to the mentors and previous institutions that helped her feel like a legitimate leader in higher education. Similar discourse appeared in Paxson's address to the same institution a decade later when she named specific individuals who supported her and paved the path to her own presidency:

> 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. (para. 5)

The presence of this discourse highlights the importance of developing the necessary networks and mentorships for achieving the highest levels of leadership in higher education (Ford, 2016; Gallant, 2014; Madsen, 2010), but it is important to remember that these communities of practice within higher education are typically based on masculine preferences and cultures (Burkinshaw, 2015; Eddy & Ward, 2017). By referring to the pioneering women who came before her, Paxson accommodated the default male perspective, and in turn, reinforced the alternative image of women as legitimate leaders. This observation suggests that gender becomes less of an impediment to individual legitimacy for the women who follow other successful women in the

role—an important development that has implications for future generations of women who choose to ascend to the college presidency.

Some of the presidents offered another method for increasing their individual legitimacy, which was to draw personal connections to the institution. For example, in her inaugural address to the University of Pennsylvania in 1994, Rodin leaned on her alumna status while also claiming Philadelphia as her hometown and comparing herself to the recipients of the same scholarship she had received decades earlier. Thus, Rodin helped strengthen the perception that she was a good fit for leading the institution because of this personal connection. Similar discourse appeared in Paxson's address when she noted that "the idea of University Hall [at Brown University] came, like me, from Princeton University" (para. 8). Unlike Rodin, Paxson did not have a direct connection to the institution that she was now leading, but she leveraged a similar discourse of individual legitimacy by drawing parallels between the institution she was leading and her alma mater. These examples demonstrate how personal connections to an institution can increase the individual legitimacy of a new president.

The presidents in this study spoke to their individual legitimacy during their inaugural addresses, but the presence of this discourse was minimal. In moving beyond what was made visible in the speeches, the women rarely discussed their identity characteristics, such as race or gender, in their speeches, and only a few of the women mentioned their families but never in terms of their role as a mother or wife. The absence of this discourse suggests that the gendered expectations related to these socialized roles may have threatened their individual legitimacy, thus reinforcing the well-established notion that women are caught in the double bind of trying to meet male norms of leadership while also being evaluated based on the expectations of their gender (Carli & Eagly, 2016; Eddy, 2009; Jablonski, 2000).

Institutional Legitimacy

Institutional legitimacy involves the perception that the president is a good fit with the institution's culture, norms, and traditions (Bornstein, 2003). When considering the male preserve of the colonial colleges, this factor in presidential legitimacy presents a unique challenge for women because of the colleges' foundational mission in exclusively educating young men, their reluctance to introduce coeducation, and their long legacy of male leadership. This cultural context could have marginalized a new leader simply because she violates the historical image of leadership (Bornstein, 2009), but the women in this study found ways to navigate these dominant discourses of gender and leadership by positioning themselves within the organizational saga. In this section, I provide examples of text that pointed to the accommodation of this discourse in the inaugural addresses.

The organizational saga is a powerful story that connects the past with the future (Clark, 1972), and the presidents in this study evoked this type of narrative in their inaugural addresses to contribute to their institutional legitimacy. They either spoke of the unique circumstances of the institution's founding, the heroic figures who led the institution through times of great struggle and prosperity, the distinct characteristics of the institution, or the enduring values that will carry the institution forward. Moreover, several of the presidents accommodated the discourse of the organizational saga to meet their needs in establishing legitimacy. A simple, yet striking, example of this accommodation appeared in Paxson's inaugural address to Brown University in 2012 when she described the purpose of the inauguration:

> The purpose of a university's presidential inauguration is to celebrate the history of the
> institution and look forward to its future. To the new president, it helps put his or her role

in the institution into context. This is especially true at a place like Brown, twelve years

older than the United States of America. (para. 6)

Situated within this discourse was a direct challenge to the default male perspective of

leadership. By clarifying that a new president could be a man or woman, Paxson accommodated

the organizational saga to include the alternative image of women as legitimate leaders even

though she was only the second woman to serve as the president of Brown University since its

founding in 1764.

Other presidents in this study positioned themselves within the organizational saga by

speaking of their individual role in connecting the past with the future. For example, after

describing the contents of Conant's letter and the faith he had for the future of Harvard, Faust

(2007) spoke of her personal accountability to the institution:

Our gathering here, marks a dramatic intersection of the past with the future. This is a

ceremony in which I pledge—with keys and seal and charter—my accountability to the

traditions that [Conant's] voice from the past invokes. And at the same time, I affirm, in

compact with all of you, my accountability to and for Harvard's future. (para. 29)

In making this pledge, Faust positioned herself within the organizational saga and contributed to

her institutional legitimacy by referencing the symbols of the Harvard presidency and honoring

the voices—albeit male—of her predecessors in her speech.

Similar discourse appeared in Tilghman's inaugural address at Princeton University in

2001 when she accepted the responsibility of cherishing, protecting, and building upon the

legacy provided by her predecessors:

It is a deep honor for me to assume the office of 19th President of this great university. I

accept with both eagerness and humility, knowing full well that I follow in the footsteps

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of predecessors who have provided Princeton with extraordinary leadership over the past

century. Presidents Goheen, Bowen and Shapiro, all of whom are present to witness this

beginning of a new presidency, have provided us with a legacy that is envied in all

quarters of higher education, a legacy that we will cherish and protect, but also one that

we will use as a strong foundation on which to build our future. (para. 2)

By honoring the legacy of her predecessors and describing how she could leverage this legacy as

an ongoing source of inspiration for meeting new challenges during her presidency, Tilghman

positioned herself within the organizational saga.

A slightly different version of this discourse appeared in Rowe's inaugural address to the

community of William & Mary in 2019:

In this ceremony, we celebrate a community that spans space and time—the thundering

chorus gathered in this arena, singing out to so many other places and times. My theme is

the power of those long connections and their futurity, captured in the phrase that runs

through William & Mary's Charter seven times. This university was founded "to

continue for all times coming." I evoked this phrase almost a year ago, when my

appointment was announced. That dedication to futurity has gained deeper meaning for

me since then. (para. 10)

Not only did Rowe frame the inauguration as a celebration of the institution's past and future,

she also positioned herself within the organizational saga by adopting the phrase, "to continue

for all times coming" as her inaugural theme. Her commentary connected the deep appreciation

she has for the meaning behind this phrase with the power it holds in the William & Mary

community—a connection that positions her within the organizational saga, and thus, strengthens

her institutional legitimacy.

Environmental Legitimacy

Environmental legitimacy involves the perception that the president can navigate the increased requirements and constraints placed on institutions of higher education by the external environment (Bornstein, 2003). In responding to this environment, the presidents in this study addressed some or all the following topics in their speeches: public distrust, issues of access and cost, demands for greater accountability, changing demographics, and an increasingly global and technologically driven world. Several of the presidents also rejected the idea that their respective institutions were insulated ivory towers, and in turn, capitalized on the moment of public discourse to position themselves within the larger conversations occurring in higher education and society. The presence of this discourse aligns with the modern role of the academic president as a political leader guiding the national debate on important public issues (Thelin, 2019). In this section, I provide examples of text from the inaugural addresses that support the environmental legitimacy of the new presidents.

In her inaugural address at Harvard in 2007, Faust summed up the status of American higher education as being "in a state of paradox—at once celebrated and assailed" (para. 8). She clarified that although universities like Harvard and its peers are deeply revered by the American public and respected by the rest of the world, there are rising criticisms of colleges and universities costing too much and teaching too little. Thus, she posed the question, "Is American higher education in crisis, and if so, what kind?" (para. 10). In answering this question, she described issues of access and cost, demands for greater accountability, and changing demographics, and her understanding of these issues both within the context of higher education and in the larger social construction of society supported her environmental legitimacy as a president who can guide and protect the institution even in times of uncertainty.

Rodin posed a similar question in her inaugural address at the University of Pennsylvania more than a decade earlier in 1994:

> There is a disturbing disconnect in the traditional paths from college to career. Across the country families are asking, "Why invest all those years and all that money if many of our children are forced to work in jobs that undervalue these hard-earned diplomas, that waste their talent and creativity?" (para. 24)

In asking this question, she connected the issue of cost with the perceived disconnect between a college education and career preparation. Later in her speech, when she expanded this discourse to include the cynicism "sweeping over the American spirit" and the idea that "people are losing faith in institutions" (para. 42), she demonstrated her deep understanding of how these concerns manifest into a larger feeling of public distrust in higher education institutions while also positioning herself as leader in this conversation.

In her inaugural address to Brown University in 2001, Simmons noted that "major universities readily acknowledge the changes underway in how the population perceives education," but she also observed that these institutions are "not known as rapid responders to changing societal demands" (personal communication, 2019). In response, she encouraged universities to invest in new modes of delivery for accommodating the changing demographics of scholars. Moreover, she warned that "the public itself will lead the way" (personal communication, 2019) and that if universities fail to adapt, they will be replaced by other types of institutions willing to meet these demands. This warning created a sense of urgency in her speech—an urgency that defined her leadership as the catalyst for change.

A similar discourse of urgency appeared in Rowe's inaugural address to William & Mary in 2019 when she described the need for change:

The urgency to engage with change is felt across higher education, not just here. It comes from external forces that we don't control and must respond to creatively. Globally, changing demographics and technologies set an imperative for all organizations to raise our standards of equity and inclusion, for universities to recruit the most talented staff, students and faculty in the world. With the accelerating pace of change, the human capacities we cultivate—those of sophisticated citizens and professionals—will become our most powerful resources. (para. 23)

With a focus on changing demographics and an increasingly global and technologically driven world, Rowe acknowledged that these changes come from external forces that are outside the control of the institution, and yet, she also suggests that institution of higher education have a responsibility to respond. This discourse speaks to both environmental and moral legitimacy, but it also clarifies the position of the college president as a leader in these conversations.

Similar discourse appeared when Tilghman delivered her inaugural address to Princeton University only a few days following the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001. In her speech, she posed a question about the role of higher education institutions in relation to those tragic events:

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? (para. 2)

In response to this question, Tilghman ventured the opinion that "today the academy holds a highly privileged place in American society because of a long-standing national consensus about the value of education" (para. 4), and that "our society's confidence in its institutions of higher

education is expressed through the generous investments of the federal and state governments" (para. 5). It was in this discourse of broad support that Tilghman framed her reasons for why "the medieval image of the university as an ivory tower" is no longer accurate, and that society rightfully expects active engagement from a modern university that is "constructed not of ivory, but of a highly porous material, one that allows free diffusion in both directions" (para. 6). By rejecting the image of the academy as an insulated ivory tower, Tilghman designated colleges and universities as the appropriate site for debating national issues while also positioning herself as the leader of these conversations.

Tilghman was not the only president in this study to reject the idea that her institution was an insulated ivory tower. In her address to the University of Pennsylvania in 1994, Rodin noted that "our towers at Penn are anything but ivory and isolated" (para. 39) pointing to the close relationship between the university and the larger community in Philadelphia as evidence. In 2004, Gutmann echoed her predecessor's remarks when she said, "No one mistakes Penn as an ivory tower. And no one ever will" (para. 56). Likewise, when Paxson delivered her inaugural address in 2012, she clarified that "Brown may sit atop a steep hill; but this is no Ivory Tower" (para. 10). Moreover, Gutmann and Paxson coupled their rejection of the ivory tower image with discourse related to issues of access and cost. For example, Gutmann (2004) advocated for "access based on talent, not income or race" (para. 36) while also addressing the specific need "to expand the pipeline of people of color and women" (para. 63). In comparison, Paxson spoke more clearly on the connection between access and cost:

> We aspire to create a community of scholars that can effect change. That community will
> be richer and stronger if its members are drawn from the widest possible range of
> socioeconomic groups. In this era of rising college costs and high income inequality, I

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want to renew our commitment to keeping Brown accessible to talented students from the

United States and around the world, regardless of their ability to pay. (para. 31)

By rejecting the image of the academy as an ivory tower and addressing issues of access and

cost, these women positioned themselves as leaders in this conversation, thus supporting their

environmental legitimacy.

Technical Legitimacy

Technical legitimacy involves the perception that the president is a visionary leader who

also can manage the institution effectively (Bornstein, 2003). Because constituents often grant

technical legitimacy to a president after she has demonstrated her expertise and competence

through task-relevant successes, this factor is difficult to address in the early stages of the

presidency before the opportunity for action has occurred. Although most of the presidents in

this study described their vision for the future of their respective institutions, they rarely

discussed their technical abilities in managing the implementation of this vision. When they did

offer strategies for effectively managing the institution, they focused on their willingness to

communicate and collaborate with constituents while also emphasizing interdisciplinary thinking

for making decisions. In this section, I provide examples of text that evoked a sense of technical

legitimacy coming from the new presidents during their inaugural addresses.

When describing how their respective institutions will meet the challenges facing higher

education in America, the presidents in this study emphasized the need for communication and

collaboration – discourse that aligns with the female image of the relational leader already

discussed in the previous section of this chapter. All the presidents described the collective

approach for meeting this need, but Rowe was the only president in this study who highlighted

her individual role in the process of communication and collaboration. In her inaugural address

at William & Mary in 2019, Rowe posed the following question: "How does one sustain and advance an institution for all times coming?" (para. 11). In answering this question, Rowe referenced the university-wide discussions occurring during the months leading up to her address. She made it clear to the audience that she had been "listening to and with" (para. 23) her constituents at William & Mary, and in doing so, she identified three approaches for leading change – collaboration, reflection, and an openness to questioning assumptions. By outlining this practice of communicating and listening to others in her address, Rowe helped strengthened the perception that she will be an effective leader of change at the institution. Moreover, she reinforced the idea that questioning assumptions can be a productive force for making change—a discourse that is important for pushing back on the male-normed realities of higher education.

Rowe also described another strategy for managing change initiatives at the institution, which involved connecting diverse disciplines and modes of thinking when making decisions and acting alongside partners internal and external to the institution. This discourse demonstrates that she is a leader who values interdisciplinary thinking when making decisions—discourse that likely strengthened the perception that she can effectively facilitate conversations across diverse groups within the institution. Similar discourse appeared in Gutman's inaugural address at the University of Pennsylvania in 2004 when she identified the integration of knowledge from different disciplines and professional perspectives as one of the guiding principles for moving the institution forward. Likewise, when Tilghman delivered her inaugural address at Princeton University only a few days following the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001, she encouraged the country's decision makers to draw on the expert knowledge that resides on campuses.

The presence of this discourse aligns with the image of the relational leader and the changing image of higher education leadership emphasizing collaboration and the need for

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harnessing multiple perspectives for decision-making (Kezar, 2014b; Kezar et al., 2006), and by

using this discourse to evoke a sense of technical legitimacy, some of the presidents in this study

were able to accommodate the gendered expectations related to leadership and management to

include the alternative image of women as legitimate leaders. However, technical legitimacy

involves more than the ability to collaborate and make decisions; it involves budgeting, faculty

relations, fundraising, lobbying, and other responsibilities internal and external to the institution

(Bornstein, 2003). In moving beyond what was made visible in the speeches, the absence of this

discourse suggests that gendered expectations related to leadership and management may have

threatened their technical legitimacy, thus emphasizing the inconsistency between female gender

norms and the male norms of leadership and management in the literature (Carli & Eagly, 2016;

Eagly & Diekman, 2005; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eddy, 2009; Jablonski, 2000).

Moral Legitimacy

Moral legitimacy involves the perception that the president is devoted to the mission of

the institution and exemplifies the highest standards of ethical behavior in all aspects of life and

work (Bornstein, 2003). Beyond serving as exemplars of good behavior for their constituents, the

college president is also responsible for engaging in issues of morality within higher education.

For women, this factor in presidential legitimacy can present a significant challenge to personal

authenticity especially if assimilating male norms of leadership (Bornstein, 2014; Dean et al.,

2009), but the presidents in this study found ways to navigate these dominant discourses of

gender and leadership by positioning themselves within the institutional ethos while also framing

this discourse with a sense of urgency. In this section, I provide examples of text that point to the

accommodation of this discourse in the inaugural addresses.

The presidents in this study contributed to their moral legitimacy by speaking to the enduring values that make up the institutional ethos. Intertwined with the organizational saga, the institutional ethos speaks directly to the deeply held beliefs and guiding principles that drive the narrative (Kuh & Whitt, 1988). For example, when describing the foundational mission of Brown University to protect the freedoms of speech and religion and to teach in the vernacular as well as the classical languages, Paxson (2012) reassured her constituents that "these values endure; they define us; they are mixed in with the bricks and mortar that you see about you" (para. 10). Similar discourse appeared in Rodin's (1994) inaugural address at the University of Pennsylvania when she described how "a set of rules has evolved to protect the sanctity of both these people and this place" (para. 14), and they include the freedom of expression, an uncompromising integrity, and a mutual respect. Moreover, she stressed that "a paramount priority of my stewardship" (para. 23) will be to uphold these principles while guiding the direction of the institution. By making this pledge, Rodin not only positioned herself within the institutions, but she also identified herself as the steward of that ethos—an accommodation of discourse that reinforces the alternative image of women as legitimate leaders even at institutions with values deeply rooted in masculine preferences and cultures.

Rodin was not the only president to position herself within the institutional ethos. Throughout her 2001 inaugural address, Simmons described Brown's dedication to its own ideals, specifically those centering on the intrinsic value of diversity and having varied perspectives for learning. She concluded her speech by positioning herself as a reflection of these ideals connecting her personal journey with education with her vision for the institution:

> I am grateful that Brown saw in me a reflection of the University's ideals for, truly, I have
>
> seen in Brown the kind of place I imagined when I dedicated my life to education. I came

to education because it offered me a way as a young person to feel included rather than

excluded. To feel valued rather than dispensable. It is my wish that we can find myriad

ways in this country to improve the extent to which every student and every teacher —

whatever their social origin, field of interest, religious belief, ethnic identity or subject

pursuit will feel validated when they practice the exacting exercise of teaching and

learning. (personal communication, 2019)

By sharing the reasons for why she committed her life to higher education, Simmons provided

insight into how her priorities align with the institutional ethos, and thus, strengthened the

perception that she will be an effective steward for the university's mission and values.

The presidents in this study also contributed to their moral legitimacy by using language

that evoked a sense of responsibility, obligation, accountability, and duty. For example, this

discourse appeared in Gutmann's inaugural address at the University of Pennsylvania in 2004

when she said that "universities have a responsibility to use knowledge to serve humanity" (para.

24) and that "the higher education community must take the higher road" (para. 30) when

compared with the ignorance and hatred in the world. Similar discourse appeared when

Tilghman (2001) referred to "Princeton's obligation to society" (para. 13) and Rowe (2019)

referring to William & Mary's "privilege and obligation to plan for the long term, and to do so

sustainably" (para. 39). Likewise, Faust (2007) addressed the accountability of higher education

institutions and Harvard's role in defining the scope and metrics of that accountability.

Meanwhile, Simmons offered another form of this discourse in her 2001 inaugural address at

Brown University when she argued that "great universities are duty bound to the aspirations of

their students" (personal communication, 2019). By evoking a sense of accountability,

obligation, responsibility, and duty in their speeches, the women in this study expanded their stewardship to include the higher purpose of colleges and universities.

