ABSTRACT

Title of Document:	NAVIGATING POWER AND POLITICS: WOMEN OF COLOR SENIOR LEADERS IN ACADEME
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The purpose of this study was to understand how women of color who are at the senior level of academe continue to advance while navigating and maneuvering through power and politics encountered in the organizational system. Although we know that there are few women of color at the senior level of administration, this qualitative study provided information about the challenges and obstacles women of color senior level leaders face at micro- and macro-levels in a doctoral granting or baccalaureate granting university. The major research question guiding this study was: How do women of color navigate power and politics to arrive at the senior level in academe? The research design was nine individual case studies of women of color at nine institutions: three African Americans, two Asian American Pacific Islanders, two Latinas, and two American Indian women at doctoral granting and baccalaureate granting universities. Five women were senior leaders at minority serving institutions;

seven were presidents, one was a provost, and one was a vice-provost. Three participants came from historically Black colleges and universities, one woman held a position at a Tribal college, and one worked at a Hispanic serving institution.

Drawing upon five theoretical frameworks, four themes emerged that were grounded in the data: 1) Advancing Women Through Opportunity and Experience; 2) Challenges of Race and Gender: Inviting Partnership with Community; 3) Inclusive and Persuasive Leaders: Creating Positive Change; 4) Using Power and Politics to Achieve Goals. Participants saw power as the ability to bring people together and to use a strategy to achieve one's objectives. They defined power as the privilege one has because of social identity or as something that was borrowed or loaned. Women of color leaders described using politics for the community, to reap benefits, not for oneself but to achieve a broader goal. Participants maneuvered through the system by finding allies, and enlisting people to intervene on their behalf. Women of color senior leaders saw politics as a means to get things done and to emerge with a win-win situation.

NAVIGATING POWER AND POLITICS: WOMEN OF COLOR SENIOR
LEADERS IN ACADEME

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the

University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

2012

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Dedication

Over ten years ago I had this dream of attaining my doctorate but it seemed impossible. There were several mentors, coaches and cheerleaders who believed I could do this and helped me find the path back to academia: Ann Mason, Liz Cole, Sharon McDade, Dorothy Echols-Tobe, and Shirley Hune, thank you for your advice and direction of how to get back to grad school. You believed in me when I had very little belief that I could do this. I also had a wonderful women's small group that supported me through the process of applying to graduate school; thank you to Jana, Ellen, Linda, Sarah, Cheri, Sharon and Marsha.

When you begin to climb a mountain the size of a Ph.D. it is important to have people who are your trailblazers, your fellow trekkers and people that give you water and refreshment as you stop to take a break. In many ways, working on the Ph.D. reminded me of the Greek myth of Sisyphus. Sisyphus was assigned the task of pushing a boulder up a mountain that would invariably slide him all the way downhill, just as he was making progress. That's the way it has felt the last five years. Pushing a boulder up a mountain and having it roll you down the mountain. Just when you think you have crested the mountain, new obstacles arise, and you roll back down, but you are a little farther up the mountain. Fortunately I have had many people along the way that helped me push this boulder up the mountain, and inspired me just when I thought it was impossible to go any further.

To my fellow trekkers, Richard Medellin, Amy Martin, Dora McAllister – a big thank you. Our study sessions and support throughout the process helped sustain me. To Mark Brimhall-Vargas, my guide and peer mentor, thank you for leading the

to guiding and helping me through "the process," reading <u>so</u> many pages, and taking me to the finish line. I have been fortunate and blessed to have had this time to learn and work closely with you on this project.

My family in California has been excited and enthusiastic about my pursuing the Ph.D. from the very beginning. To mom and dad, the earliest trailblazers, and Sandy, Nelson and Wes who have championed this achievement. To Ashley, my adopted African American daughter, caregiver for Kathryn, who made it possible for me to do my work, thank you, I could not have done this without you. And to James and Kathryn thank you for the tremendous sacrifices you have made so that I could attain this degree, especially leaving California. I thank James for the many long nights and weekends of caring for Kathryn so I could do my work.