This sense of a higher purpose becomes a moral imperative when coupled with a sense of urgency. Several of the presidents in this study pointed to the environmental factors affecting colleges and universities as the reason why change is not only necessary but also requires immediate action. For example, Faust (2007) leveraged this discourse of urgency when speaking to the Harvard community about the role of universities in transforming societies, saying "it is urgent that we pose the questions of ethics and meaning that will enable us to confront the human, the social and the moral significance of our changing relationship with the natural world" (para. 21). A similar discourse appeared in Rowe's (2019) inaugural address to the William & Mary community when she said that "the urgency to engage with change is felt across higher education" because of "external forces that we don't control" (para. 23). Situated within a discourse of environmental factors, Rowe created a sense of urgency making any necessary changes a moral imperative of the institution. She also positioned herself within this discourse by connecting the urgency to a principle that she has long held, which is "the power of higher education is that we play the long game…we quest into grand, hard problems where the answers are not yet clear" (para. 38).

A discourse of urgency also appeared in Simmons's speech at Brown University in 2001 when describing the dangers of undermining education if higher education institutions and society continue to label some disciplines as more or less worthy and valuable than others:

> If we fail to see the deep meaning and importance of all ways of learning, all subjects of inquiry and achievement, we will surely short-circuit important discoveries that a needful and anxious world awaits. The high aim of the university is the provision of a place

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dedicated to the efflorescence of knowledge in its rich variety as well as its very basic

and complex forms. (personal communication, 2019)

By describing the world as "needful and anxious" and by warning against failure in this matter,

Simmons created a sense of urgency and likely transformed this message into a moral imperative

that needs immediate attention.

Summary

This chapter examined the predominant discourses taken up by women in their

presidential inaugural addresses at the colonial colleges. The language used in these speeches

gave rise to male and female images of leadership based on the dominant discourses of

masculinity and femininity. In navigating the tension between these dominant discourses of

gender, the women in this study offered several ways to negotiate between the male and female

images of leadership, and thus, opened space for an alternative image of women as legitimate

leaders in the male preserve of higher education. Moreover, they contributed to this legitimacy

by addressing the five factors in presidential legitimacy in their speeches. In navigating the real

consequences often associated with gendered expectations and the college presidency, the

women in this study accommodated this discourse by positioning themselves within the

organizational saga, the larger conversations affecting higher education, and the institutional

ethos. However, these findings are limited to the discourses present in the speeches, and the

absence of some discourses suggests that gendered expectations related to the college presidency

may have threatened their individual and technical legitimacy. In the next chapter, I describe the

historical, social, and cultural context surrounding the announcement and inauguration of the

new presidents to interrogate that which was made visible in the speeches.

CHAPTER 5: INTERROGATING THE VISIBLE

The philosophical implication of poststructuralism centers on the idea that individuals are subject to the discursive practices within a given historical, cultural, and social context, and that the prevailing discourses in any society reflect the interest and values of the dominant group (Baxter, 2003, 2008). When considering the feminist perspective that the dominant discourse of gender differentiation systemically discriminates between individuals based on gender (Weedon, 1997), the underlying assumptions related to gender and leadership in higher education inadvertently benefit men while putting women at a disadvantage in their quest for presidential legitimacy. In leveraging Allan's (2008) feminist poststructural approach to discourse analysis for using secondary sources as evidence to frame my investigative practice, this chapter examines the discursive context surrounding the inaugural addresses to interrogate that which was made visible in the speeches. More specifically, this chapter examines the gendered subjectivities that positioned these women as relatively powerful or powerless in specific discursive contexts based on their gender.

Discursive Context Surrounding the Inaugural Addresses

The discussion of presidential legitimacy begins with the announcement of a new president – an announcement that is often documented extensively by both the institution and the media. In capturing the various perspectives contributing to this discussion, I collected 17 unique sources for each Rodin and Paxson, 19 for Gutmann, 20 for Rowe, 21 for Tilghman, 25 for Simmons, and 27 for Faust, and several of these sources contained multiple articles of interest. In reviewing these sources, I identified the prevailing discourses surrounding the announcement and

early stages of presidency for each woman in this study leading up to their inaugurations. Organized in chronological order of their announcement, the following sections examine this discursive context and considers what may have been taken for granted or considered natural in the discourse used in the inaugural addresses.

Judith Rodin

Dr. Judith Rodin was nominated to be the seventh president of the University of Pennsylvania on December 6, 1993—a nomination that was confirmed at a board meeting the following week. When she assumed office on July 1, 1994, Rodin became the first woman to lead an Ivy League university on a permanent basis, and her inauguration took place later that year on October 21. The announcement and early stages of her presidency leading up to her inauguration were discussed by the institution in the *Almanac*, by students in *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, by the academic community in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and by the world in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. In reviewing these sources (17 in total) for the discursive context surrounding her quest for presidential legitimacy, several themes emerged, including the significance of her gender, the clarification of her token status, and the characteristics that she was bringing to the college presidency. In this section, I provide discursive evidence to support these themes including a few direct quotations from Rodin in response to the discourse surrounding her presidency.

Rodin's gender was significant because she was the first woman to lead the University of Pennsylvania as well as the first woman to lead this type of institution—both Ivy League and colonial college—and the initial news coverage on the announcement of her presidency focused on the historical significance of her gender. For example, the *Almanac* journal argued that since the University of Pennsylvania was the first school in the United States to be designated as a

university (circa 1779) and the first Ivy League institution to accept women to its undergraduate college (circa 1933), "the prospect of being the first Ivy to select a woman as president seems perfectly *natural* [emphasis added]" ("For president," 1993, p. 1). However, *The Washington Post* offered an alternative discourse by highlighting the scarcity of women and minorities in higher education leadership as well as the controversial barring of women from undergraduate programs at most of the other Ivy League institutions until the 1970s (Jordan, 1993). Thus, from the moment her presidency was announced, there were competing discourses surrounding the significance of her gender, specifically the discourses of natural order versus gender inequities. The resulting tension appeared in a statement made by Rodin as quoted in *The New York Times*, "the Ivy League's having a woman at the highest level is symbolic. I understand I'll be watched" (Honan, 1993, p. B8). This statement highlights the significance of her gender while also revealing that Rodin was aware of the discursive weight she was carrying because of being the first among firsts.

Rodin's statement also speaks to her "tokenism" (Kanter, 1993, p. 208), or the idea that she will be viewed as a representation of her category and as a symbol rather than an individual. However, several sources, especially those external to the institution, pushed back on her token status clarifying that even though Rodin was the first woman to lead an Ivy League institution on a "permanent" basis, other women preceded her in the presidency. For example, an article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* focused on this clarification by repeatedly referring to Hannah Gray who from 1977 to 1978 was the first woman to serve as acting president of Yale University (Leatherman, 1993)—an institution that notably has yet to have a woman at the helm permanently. According to *The Washington Post*, this clarification came directly from Yale University "in a competitive tone befitting the Ivy League" to which "Penn quickly replied that

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acting does not mean permanent, and that's what counts for the history books" (Jordan, 1993, p A3). The resulting discourse is problematic, however, because what appears to be competitive discourse between institutions creates an underlying discourse of competition between women and contributes to the queen bee phenomenon of successful women in male-dominated settings choosing not to help junior women (Kanter, 1993; see also Derks et al., 2016; Ellemers et al., 2004; Staines et al., 1974).

When it came to describing the personal and professional characteristics that Rodin was bringing to the presidency, the discourse varied based on the target audience of the various sources. For example, the *Almanac* is the official journal for the University of Pennsylvania with an intended audience of faculty and staff, and the descriptions of Rodin in this source were overwhelmingly positive referring to her as a "pied piper" who is charismatic and easily attracts followers ("A virtual pied piper," 1993, p. 1). The articles from this source also focused on her academic experience as a faculty member highlighting her rise through the ranks of the professoriate and becoming dean and then provost at Yale University before taking on the presidency at Penn ("For president," 1993)—a path consistent with the traditional route to the presidency (Birnbaum & Umbach, 2001; Cohen & March, 1974). They also praised her research, her administrative ability, her leadership and decision-making style, her management skills, her connections to the university and the city, and her overall enthusiasm for the role. Overall, the discourse in this source creates a legitimate image of leadership by addressing her individual, institutional, environmental, technical, and moral legitimacy as their leader.

However, the discourse appearing in sources external to the university offered a different image of Rodin. For example, in the days leading up to her inauguration, *The New York Times*

published a profile on the new president that focused more on her physical appearance than her leadership abilities:

> In the gray-tweed and furrowed-brow world of academia, Dr. Rodin turns heads with her cover-girl smile and designer clothes…She's a hometown girl made good. And to some, she'll always be Judy Seitz, the second grader whose incandescent grin was judged "the best smile in Pennsylvania." …In person, Dr. Rodin seems as carefully orchestrated as her schedule, 90 percent no-nonsense, 10 percent funky. The two ebony combs that hold her hair but defy stray strands are corporate, as are her purple silk blouse and pink-and-blue flecked silk jacket. But the copper-and-faux jewel brooch on her lapel is pure SoHo. And her pert manner and bouncy determination don't say boardroom predator as much as serious country club tennis player. (O'Neill, 1994, p. C1, C4)

By describing her clothing and personal style in considerable detail, the *Times* article reduced a woman with many significant accomplishments to a "cover-girl"—a discourse that threatened her individual legitimacy in seeking a position of authority. Moreover, when investigating why Yale had passed over on Rodin for the presidency, the article quoted a member of the search committee as saying, "Judy scared them" and that universities in general "have a way of being frightened of precisely the administrative rigor and focus they need to get through tough times, and this may be exacerbated when that competency is coming from a woman" (O'Neill, 1994, p. C4). The resulting discourse demonstrates how gender was often an impediment for women when establishing legitimacy as an academic president.

In response to the *Times* article, a group of graduate students submitted a letter to the editor criticizing the cover-girl description, saying that it is "symptomatic of a great problem facing women today: that even as we excel in the academic and corporate worlds, we are still

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viewed (and judged) by standards that have nothing to do with our minds or abilities" (Bernstein et al., 1994, p. C11). This response speaks directly to the double bind (Carli & Eagly, 2016; Eddy, 2009; Jablonski, 2000) and the second-generation gender bias (Ibarra et al., 2013; Opoku & Williams, 2019; Sturm, 2001; Trefalt et al., 2011) that threatens the legitimacy of women as leaders, especially their individual and technical legitimacy. This observation suggests that this discourse may pose a threat to women ascending to the college presidency because of the underlying assumptions related to their gender—an observation that may also explain why the women in this study had minimal references to individual and technical legitimacy in their speeches.

By challenging the gendered discourse in the *Times* article, the graduate students demanded a more holistic image of Rodin as both a woman and legitimate leader—a discourse similar to that which appeared in the student newspaper, *The Daily Pennsylvanian*. One of the most striking statements came from the editor of the student newspaper in the days leading up to her inauguration:

> Not only has [Rodin] written about a dozen books and served on about a million committees, she pulverized the glass ceiling by becoming the first woman (a divorced one at that) to be named Provost of Yale, one of the last bastions of the old-boy network. (Marcotti, 1994, p. 6)

Her status as a divorced woman violates the hegemonic norms of family life (Williams, 2000)—a violation that potentially threatened her individual legitimacy within a patriarchal society. However, by situating this reality within a discourse of her accomplishments and the overarching feminist agenda of pushing back on male norms, this statement suggests an accommodation of discourse that potentially helped Rodin break through the proverbial glass ceiling.

Other articles in the student newspaper referred to Rodin as a role model for women on campus (Gingiss, 1993; Kahn, 1993) and as someone who is "really sensitive to the idea that the face of the Ivy League is changing and that women, especially, are becoming much more a part of the academic community" (Marcotti, 1993, p. 5). When describing her earlier days as president of the Women's Student Government Association at the university, the paper noted that in comparison to her male counterpart, Rodin had "guts" and was more "in tune with the times" (Horn, 1993, p. 1). She was described as ruling with a "strong hand" while also pushing equity agendas, such as abolishing the curfew for senior women and allowing first-year women in men's apartments. Situated within an equity agenda for improving the conditions for women on campus, the image of Rodin as being strong and having guts aligns with the dominant discourses of masculinity – discourse that appeared throughout her inaugural address. This observation suggests that her proclivity toward masculine traits may be less related to the assimilation of male norms of leadership and more indicative of her natural tendencies as a leader.

With a flair for the provocative, the student newspaper also covered the wedding of president-elect Rodin who was set to marry Paul Verkuil in the months leading up to her inauguration. When asked why she kept this information private, she was quoted as saying that her impending marriage is "a non-Penn event" (Kahn, 1993, p. 1). Her response creates an image of a leader who maintains the divide between private and public life (Lester & Sallee, 2017; Williams, 2000), and yet several articles in this source fixated on her divorced status (twice over) and her role as a single mother balancing professional life with parenting an 11-year-old son (Marcotti, 1994; Tanamachi, 1993a, 1993b)—discourse that potentially threatened her individual and technical legitimacy. The resulting tension between these competing discourses demonstrates how the underlying assumptions related to the socialized roles of her gender could

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influence the general perception of her abilities to lead. Moreover, this observation suggests a possible reason for why she did not mention her new husband or son during her speech so that she could reinforce the image of the ideal worker who is fully committed to the job (Lester & Sallee, 2017; Williams, 2000).

Ruth Simmons

On November 9, 2000, the Brown Corporation named Dr. Ruth Simmons as the university's 18th president. When she assumed office on July 1, 2001, Simmons became the first woman to hold this position at Brown University and the first African American to lead this type of institution—both Ivy League and colonial college. By the time she was inaugurated on October 14, the discursive context surrounding her quest for presidential legitimacy was shaped by the institution in the *Brown University News Service*, by alumni in the *Brown Alumni Magazine*, by students in *The Brown Daily Herald*, by the local community in the *Providence Journal*, by the academic community in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and by the world in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. The reviewed sources (25 in total) focused on the significance of her race, the circumstances of her birth, and the symbolic nature of her appointment, but they also included direct quotations from Simmons that ultimately transformed the discursive context surrounding the announcement and early stages of her presidency. In this section, I describe how these sources attempted to profile the new president and how Simmons pushed back on this narrative.

Simmons was the first woman to be named president at Brown University, but the initial news coverage on her presidential announcement focused on the historical significance of her race rather than her gender. For example, when the *Brown University News Service* published the official announcement naming Simmons as the next president of the university, the press release

did not even mention her gender. Instead, the announcement introduced Simmons as the first

African American to lead an Ivy League institution (Brown University, 2000). *The Brown Daily*

Herald published the opening remarks of Chancellor Stephen Robert '62, who described the

announcement as "a historic and momentous occasion not only for Brown but for the entire Ivy

League" (Boas & Moos, 2000, p. 1). When *The New York Times* reported on the announcement,

the article included quoted reactions from students, such as "Brown was liberal enough that it

was willing to look at her" and that "someone will step up and notice a black woman as president

of an Ivy League university" (Steinberg, 2000, p. A18). Likewise, *The Chronicle of Higher*

Education described the reactions from notable Black scholars, including Cornel West

proclaiming that "this is a great day for higher education in America and for the culture"

(Basinger, 2000, para. 3) and Charles V. Willie calling her appointment "a breakthrough in

higher education" as well as the "clear and present evidence that there is wisdom and ability in

sectors and population groups that have not been looked to for leadership in these institutions in

the past" (para. 4). However, the most striking discourse came from the *Brown Alumni*

Magazine:

> In Sayles Hall the assembled faculty, staff, and students were rising to their feet with
>
> applause that rattled the frames of the portraits of the august white faces that had shaped
>
> the University for the previous 236 years. And issuing from the stage was the strong
>
> voice of a woman brimming with confidence and authenticity, yet "mystified and elated,"
>
> as she described her emotions. The address that followed was interrupted four times by
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> standing ovations. There were tears in many eyes as people responded to the power of
>
> Simmons's oratory, as they felt another racial barrier fall. ("Making History," 2001, para.
>
> 3)

As indicated in these examples, Simmons made history by being the first African American to lead an Ivy League university, just as Rodin had made history by being the first woman to lead this type of institution. Therefore, it is important to note that Rodin and Simmons represent the first among firsts in this study – a token status that carries a discursive weight in the history of higher education leadership.

For Simmons, this recognition was familiar as she had also been the first African American to be named president at a "Seven Sisters" institution—a term that refers to the seven highly selective liberal arts colleges in the Northeastern United States that historically provided women with the educational equivalency to their male counterparts in the Ivy League. Five years later when Brown selected her as the next president, *The Washington Post* described Simmons as shattering yet another glass ceiling (Ferdinand, 2000)—an accomplishment that was not lost on Simmons. *The Brown Daily Herald* quoted her as saying, "I understand the import of what has happened here today, and I am touched by it. I feel exceedingly proud to be here, but more than that, I am proudest of Brown" (Moos, 2000, p. 6). However, in response to the considerable media attention generated by her race, Simmons referred to her token status as a "historical accident" (Zernike, 2001c, p. 84) and clarified that her race and gender are "inescapable" (Rivello, 2000, p. 1) parts of herself—parts that make her proud but ultimately do not affect her ability to serve as president. She also spoke about being "totally terrified" (Frey, 2001, p. C8) by the pressures that come with being the first and how some of her students, especially those from poor neighborhoods, face similar pressures when entering higher education—the pressure to succeed, and do so wildly, or else someone might think they do not belong. By redirecting the attention from her personal story to the real experiences of her students, Simmons challenged the significance of her race while also highlighting issues of access and equity in higher education.

Simmons also pushed back on the significance of her race by clarifying that her gender posed a greater obstacle in her rise to the presidency than the racism she faced as being a Black woman in the United States. As noted in the *Herald*, Simmons understood from a very early age that society would not permit her to do things because of her race, but she knew she could do them (Moos, 2000). Moreover, the *Providence Journal* made the connection between her experience in growing up under Jim Crow segregation laws and her ability to deal with bigotry and to set realistic expectations of human behavior (Borg, 2000b). But when it came to her gender, she expressed a difficulty in navigating the socialized roles from her childhood and the male preserve of higher education institutions. For example, in an interview published in the *Brown Alumni Magazine*, Simmons explained that her family had been dominated by men with women playing a subservient role, and that it was not until she spent her junior year at Wellesley—a private women's college—when she realized "I actually didn't have to hold back in terms of the force of my intellect, the force of my opinions, the force of my aspirations" ("Making History," 2001, para. 22). Simmons also speculated that she would have progressed more rapidly in academia had she not been a woman:

> The academy has long been influenced by powerful male voices. Those powerful male voices shaped the academy. They even deliberately excluded women for a period of time. When they finally admitted women, they thought there were certain kinds of pursuits that were inappropriate for them, either because their minds were not strong enough or because the pursuit of those areas would somehow harm the traditional roles that women played in society. The academy also excluded women's perspectives. And I would say that the denigration of those perspectives continues even today. (paras. 23-24)

Simmons also spoke about how women have different interests and needs than men, referring to the fact that she had become a mother while finishing her PhD at Harvard, but that the schedules and requirements for building a career as a junior faculty member were based on the priorities and flexibilities of men. Her experience speaks directly to the ideal worker norms (Lester & Sallee, 2017; Ward & Bensimon, 2003; Williams, 2000) and the double bind (Carli & Eagly, 2016; Eddy, 2009; Jablonski, 2000) that threatens the legitimacy of women as leaders, especially their individual and technical legitimacy. By pushing back on the significance of her race and bringing attention to the significance of her gender, Simmons once again challenged the discourse surrounding her presidency to transform the narrative.

Another way the media attempted to profile Simmons was by focusing on the circumstances of her birth and the sensational story of a great-great-granddaughter of slaves who was the youngest of 12 children born to a Texas sharecropper and fought her way to the top. For example, the *Brown University News Service* described her rise to the presidency as "an extraordinary accomplishment" (Brown University, 2000, para. 8) and the *Providence Journal* opined that "Simmons's life story is the stuff American legends are made of" (Borg, 2000a, para. 9). When the *Times c*ompared the corrugated tin shack from her childhood with the Gregorian revival house that would become her home while president at Brown University, the article quoted Simmons as saying, "the overall impression is one of disbelief that in a lifetime one can travel so far" (Steinberg, 2000, p. A9). As more news sources latched on to this rags-to-riches narrative, Simmons responded by saying, "my ancestors are smiling" (Moos, 2000, p. 6) and "it's been a long path for me to Brown, but in my heart of hearts I know I'm home" (Miller, 2001, p. 11). Eventually, however, she pushed back on the narrative by clarifying that the donors who enabled her to afford a college education helped her to understand that "poverty is not a

state of mind nor a definition of one's character but merely the condition of one's purse" (Borg, 2000b, para. 11), and that she hopes Brown will "play a leadership role in insisting that elite universities remain steadfastly and resolutely the province of excellent minds and not fat purses" (para. 13). By shifting the focus from her personal story to her presidential agenda and priorities, Simmons took control of the narrative once again and transformed the discourse of poverty to a discourse of access and equity—discourse that also appeared throughout her inaugural address.

The media also attempted to profile Simmons as a role model by describing the symbolic nature of her presidency. For example, when the *Herald* introduced Simmons as the first African American to lead an Ivy League university, the article suggested that her appointment created a legitimate image of minorities holding such high-ranking positions in academia (Kimball, 2001). Similar discourse appeared in *The Washington Post*, which posited that her "success story is one that will encourage more African Americans and other minorities to climb the academic and administrative ladders that eventually lead to presidential appointments" (Ferdinand, 2000, p. A3). The *Providence Journal* suggested that "by virtue of her race and gender, [Simmons] is uniquely positioned to persuade Brown's various factions to move beyond narrow ideological issues" (Borg, 2000c, para. 10), but the article also clarified that "it would be wrong to conclude that Brown chose Simmons because of her sex and color" (para. 13). This follow up statement is problematic because it simplifies race and gender to demographic characteristics and inadvertently minimizes how her unique intersection of these characteristics made her the best choice for the presidency. Consequently, the resulting discourse weakened the perception of her individual legitimacy because it rendered gender and race—personal characteristics that she was bringing to the presidency—as invalid reasons for selecting a presidential candidate.

The *Herald* provided some insight to why Simmons accepted the position, quoting her as saying, "I'm here because I think my doing this means something for other people, and I think it will certainly mean something for me" (Boas, 2000, p. 8)—a statement which acknowledges the symbolism of her presidency. However, in an interview published by the *Brown Alumni Magazine*, Simmons pushed back on this overarching narrative by saying "I'm not going to be a symbolic president for Brown. I expect my hands will be in more things than people want" ("Making History," 2001, para. 62). By making this statement, Simmons challenged the attempts of the media to profile her based on the symbolic nature of her race and the circumstances of her birth, and in turn, reframed the discourse to remind the institutional community that she would not be a figurehead—an observation that suggests a sense of personal agency in her quest for presidential legitimacy. Moreover, this observation suggests a possible reason for why she concluded her inaugural address with her wish for all students and teachers to feel validated in the exercise of teaching and learning regardless of their social origin.

Shirley Tilghman

On May 5, 2001, Dr. Shirley Tilghman was elected the 19th president of Princeton University. When she assumed office on June 15, she became the first woman to hold this position in the university's history and the first president in over a century to not hold a degree from the university. Her inauguration took place later that year on September 28—only a few days following the September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. To address these tragic events, Tilghman modified her planned speech, noting that "there remain some important things that need to be said" (Surak, 2001, p. 1). Clearly, these events influenced her discursive choices when drafting her inaugural address, but the discursive context surrounding the announcement and early stages of her presidency also played a key role in

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framing her message to the community. This discourse was shaped by the institution in the *Princeton Weekly Bulletin*, by students in *The Daily Princetonian*, by the local community in *Town Topics*, by the scientific community in *Science Magazine* and *Nature Medicine*, by the academic community in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and by the world in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. In reviewing these sources (21 in total), several themes emerged, including the unconventional nature of her appointment, the significance of her previous roles, and the feminist agenda she was bringing to the college presidency. In this section, I provide discursive evidence to support these themes including a few direct quotations from Tilghman in response to the discourse surrounding her presidency.

The reviewed sources profiled Tilghman as an unconventional choice for several reasons beginning with her gender. For example, the writers for *The Daily Princetonian* highlighted the significance of her gender when describing the setting for her presidential announcement:

> Under the austere portraits of George Washington and King George II, flanked by President Harold Shapiro and trustees executive committee chair Robert Rawson Jr. '66, in a room modeled after the English House of Commons, sat Shirley Tilghman, soon-to-be 19th president of Princeton and the University's first female leader. In a space fraught with the past and present history of married men, Tilghman presented an external contradiction as a single mother—head often turned to one side, eyes both soft and sharply focused, and speech, both humble and forthright. (Lautin & Brush, 2011, p. 1)

Thus, her appointment was unconventional because her gender represented a "contradiction" to the men who preceded her in the role. By choosing to highlight the disparity between the married status of these men and Tilghman's status as a single mother, the resulting discourse threatened her individual legitimacy within a patriarchal society that values hegemonic family structures

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(Williams, 2000). Moreover, the writers reinforced the discourse of contradiction by describing Tilghman with both male and female characteristics, such as having "soft and sharply focused" eyes and being both "humble and forthright" in her speech. Overall, this vivid description of Tilghman standing in a room surrounded by notable men creates a striking image of a woman who must navigate the male preserve of higher education leadership and the gendered subjectivities that paint her as a living contradiction.

Other sources profiled Tilghman as an unconventional choice for different reasons. For example, when *The Chronicle of Higher Education* reported on her presidential announcement, the article focused on how Tilghman did not fit the expected norm:

> Some people might see the appointment as a bold move for the university since Ms. Tilghman bucks some Princeton presidential trends: She's female, she does not have a degree from the university, and she does not have any senior administrative experience. (Evelyn, 2001, para. 6)

Thus, Tilghman was an unconventional choice not only because of her gender but also because she did not follow the traditional route to the presidency, which involves a person moving through every level of the academic hierarchy—faculty member, department chair, dean, and provost (Birnbaum & Umbach, 2001; Cohen & March, 1974). Instead, Tilghman went from being a faculty member directly to being president-elect, and this jump in authority potentially threatened her technical legitimacy, especially in the academic community. This observation suggests a possible reason for why she began her inaugural address with discourse of humility and an eagerness to learn.

The article in *The Chronicle* also mentioned how Tilghman had sparked controversy in the academic community by arguing that the tenure-review process puts women at a

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disadvantage since it often occurs during child-bearing years (Evelyn, 2001). *The New York Times* cited this same controversial argument as the reason why Tilghman was "an unexpected and unconventional choice for this tradition-bound, ivy-decked campus" (Zernike, 2001a, p. 50). The *Times* also referred to her argument that federal funding should be denied to scientific meetings that do not include women on their panels, but the article coupled her arguments with the fact that Tilghman had continued her research as a single mother of two children. The resulting discourse suggested that Tilghman made these arguments because she is a woman and a mother—discourse that risks reducing the discussion of women in academia to a "women's only issue" (Eddy & Khwaja, 2019, p. 70). This observation helps to explain why gender is often an impediment for women when navigating the male preserve of higher education and suggests a possible reason for why Tilghman did not mention her gender in her inaugural address.

Tilghman's gender was significant because she was the first woman to lead Princeton University, but the reviewed sources also assigned significance to her previous roles when describing her path to the presidency. Notably, Tilghman was a faculty member at Princeton before becoming president-elect, and to explain the significance of this promotion, *The Chronicle* clarified that at the time of her appointment, only 4% of all college presidents came directly from the faculty ranks compared to 68% who were presidents, provosts, or senior executives in their previous jobs (Evelyn, 2001; Ross & Green, 2000). When considering the disparity between these statistics, Tilghman would have had significantly less administrative experience than most presidential candidates, especially when it came to the management and fundraising aspects of the presidency (Evelyn, 2001; Lautin & Brush, 2001). However, the editorial for *The Daily Pennsylvanian* explained why Tilghman's lack of administrative experience was not a concern:

Previous administrative experience is not necessarily a prerequisite for success. Princeton needs more than an accomplished manager as a leader. As a president, she must act with dedication, enthusiasm and a respect for the subtle details and demands of tradition and contemporaneity. ("Taking the Helm," 2001, p. 8)

The resulting discourse suggests that institutional legitimacy was more important than technical legitimacy, at least at Princeton University, and that Tilghman's role as an insider of the institution rendered her a legitimate leader of the university even though she did not follow the traditional path to the presidency.

Several of the reviewed sources celebrated her insider status. For example, the *Times* article quoted Robert H. Rawson, Jr., the trustee who led the presidential search committee, as saying, "she has something of the Tiger spirit in her, that spirit that only those of us close to the place can really understand" to which Tilghman responded, "I feel I have this institution in my blood" (Zernike, 2001a, p. 45). To provide insight into Tilghman's statement, the *Princeton Weekly Bulletin* clarified that it was her participation on university committees, especially those related to faculty promotions and appointments, that "made a transition in my heart from being an employee of this institution to being a Princetonian" (Stevens, 2001, p. 1). Notably, Tilghman was serving on the presidential search committee when her colleagues encouraged her to resign from her role so that she could be considered as a candidate. They viewed her as "the ideal candidate among us" (Greenstein & Schultz, 2001, p. 1), and in describing her appointment, they said "it's like watching a trusted and favorite member of the family take charge" (Robinson, 2001, p. 5). The resulting discourse suggests that her insider status contributed to her institutional legitimacy as she ascended to the college presidency—an observation that aligns with her use of the collective pronoun "we" throughout her inaugural address.

Several of the reviewed sources also celebrated Tilghman as a well-known and respected scholar. For example, *The Washington Post* introduced Tilghman as a "renowned molecular biologist" and "a pioneer in the efforts to map the human genome" (Connolly, 2001, p. A4). The *Times* article referred to her as a "popular Princeton professor and prominent researcher" who was "widely sought-after for national commissions and panels dealing with some of the thorniest ethical dilemmas in science" (Zernike, 2001a, p. 45). Her announcement was even reported in two peer-reviewed journals, including *Science Magazine*, which noted that Tilghman was "the first prominent genome leader to head a major university" (Marshall, 2001, p. 1040), and *Nature Medicine*, which revealed that she had led Princeton's Institute for Integrative Genomics for two years before her presidential appointment (Horwitz, 2001). The resulting discourse suggests that Tilghman played an important role in her field and in the larger academic community—discourse that contributed to her individual legitimacy as a leader.

Another significant discourse surrounding the announcement and early stages of her presidency was her feminist agenda. For example, the *Times* article referred to Tilghman as "an early advocate for women in a field still dominated by men" (Zernike, 2001a, p. 45). *Nature Medicine* echoed this discourse by describing Tilghman as "a lifelong advocate of female leadership within the scientific community" (Horwitz, 2001, para. 2). The *Town Topics* community newspaper also reported that she is "known not only for her pioneering research but also for her national leadership on behalf of women in science" (Bearse, 2001, p. 14). However, the *Post* article simply referred to her as "an outspoken feminist" (Connolly, 2001, p. A4). When asked about this label, *The Daily Princetonian* quoted Tilghman as saying, "Yes, I am a feminist. I'm proud to be a feminist" (Grabell & Robinson, 2001, p. 4). The article also reported that Tilghman had strong views against the federal funding of conferences that do not include women

on their panels, and how the perpetuation of male-dominated panels is significant because it may discourage women from pursuing careers in science. In her new role of authority, Tilghman said that she would require "evidence that there's been a good-faith effort to consider women" (Grabell & Robinson, 2001, p. 6) when convening panelists, thus bringing her feminist agenda to the college presidency.

However, her feminist agenda did not go unchallenged. For example, several sources confronted Tilghman about her previous arguments published in a 1993 *New York Times* Op-Ed piece, in which she called for the abolition of tenure, labeling it a "dirty trick" and "no friend to women" (Tilghman, 1993, p. A23). In response, *The Daily Princetonian* quoted Tilghman as saying, "When I wrote that it was certainly at a time when I was purposely provocative…I wanted to bring attention to an issue that needed scrutiny" (Grabell & Robinson, 2001, p. 1), and *The Chronicle* quoted Tilghman as saying, "What I learned from the reactions I got from that is that there's a way to be deliberately provocative that contributes to the message and there are ways that hurt the message" (Evelyn, 2001, para. 16). The resulting discourse suggests that Tilghman was having to manage her authenticity and personal convictions with the role of president—a role that requires a level of discretion when speaking on controversial topics (Bornstein, 2014).

When asked if her position had changed, the *Times* reported that Tilghman believed that "tenure has its place, guaranteeing that academics can speak their minds without fear for their jobs" (Zernike, 2001b, p. A8). This shift in opinion left some junior faculty members feeling disappointed, saying that Tilghman had been "muzzled" in her rise to the presidency, but the article also clarified that Tilghman believed that the tenure-review process should be re-examined:

Academic freedom is inviolate, inviolate... What I would challenge is whether in fact the

current process by which we go through tenure review is inviolate, or whether, in fact,

like all the things we do that are built on tradition, there are times when it is worthwhile

to reflect on whether it is a perfect system. I suspect that there is nothing that is perfect.

(Zernike, 2001b, p. A8).

Thus, the media attention ultimately furthered Tilghman's feminist agenda by opening space for

her to scrutinize a process that was built on ideal worker norms and gendered organizations even

from her guarded position of authority. This observation aligns with the idea that women in

highly visible roles, such as the college presidency, have the platform to challenge male-normed

practices in higher education in their discursive choices if they know how to manage their

authenticity with the performance of their role as president. Notably, this discourse was absent in

her inaugural address—an observation that reveals how the inauguration is a performance of the

presidency and requires some restraint in discourse.

Amy Gutmann

Dr. Amy Gutmann was nominated to be the eighth president of the University of

Pennsylvania on January 22, 2004—a nomination that was confirmed at a board meeting the

following month. When she assumed office on July 1, Gutmann became the second woman to

hold this position, with the first being Judith Rodin (1994-2004, see above). With this

succession, the University of Pennsylvania became the first Ivy League institution to have

women lead consecutive terms in the presidency. By the time she was inaugurated on October

15, the discourse surrounding the announcement and early stages of her presidency had been

influenced by the institution in the *Almanac* and *Penn Today*, by alumni in the *Pennsylvania

Gazette*, by students in *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, by the local community in the *Philadelphia*

Tribune, by the academic community in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and by the world in *The New York Times*. Overall, these sources (19 in total) profiled Gutmann as the "ideal person" ("New President," 2004, p. A20) for building on the momentum established by her predecessor. In support of this claim, the reviewed sources pointed to her extensive background and qualifications in higher education leadership and administration as well as her ability to balance work and family life. In this section, I summarize the discursive evidence used to support these claims including a few direct quotations from Gutmann in response to her new role as president.

Gutmann was only the second woman to lead the University of Pennsylvania since its founding in 1740, and yet, her gender was not considered significant by most of the reviewed sources. On the few occasions when the media recognized her gender, the significance was in comparison to her predecessor, Judith Rodin, who was the first woman to lead an Ivy League institution. For example, the *Almanac* published the transcript of a press conference during which Rodin joked about how the "thrifty" ("Press Conference," 2004, para. 6) founder of the university, Benjamin Franklin, would have approved the choice of Gutmann as her successor because they could wear the same ceremonial robe. This comment resulted in laughter among the attendees, but the underlying message was meaningful for women—the legitimate image of leadership had changed at the University of Pennsylvania. In the same press conference, Gutmann appeared to understand the gravity of this change when she said, "I can say with certainty—with absolute certainty—that were it not for the groundwork laid over the past decade by Judy Rodin, I would not be here today" ("Press Conference," 2004, para. 34). The resulting discourse demonstrates how gender becomes less of an impediment to individual legitimacy for the women who follow other successful women in the role.

When describing what the search committee was looking for in a presidential candidate, the chairman of Penn's trustees, James Riepe, said that "it was critical for us to find that kind of leader who's capable of sustaining the momentum that Penn has today" ("Press Conference," 2004, para. 26). Another member of the search committee, Barbara Savage, clarified that this momentum was the direct result of Rodin's "excellent stewardship" (para. 20) over the last decade, and thus, the characteristics that Rodin had brought to the presidency became the benchmark for the search criteria. When describing why Gutmann had emerged as the candidate who best met these criteria, Riepe told the *Pennsylvania Gazette* that her "position and experience" (Prendergast, 2004a, para. 22) were the primary factors. Notably, Gutmann had followed a similar career path taken by her predecessor, which involved rising through the ranks of the professoriate to becoming dean and then provost at Princeton before taking on the presidency at Penn ("For Penn," 2004)—a path consistent with the traditional route to the presidency (Birnbaum & Umbach, 2001; Cohen & March, 1974). Based on this experience, Riepe told *The Chronicle of Higher Education* that Gutmann was "a proven and skilled administrator who understands the challenges of running a major research university" ("U. of Pennsylvania," 2004, para. 4). Most of the reviewed sources repeated these statements, and the resulting discourse contributed to both her individual and technical legitimacy as an academic president. Moreover, this discourse reinforces Bornstein's (2003) idea that the traditional path to the presidency confers the greatest legitimacy in an individual's quest for presidential legitimacy.

Both Rodin and Gutmann brought similar characteristics and career paths to the presidency, but one major difference between them was their affiliation with the university. Rodin was an alumna having received her undergraduate degree from Penn, whereas Gutmann had no direct affiliation with the institution. However, several of the reviewed sources included

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direct quotations from Gutmann who appeared to address any potential concerns about her commitment to the university. For example, *The New York Times* reported Gutmann as saying, "the most important aspect of my decision to come to Penn is a total confidence that the aims of this institution are totally in line with my own values" and that "Penn is counting on me being a quick study" ("New President," 2004, p. A20). When asked about her previous reluctance to pursue an academic presidency, both *The Chronicle* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* quoted Gutmann as saying, "I don't want to be a university president, I want to be president of Penn" (Basinger et al., 2004, para 5; Prendergast, 2004a, para. 2). To support this claim, she tapped into the organizational saga by referring to Penn as "a powerful force in the Ivy League of higher education" with a "spirit that I associate with its founder, Benjamin Franklin, and all that is wonderful about American democracy" (Prendergast, 2004a, para. 4). Ultimately, Gutmann was "tremendously excited to be given the opportunity to lead one of our nations [sic] oldest and most distinguished research universities" (Doyle, 2004, para. 5), as quoted in the institutional newsletter, *Penn Today*. The resulting discourse contributed to her institutional legitimacy as a president who understood the distinct nature of the institution and was committed to its mission and values. Moreover, she echoed these sentiments in her inaugural address by evoking Benjamin Franklin's original vision for the university and repeatedly declaring her commitments to the Penn community.

The media attention given to the announcement and early stages of Gutmann's presidency focused on her credentials and experience in higher education leadership and administration, but in the days leading up to her inauguration, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and *The Daily Pennsylvanian* shifted the attention to her personal life. Both news sources have students as their intended audiences with alumni for the former and current students for the latter. This

observation suggests that these news sources sought to profile Gutmann as something other than a renowned academic and proven administrator—distinctions that are more important to faculty, staff, and external stakeholders than to students. For example, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* concluded their cover story with a direct quotation from Gutmann on the topic of family:

> The idea of Penn being an extended family is something that is very dear to my heart. This will be my family, and I intend to interact a lot with it and do everything I can to cultivate the kind of loyalty that is necessary to make us an even greater institution, and I want to start doing that immediately. (Prendergast, 2004b, para. 59)

By extending the concept of family to include the Penn community, Gutmann blended the public and personal spheres of her life—discourse that also appeared in her inaugural address.