So, the journey to the Ph.D. ends here. In the words of one of my American Indian participants, who gave me this blessing at the end of my interview: "Belinda, may you walk in beauty." Her meaning was, may I have spiritual, physical and intellectual balance in my life. That's what I will strive to achieve.

Belinda Lee Huang

March 2012

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Chapter I

Introduction

Today, educational trends indicate that each generation of younger women is attaining higher levels of postsecondary education (Jaschik, 2010; Ryu, 2010). Since the baby boom generation, women are surpassing men in educational attainment and the gap between them is getting larger (Boushey & O'Leary, 2009; Ryu, 2010). More women complete high school, enroll in and graduate from college, and complete advanced degrees at the master's and doctoral level; however, men still outnumber women in doctoral degrees conferred in typically male dominated fields (i.e., business/management, engineering, and law) (Bell, 2010; Ryu, 2010). New data from 2008 and 2009 revealed that for the first time ever women earned a slight majority, just over 50.4 % of the doctoral degrees in the U.S. (Bell, 2010; Ryu, 2010). This represents an increase from 2000 when women were earning only 44% of doctoral degrees (Bell, 2010).

Women have also increased participation in the workforce and leadership roles. Today, 40% of working women hold managerial and other professional positions (Boushey & O'Leary, 2009). *The Shriver Report: A Woman's Nation* (2009) asserted that companies led by women are proving to have generally healthier bottom lines. Research is showing that women are impacting the bottom line by increasing financial profits and by the quality and scope of decision-making (Catalyst, 2004; Mainiero & Williamson, 1994). In a recent Rockefeller/Time poll, more than three quarters of men and women agreed that the increased participation of women in the workforce is a positive change for society (White House Project Report, 2009).

Participation in the workforce has increased for all women including women of color. Historically, African American women have participated in the workforce more than any other racial or ethnic group (Wallace, Datcher, & Malveaux, 1982; White House Project Report, 2009). In 1920, African American women were 39% of the workforce, almost twice as large as any other racial group; Japanese American women were 26% of the workforce (White House Project Report, 2009). Through the 20th century, workforce participation for all racial and ethnic groups increased (Hayghe, 1997).
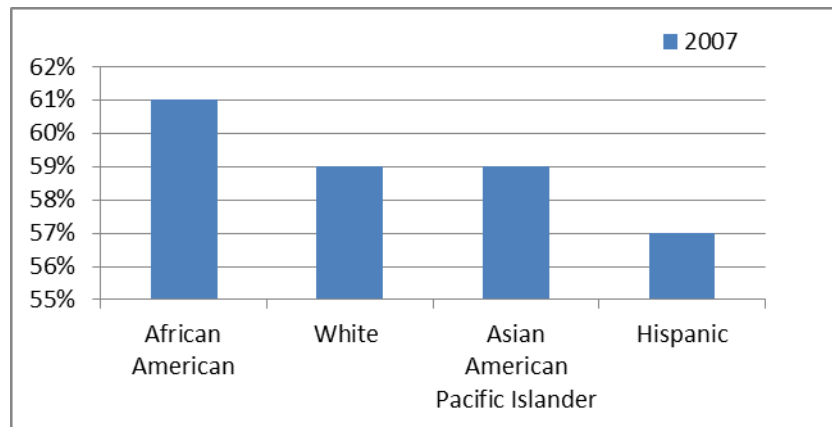
Figure 1. Women Workforce participation in 2007. Source: U.S. Department of Labor, 2009, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Populations Survey.

As Figure 1 indicates, by 2007, labor force participation rates had risen to nearly 60% for all racial groups of women: African-Americans comprised 61%; White women comprised 59%; followed by Asian American Pacific Islanders at 59%, and Hispanics at 57% (U.S. Department of Labor, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey, 2009).