Similar discourse appeared in *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, which reported that Gutmann's husband had commemorated her nomination as president with a ring made of sapphires and rubies for the school colors, and that the ring "accompanies her wedding ring on her otherwise bare fingers, an appropriately symbolic pairing for a woman with a deep dedication to both her academic and personal lives" (Feintzeig, 2004, para. 2). This imagery blended her role as a wife with her new role as an academic president, and in describing how she balances these roles, the same article celebrated Gutmann as a woman who can "do it all, and still manages to do it well" (para. 3). The resulting discourse supports the claim that she was the ideal person for leading the university, but it also demonstrates how gendered subjectivities perpetuate the narrative built on the cultural assumptions that women are socialized into defined roles and that women who "do it all" are outside of the norm.

Drew Faust

Dr. Drew Gilpin Faust was named the 28th president of Harvard University on February 11, 2007. When she assumed office on July 1, she became the first woman to lead the oldest institution of higher education in the United States and the first Harvard president since 1672 to not attend the university as a student. By the time she was inaugurated on October 12, the discursive context surrounding her quest for presidential legitimacy was shaped by the institution in *The Harvard Gazette*, by alumni in *Harvard Magazine*, by students in *The Harvard Crimson*, by the local community in *The Boston Globe*, by the scientific community in *Science Magazine*, by the academic community in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and by the world in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. The reviewed sources (27 in total) focused on the symbolic nature of her appointment, including the significance of her gender, her insider status, and the characteristics that she was bringing to the college presidency. In this section, I describe how these sources capitalized on this moment in history to discuss the paradigm shift occurring in higher education leadership and how Faust responded to this discourse.

Founded in 1636, Harvard University is the oldest institution of higher education in the United States and one of the most prestigious universities in the world. As such, the reviewed sources leveraged its history and symbolism to frame Faust's appointment to the presidency as pioneering even though several women were already leading Ivy League institutions. For example, *The Washington Post* noted that "Harvard's affairs are of interest in higher education because it occupies a unique space in academia… Its age, wealth and visibility place it at the top of a group of highly prestigious and influential institutions" (Strauss & Kinzie, 2007, para. 12). *The Boston Globe* opined that the president of Harvard is an "important voice for U.S. higher education" (S. Allen, 2007, para. 5) and *The Chronicle of Higher Education* quoted Nancy

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Hopkins, a professor of biology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as saying, "in academe there's no greater symbol than president of Harvard" and that Faust's appointment "sends a very powerful message" (Fain, 2007, para. 8).

By framing the announcement of her presidency with discourse of prestige and symbolism, these sources elevated Faust to a position of power in American higher education. Notably, *The Harvard Crimson* and *Harvard Magazine* both suggested that Faust understood this power inherent in the Harvard presidency based on her expressed intentions to use the position as a bully pulpit for influencing higher education. For example, Faust noted that the path Harvard sets "helps to define the character and meaning of the universities of the 21st century" (Bhayani & Guehenno, 2007, para. 8). She also referred to the Harvard presidency as "an unparalleled opportunity to make a difference in higher education" (Rosenberg, 2007, para. 31). The resulting discourse suggested that the Harvard presidency is a symbolic representation of higher education leadership in the United States, and thus, Faust's appointment had the disruptive potential for changing the national discourse on gendered expectations related to presidential legitimacy and expanding the image of legitimate—and powerful—leaders to include women.

As the first woman to lead the oldest institution of higher education in the United States, her gender played a significant role in the symbolic nature of her appointment—a significance that was not lost on the president-elect. For example, *The Harvard Gazette* published the transcript of Faust's remarks made during the official announcement of her presidency, in which she said, "I hope that my own appointment can be one symbol of an opening of opportunities that would have been inconceivable even a generation ago" ("Harvard Presidential Announcement," 2007, para. 6). *Harvard Magazine* later provided a detailed description of this event, including an exchange between Faust and a news reporter about the significance of her gender, to which Faust

responded, "I am not the *woman* president of Harvard. I'm the president of Harvard" ("Crossing Boundaries," 2007, para. 34)—a statement that allegedly earned robust applause from the audience. Faust also described the positive reactions she was receiving in response to the announcement, especially from young women, and so, she said, "I think it would be wrong not to acknowledge that this has tremendous symbolic importance. And it's not about me, Drew Faust, it's about a particular moment and an unparalleled institution, and we need to acknowledge that" (para. 35). This statement highlights the significance of her gender while also revealing how Faust understood her appointment as representing the larger paradigm shift occurring in higher education leadership. Moreover, she echoed these sentiments in her inaugural address by calling attention to her gender and asking those in charge of American universities to take note of this transformation—discourse that demonstrates the influential nature of the Harvard presidency.

Some of the reviewed sources also connected Faust's gender to the sexist comments made by her predecessor, Lawrence H. Summers, as if her appointment to the presidency was a direct response to his controversial remarks about how fewer women than men reach the top ranks of science and math in universities due to their lack of intrinsic aptitude and their inability to make the full commitment to their work. For example, *The New York Times* quoted Richard Bradley, best-selling author who wrote about Summers's presidency in *Harvard Rules*, as saying, "the real import of this choice is that it is a cautious pick, which seems targeted at healing the wounds of the Summers years and restoring Harvard's momentum as quickly as possible" (Rimer & Finder, 2007, para. 8). Likewise, *Science Magazine* shared the reactions of leading faculty at the college, including one who called Faust "an inspired choice" (Lawler, 2007, p. 926) when considering that Summers's controversial remarks about women contributed to his resignation after only five years in his tenure as president. However, *The Chronicle* presented a

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strikingly different discourse with the sobering observation that "as a woman, Faust is probably in a weaker political position than Summers" for improving the status of women in academia because "she might face accusations of favoring, well…mothers" (Drago, 2007, para. 17). This statement suggests that Faust's gender was perceived by some as an impediment to her role as a leader. Moreover, the presence of this discourse in one of the most widely read periodicals focused on higher education suggests that gendered subjectivities continue to reinforce a subtle, yet powerful form of gender discrimination that stem from and perpetuate the male-normed realities of academia.

Even though this subtle form of gender discrimination is often difficult to address, Faust found ways to challenge it directly in her statements to the press. For example, when asked about her predecessor's controversial remarks about the innate differences between men and women, Faust responded by saying, "I think women have the aptitude to do anything, and that includes being president of Harvard" (Bhayani & Guehenno, 2007, para. 36). By making this statement, Faust pushed back on the dominant discourse of gender differentiation while also challenging the gendered expectations related to presidential legitimacy.

When asked about her childhood confrontations with her mother over gendered roles in society – confrontations that framed her as a "rebellious daughter" (Rimer, 2007, para. 6)—Faust reflected on her mother telling her repeatedly, "It's a man's world, sweetie, and the sooner you learn that the better off you'll be" (para. 1). This comment speaks directly to the patriarchal structure in which she was operating, but Faust also clarified that this comment came from a woman "who didn't have the kind of choices my generation of women had" (para. 21)—a statement that acknowledges how society has moved away from the deliberate exclusion of women in leadership roles.

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However, when asked whether her appointment signified the end of sex inequities at the university, Faust responded by saying, "Of course not. There is a lot of work still to be done, especially in the sciences" (Rimer, 2007, para. 19). This statement demonstrates how increasing gender representation can result in a false sense of gender equity in higher education (Glazer-Raymo, 2008), especially when considering the long legacy of male leadership at Harvard and the other colonial colleges. Notably, Faust understood the relationship between this legacy of male leadership and the persistence of gender discrimination in these institutions based on her commentary published in *Harvard Magazine*:

> When you hear—in this most wonderfully tradition-bound place—that something is because it has always been that way, take a moment to ask which of the past's assumptions are embedded in this particular tradition. If men and women are to be truly equal at Harvard, not all traditions can be. ("Crossing Boundaries," 2007, para. 38)

Her commentary speaks directly to how the traditions of gendered organizations and patriarchal systems have led to the reification of the male preserve of higher education leadership, and why attending to the organizational saga (Clark, 1972, 1983) is important to overcoming second-generation gender bias (Ibarra et al., 2013; Opoku & Williams, 2019; Sturm, 2001; Trefalt et al., 2011). This observation also suggests a possible reason for why Faust alluded to her gender several times when describing the deeply rooted values of American higher education in her speech.

As a renowned scholar of American history, Faust had a deep understanding of Harvard's organizational saga including its long-held beliefs, values, and traditions as well as its aspirations for the future, but it was her insider status that played the greatest role in her quest for presidential legitimacy. For example, *The Harvard Crimson* published the remarks made by the

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senior member of the Harvard Corporation and chair of the presidential search committee, James R. Houghton, when announcing Faust as the new president:

> Drew Faust is an inspiring and accomplished leader, a superb scholar, a dedicated teacher, and a wonderful human being. She combines a powerful, broad-ranging intellect with a demonstrated capacity for strong leadership and a talent for stimulating people to do their best work, both individually and together. She knows Harvard and higher education, and her interests extend to the whole of the University, across the arts and sciences and the professional domains. Through her service as founding dean of the Radcliffe Institute, she has shown uncommon skill in designing and fulfilling a forward-looking agenda of institutional change. Through her decades as a leading faculty member at Penn and at Harvard, she has invested herself in both education and research with passion, imagination, and a devotion to the highest ideals of academic life. ("Harvard Names Drew," 2007, paras. 4-5)

By saying that Faust was an individual who "knows Harvard" and by giving examples of her administrative skills while serving the institution, Houghton contributed to both her technical and institutional legitimacy. Therefore, like Tilghman, Faust's insider status rendered her a legitimate leader even though she had no prior experience of leading a major research institution. The resulting discourse turned symbolic, however, when *The Chronicle* described her appointment as representing "a growing trend in higher education for both female presidents and leaders who come from inside the institutions that hire them" (Fain, 2007, para. 9). This observation suggests that the media was leveraging this moment in history to discuss the paradigm shift occurring within higher education leadership.

This discussion also pointed to the characteristics Faust was bringing to the presidency as evidence of this paradigm shift. For example, *The Chronicle* described Faust as being "a popular internal candidate, regarded as someone who values and can build consensus" ("Harvard U.," 2007, para. 2)—characteristics that were in stark contrast to her male predecessor. Similar discourse appeared in the *Times*, which reported that "Faust's leadership style—her collaborative approach and considerable people skills—would be vital for soothing a campus ripped apart by the battles over Dr. Summers, whom many accused of having an abrasive, confrontational style" (Rimer & Finder, 2007, para. 12). Moreover, the article quoted Richard P. Chait, a professor of higher education at Harvard, who described Faust's leadership style as "a new template for leadership" that "is not unrelated to gender" (Rimer & Finder, para. 20). The resulting discourse emphasizes the growing predilection for having mild-mannered consensus builders rather than tough, even bullying leaders – a discourse that also elevates the female image of leadership and reinforces the alternative image of women as legitimate leaders. Moreover, this discourse elevates Faust's appointment to symbolize a larger paradigm shift occurring in higher education leadership due to the contributions of women and their emphasis on collaboration and shared leadership (Kezar, 2014b; Kezar et al., 2006).

Christina Paxson

On March 2, 2012, the Brown Corporation named Dr. Christina Hull Paxson as the university's 19th president. When she assumed office on July 1, Paxson became the second woman to hold this position, with the first being Ruth Simmons (2001-2012, see above), and the first Brown president since 1970 who was not a sitting president or provost prior to the appointment. By the time she was inaugurated on October 27, the discourse surrounding the announcement and early stages of her presidency had been influenced by the institution in the

Brown University News Service, by alumni in the *Brown Alumni Magazine*, by students in *The Brown Daily Herald*, by the local community in the *Providence Journal*, by the academic community in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and by the world in *The New York Times*. Overall, these sources (17 in total) profiled Paxson as the "perfect fit" (Feldman, 2012, para. 21) for building on the momentum established by her predecessor. In support of this claim, the reviewed sources pointed to her administrative accomplishments and consensus-building leadership style as well as her appreciation for Brown's distinctive approach to education. In this section, I summarize the discursive evidence used to support these claims including a few direct quotations from Paxson in response to her new role as president.

Paxson was only the second woman to lead Brown University since its founding in 1764, and yet, her gender was not considered significant by any of the reviewed sources. The only meaningful reference to her gender came from the *Providence Journal*, which noted that she was "the first woman to achieve tenure in the economics department at Princeton" (Salit, 2012, para. 17)—an achievement that contributed to her individual and technical legitimacy due to the male-dominated nature of this field. In comparison, *The New York Times* provided a subtler reference to Paxson's gender by referring to her as the "chairwoman" (Lewin, 2012, para. 3) of Princeton's economics department, and thus, emphasizing that her gender was the non-default sex in the role. However, none of the reviewed sources used the phrase "woman president" or "female president" when describing Paxson—an observation that is significant because she is the only president in this study to not be labelled as such by the media. Notably, Paxson is also the only president in this study who spoke openly about her gender, the concept of the glass ceiling, and the notable women who paved the way to her presidency during her speech. This observation

reinforces the idea that gender becomes less of an impediment to individual legitimacy for the women who follow other successful women in the role.

Paxson was arriving to Brown after a decade of significant growth under the leadership of Ruth Simmons, who was the first woman to hold this position at Brown University. When the *Brown University News Service* published the official announcement naming Paxson as the next president of the university, the press release quoted Chancellor Thomas J. Tisch as saying that the task of the selection committee was "to identify the next leader for Brown who embodies the values, skills, talent, and leadership style needed to build upon and continue the extraordinary progress made over the last decade" (Brown University, 2012, para. 2). This "extraordinary progress" occurred while Simmons was at the helm, and the *Brown Alumni Magazine* quoted Tisch as also saying that Paxson was a "worthy and fantastic successor to our Ruth" ("Christina Paxson Named," 2012, para. 2). The resulting discourse suggests that the characteristics that Simmons had brought to the presidency became the benchmark for the search criteria—a discourse similar to that which surrounded the presidential succession between Rodin and Gutmann at the University of Pennsylvania.

Paxson also understood the advantages of following a leader like Simmons. For example, *The Brown Daily Herald* published the transcript of Paxson's remarks made during the official announcement of her presidency, in which she said that Simmons was leaving Brown "in an exceptionally strong position," and that once in office, she would "build from strength, which is the best possible place that a new president can be" (Feldman, 2012, para. 5). Another article from the same news source quoted Paxson as saying "I think it's an advantage to come into an institution after a strong leader" and that the greatest challenge of her tenure will be prioritizing "where to grow and how to grow" because "Simmons has done a terrific job building in a way

that leaves it without a clear problem in any area" (Luthra, 2012, para. 32). Her statements demonstrated a sense of respect for her predecessor as well as an appreciation for the state of the university at the time of her succession—sentiments that she echoed during her inaugural address. Moreover, the resulting discourse reassured the Brown community that there would be a smooth transition for the institution, which Bornstein (2003) considered an important factor in achieving presidential legitimacy.

When describing why Paxson was the "perfect fit" for following Simmons in the Brown presidency, Tisch pointed to "the combination of her skills, her experience, her temperament, her sensibility and her love of the values of Brown" (Feldman, 2012, para. 21). Prior to becoming president-elect, Paxson had spent her entire career at Princeton University where she progressed through the ranks of the professoriate to become the dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. As dean, Paxson revamped the academic programming to include more multidisciplinary learning, and *The Chronicle of Higher Education* suggested that she would likely bring "that same cross-disciplinary emphasis to Brown, which is known for an open curriculum that allows students to chart their own academic paths" (Stripling, 2012, para. 14). The *Providence Journal* also noted that Paxson had made a "favorable first impression" (Salit, 2012, para. 44) with community leaders because of her work in economics, specifically related to childhood poverty. The resulting discourse suggests that Paxson was a proven administrator, scholar, and leader—discourse that ultimately contributed to individual, environmental, and technical legitimacy as an academic president.

Endorsements from the leadership at Princeton also contributed to her presidential legitimacy. For example, Shirley Tilghman, who was still leading Princeton at the time, described Paxson as a "natural choice as Brown's president" based on her "good judgment and

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admirable leadership" (Brown University, 2012, para. 6). Likewise, Princeton's provost, Christopher Eisgruber, described her leadership style as:

> Built upon sound values, careful listening, deft political skills, and the courage to make needed decisions. She has a remarkable ability to bring people together around a shared sense of scholarly mission. She knows how to make people—faculty, students, and alumni—feel appreciated and respected, even when she needs to make decisions with which they might disagree. (para. 4)

The resulting discourse paints an image of a leader who values consensus building and inclusive decision-making along with having an elevated level of emotional intelligence. Notably, this discourse aligns with what the literature considers a female style of leadership (Astin & Leland, 1991; Helgesen, 1995; Jablonski, 2000; Rosener, 1995). Moreover, Tilghman's use of the word "natural" carried a discursive weight when considering that what appears normal and natural on the surface in gendered organizations often reflects the values and life situations of men who have dominated in the public domain of work (Trefalt et al., 2011). This observation demonstrates how the gendered expectations related to the academic presidency at the colonial colleges were changing due to the contributions of women in higher education leadership.

The reviewed sources also considered Paxson a perfect fit for the Brown presidency because of her appreciation for the university's distinctive approach to education. For example, the *Providence Journal* quoted Paxson as saying, "I know that there is a distinctive Brown approach to learning, and to life—not cookie-cutter philosophy of sameness, but rather something opposite: a 'constructive irreverence' that makes every day interesting" (Salit, 2012, para. 54). Similar to some of the other women in this study, Paxson confessed that she was not looking to be a university president, but rather she was attracted specifically to Brown:

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Brown is just such a special place. What I like doing is working with groups of people to

plan for growth and plan for new things. That's what I love doing. But I love doing it at a

university where I feel like my values are consistent with the values of the institution. I

think in Brown, I'm just so fortunate to be selected because on my side, it's a great match.

And I'm glad that the search committee thought so, too. (Feldman, 2012, para. 19)

Moreover, Simmons told the *Herald* that "I think she [Paxson] has a very good sense of Brown

and the unique institution that it is, and she will fight to protect that" (Luthra, 2012, para. 11).

Paxson provided evidence to this sentiment during her inaugural address by connecting her

vision of the institution's future with the underlining mission of its founding and the enduring

values that make Brown distinct from other colleges and universities—a discursive strategy that

was common across all the speeches reviewed in this study.

Katherine Rowe

Dr. Katherine A. Rowe was elected the 28th president of William & Mary on February

20, 2018. When she assumed office on July 1, she became the first woman to lead the university

in its 325-year history. By the time she was inaugurated on February 8, 2019, the discursive

context surrounding her quest for presidential legitimacy was shaped by the institution in the

William & Mary News, by alumni in the *W&M Alumni Magazine*, by students in *The Flat Hat*,

by the local community in the *Daily Press* and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, and by the world

in *The Washington Post*. Notably, Rowe is the only woman in this study whose presidential

appointment did not receive media coverage in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. This

observation suggests that appointing a woman to the presidency was no longer considered a

major headline in the academic community, but the reviewed sources portrayed a different

opinion. Overall, these sources (20 in total) profiled Rowe as "the ideal person to lead William &

Mary at this point in the university's history" (Smith, 2018, para. 3). In support of this claim, the reviewed sources pointed to the significance of her gender as well as her multiple, overlapping identities that conveyed a deep appreciation for history as well as the need for change and innovation. In this section, I summarize the discursive evidence used to support these claims and how Rowe responded to her new role as president of a historic college.

Founded in 1693, William & Mary is the second oldest institution of higher education in the United States and widely considered the "alma mater of the nation" because of its role in educating several of America's founding fathers. Unlike the other institutions represented in this study, William & Mary is publicly funded and not a member of the Ivy League athletic conference, but these differences are insignificant when considering that William & Mary provides a collegiate experience similar to that in the Ivy League as indicated by its designation as a "public Ivy"—a term coined by Richard Moll (1985), who published *Public Ivies: A Guide to America's Best Public Undergraduate Colleges and Universities*. Moreover, William & Mary is like the other institutions when considering its colonial heritage coupled with its long legacy of male leadership. Thus, when Rowe was elected as the first woman to lead William & Mary in 2018, she joined the select group of women in this study by reaching the highest level of authority in an otherwise male preserve of higher education leadership.

In 2018, William & Mary was also celebrating 100 years of women attending the university as undergraduate students. This celebration framed the announcement and early stages of Rowe's presidency, and the resulting discourse amplified the significance of her gender. In response, Rowe embraced this discourse by finding ways to draw attention to the women in the university's history. For example, in response to being elected the first woman to lead the university, the *Richmond Times Dispatch* quoted Rowe as saying, "It's an incredible honor. It's

so moving to be coming in during this anniversary year to think about a century of pioneers at William & Mary. That's what we do" (Mattingly, 2018, para. 6). By making this statement, Rowe leveraged the history of women at the institution to frame the significance of her gender while also situating herself within that history. Another striking example of this discourse appeared in *The Washington Post,* which quoted Rowe as saying, "It's worth remembering that [William & Mary] is an institution founded by a woman leader, as well as a man" (Anderson, 2018, para. 12)—a statement referring to the royal namesakes, Queen Mary II and King William III of England. By harking back to the school's inception, Rowe challenged the male preserve at William & Mary, and in turn, created an alternative image of leadership that includes women as legitimate leaders of the university.

Rowe also found ways to bring more women into the narrative. For example, when the *Daily Press* reported on the swearing-in of Rowe into office, the article noted that her selection of the Thomson Bible for the ceremony was a "deliberate choice" (Hammond, 2018, para. 2). Borrowed from the university's special collections at Swem Library, this particular Bible was an original published in 1808 by Jane Aitken, who was the first woman in the United States to publish an English translation of the Bible—a fact that celebrates the pioneering efforts of women in American history. Ceremonies like the swearing-in of the new president reinforce the values of an organization, and by selecting the Thomson Bible in conjunction with the significance of her own gender, Rowe placed women at the forefront of the surrounding discourse.

The timing of Rowe's presidential announcement also coincided with a larger women's movement occurring in the United States. As noted in *The Flat Hat*, the year leading up to the announcement saw ground-breaking achievements for women, including the Women's March on

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Washington and the #MeToo movement as well as the record number of women running for

public office and being elected in 2018. The article also mentioned how this movement was

comparable to a similar surge known as the Year of the Woman that occurred in 1992 (Lowe,

2018). In both years, women ran for public office to push back against high-profile cases of

sexual misconduct, and the resulting influx of women in Congress helped to reshape policy and

neutralize some of the advantages typically granted to incumbents (i.e., men). The original surge

of this type of feminist activism occurred in the year leading up to the announcement of Judith

Rodin being named as the first woman to lead the University of Pennsylvania, but this discourse

was absent in the reviewed sources covering her presidential appointment. In comparison, the

presence of this discourse surrounding Rowe's appointment reinforces the idea that the

contributions of women over time had been transforming the discourse related to gender and

leadership in higher education. Moreover, this observation suggests that the discursive context

surrounding Rowe's inauguration opened space for forming new leadership norms and identity

stories that include women as legitimate leaders—an opportunity that she embraced during her

speech by relying heavily on dominant discourses of femininity and challenging assumptions.

In the introduction of this study, I criticized an article in *The Washington Post* for

describing Rowe's appointment as coming during "an era when female leadership in higher

education is routine" (Anderson, 2018, para. 11). This statement is problematic because it

demonstrates how increasing gender representation can result in a false sense of gender equity in

higher education (Glazer-Raymo, 2008). However, by the time Rowe was taking the helm at

William & Mary, the emergence and recognition of women in leadership roles had led to a

fundamental rethinking of higher education leadership as a phenomenon (Kezar, 2014b). Thus,

the discursive context surrounding Rowe's inauguration was different than that which

surrounded the other women in this study who were first to lead their respective institutions, but this observation does not suggest that "female leadership" had become "routine." Instead, the resulting discourse opens space for celebrating the characteristics that Rowe was bringing to the academic presidency without needing to account for her gender—an observation that aligns with Rowe's seemingly effortless negotiation between male and female images of leadership during her speech without ever speaking directly to her own gender.

Specifically, the reviewed sources celebrated Rowe's multiple, overlapping identities that prepared her for conveying the deep appreciation for history as well as the innovative and entrepreneurial spirit demanded by the William & Mary community. For example, the *William & Mary News* section of the university's website published a series of remarks made during the official announcement of Rowe's presidency, and in these remarks, Rector Todd Stottlemyer is quoted as saying, "Katherine's deep understanding of pedagogy, the critical value of the liberal arts and the digital horizon made her a rare combination" ("Remarks from Rector," 2018, para. 18). In response, Rowe leaned into this discourse by describing how the "ampersand in our [William & Mary's] name symbolizes the power to combine qualities that are rarely combined together in higher education today" ("Remarks from W&M's 28th President," 2018, para. 8) and how she feels "a deep connection to William & Mary's unique combination of qualities because I'm something of a hybrid myself…a Renaissance scholar who is also an entrepreneur" (para. 10). The resulting discourse suggests that Rowe's multiple, overlapping identities made her the "ideal person" for leading an institution that has a complex relationship with both the past and the future of higher education—discourse that also appeared throughout her inaugural address.

When describing what the search committee was looking for in a presidential candidate, Stottlemyer echoed Chancellor Robert Gates's sentiments that "William & Mary's deep history

and importance to our nation demand that the university be a leader in the national discussion about higher education" and that Rowe was "a leader who will help us achieve this shared vision of historical pre-eminence and contemporary excellence" ("Remarks from Rector," 2018, para. 25). Similar discourse appeared in the *W&M Alumni Magazine*, which published the positive remarks made by her predecessor, Taylor Reveley:

> A proven leader, Dr. Rowe understands American higher education and appreciates the vital role played by historic universities rooted in the liberal arts. She knows as well that we must be intensely entrepreneurial these days, open to new possibilities and willing to change. She has a keen appreciation for the part that alumni, in league with the campus community, play in William & Mary's progress. ("Leading Lady," 2018, para. 8)

By making these statements, Stottlemyer and Reveley tapped into the organizational saga to explain how Rowe's dual focus on the past and future made her the "ideal person" for leading William & Mary. The resulting discourse strengthened her institutional legitimacy and reinforced the idea that the organizational saga is important to expanding the legitimate image of women as leaders in higher education, especially within the context of the colonial colleges.

Gendered Subjectivities

Based on the theoretical perspectives related to FPDA, discourse is inextricably linked with power, and competing discourses constitute power relations within any given context (Baxter, 2003). How individuals are subjected to these power relations determines their sense of self, or subjectivity, and some individuals are more powerful than others because of their privileged positioning within the dominant discourses of a particular context. More specifically, gendered subjectivities are the conscious and unconscious ways in which individuals are positioned as relatively powerful or powerless within a specific discursive context based on their

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gender. When considering the social construction and reification of higher education leadership as a male preserve as well as the often-conflicting subject positions taken up by women in leadership roles, this section examines the gendered subjectivities that the women in this study navigated in their quest for presidential legitimacy and considers how the discursive context positioned them as relatively powerful or powerless leading up to their inauguration.

Positioned as Relatively Powerless

For most of the women in this study, gendered subjectivities positioned them as relatively powerless when the reviewed sources referred to them as a "woman president" to account for their gender. The resulting discourse is problematic because the word "woman" is a noun, and the process of reducing the grammatical application of this word to an adjective strips a woman of her identity by implying that she is an attribution for something else (Spender, 1980)—in this case, the expected man in the role of academic president. This observation reinforces the idea that gender is often an impediment to individual legitimacy for women in their quest for presidential legitimacy. The only exception to this observation was in the discursive context surrounding Christina Paxson. The reviewed sources never referred to Paxson as a woman president, but she was also the second woman to lead Brown University after a decade of successful leadership by Ruth Simmons—an observation that reinforces the idea that gender becomes less of an impediment for the women who follow other successful women in the role.

Gendered subjectivities also emerged from competing discourses related to a woman's legitimacy as a leader when juxtaposed with the socialized roles of her gender. This observation validates Weedon's (1997) theory that for all the subject positions shared by men and women, women must also accept, negotiate, or reject what society considers their primary roles—that of wife and mother. However, the resulting discourse is problematic when considering that the

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socialized roles for women violate the image of the ideal worker who is fully committed to the job (Lester & Sallee, 2017; Ward & Bensimon, 2003; Williams, 2000)—a violation that threatens a woman's technical legitimacy within the male preserve of higher education leadership. Moreover, any attention given to a divorced status or role as a single mother violates the hegemonic norms of family life (Williams, 2000)—a violation that threatens a woman's individual legitimacy within a patriarchal society. Table 3 illustrates how several of the women in this study had to navigate these gendered subjectivities.

Table 3

Gendered Subjectivities

President	Role of Wife	Role of Mother	Positioned As
Judith Rodin*	Remarried Twice	1 child	Cover-girl
Ruth Simmons*	Divorced	2 children	Sharecropper's daughter
Shirley Tilghman*	Divorced	2 children	Outspoken feminist
Amy Gutmann	Married	1 child	Woman who could do it all
Drew Faust*	Married	2 children	Rebellious daughter
Christina Paxson	Married	2 children	Perfect fit to follow Simmons
Katherine Rowe*	Married	2 children	Woman with multiple identities

Note. The presidents are listed in chronological order of their appointment.
*The first woman to serve as president of the institution.

The reviewed sources amplified these gendered subjectivities by using sensational headlines to position the women as exaggerations of their gender (see Table 3). For several of the women in this study, especially those who were the first woman to serve as president of their institution, the resulting discourse rendered them relatively powerless in navigating the intricate web of invisible barriers and prejudices that stem from second-generation gender bias (Ibarra et al., 2013; Opoku & Williams, 2019; Sturm, 2001; Trefalt et al., 2011). For example, in reducing

Rodin—a woman with many significant accomplishments—to a "cover-girl," one of the reviewed sources exploited her gender rending her relatively powerless in her quest for presidential legitimacy. By positioning Simmons as a "sharecropper's daughter," several of the reviewed sources placed more value on the circumstances of her birth rather than her legitimacy as a leader. For Tilghman, several of the reviewed sources positioned her as an "outspoken feminist" because of her role as a single mother coupled with her views related to the gender inequities in the process of tenure and the lack of women on science panels. Even Faust, whose presidency represented a paradigm shift occurring in higher education leadership, had to account for her early rejection of the socialized roles for women—a rejection that some of the reviewed sources used to position her as a "rebellious daughter." Ultimately, these sensational headlines exposed the gendered subjectivities that rendered these women powerless in their quest for presidential legitimacy—an observation that suggests a possible reason for why Rodin, Simmons, Tilghman, and Faust never mention their roles as wives or mothers in their speeches so thus to not call attention to the gendered subjectivities that threatened their individual and technical legitimacy in the discursive context surrounding their inauguration.

Exceptions to this trend occurred with Gutmann, Paxson, and Rowe. Gutmann was positioned by the reviewed sources as the "woman who could do it all" and Paxson was positioned as the "perfect fit to follow Simmons." With both presidents being the second woman to lead their respective institutions, this observation reinforces the idea that gender becomes less of an impediment for the women who follow other successful women in the role. However, Rowe presents a unique case in this study because even though she was the first woman to lead William & Mary, many of the reviewed sources celebrated her as a "woman with multiple identities"—discourse that acknowledges the multiplicity and fluidity of women's identities as

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well as the often-conflicting subject positions taken up by women in leadership roles. This observation reinforces the idea that the contributions of women over time had been transforming the discourse related to gender and leadership in higher education, and thus, the discursive context surrounding Rowe's inauguration was different than that which surrounded the other women in this study who were first to lead their respective institutions.

Positioned as Relatively Powerful

Gendered subjectivities also emerged from competing discourses related to the gendered expectations for the college presidency and the changing nature of higher education leadership. The conceptual framework for this study described the organizational context of higher education as a male preserve, and thus, women ascending to the college presidency must make decisions based on existing institutional norms and structures that have historically excluded them—a process that often results in one of four outcomes in their quest for presidential legitimacy: marginalization, assimilation, discrimination, or structuration. However, during the 25-year period represented in this study (1994-2019), the discourse related to gender and leadership in higher education had been changing due to the contributions of women moving into roles of authority and emphasizing collaboration over the traditional notions of leadership that valued an individualistic and hierarchical-focused mentality (Kezar, 2014b; Kezar et al., 2006). Thus, when the reviewed sources celebrated the individual women in this study for their ability to bring people together in leading change, the resulting discourse positioned the women as relatively powerful when navigating the discursive tension between male and female images of leadership in their quest for presidential legitimacy.

As noted in Chapter 4, the presidents in this study offered several ways to negotiate between the male and female images of leadership in their speeches such as promoting an

integrated model of leadership with both male and female characteristics; challenging the norms and expectations related to gender and the college presidency; addressing gender inequities in higher education, either directly or indirectly; or encouraging others to question what is considered normal or assumed. These same discursive strategies appeared throughout the reviewed sources when the women routinely addressed the narrative being created by the media as it related to their gender and their ability to lead.

This parallel analysis of secondary sources also revealed how the women positioned themselves as powerful by leaning into discourse that strengthened their institutional, environmental, and moral legitimacy. For example, they described how the characteristics they were bringing to the presidency would empower them to protect the organizational saga, to guide the larger conversations affecting higher education, and to steward the institutional ethos into the future. The resulting discourse suggests that these women were integrating male and female images of leadership to form new leadership norms and identity stories that built upon the past while also adding to the collective strengths of the present—a process that Dean et al. (2009) defined as accommodation. This observation reinforces the alternative image of women as legitimate leaders even at institutions with values deeply rooted in masculine preferences and cultures. Moreover, this observation reinforces the idea that accommodation is an alternative to the real consequences often associated with gendered expectations and the college presidency.

Summary

This chapter examined the discursive context surrounding the inaugural addresses to interrogate that which was made visible in the speeches. By reviewing secondary sources, this parallel analysis revealed gendered subjectivities that positioned the women in this study as relatively powerful or powerless in their quest for presidential legitimacy. When combined with

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the discourse analysis of the inaugural addresses, the women in this study contributed to their legitimacy as leaders by avoiding discourses related to their socialized roles as wives and mothers – discourse that may have threatened their individual and technical legitimacy at institutions with long legacies of male leadership. Moreover, the women in this study contributed to their legitimacy as leaders by accommodating discourses related to institutional, environmental, and moral legitimacy to position themselves as relatively powerful in their speeches. In the next chapter, I present a visual representation of how these findings can help women navigate the male preserve of higher education leadership in addition to offering conclusions and recommendation for future research.

CHAPTER 6: NAVIGATING THE MALE PRESERVE

The overarching phenomenon under review in this study was the quest for presidential legitimacy by women at the colonial colleges in the United States. Within a feminist poststructural perspective, the colonial colleges provided a rich example of how long legacies of male leadership can influence followers to hold expectations and to make decisions based on structures of tradition that have historically excluded women. To better understand this interaction between gender and leadership, this study approached presidential legitimacy as the social construction of expectations that can be influenced by the management of meaning through discourse (Fairhurst, 2011; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996; Smircich & Morgan, 1982). Thus, the discursive choices made by these women during their presidential inaugural addresses were important to understanding how they navigated the male preserve of higher education leadership at these institutions during their initial quest for presidential legitimacy. The guiding research question framing this study was *What are the predominant discourses taken up by women during their presidential inaugural addresses to legitimate their role as leaders within the male preserve of the institution at the colonial colleges?* More specifically, the explicit questions examined in this study included the following:

1. How are the discourses used in presidential inaugural addresses by women at colonial colleges gendered?

2. How do the discourses used in presidential inaugural addresses by women at colonial colleges contribute to their legitimacy as leaders?

This chapter synthesizes the findings from this qualitative inquiry into a visual representation of how the women in this study navigated the male preserve of higher education leadership. By expanding the conversation related to gender and leadership in higher education, this chapter also presents specific implications for practice and future research.

Findings and Interpretations

As noted in Chapter 1, this study metaphorically draws from the ways in which sailors of old mapped previously unchartered waters to aid future voyagers. During the day, sailors would set their course using the cardinal directions of a compass, and at night, they would rely on the constellations of stars for guidance. In continuing this metaphor, the conceptual framework for this study served as a compass for navigating the conversation related to gender and leadership in the literature. This compass illustrated why organizational impediments related to gender (J. Acker, 1990; Lester et al., 2017); role (Bornstein, 2003; Birnbaum, 1992); structure (Ballenger, 2010; Detweiler et al., 2017; Eddy & Ward, 2017; Ford, 2016; Iverson, 2011; Madden, 2005); and saga (Clark, 1972) continue to negatively affect a woman's potential in achieving legitimacy as an academic president. This compass also illustrated how second-generation gender bias (Ibarra et al., 2013; Opoku & Williams, 2019; Sturm, 2001; Trefalt et al., 2011) continues to steer women toward one of four outcomes: marginalization, assimilation, discrimination, and structuration. These outcomes are problematic for women because none of them allow for an authentic sense of self when ascending to the college presidency. Moreover, the literature constructing this compass simply reflects the male-normed realities of higher education, and so, I leveraged gender as an analytic lens for mapping the discourse—the constellations of words and images that produce and legitimate a given reality (Allan, 2008)—used by women in their quest for presidential legitimacy at institutions with long legacies of male leadership.

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Since the dominant discourses shaping the contemporary images of leadership in higher education are gendered (Allan et al., 2006; Gordon et al., 2010; Iverson et al., 2017), I identified language in the inaugural addresses that gave rise to male and female images of leadership. Dominant discourses of masculinity appeared in language that evoked a sense of autonomy, control, courage, or force, whereas dominant discourses of femininity appeared in language that evoked a sense of relatedness, empathy, service, dependency, or domesticity. As predicted, the presidents in this study offered several ways to negotiate between the male and female images of leadership, such as promoting an integrated model of leadership with both male and female characteristics; challenging the norms and expectations related to gender and the college presidency; addressing gender inequities in higher education, either directly or indirectly; or encouraging others to question what is considered normal or assumed. Within a feminist poststructural perspective, these moments of negotiation emphasized the discursive tension existing between the default male image of leadership and the alternative image of leadership that includes women as legitimate leaders. By highlighting this tension within the discourse of gender and leadership, negotiation provided a strategy for women to challenge the dominant discourses of masculinity and femininity, and thus, provided direction in navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership. Therefore, in mapping the gendered discourses as constellations, the negotiation of these discourses became the metaphorical North Star, or the consistent strategy for staying on course in the quest for presidential legitimacy.

Since the expectations related to presidential legitimacy often become conflated with gender (Bornstein, 2008, 2009; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Nidiffer, 2001a), I identified language in the inaugural addresses that gave rise to a legitimate image of leadership based on Bornstein's (2003) factors in presidential legitimacy—individual, institutional, environmental, technical, and

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moral. Of these five factors, the women in this study focused primarily on discourses related to institutional, environmental, and moral legitimacy in their speeches, and they found ways to position themselves within these discourses as the natural progression of the organizational saga, as leaders of the larger conversations occurring in higher education, and as stewards of the institutional ethos. By forming these new leadership norms and identity stories that build upon the past while also adding to the collective strengths of the present, the women in this study engaged in a process that Dean et al. (2009) defined as accommodation. When considering the various meanings of the word, accommodation could suggest another negative consequence of the gendered expectations for presidential legitimacy with women having to make compromises in their speech to navigate the male preserve. However, within a feminist poststructural perspective, accommodation represents an alternative to those consequences, and instead, associates the word with the idea of making room for something else—in this case, the idea of women as legitimate leaders. Thus, accommodation provides a strategy that women can use to make discourse work for them rather than against them by co-opting what they face to bend it to their advantage. Metaphorically, the discourses related to institutional, environmental, and moral legitimacy presented a clear path toward presidential legitimacy, and the accommodation of these discourses served as the vessel or means by which women can navigate the male preserve of higher education leadership.