Women's participation in the workplace has led to an increase in women leaders across all fields. According to a Harvard Business Review analysis, women's

transformative leadership style has been described as making institutions more transparent, accountable, ethical, and more effective than men's transactional approach (Jahan, 2000; White House Project Report, 2009). The public is showing signs that women leaders are valued and considered serious candidates (Lee, 2011). Data from the GfK/Roper poll, a leading public opinion and marketing research firm, found that Americans comfort level with women as leaders has grown from 70% in 2002 to 89% in 2007 (White House Project Report, 2009). In this poll, three quarters of Americans said they would be comfortable with a woman as president of the United States and 82% with a woman as vice president (White House Project Report, 2009). Similarly, more than 90% of the American public state that they are comfortable with women as members of Congress, heads of universities, charities, newspapers, television and film studios, and in charge of large companies of various types and law firms (White House Project Report, 2009).

However, despite the gains in education, participation in the workplace and leadership roles, women continue to be underrepresented at the highest levels. Across industries, women account for only 18% of top leaders and make 79 cents to every dollar earned by a man, and this wage gap widens with age (Goudreau, 2009; White House Project Report, 2009). Also, as the status, prestige, and rank of the leadership position increases, the leadership gap and wage gap between women and men is evident in nearly every level of employment (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2006; Lips, 2009; Dey & Hill, 2007). The White House Project Report (2009) concluded that to close the leadership gap, a critical mass of women is needed at the most senior leadership levels and on boards.

In higher education in particular, the White House Project Report (2009) stated women account for less than 30% of the members on college and university boards. The presence or absence of women academic leaders has far reaching influences upon higher education including the scope of research and knowledge that affects the general public (White House Project Report, 2009). Overall, women are underrepresented in faculty ranks with the largest numbers placed into non-tenure track lower level positions, lecturers, and instructors, positions which are least likely to lead to senior level positions (White House Project Report, 2009).

Description of the Problem

More women than ever are going to college and getting advanced degrees (White House Project Report, 2009; Jaschik, 2010; Ryu, 2010). This trend in academe is occurring across all types of institutions. In this study the use of the term academe includes doctoral granting, master's, bachelor's, associate colleges and universities. Although the numbers of women faculty have been slowly increasing in the last decade, women continue to lag behind men in status, salary, and leadership positions (White House Project Report, 2009). Data indicates as the prestige of the institution increases women fall significantly behind (Bach & Perucci, 1984; Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991; Kulis, 1997; Tolbert & Oberfield, 1991). Women are only 30% of the faculty at research universities, 40% of the faculty at master's degree granting institutions, 42% of the faculty at private liberal arts colleges, and 49% of the faculty at public two-year institutions (White House Project Report, 2009). As faculty rank increases the number of women steadily declines (Ryu, 2010).
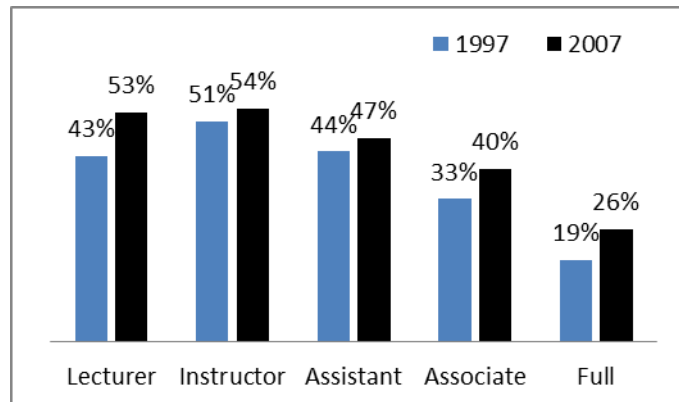
Figure 2. Women Faculty By Rank, 1997 and 2007. Adapted from M. Ryu (2010). Minorities in higher education: Twenty-fourth status report. p.114-117. Copyright 2010 by the American Council on Education.