A parallel analysis of the surrounding discourse that referenced the presidents in this study revealed how gendered subjectivities positioned the women as relatively powerful or powerless leading up to their inaugurations. When discourses related to institutional, environmental, and moral legitimacy became conflated with gender, the women in this study contributed to their legitimacy by accommodating these discourses to position themselves as

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relatively powerful in their speeches. However, when discourses related to individual and technical legitimacy became conflated with gender, especially the socialized roles of their gender, these factors positioned the women as relatively powerless in their quest for presidential legitimacy, and the women in this study contributed to their legitimacy by avoiding these discourses in their speeches. Rather than abandoning their gender, this observation reflects what West and Zimmerman (2009) described as the "situational character of gender accountability" (p. 118). Within a feminist poststructural perspective, women face the initial hurdle of accounting for their gender (Tarule et al., 2009), and in some discursive contexts, this hurdle becomes a threat and should be avoided. For example, the findings from the parallel analysis indicated that some discourses related to institutional and technical legitimacy pose a threat to women when navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership. Moreover, the full extent of this threat is different for individual women and often remains unconscious without a deeper dive into the second-generation gender bias surrounding her quest for presidential legitimacy (Ibarra et al., 2013). By extending the metaphor of navigation, this observation resembles the classic iceberg metaphor which illustrates how the full extent of a threat lies beneath the surface.

I modeled these findings into a conceptual map (see Figure 6) that provides direction for anyone pursuing leadership roles as well as the scholars exploring how to support those individuals in their quest for legitimacy. Within the conceptual map, gendered discourses represent the constellations of words and images that inform a woman's quest in presidential legitimacy. These constellations will change as gendered discourses evolve, yet the negotiation of these discourses represents the North Star, or the consistent strategy for staying on course in the quest for presidential legitimacy. There are threats to individual and technical legitimacy in

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the surrounding discursive context, and these threats appear as icebergs on this map with the full extent of these threats for an individual woman lying beneath the surface. However, the path to presidential legitimacy is clearly demarcated by discourses related to institutional, environmental, and moral legitimacy, and the accommodation of these discourses is the vessel by which women can successfully navigate this path. Ultimately, the factors of legitimacy are fluid, and thus, they have the potential to change as the context in which higher education operates continues to change. This map contributes to the conversation of gender and leadership and also begs for future scholars to monitor the shifting landscape for ways to refine this guidance.

Figure 6

Conceptual Map for Navigating the Male Preserve of Higher Education Leadership
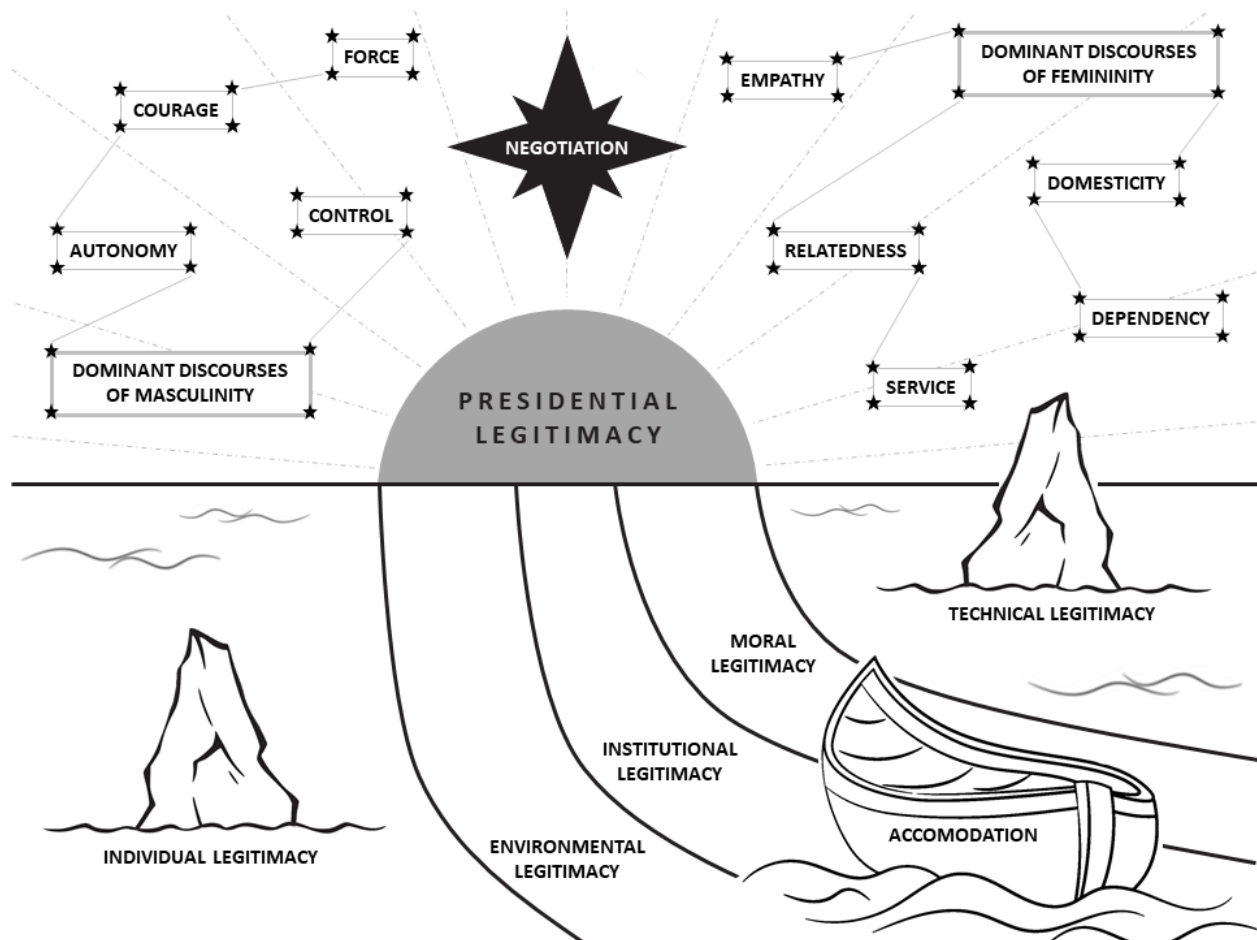
Discussion

Over the past few decades, the contributions of women have been changing the contemporary image of leadership in higher education as well as the perception of who is considered a legitimate leader (Diehl, 2014; Kezar, 2014b; Kezar et al., 2006; Nidiffer, 2001b). Most of the scholarship on this subject treat women as a category placed in comparison with their male counterparts, and thus, reproduces the gendered context from which the male-normed realities of higher education emerged (J. Acker, 1990, 2012; Detweiler et al., 2017; Eddy & Ward, 2017; Iverson et al., 2017; Longman et al., 2018). Rather, the goal of this study was to share the emergent nature of the alternative voices of women that often are marginalized in the male preserve of higher education leadership. This section discusses the differences between and among the women in this study without relying on the dominant discourses created and perpetuated by the men who previously held their role. More specifically, this discussion highlights the variability in how the presidents used specific discourses in their speeches and considers how an alternative image of a legitimate leader emerges from the voices of women who ascended to the college presidency after long legacies of male leadership.

Women Appointed to the Presidency at Colonial Colleges

In creating a profile of the presidents in this study, Table 4 provides a summary of the personal and professional characteristics associated with the women appointed to the presidency at the colonial colleges. One of the characteristics that was common among the women is that they all had children meaning that one of the many subject positions taken up by these women was the role of mother. Most of these children were adults (18+) by the time their mothers were appointed to the college presidency except for Rodin's son, who was 11 years old, and Paxson's youngest son, who was 14 years old. However, when considering that the most important factor

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impeding women's careers in academia is the difficulty that comes from balancing work and family (Mason et al., 2013), it is notable that the women ascending to the highest level of authority within a male preserve had also raised children, even if it meant sequencing their roles of mother and leader separately. This observation deviates from the latest survey on college presidents by the American Council of Education, which reported that only 74% of all women serving in the role of president have children (Gagliardi et al., 2017). Moreover, this observation begs the question of whether the women's ability to coordinate the challenges of family life may have been useful in navigating the gendered expectations related to the academic presidency.

Table 4

Profile of Women Appointed to the Presidency at Colonial Colleges

President	Family	Previous Role	Academic Discipline
Judith Rodin	Divorced, 1 child	Provost, Yale Univ.	Psychology, PhD '70
Ruth Simmons	Divorced, 2 children	President, Smith College	Romance Lit, PhD '73
Shirley Tilghman	Divorced, 2 children	Faculty, Princeton Univ.	Biochemistry, PhD '75
Amy Gutmann	Married, 1 child	Provost, Princeton Univ.	Political Sci, PhD '76
Drew Faust	Married, 2 children	Dean, Harvard Univ.	History, PhD '75
Christina Paxson	Married, 2 children	Dean, Princeton Univ.	Economics, PhD '87
Katherine Rowe	Married, 2 children	Provost, Smith College	English Lit, PhD '92

The women also shared in the experience of taking on the subject position of wife, but by the time they were appointed to the college presidency, they differed in their marital status. The earliest presidents—Rodin, Simmons, and Tilghman—were divorced when appointed to the role, whereas the most recent presidents—Gutmann, Faust, Paxson, and Rowe—were married. When considering the differences between and among women in these characteristics, an interesting pattern emerged between Rodin and Gutmann who were the first women in this study to lead

consecutive terms. Rodin had been divorced twice by the time she was appointed to the presidency at the University of Pennsylvania in 1993; although, she did remarry again in the year leading up to her inauguration in 1994. Conversely, Gutmann was married when she was appointed to the role in 2004, and all the presidents following her in this study were married when appointed. This observation aligns with the growing trend in women taking on the subject positions of wife and leader simultaneously. The historical survey data on college presidents quantified this trend with the percentage of married women ascending to the college presidency increasing from 59% in 2001 to 75% in 2016 (Gagliardi et al., 2017). Therefore, the family characteristics of the women in this study align with as well as differ from the profile of women who ascend to the college presidency in the United States.

Another characteristic that was common among the women in this study is that they all held previous roles within academia. Most of the women had previous administrative experience serving as dean, provost, or president at other institutions. This observation aligns with the survey of American college presidents, which reported that the majority of women ascending to the college presidency follow the historically recognized trajectory through every level of the academic hierarchy – faculty member, department chair, dean, and provost (Gagliardi et al., 2017; see also Birnbaum & Umbach, 2001; Cohen & March, 1974). According to Bornstein (2009), this path to the presidency confers the greatest individual legitimacy to a new president, and thus, it makes sense that the women ascending to the highest level of authority within a male preserve modeled this trajectory. However, when considering the double bind in that women must follow this historically recognized trajectory while also being evaluated based on the expectations of their gender (Carli & Eagly, 2016; Eddy, 2009; Jablonski, 2000), any discussion about their individual legitimacy becomes conflated with their gender, especially the socialized

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roles of their gender that position them as relatively powerless in specific discursive contexts. Therefore, it also makes sense that the women in this study did not tap into discourse related to their individual legitimacy during their speeches.

The only major exception to this trend of following the traditional path to the presidency was Tilghman who transitioned from the faculty ranks directly into the presidency at Princeton University. At the time of her appointment in 2001, fewer than 5% of all college presidents came directly from the faculty ranks compared to 68% who were presidents, provosts, or senior executives in their previous jobs (Ross & Green, 2000). When considering the disparity between these statistics, Tilghman would have had significantly less administrative experience than most presidential candidates, especially when it came to the management and fundraising aspects of the presidency (Evelyn, 2001; Lautin & Brush, 2001). However, Tilghman was also an internal candidate, and the parallel analysis in this study revealed that her insider status rendered her a legitimate leader even though she had no prior experience of leading a major research institution. Similar discourse surrounded the appointment of Faust, who was also an internal candidate with limited administrative experience at the executive level. *The Chronicle of Higher Education* described Faust's appointment to the Harvard presidency as representing "a growing trend in higher education for both female presidents and leaders who come from inside the institutions that hire them" (Fain, 2007, para. 9). This discourse speaks to the changing landscape of higher education leadership during this period and begs the question of whether their insider status may have been more important in their quest for presidential legitimacy than any other factor.

When considering the differences between and among women in their paths to the academic presidency, an interesting pattern emerged between the women who led consecutive terms. The parallel analysis in this study indicated that the first woman to lead an institution

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serves as a benchmark for the search criteria in selecting a new president. In the case of Rodin and Gutmann, they had similar career paths rising through the ranks of the professoriate to becoming dean and then provost at Yale and Princeton, respectively, before taking on the presidency at the University of Pennsylvania. This comparison indicates that the search committee was looking for a candidate who fit the new image of leadership created by Rodin's successful tenure in the presidency.

However, in the case of Simmons and Paxson, they had strikingly different career paths. Simmons was the only woman among those in this study who had previously served as a college president. This ratio accounts for 14% of the sample population and aligns with the percentage of women in the overall population of American college presidents who have served multiple presidencies throughout their career (Gagliardi et al., 2017). Conversely, Paxson was an academic dean prior to succeeding Simmons in the Brown presidency, and thus, she had considerably less administrative experience than her predecessor. However, the discursive context surrounding Paxson's appointment positioned her as "the perfect fit" (Feldman, 2012, para. 21) for following Simmons. The resulting tension between these discourses suggests that Paxson may have been the perfect fit for Brown because she was different, rather than similar to her predecessor. This pattern supports the idea that the first woman to lead an institution serves as a benchmark, but that this benchmark can be used for replication or for expanding the image of who is considered a legitimate leader. This observation also supports the idea that as more women ascend to the college presidency, the image of a legitimate leader will continue to stretch making presidential legitimacy less dependent on gendered expectations (Diehl, 2014; Kezar, 2014b; Nidiffer, 2001b).

The parallel analysis in this study also indicated that gender becomes less of an impediment to individual legitimacy for the women who follow other successful women in the role, but the profile of women who fall into this category reveals another factor to consider. Prior to becoming president, Gutmann and Paxson both held administrative positions at Princeton University during Tilghman's tenure as president. This shared experience in working at an institution with a woman at the helm may have expanded the discourses readily available to them when navigating the gendered expectations related to the college presidency. When leveraging discourse as an analytic lens, this observation challenges the current thinking on what is needed to reach a tipping point in gender representation. Rather than requiring a critical mass, or 30% representation of a particular group (Burkinshaw, 2015), a shift in the dominant discourses used to legitimate a woman's quest for presidential legitimacy may be enough "to change the tides of culture and practice" (Khwaja et al., 2017, p. 328).

An example of how the tide is changing is the lack of alumna status among the women in this study. When Cohen and March (1972) described the American college president as "distinctively local" (p. 22), they were referring to the strong tendency of potential candidates to circle back to institutions with which they had prior connections. As an alumna of the institution that hired her, Rodin fits that description, but she is the only woman in this study that fits that description. Not even her successor—Gutmann—shared in this alumna status. Moreover, Princeton and Harvard broke their tradition of having alumni in the role when they appointed Tilghman and Faust to the presidency. This observation signals an overarching change in who was considered a legitimate leader of these communities. Within a feminist poststructural perspective, this change also draws attention to the fact that the alumni of these institutions are predominantly men due to their past reluctance in introducing coeducation (Malkiel, 2016), and

thus, any preference given to alumni in the presidential search process would inherently provide an advantage to men while leaving women at a disadvantage.

Lastly, the women in this study earned a PhD in their respective fields during a period of dramatic growth in women earning doctorates in the United States. To put this growth into context, women earned 1,028 doctorates in 1960 accounting for 10.5% of the total doctoral degrees awarded that year, and in 1999, women earned 51,360 doctorates accounting for 44% of the total (U.S. Department of Education, 2020, Table 318.10). The reasons for this growth included the baby boomer generation coming of age, the women's movement, affirmative action policies, and targeted investments made by the government and private sector to increase the number of women with advanced degrees (Thurgood et al., 2006). This growth continued into the 21st century, and now, women earn more than half (54%) of all doctoral degrees awarded in the United States (U.S. Department of Education, 2020, Table 318.10).

Most of the women in this study earned their PhD in an academic discipline that has now reached or surpassed equal gender representation in graduates, with the greatest increase being in Psychology. In 1970, when Rodin earned her PhD in Psychology from Columbia University, only 20% of all doctoral degrees in this discipline were awarded to women (Cynkar, 2007). Now, women account for more than 70% of doctorates being awarded in Psychology (U.S. Department of Education, 2020, Table 318.30). The one exception to this trend is Economics, which remains a male-dominated field of study. In 1987, when Paxson earned her PhD in Economics from Columbia University, only 17% of all doctoral degrees in this discipline were awarded to women (National Research Council, 1989) and only 33% are being awarded to women currently (U.S. Department of Education, 2020, Table 318.30). Moreover, this percentage has not changed since the 1990s (Boustan & Langan, 2019). The current discourse about women in academia focuses

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on their underrepresentation in STEM (i.e., science, technology, engineering, and mathematics; Leslie et al., 2015; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2014), but women are less represented in economics and face more sexism in the surrounding discourse than in many other male-dominated fields (Dolar, 2021). Therefore, the appointment of Paxson to the highest level of authority within a male preserve becomes a more powerful symbol for gender equity than previously understood. This observation demonstrates how attending to the differences between and among women support alternative discourses related to gender and leadership in comparison to those in the extant literature.

Alternative Discourses of Gender

The predominant discourses taken up by the women in this study were gendered but the variation in how they used these discourses suggests alternative discourses of gender. For example, the discourse of masculinity that was predominant across the speeches was courage, but the ways in which the women aligned themselves with this masculine trait changed over time. The earliest presidents—Rodin, Simmons, and Tilghman—leveraged this discourse by calling attention to the courageous efforts of others. By the time women were serving consecutive terms in the presidency at the colonial colleges, the presidents—Gutmann and Faust—began leveraging this discourse to bolster the collective sense of courage needed for implementing their vision. However, the most recent presidents—Paxson and Rowe—moved beyond the collective sense of courage, and instead, aligned this masculine trait with their personal leadership style. The evolution of this discourse over time demonstrates how these women were becoming more comfortable in adopting a traditionally masculine trait. This observation is important because the discourse of gender differentiation remains the overarching means by which other gendered discourses are reproduced and sustained in the literature (Baxter,

2010), and by challenging this discourse, the women in this study opened space for an alternative discourse of gender that positions courage as neither inherently masculine nor feminine.

The discourses of femininity that were predominant across the speeches included relatedness, empathy, and service, but the presidents leveraged these discourses differently. For example, some of the presidents conjured up the image of a relational leader by using collective pronouns or referring to collaboration and shared leadership in their speeches, whereas other presidents in this study focused on their personal relationships with their family. All the presidents evoked a sense of empathy in their speeches by sharing their personal feelings and emotions surrounding the event, but the most recent presidents—Faust, Paxson, and Rowe— expanded the discourse of empathy to address the multiplicity of perspectives. This shift in meaning demonstrates how these presidents reframed a dominant discourse of femininity (i.e., empathy through emotion) into a productive force in leadership for bridging cognitive differences—a shift in meaning that supports the idea that women tend to believe that leaders increase their power by empowering others (Kezar, 2014b; Nidiffer, 2001b). This shift in meaning also aligns with Foucault's (1978) reconceptualization of power as a productive force to counter the dominant discourse of power as a repressive force. By reframing the discourse, the presidents participated in the production of power rather than merely resisting what Foucault (1988) called the technologies of power in institutional structures that "determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination" (p. 18). Instead, the resulting discourse in the speeches provides a good example of what Foucault referred to as technologies of the self, or the techniques that "permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves" (p. 18) within power relations.