As Figure 2 indicates, in 2010, women had the largest representation among lecturers (53%) and instructors (54%) (Ryu, 2010). There is a considerable decline in representation from assistant (47%), to associate (40%), to full professor rank (26%). In each of these ranks, women faculty representation has increased from 1991 (Ryu, 2010). However, women who are full professors at public universities are still a small percentage: 19.2% at doctoral granting institutions; 28.7% at master's, 31.3% at bachelor, and 52.9% at associate institutions (West & Curtis, 2006). The small numbers of women faculty who reach full professor rank affect the pipeline to the university presidency since the traditional pathway to the presidency is from tenured full professor positions to senior level administrative positions such as dean and chief academic officer (King & Gomez, 2008).

The American Council on Education's *The American College President: 2007 Edition* revealed that only 14% of the nation's college and university presidents are persons of color and 23% are women. For the last 10 years, the number of female presidents has remained at about 500 out of approximately 4,000 postsecondary

institutions (White House Project Report, 2009). Women presidents are concentrated mostly at community colleges (29%) and less at doctorate granting institutions (19%) (Bridges et al., 2008; Ryu, 2010).

On the Pathway to the Presidency (2008) report indicated that presidents are most likely to advance from academic positions. Of the current presidents, 40% came from the chief academic officer or provost position. Prior to becoming chief academic officer 85% had served in a faculty or academic administrator position (King & Gomez, 2008). Twenty-three percent of first-time presidents came from non-academic areas such as finance, development, or student affairs. Prior positions held by presidents included: senior administrator officers (20%), deans (17%), chief student affairs or enrollment management officers (13%), chief of staff (5%), and chief diversity officer positions (2%) (King & Gomez, 2008).

Women of color are less likely to emerge from senior academic positions. They comprise only 3% of chief academic officers compared to 6% men of color and 35% White women (King & Gomez, 2008). They are 7% of all senior administrators compared to 9% men and 38% white women. At the time these data were collected there were no women of color chief academic officers in the doctoral granting public university system; within master's public universities, there were 7% African-American women and 1% Latinas; within public baccalaureate universities, there were less than 1% Asian American Pacific Islander women and Latinas (King & Gomez, 2008).

Since 40% of current presidents ascended from chief academic officer positions, the lack of women of color in chief academic officer positions is a cause for

concern (King & Gomez, 2008). However, if other senior academic positions (e.g., chief diversity officers) were considered as possible pathways to the presidency, significant possibilities emerge given that women of color are better represented in these positions.

King and Gomez (2008) asserted that academe should consider non chief academic officer positions when searching for future presidents and tap into the pool of African American and Latina chief diversity officers. African-American women held 42% of chief diversity officer positions at public doctoral granting institutions, Latinas held 4%, Asian American Pacific Islanders held 2%, compared to 8% White women (King & Gomez, 2008). The majority of senior administrator positions held by Asian American Pacific Islanders and Latinas were between 1% to 2% at public and private baccalaureate institutions (King & Gomez, 2008). At public baccalaureate institutions African Americans held 7% of chief student affairs enrollment management positions, Asian American Pacific Islanders held less than 1% and Latinas held 1% compared to 35% White women. In chief of staff positions, Asian American Pacific Islanders and Latinas held 7% compared to 63% White women at private doctoral granting institutions. At the doctoral granting and baccalaureate granting universities, the number of women of color senior administrators is very small (King & Gomez, 2008).

The question of why there are so few women of color at the highest level of administration in academe concerns scholars and policy makers in higher education. Literature has documented the slow growth of diversifying the leadership pool, but attempts to understand why women lag behind in status, representation, and

leadership are not well understood. Bridges et al. (2008) cited biased perceptions of women and candidates of color and their capacity to lead; this is often the result of conscious or unconscious reliance on existing stereotypes (Ridgeway, 2001). Women of color in academe report tokenism and stereotyping as contributing to isolation, loneliness, and burnout (Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Hune, 1998; St. Jean & Feagin, 1998; Turner & Myers, 2000).

Barriers to advancement for women in academe include the chilly climate for women, structural characteristics, leaky pipeline, and socialization experiences (Fairweather & Rhoads, 1995; Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991; Sandler, 1986). The low numbers of women of color in senior level administrative positions suggest that more research is needed to understand why women of color are underrepresented. Whether women of color are not being tapped for senior leadership positions or choosing not to take on these roles requires further inquiry. Research may suggest ways to improve the institutional climate, structural hiring, and resources to improve women of color retention and increase their advancement. This study will provide important information about how women of color senior leaders have successfully navigated power and politics at baccalaureate and doctoral institutions.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand how women of color who are at the senior level of academe continue to advance while navigating and maneuvering through power and politics encountered in the organizational system. Senior level administrators include women at the cabinet level (i.e. chief of staff, executive vice president, chief academic officer/provost, dean of academic college, chief student

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affairs officer). This study was focused on doctoral granting and baccalaureate granting universities because of the complexity of governance and organizational systems. Also, in general, women of color hold fewer senior level administrative positions at doctoral granting and baccalaureate granting universities than at associate institutions.

The major research question guiding this study was: How do women of color navigate power and politics to arrive at the senior level in academe? This study also sought to answer the following sub-questions:

1. How do they define and see power and politics?

2. How do they make meaning of power and politics?

3. What factors do they perceive as contributing to their advancement to senior positions?

Previous studies about women of color presidents have focused on personal attributes, formative years, training, and opportunity structures (ACE, 2005; Bower & Wolverton, 2009; Darden, 2006; Madsen, 2008; Wolverton, Bower & Hyle, 2009). This study focused on how women of color who are currently in senior level administration define and use power, were able to advance institutionally in the midst of organizational politics, resource scarcity, and conflict. How women of color navigate these issues in academe within the double binary of race and gender is not well researched.

Therefore, by examining how women of color navigated power and politics to arrive at the senior level in academe will assist in understanding what factors have made them successful and how they have surmounted significant challenges. Results

of this study may benefit future rising women of color leaders and benefit organizations.

Rationale for the Study

Though higher education has seen an increase in the pool of available women and persons of color at the presidency level, there is still a dearth of women of color presidents (American Council on Education, 2007; White House Project, 2009). In 2009, 22% of the nation's historically/predominantly Black institutions were led by African American women, but only eight of the predominantly White, four year institutions were led by African American women (Bower & Wolverton, 2009). *The American College President: 2007 Edition* report indicated there are 6% African American college presidents, 0.9% Asian American Pacific Islander, 5% Latina, and 0.7 % American Indian. Proportionally, Asian American Pacific Islander and Hispanic women constitute one-third of their race/ethnic group presidents. There is only one American Indian woman president of a baccalaureate institution outside of the tribal college system. Therefore, even though the *Minorities in Higher Education, Twenty-fourth Status Report* (2010) indicates that the share of presidential positions filled by minorities increased between 8% to 13% in the last two decades and the numbers of Latina and Black women presidential appointments nearly doubled (Harvey & Anderson, 2005), in fact, in the last 20-25 years few minority women have attained the presidency level in U.S. higher education institutions.

Given the dearth of women of color presidents, it is critical to understand how women who are at the senior levels of administration manage to succeed. Through understanding how women of color who are able to advance their careers in the midst

of political systems, power and privilege provides information to current and future women of color leaders about how to be successful in a doctoral granting or a baccalaureate granting university.

Research Design

The research design for this study was individual case studies of nine women of color at nine institutions. The "unit of analysis" (Merriam, 2009) was each individual woman of color, while the institution was the context of the bounded system (Smith, 1978).

Stake (1995) defined using each case study as instrumental to learning about that case but also choosing several cases to study rather than one as a "collective case study" (Stake, 1995, p. 4). Merriam termed this as "cross-case; multicase, or multisite studies; or comparative case studies" (Merriam, 2009, p. 49). Stake (2006) defined these cases to be linked because they have a common characteristic or condition, and are somehow categorically bound together. He explicated: "They may be members of a group or examples of a phenomenon" (Stake, 2006, pp. 5-6). As I strove to be "particularistic" by focusing my case studies on a particular phenomenon, I focused on what the case revealed about the phenomenon and what that represented (Merriam, 2009). Using case study methodology allowed me to use unique cases of each woman of color while conducting cross-case analysis to examine whether intra-group (e.g., African American, American Indian) or intergroup similarities or differences were revealed when analyzing how women of color navigate power and politics in academe.