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Similar to the discourse of courage, the way in which the presidents leveraged the discourse of service evolved gradually over time. The first president in this study—Rodin—described the presidency as a position in service to the institution. The next two presidents—Simmons and Tilghman—expanded the discourse of service beyond the walls of the institution as the nation was grappling with how to respond to the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001. By the time women were serving consecutive terms in the presidency at the colonial colleges, the presidents—Gutmann, Faust, and Paxson—expanded the discourse of service again, but this time in response to the growing concern over the value of higher education. They took the opportunity in their speeches to address this concern by describing how higher education institutions have the responsibility of serving the public good. However, the most recent president—Rowe—blended the dominant discourse of serving the public good with the image of a relational leader to reimagine the position of the presidency from being an individual in service to an institution to being a leader of an institutional community in service to the public good. The evolution of this discourse over time demonstrates how the contributions of women were changing the image of higher education leadership during the 25-year period represented in this study (1994-2019; Diehl, 2014; Kezar, 2014b; Kezar et al., 2006; Nidiffer, 2001b).

When considering the differences between and among women in how they leveraged the dominant discourses of masculinity and femininity in their speeches, an interesting pattern also emerged between Rodin and Gutmann who were the first women in this study to lead consecutive terms. As the first woman to take on the male preserve of higher education leadership at the colonial colleges, Rodin was the only president in this study to use all the identified discourses of masculinity in her speech. Comparatively, her successor, Gutmann, was the only president in this study to use all the identified discourses of femininity in her speech.

This shift in discourse demonstrates how the legitimate image of leadership had changed at the University of Pennsylvania because of Rodin's success in the role—a change that also made gender less of an impediment for Gutmann in her quest for presidential legitimacy.

As predicted, the presidents in this study found ways to negotiate between these gendered images of leadership in their speeches such as promoting an integrated model of leadership with both male and female characteristics; challenging the norms and expectations related to gender and the college presidency; addressing gender inequities in higher education, either directly or indirectly; or encouraging others to question what is considered normal or assumed. For example, most of the presidents in this study used juxtaposition as a rhetorical device for placing characteristics commonly associated with men (i.e., independence, strength) next to those commonly associated with women (i.e., compassion, warmth). The resulting tension between these gendered discourses opened space for promoting what Nidiffer (2001b) described as an integrated model of leadership. Most of the presidents also encouraged the audience to question the status quo, but it was the most recent president in this study—Rowe—who reframed old ideas into valuable lessons for the future when she offered the following reflections in her speech: "How might new ideas revitalize old ways, while also helping us part with them when we need to? How might old ideas illuminate new ways—test and strengthen innovative practices as they emerge?" (2019, para. 14). This shift in meaning demonstrates how negotiation could be productive rather than repressive, and how it could serve as a discursive strategy for forming new leadership norms and identity stories that include women as legitimate leaders.

The other methods of negotiation were less apparent across the speeches, but there were some trends in who leveraged them. For example, Gutmann and Paxson were each the second woman to serve as president of their respective institutions, and in both of their speeches, they

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directly challenged the default male image of leadership, particularly with respect to pronouns. This trend demonstrates how the second woman to lead an institution does not bear the same discursive weight as those who were the first woman in that position. When it came to gender inequities in higher education, the most recent presidents—Faust, Paxson, and Rowe—directly addressed the historical exclusion of women and other subgroups during their speeches. This trend demonstrates how Faust's appointment to the Harvard presidency, which is arguably a symbolic representation of American higher education, played a disruptive role in changing the discourses readily available to women taking on leadership roles in higher education. Moreover, the variation in how the individual women negotiated between gendered images of leadership points to the fluidity of negotiation as a discursive strategy, and as dominant discourses of gender evolve, so too will the methods for negotiating between them and alternative discourses of gender. However, even as the methods change, negotiation will remain a consistent strategy for navigating the gendered expectations related to presidential legitimacy.

Think Leader, Think Guide

Followers grant legitimacy to leaders whom they perceive to be a good fit for the role (Bornstein, 2003; see also Hollander, 1993; Hollander & Julian, 1978), and this legitimacy determines a leader's strength of power and influence as a source of authority (Bess & Dee, 2012b). Because men have historically filled the roles of authority within higher education, any expectations related to the academic presidency grew from and reflect a male image of leadership (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Nidiffer, 2001a). In the wider study of organizations, this phenomenon is known as "think manager, think male," which is the psychological predisposition to picture a man when thinking about the image of leadership (Schein, 1973, 1975, 2001). This gendered stereotype influences the perception of who is considered a legitimate leader, but the

findings from this study demonstrate how the management of meaning through discourse (Fairhurst, 2011; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996; Smircich & Morgan, 1982) can also influence the perception of presidential legitimacy.

As the defining parameter in this study, the colonial colleges represent a unique sample of institutions because of their long histories and strong organizational sagas (Clark, 1972). With founding dates ranging from 1636 to 1769, the initiation of their organizational sagas is situated within their colonial heritage, and, following the centennial celebration of the nation in 1876, these institutions benefitted from a larger movement of colonial revivalism that shaped the discourse of the "colonial success story" (Thelin, 2019, p. 2). This movement rendered legitimate the historic image of White men leading other White men to prosperity, and thus, the organizational practices and values that developed over centuries led to the reification of the male preserve of higher education leadership at these institutions. However, the organizational saga is more than a narrative revealing the values and assumptions held deeply by an organization; it is also the vehicle for establishing normative behaviors and creating standards of excellence that will likely define the future direction of the organization (Bess & Dee, 2012a; Kuh & Whitt, 1988; Manning, 2018). By framing this definition of the organizational saga within a feminist poststructural perspective, the findings from this study revealed an alternative path to navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership—accommodation, which involves forming new leadership norms and identity stories that build upon the past while also adding to the collective strengths of the present (Dean et al., 2009). Therefore, the inclusion of organizational saga in the conversation related to gender and leadership revealed an alternative to the consequences often associated with the gendered expectations for presidential legitimacy.

Rather than merely assimilating male norms, the women in this study accommodated the discourse to present themselves as legitimate leaders even at these institutions with values deeply rooted in masculine preferences and cultures. More specifically, they positioned themselves as relatively powerful in their quest for presidential legitimacy by leaning into discourse that strengthened their institutional, environmental, and moral legitimacy. For example, all the women in this study leveraged discourse related to the organizational saga (Clark, 1972) in their speeches to strengthen their institutional legitimacy. Some of them described the unique circumstances of the institution's founding or the heroic figures who led the institution through times of great struggle and prosperity, whereas others focused on the distinct characteristics of the institution or the enduring values that will carry the institution forward. By managing the meaning of this discourse as it related to their vision for the future, the women in this study positioned themselves as the natural progression of the organizational saga at each institution, which was a subtle, yet powerful way to influence the perception of the institutional community.

The women in this study also addressed issues related to the external environment in their speeches to strengthen their presidential legitimacy. Most of them described the issue of public distrust and demands for greater accountability. Some focused on the changing demographics in higher education and issues of access and cost, whereas others addressed the increasingly global and technologically driven world. Several of them also rejected the idea that their respective institutions were insulated ivory towers out of touch with the realities of the world. Instead, they repositioned their institutions as the best place to have conversations of public interest, and in doing so, positioned themselves as leaders of those conversations. By managing the meaning of this discourse as it related to their understanding of the external environment, the women in this study embodied the image of the modern American president as a political leader guiding the

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national debate on important public issues (Thelin, 2019), and thus, strengthened the perception that they were legitimate leaders in higher education.

Finally, the women in this study addressed issues of morality by speaking to the enduring values that made up the institutional ethos. For example, some of the women used language that evoked a sense of responsibility or obligation to that ethos, whereas others focused on discourses of accountability and duty to the higher purpose of colleges and universities. By coupling this discourse with a sense of urgency (Kotter, 2012), they transformed their message into a moral imperative that needed immediate attention (Fullan, 2003). Moreover, by managing the meaning of this discourse as it related to their espoused values and beliefs, the women in this study positioned themselves as authentic stewards of the institution, and thus, strengthened the perception of their legitimacy as leaders. The accommodation of these discourses points to the fluidity in the social construction of expectations related to the factors of presidential legitimacy, and how the management of their meaning (Fairhurst, 2011; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996; Smircich & Morgan, 1982) is a discursive strategy for navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership, especially at institutions with long legacies of male leadership.

By accommodating the discourses related to presidential legitimacy, a new image of leadership emerged that positions the academic president as someone who can build upon the past while also adding to the collective strengths of the present when leading the institutional community into an unknown future. In continuing the metaphor of navigation, this new image of leadership resembles a guide—a subject position that is not inherently masculine or feminine, but rather, it serves as an alternative image of leadership that challenges the default male image of leadership, and thus, becomes accessible to anyone seeking out leadership positions. Therefore,

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the findings of this study expand the conversation on gender and leadership within higher education by offering a new perspective—"think leader, think guide."

The intent of this research was not to establish a universal truth about women or to supplement one dominant discourse with another. Therefore, rather than replacing the male image of leadership with a female image, the phrase "think leader, think guide" provides an opportunity for new leadership norms and identity stories to emerge without being limited to the binary expectations for how men and women lead or should lead. This new perspective is important for future generations of women who choose to ascend to the college presidency because it challenges the dominant discourse of gender differentiation. Moreover, this perspective expands the discourses available to anyone, including those not identifying as a cisgender man or woman—an important development that has implications for future practice and research.

Implications for Practice

The percentage of women being appointed to the college presidency has increased steadily over the past 30 years (Gagliardi et al., 2017); however, the colonial colleges represent a rich example of how increasing gender representation can result in a false sense of gender equity in higher education leadership (Glazer-Raymo, 2008). More than half of the nine colonial colleges have appointed women to the presidency, and some have had women lead consecutive terms, but the recent timeline of their appointments represents a relatively novel phenomenon compared to the long legacy of male leadership at these institutions. Moreover, four of the nine colonial colleges have never appointed a woman to the presidency, thus preserving the male norms of leadership at these institutions. Therefore, the presence of women in the highest level of authority at the colonial colleges is far from routine and the conversation related to gender and

leadership in higher education is still on going. Our understanding of leadership and the expectations we place on leaders arise from the discourses readily available to us in our social surroundings, but more can be done to challenge the dominant discourse of gender differentiation that systemically discriminates between individuals based on gender (Weedon, 1997). This section presents four specific implications for practice based on the findings from this study.

First, the negotiation between gendered discourses opens space for an alternative discourse of gender. Both men and women can leverage the available images of leadership when making discursive choices in their inaugural addresses but the conceptual framework for this study illustrated how gendered norms and expectations related to the academic presidency often require women to negotiate between their gender and their role as leader. Nidiffer (2001b) described this phenomenon as a "female-deficit model of leadership" (p. 112) with women having to face the initial hurdle of accounting for their gender (Tarule et al., 2009). This perspective suggests that negotiation is a repressive force that negatively affects a woman's quest for presidential legitimacy, but the findings from this study revealed an alternative perspective of negotiation as a productive force for forming new leadership norms and identity stories that include women as legitimate leaders. Thus, women should not shy away from discourses of masculinity or femininity, but rather, they should embrace moments when they can negotiate the discursive tension between the male and female images of leadership. It is in this moment of negotiation when they can emerge from the discursive weight of gender differentiation that has historically privileged men and left women at a disadvantage in establishing presidential legitimacy—moments that can also open space for fluid and subjective expressions of gender.

Second, the accommodation of dominant discourses related to presidential legitimacy expands the image of who is considered a legitimate leader even at institutions with values

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deeply rooted in masculine preferences and cultures. Because men have historically filled the roles of authority within these institutions, any definitions of these roles grew from and reflect a male image of leadership (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Nidiffer, 2001a). What is missing from this perspective, however, is the conceptual difference between authority and leadership (Sulpizio, 2014). Thus, women must understand the difference between their formal role of authority and the dominant discourses reproducing, sustaining, and rendering legitimate the male image of leadership in their quest for presidential legitimacy. The conceptual framework for this study illustrated how second-generation gender bias (Ibarra et al., 2013; Opoku & Williams, 2019; Sturm, 2001; Trefalt et al., 2011) continues to steer women toward one of four outcomes in their quest for presidential legitimacy: marginalization, assimilation, discrimination, and structuration. However, the findings from this study revealed an alternative path to navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership – accommodation, which involves forming new leadership norms and identity stories that build upon the past while also adding to the collective strengths of the present (Dean et al., 2009). Women can do this by attending to the organizational saga while also being aware of the multiplicity of perspectives among her constituents. By celebrating and valuing their differences and their intersections, she can effectively challenge what is considered normal and expand the image of who is considered a legitimate leader.

Third, the investigative practice of interrogating the visible provides a discursive strategy for overcoming second-generation gender bias that stems from the subtle gender dynamics deeply embedded in the culture, norms, and practices of an organization (Ibarra et al., 2013; Opoku & Williams, 2019; Sturm, 2001; Trefalt et al., 2011). Some of the best attempts at theorizing about gender and leadership have failed to make any advancement in gender equity because what appears normal and natural on the surface reflects the values and life situations of

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men who have dominated in the public domain of work (Trefalt et al., 2011). For example, Rall et al. (2021) determined that the extant research on board practices, governance structures, and organizational behavior and culture fails to address gender as a factor in influencing institutional decision-making—a finding that highlights the antiquated perspectives of the literature. However, the conceptual framework for this study peered beneath the surface to illustrate the disparity in how the literature addresses the related concepts of socialization and normalization as well as bureaucracy and patriarchy. This framework introduced a more transparent model for reviewing the relevant literature in comparison to the meta-analyses readily available. If more scholars committed to looking beyond the male-normed realities in the literature and blended these concepts rather than treating gender as an alternative discourse within the study of organizations and leadership, the field of higher education could engage in meaningful and purposeful conversation about advancing gender equity.

The investigative practice of interrogating the visible also manifested in the methodology of this study. Allan's (2008) reimagining of FPDA called for a parallel analysis "with a focus toward interrogating that which was made visible" (p. 61) in the speeches. This parallel analysis revealed gendered subjectivities that positioned the women as relatively powerful or powerless within a specific discursive context based on their gender, and this positioning influenced the discursive power of the language used in their speeches. Therefore, the process of reviewing the presences as well as the absences of specific discourses in the text was another way to peer beneath the surface and explore the effects of second-generation gender bias in a woman's quest for presidential legitimacy. For example, the discourse analysis of the inaugural addresses indicated that the women in this study rarely addressed the factors of individual and technical legitimacy in their speeches, which could be attributed to the purpose of the inaugural address as

a celebration of the institution rather than the individual, but a review of secondary sources revealed that these discourses when conflated with the socialized roles of gender can become a threat to a woman's quest for presidential legitimacy. By avoiding these discourses and leaning into other discourses that positioned the women as relatively powerful (i.e., institutional, environmental, and moral), the women in this study likely contributed to their legitimacy as leaders—a discursive choice that also helped the women mitigate the negative effects of second-generation gender bias in their quest for presidential legitimacy. Therefore, if women pay attention to how they are being positioned within the surrounding discourse, they can contribute to their legitimacy by avoiding some discourses and leaning into others during their inaugural addresses. Moreover, scholars and journalists should pay attention to how they are positioning women as relatively powerless in their writings. Even simple changes, such as eliminating any reference to "women presidents" or "female presidents" in their writings would advance gender equity in the surrounding discourse, and thus, make gender less of an impediment for everyone.

Last, the study of leadership as a discursive practice can inform the professional development for anyone seeking the highest level of authority at institutions. Aspiring leaders need to understand how dominant discourses shape, and may support or constrain, their ability to achieve and maintain legitimacy in the eyes of their followers. To support these individuals, leadership programs, scholars, and mentors must facilitate discussions on the power inherent in discourse while also encouraging the level of self-reflection and awareness that is necessary for understanding how individual speakers position themselves, and are positioned, within a specific discursive context (Baxter, 2003). Moreover, these individuals need to know how to manage the meaning of these discourses (Fairhurst, 2011; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996; Smircich & Morgan, 1982). When considering the influence of the organizational saga (Clark, 1972) on the gendered

expectations related to presidential legitimacy, one option is for aspiring leaders to harness the power of storytelling and the use of metaphors (Smircich & Morgan, 1982). The navigation metaphor used throughout this dissertation serves as an example for how metaphors can make complicated ideas more accessible to others. Another option is for aspiring leaders to study the history as well as the culture of the institution that hired them to learn the language of the organizational saga. Even if aspiring leaders violate the historical image of leadership at a given institution, they can influence the perception of their presidential legitimacy by using language that is accessible and meaningful to their followers.

Recommendations for Future Research

The inauguration of a new president is an important moment of public discourse imbued with institutional culture, history, and tradition, and the inaugural address represents a challenge of discourse for any new leader in establishing legitimacy before being fully incorporated into the institution's community (Bornstein, 2003). This study analyzed the predominant discourses taken up by women in their speeches to legitimate their role as leaders at colonial colleges in the United States. The narrowed scope of this sample allowed for a granular look at how women navigated the male preserve of higher education at institutions with long legacies of male leadership. However, there are many other factors and perspectives that can be explored when studying leadership as a discursive practice. This section presents specific recommendations for future research that can build on this study.

This study focused on the transcripts of the inaugural addresses and the written discourse in various publications related to the presidential appointment and the early stages of presidency leading up to the inauguration, but discourse is not limited to written text. To further Allan's (2008) reimagining of FPDA, a future study should extend the investigative practice of

reviewing secondary sources by adopting methods of multimodal discourse analysis (Cameron &
Panović, 2014; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020) to consider how images and other forms of media
interact with the written text to influence the perception of presidential legitimacy. For example,
the reviewed sources often included images of the new president, but these images ranged from
formal portraits to unflattering characterizations of the women. Moreover, the most recent
presidents appeared in videos published across digital platforms, including social media. A
review of these additional discursive elements has the potential to reveal any meaningful patterns
in how the media portrayed the women visually, especially when considering the target audience
of the various sources.

This study considered gender an analytic lens, but the initial coding of the speeches still
relied on the dominant discourses of masculinity and femininity to identify gendered discourse.
A future study should explore the fluid and subjective expressions of gender in the discourse by
adopting theoretical frameworks centered on intersectionality, queer theory, and positionality
(see Bendl et al., 2008, 2009; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Kezar, 2000, 2002; Manning, 2018).
Moreover, as scholarly and pedagogical practices in the field of higher education continue to turn
toward topics and histories that have themselves been marginalized within academic disciplines
as well as institutions, it will be important for any future research to be critical of the established
theories and frameworks available in the literature and call attention to alternative perspectives.