Nine participants were selected: three African Americans, two Asian American Pacific Islanders, two Latinas, and two American Indian women at a doctoral or a baccalaureate granting university. Each woman was interviewed for 60-90 minutes in her office at her home institution or off site. To support credibility, member checks and triangulation were conducted. Denzin (1978) defined triangulation as using multiple methods, multiple sources of data, multiple investigators, or multiple theories to confirm emerging findings. For this study, triangulation included reviewing primary and secondary documents including websites for information about each participant's status/statistics at the university, organizational charts, newspaper articles, and university publications. In addition, the researcher utilized direct observation of the administrator's office (including location and spatial layout of the office), and took photographs of conference rooms, waiting areas, and the senior leader's office. Member checks added to the validity of the study by asking the participant to provide feedback on the emerging findings (Maxwell, 2005). Leaving an audit trail authenticated the findings of the study because the researcher described in detail how the data were conducted, categories decided, and decisions made (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984).

This research was informed by five theoretical frameworks. Because the research question is based upon four domains: race, gender, power, and politics, it was important to utilize theoretical frameworks/models that undergird these areas. The five theoretical frameworks were: 1) critical race theory (CRT), 2) Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making 3) French and Raven's (1959) bases of social power,

4) Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership, and 5) Dill and Zambrana's (2009) intersectionality. Critical race theory was used to support the five tenets of CRT scholarship identified by Solózarno (1997): the intercentricity of race and racism, the challenge to dominant ideology, naming one's own reality "voice," the commitment to social justice, and the centrality of experiential knowledge. Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making, explained the antecedents and conditions for power. His model clarified how power and politics are the processes, the actions, and the behavior through which potential power is utilized. French and Raven's (1959) bases of power explained how an agent or power figure may use social power (reward, coercion, legitimate, expertise, referent, and informational) to bring about change. Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership model described female leadership styles in the 21st century workplace and how women leaders precipitate change through using mutual goals to create group cohesion and membership (Gardner, 1990). Her achieving styles model combined traditional masculine American ego-ideal with female role behaviors in an increasingly interdependent world. There are three achieving styles: direct, instrumental, and relational. Dill & Zambrana's (2009) intersectionality, the fifth framework examined multiple identities and intersections of race class and gender. Intersectionality presumes that inequalities are experienced from race, class, gender and their intersections place specific groups in privileged positions with regard to other groups and give certain individuals unearned benefits based solely on group membership. It examines relations of domination and subordination, privilege and agency, and the means through which various services,

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resources and social rewards are delivered. These five frameworks combined helped
me analyze issues of race, gender, power, and politics that women of color referenced
in their interviews.

Significance of the Study

Although we know that there are few women of color at the senior level of
administration, this qualitative study provides information about the challenges and
obstacles women of color senior level administrators face at micro- and macro-levels
in a doctoral granting or baccalaureate granting university. Their stories revealed why
they pursued the presidency and what motivated them to seek the presidency.

Identifying factors that help women of color senior administrators navigate
power and politics to persist and advance in academe will benefit other rising women
of color leaders. Findings provide policy makers and institutional, academic college,
and departmental leaders knowledge about what conditions and factors help women
of color succeed at the highest levels of academe. *The White House Project Report*
(2009) recommended collecting and analyzing data regarding the representation of
women, and particularly women of color and positions of leadership—only then will
it be possible to set benchmarks and monitor progress.

Key Terms

The term "African American" references Black Americans or Afro-Americans
as citizens or residents of the United States who have origins in any of the Black
populations of Africa (U.S. Census, 2000). Most African Americans are direct
descendants from captive Africans who survived the slavery period, but some are
immigrants from Africa, the Caribbean, Central America or South America. For this

study, I used the term "African American" however when literature references the term "Black" I deferred to the author's labeling.