This study presented a discursive analysis on the initial quest for presidential legitimacy
based on Bornstein's (2003) five factors that can either contribute to or impede a new president's
ability to establish legitimacy, namely individual, institutional, environmental, technical, and
moral legitimacy. Additional research should explore the idea of physical legitimacy as a sixth
factor influencing the perception of whether an individual is an appropriate leader. For example,

Lawrence-Hughes (2017) explored the inaugural addresses given by African American women appointed to the presidency at predominantly White colleges and universities to determine how they legitimated their roles as leaders, and the title of her article was "She Doesn't Look Like a Leader." This title emphasizes the influence of physical appearance in establishing presidential legitimacy, and by separating this factor from individual legitimacy, the discussion can attend to the underlying assumptions and biases related to this factor. Additionally, presidents must work to maintain legitimacy in the eyes of their followers. Bornstein (2014) argued that a successful presidency involves managing authenticity and emotional intelligence, and thus, a future study should use these themes to create a new conceptual framework for looking at how women use discourse during their tenure as president to maintain legitimacy as leaders.

This study aimed to identify how discourses were used in the inaugural addresses, and the natural progression of this research is to determine why the women made specific discursive choices in their speeches. There were several moments across the speeches when the women challenged the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership, either directly or indirectly, and from a feminist poststructural perspective, these moments of negotiation implied a sense of agency. The question remains of whether these moments of negotiation in the discourse were intentional. The women also found ways to accommodate the discourse, but when looking at the conceptual map (see Figure 6), why do the women get in the boat? The parallel analysis alluded to an underlying agency and feminist activism at work. Therefore, the natural progression of this research would combine a discourse analysis with an interview protocol to explore the intentionality behind their use of language, but this research would require a careful consideration of the interactions among second-generation gender bias, the socialization of gender, and the notion of personal agency when discussing the freedom of choice in their words.

This study captured the discursive context surrounding the announcement and early stages of presidency leading up to the inauguration, but a broader exploration of current events occurring during that period is necessary for expanding the conversation related to gender and leadership even further. For example, one of the reviewed sources related to Rowe's inauguration framed the event with the larger women's movement occurring in 2018. This same source also revealed that there had been a similar rise of feminist activism that occurred when Rodin was inaugurated, but this discourse was absent in the reviewed sources collected for Rodin. The absence of this discourse begs the question of what else was happening around the time of the inaugurations that could have influenced the perceived legitimacy of the women in this study. Thus, a future study should expand the parallel analysis to include a survey of major events happening during the 25-year period represented in this study (1994-2019) to further inform the discourse analysis.

This study narrowed the sample down to the colonial colleges because of their foundational mission in exclusively educating young men, their reluctance to introduce coeducation, and their long legacy of male leadership. To further the conversation on gender and leadership, a future research study should examine the discourse surrounding the presidential legitimacy of women leading the seven sister institutions that historically provided women with the educational equivalency to their male counterparts in the Ivy League. Notably, Simmons and Rowe held leadership positions at one of these sister institutions—Smith College—prior to their presidencies at Brown University and William & Mary. What does this similarity say about the discourses available to women who learn to lead at institutions dedicated to the education and development of women? When considering how the organizational saga influences a woman's quest for presidential legitimacy, how do the sagas of these institutions differ from those with the

historical commitment to educating men? By examining the discourses taken up by women appointed to the presidency at the seven sister institutions, this research would expand understandings of the discourses used in establishing legitimacy as a leader. Moreover, a parallel analysis of the discursive context surrounding the inaugurations of these women would determine whether they face the same gendered subjectivities identified in this study even when ascending to the presidency at institutions committed to the education of women.

Finally, this study captured the voices of presidents who were either the first or second woman to lead a colonial college, but a new voice has entered the conversation. The University of Pennsylvania recently nominated M. Elizabeth Magill to succeed Amy Gutmann when she steps down from the role in July 2022. This announcement makes the University of Pennsylvania the first of the colonial colleges to have women lead three consecutive terms in the academic presidency. What does this decision say about the legitimate image of leadership at this institution? A future study should take a closer look at how the discourse related to gender and leadership evolved at this institution based on the emerging legacy of women as presidents.

Conclusion

The presence of women in the highest level of authority at the colonial colleges is far from routine and the conversation related to gender and leadership in higher education is still on going, but the way in which scholars and leaders approach this conversation needs to change. Our understanding of leadership and the expectations we place on leaders arise from the discourses readily available to us in our social surroundings, but the dominant discourses in the extant literature continue to rely on gender differentiation for comparing men and women as collective binaries. Consequently, the literature often fails to acknowledge the differences among women and obscures alternative discourses that allow for fluid and subjective expressions of

gender. This conclusion is not a radical shift in thinking, rather it represents the natural progression from scholars beginning to propose alternative discourses of gender, such as in Nidiffer's (2001b) integrated model of leadership and Eddy's (2010) multidimensional leadership model.

The problem remains, however, that when leadership occurs within a gendered organization, anyone not identifying as a cisgender man (a person whose gender identity corresponds with his birth sex) will be judged based on male norms of leadership (Eddy & Khwaja, 2019). Scholars agree that women are caught in the double bind of trying to meet these male norms of leadership while also being evaluated based on the expectations of their gender (Carli & Eagly, 2016; Eddy, 2009; Jablonski, 2000). However, some of the best attempts at theorizing about gender and leadership have failed to make any advancement in gender equity because change efforts often target overt forms of discrimination while ignoring the subtle gender dynamics deeply embedded in the culture, norms, and practices of an organization—also known as second-generation gender bias (Ibarra et al., 2013; Opoku & Williams, 2019; Sturm, 2001; Trefalt et al., 2011). These gender biased practices are difficult to address because they appear normal and natural on the surface, but this surface reflects the values and life situations of men who have dominated in the public domain of work (Trefalt et al., 2011). Therefore, any meaningful conversation about gender and leadership requires us to look beneath the surface.

This study demonstrated two strategies for defining and overcoming second-generation gender bias by looking beneath the surface. First, the conceptual framework provided a transparent model illustrating the disparity in how the literature addresses the related concepts of socialization and normalization as well as bureaucracy and patriarchy. Second, the methodology involved a parallel analytic process for interrogating the visible, which in this case were the

gendered subjectivities that positioned the women as relatively powerful or powerless within a specific discursive context based on their gender. The findings from this parallel analysis indicated that some discourses related to individual and technical legitimacy positioned the women as relatively powerless in their quest for presidential legitimacy, and the full extent of this threat was different for individual women especially when conflated with socialized roles of gender. Therefore, future research needs to look for ways to define and overcome second-generation gender bias, which requires looking beneath the surface by challenging dominant discourses in the literature and interrogating that which is made visible in research.

Scholarship related to leadership in higher education is only beginning to consider ways in which discourse constructs and continually shapes contemporary images of leadership. The findings from this study indicated that the discourses used by women in their presidential inaugural addresses at the colonial colleges were gendered in that they evoked both male and female images of leadership based on the dominant discourses of masculinity and femininity in the literature, moving toward an integrated approach of leadership (Nidiffer, 2001b). Moreover, the ways in which the women used some of these gendered discourses changed over time demonstrating how the contributions of women were changing the image of higher education leadership during the 25-year period represented in this study (1994-2019; Kezar, 2014b; Kezar et al., 2006). However, it was their negotiation between these gendered images of leadership that represents a meaningful addition to the literature. Rather than being a repressive force by which women negotiate between their gender and their role as president, the findings from this study revealed an alternative perspective of negotiation as a productive force for forming new leadership norms and identity stories that include women as legitimate leaders. Therefore, negotiation became a discursive strategy for challenging the dominant discourse of gender

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differentiation and opening space for alternative discourses of gender, and the variation in the methods of negotiation points to the fluidity of this strategy for adapting to changing contexts.

As more women ascend to the college presidency, the image of a legitimate leader will continue to stretch making presidential legitimacy less dependent on gendered expectations (Diehl, 2014; Kezar, 2014b; Nidiffer, 2001b). But this statement is less about gender representation and more about expanding the discourses readily available to those seeking the highest level of authority at colleges and universities. For example, the women in this study found an alternative path for navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership by accommodating the discourses related to institutional, environmental, and moral legitimacy in their speeches to legitimate their role as leaders. By positioning themselves as the natural progression of the organizational saga, as leaders of the larger conversations occurring in higher education, and as stewards of the institutional ethos, the women expanded the discourses available to them and to those who follow them in the college presidency. Their discourse set the stage such that they were viewed as legitimate leaders not just the women leaders of colonial colleges, and when considering how the colonial colleges are renowned for shaping the American mind (Hoeveler, 2002), the discourse used in their presidential inaugural addresses charted the course for women to be viewed as legitimate leaders in American colleges and universities rather than an attribution for something else (Spender, 1980)—in this case, the expected man in the role of academic president.

The findings from this study indicated that gender became less of an impediment to individual legitimacy for the women who followed other successful women in the role, but the parallel analysis also revealed that the discursive context surrounding presidential legitimacy was changing. By the time Rowe was taking the helm at William & Mary in 2018, the emergence and

recognition of women in leadership roles had led to a fundamental rethinking of higher education leadership as a phenomenon (Kezar, 2014b). Several of the reviewed sources celebrated the characteristics that Rowe was bringing to the academic presidency without needing to account for her gender, and thus, the discursive context surrounding Rowe's inauguration was different than that which surrounded the other women in this study who were first to lead their respective institutions. However, this change in discursive context should not be interpreted as the conversation becoming gender neutral. Rather, the celebration of Rowe's multiple identities opens space for fluid and subjective expressions of gender as characteristics that bring value to an individual's quest for presidential legitimacy rather than simply accounting for their gender.

The conversation related to gender and leadership will never be gender neutral, but the findings in this study indicated that there is an additional subject position available to those seeking the college presidency. Within the navigation metaphor applied throughout this study, negotiation and accommodation along with the management of meaning through discourse conjure up the image of a guide—a subject position that is not inherently masculine or feminine, but rather, it serves as an alternative image of leadership that is accessible to anyone. Therefore, the findings of this study expand the conversation on gender and leadership within higher education by offering a new perspective—"think leader, think guide." This perspective of leadership challenges the dominant discourse of gender differentiation and expands the discourses available to anyone, including those not identifying as a cisgender man or woman.

To conclude, the women in this study transformed the landscape of higher education leadership not just because of their highly visible roles at some of the oldest and most respected universities in the United States, but because their discursive choices made during their initial quest for presidential legitimacy expanded the discourses available to those who will follow

them. Whether these choices were intentional is outside the scope of this research. However, the description and analysis of the discourse used in their presidential inaugural addresses revealed how the women in this study successfully navigated the male preserve of higher education leadership. As pioneers in their field, they charted the course for future generations of women who choose to ascend to the college presidency, and more importantly, they offered strategies for expanding the image of a legitimate leader. When considering that the goal of this study was to share the emergent nature of the alternative voices of women that often are marginalized in the male preserve of higher education leadership, the conclusions demonstrate how the study of leadership as a discursive practice from a feminist poststructural perspective is critical for advancing gender equity in the field of higher education.

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APPENDIX A: CODEBOOK

Table 5

Codebook for Gendered Discourse

Codes	Description	Subcodes	Example
Male Image of Leadership	Words/statements that point to the autonomous leader and other dominant discourses of masculinity (e.g., control, competition, hierarchy, strength, athleticism, independence, personal success)	"my power" (Autonomy)	"my task" "my place" "my game plan"
		"let me be clear" (Control)	"I am determined" "responsibility I have accepted" "I can rise to its importance"
		"spirit of daring" (Courage)	"boldest aspirations" "most ambitious imaginings" "courage of action"
		"seize the initiative" (Force)	"focusing forcefully" "universities must fight" "facing down the assertion"

Codes	Description	Subcodes	Example
Female Image of Leadership	Words/statements that point to the relational leader and other dominant discourses of femininity (e.g., compassion, empathy, emotions, collaboration, relationships, belonging, dependence)	"we are, and must be, truly one" (Relatedness)	"working collaboratively" "in company with others" "by standing together"
		"I find special meaning and emotion" (Empathy through emotions)	"I am touched" "I am humbled" "I was excited" "I am overwhelmed" "I am honored" "I am grateful"
		"this topic can be viewed through many lenses" (Empathy through understanding)	"thinking in flexible ways" "the humility of always believing there is more to know"
		"it is a privilege to serve" (Service)	"we aspire to serve the community" "use knowledge to serve humanity" "in the nation's service and in the service of all nations"
		"I am indebted" (Dependency)	"I would not be here today" "I and other women … are the beneficiaries" "their efforts to set me on the right course"

Codes	Description	Subcodes	Example
		"American society is a house"	"on the kitchen wall of my new home"
		(Domesticity)	"our best recipes for transformation"
Negotiation	Words/statements that point to the negotiation between gendered discourses (e.g., acquired versus socialized attributes; violation of gender norms; juxtaposition of gendered discourses)	"think independently and act compassionately"	"active and reflective"
			"warmth and strength"
		"his or her role"	"we will all be proud of her"
			"My dear Sir"
			"proudly bear the name Gutmann"
		"ours is a different and a far better world"	"my presence here today"
			"women and African Americans were famously not a part of the student body in those early years"
		"depart from the status quo"	"raised provocative questions"
			"challenge the accepted"
			"rethink the underlying assumption"

Table 6

Codebook for Presidential Legitimacy

Codes	Description	Subcodes	Examples
Individual Legitimacy	Words/statements that point to her background, experience, and personal characteristics that she brings to the position	"shaped by my intellectual roots"	"as an economist" "as a Renaissance scholar" "historian that I am"
Institutional Legitimacy	Words/statements that point to the internal structure and practices, cultural context, and organizational saga of the institution	"commitments to the timeless"	"ancient and universal" "stewards of living tradition"
		"consistent with the high purpose of its founding"	"the most central tradition that this university inherited from its founder" "harks back to the period when [the institution] was founded"
		"a strong foundation on which to build our future"	"the change that will make us more ourselves" "impelled by its past to a new, different and assertive role"
		"the traditions that his voice from the past invokes"	Most speeches include direct quotations from male predecessors or historical figures

| | | "a distinctive American institution" | "a member of the storied Ivy League of universities"

"Alma mater of the nation" |
|---|---|---|---|
| Environmental Legitimacy | Words/statements that point to larger challenges in the external environment, such as the economy, public opinion, legislation, globalization, etc. | "this is no ivory tower" | "the modern university constructed not of ivory, but of a highly porous material" |
| | | "American higher education in crisis" | "losing faith in institutions"

"undermining value of education"

"widespread lack of understanding" |
| | | "issues of access and cost" | "era of rising college costs and high income inequality"

"federal and state investments" |
| | | "demands for greater accountability" | "the public itself will lead the way"

"society rightfully expects certain things from us" |
| | | "changing demographics" | "pipeline of people of color and women in the professions"

"Sega Genesis Generation"

"changing aspirations and values" |

		"an increasingly global and technologically driven world"	"we live in the midst of scientific developments" "an increasingly transnational world in which knowledge itself is the most powerful connector" "students are extending their reach globally"
Technical Legitimacy	Words/statements that point to her ability to manage the institution, navigate governance, and mitigate conflict among constituent groups	"conducting difficult discussions"	"university-wide discussions"
		"listen carefully to one another"	"listening to and with"
		"connect diverse disciplines and modes of thinking"	"integrate knowledge from different disciplines and professional perspectives" "scholars in many fields"
Moral Legitimacy	Words/statements that point to ethical decision-making and devotion to the mission of the institution when acting as the embodiment of the institution	"great universities are duty bound"	"obligation" "commitment," "accountability" "responsibility"
		"complexity of human affairs"	"human beings search for meaning" "cultivating human capital" "the human spirit in all its majesty"

"it is urgent we pose the questions of ethics and meaning"	"the urgency of this dual calling" "a needful and anxious word awaits"
"these values endure; they define us"	"the principles we hold dear" "its ideals, crafted over many generations"

APPENDIX B: RESEARCHER AS INSTRUMENT STATEMENT

I approached this study with the understanding that I am an instrument in this research, and thus, it is important to acknowledge that my personal assumptions related to the concepts of gender and leadership within the context of higher education have influenced the methodological choices made in this study. In continuing the metaphor of navigation, my guiding star as a researcher is the philosophical assumption that perception is reality. Within a social constructionist worldview, I believe that reality consists of social constructs, and it is through our perception of these constructs that we make sense of the world and who we are in the world. Thus, as a woman, I believe that my perception of reality is different from the perception of a man. Moreover, I believe that my perception of reality is different from the perception of another woman who may be experiencing the same social constructs but differently due to her unique intersections of other social identities, such as race, class, sexuality, spirituality, and so forth.

In keeping with the notion that perception is reality, I understand that my expectations for discovery in the data analysis process will influence my perception of the data while also providing a mirror to reflect my own biases and assumptions. The conceptual framework for this study describes my understanding of how the dominant discourses related to gender and leadership socially construct, sustain, and render legitimate the male preserve of higher education leadership. In turn, I expect women to take up these dominant discourses in their presidential inaugural addresses to legitimate their role as leaders at the historic colonial colleges. I am willing to discover that the women in this study negotiate between discourses of masculinity and femininity in their speeches, and from this negotiation, I anticipate discourses of assimilation, accommodation, and resilience. However, I am unwilling to accept the conclusion that women in this study do not leverage masculine discourses in their quest for presidential legitimacy. Rather,

I hope to discover alternative discourses of gender that may provide guidance for women navigating the male preserve of higher education leadership in the future. With these expectations in mind, I can be intentional in challenging my preconceptions during the data analysis process.

Relative to my role as an instrument, it is also important to note that I am an administrator and adjunct instructor at a local community college. I am also a researcher and Ph.D. student in the Educational Policy, Planning, and Leadership: Higher Education Administration program in the School of Education at William & Mary, which is an institution included in the sample for this study. The presidential appointment of Katherine A. Rowe in 2018 was the catalyst for this qualitative inquiry because her status as the first woman to serve in this role at William & Mary piqued my interest in whether other historic colleges had similar legacies of male leadership. My familiarity with the organizational context of higher education as well as my exposure to the conversations related to the hiring of the first woman to the academic presidency at a colonial college gives me an insider perspective for this inquiry. This perspective affects the research process in a number of ways. First, it helped me to see the importance of organizational saga in the rituals and ceremonies involved in Rowe's inauguration. Second, it will help me to be effective and efficient in collecting secondary sources because I am aware of the multiple perspectives necessary for establishing the historical, cultural, and social context surrounding the inauguration based on my understanding of how institutions of higher education operate within a larger community. Finally, as a student of higher education, I have access to major academic and popular publications related to higher education and I have access to research librarians whose expertise and personal lines of communication create opportunities for

deeper exploration. For example, it was through this personal communication that I was able to retrieve the transcript for Dr. Simmons's presidential inaugural address.

My interest in this topic is of a personal nature. In my graduate courses, I have been taught that representation is important for student success. Thus, for students to aspire to certain positions, it helps if they see people who look like them in those positions. Although most of my classmates are women, there are not many women in the highest levels of authority at institutions of higher education, especially at the oldest and most prestigious institutions. Upon reading about the cultural and structural barriers facing women in Western societies, I began to reflect on my own professional trajectory along with the future life of my daughter, who at the time was still in utero. I realized that the greatest barriers facing women are the discourses that socially construct their lives, and I wanted a better understanding of these discourses to improve my daughter's opportunities for navigating a male-dominated society.

Shortly after beginning my dissertation journey, I gave birth to my daughter—a wonderful moment in my life that also required me to extend my timeline for completing this research. Moreover, I am in a stereotypical cisgender relationship in which my husband earns a much higher salary than I do resulting in decisions that prioritize his career. To a lesser degree, I am also very close with my mother who suffers from congenital heart disease, and I often take on the physical and emotional responsibility for her care. My new role of mother along with my other roles of wife and daughter influence my interpretation of specific discourses related to gendered norms and expectations, and I am often conflicted between my theoretical understanding of gendered discourse and the ways in which I perform my gender on a daily basis. Thus, this research study is both an academic inquiry on discourse as well as a therapeutic process for negotiating my own subjectivities.

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