The term "Asian American Pacific Islander" is used to denote persons of Asian/Pacific Islander American heritage. The terms Asian American, Asian Pacific American, Asian Pacific/Islander, Asian/Pacific Islander American, have been used to describe persons of Asian/Pacific Islander American heritage. Within the context of my study, "Asian American Pacific Islander" encompasses individuals of East Asian, South East Asian, South Asian, Hawaiian, Guamanian, Samoan, and other Pacific Islander descent living in the United States (U.S. Census, 2000). Some literature references "Asian American" and "Asian Pacific American" and reports may utilize "Asian," but when possible I used the term "Asian American Pacific Islander." If the literature is referencing only Asian Americans and not Pacific Islanders I used the term Asian Americans.

The term "Latina/o" recognizes persons of Latin American descent living in the United States. The U.S. Census (2000) uses the term "Hispanic" but I preferred not to use this term since it implies individuals are only from Spain. "Latina" encompasses individuals who are Mexican Americans, Chicanas, Cuban Americans, Argentinean Americans, Colombian Americans, Dominican Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, Spanish Americans, and Salvadoran Americans. When referencing a document from the U.S. Census or other reports, if the term "Hispanic" is used, I used this term to specify Latinas.

The term "American Indian and Alaskan Native" refers to individuals having origins in North and South American (including Central America) and who maintain

tribal affiliation or community attachment (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The majority

of the literature uses the term "American Indian" and less frequently "Native" thus I

used the term "American Indian" for my study. When citing literature I utilized the

term listed by the author.

Chapter II

Literature Review

      This chapter details various bodies of literature that inform this study. Starting with the literature on women in higher education, this chapter provides an overview of women's entry into higher education and challenges of equity, representation, and advancement. I outline the factors that impede women's advancement to the presidency and describe current presidents' leadership styles and attributes. Next, I turn to the literature on four specific populations: American Indian, African American, Asian American Pacific Islander, and Latina women. I examine the historical context of their participation in higher education, discrimination, and successes in advancing to the presidency. I then outline five theoretical and conceptual frameworks used for this study: critical race theory, Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making, French and Raven's (1959) theory of social power, Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership, and Dill and Zambrana's (2009) intersectionality. Following the theoretical frames are sections on power and politics. In the power section, I examine how power has been conceptualized by theorists, review studies on power, and delineate how power definitions have shifted from a hierarchical, authoritative position to power in relationships, controlling resources, and interdependence on others. This chapter ends with the political perspective that encompasses setting the political agenda, mapping the political terrain, forming coalitions, and arriving at goals and decisions.

Women in Higher Education

Women's entry into higher education is linked with economic and social factors of American life (Solomon, 1985). With the advent of industrialization, the significant decline in fertility rates, and the introduction of formal schooling, women were liberated from traditional societal roles (Solomon, 1985). The Morrill Land Grant legislation (1862) aided students who were from modest incomes to work their way through school by enrolling in schools that were free. Women students entered higher education through diverse institutions, valuing knowledge, vocation, and identity apart from their family (Solomon, 1985). In the early years, women who went to college were seen as outsiders (Horowitz, 1987). They entered Oberlin in 1837, the University of Michigan in 1870, and Cornell in 1872 (Horowitz, 1987). By the late 1800s women could attend a women's college or a coeducational institution (Horowitz, 1987).

Literature chronicling the 1880s through 1920s illustrates the portraits of academic women at liberal arts colleges and women's colleges (Baker, 1976; Finch 1947; Palmieri, 1983; Wells, 1978). Academic women during 1895-1920 came from families that sponsored and took pride in their high achieving daughters (Palmieri, 1983). They entered liberal arts colleges because research universities had denied them entry (Palmieri, 1983). Later, in the 19th century, some women enjoyed special educational opportunities as colleges provided an alternative world where a small elite group of women could be devoted to teaching rather than research (Graham, 1978). As research oriented universities expanded the cult of true womanhood—

piety, purity, obedience and domesticity (Horowitz, 1985)—few women in the 1920s were pursuing rigorous professional training because it might jeopardize their chance for marriage (Graham, 1978). In contrast, Rossiter (1980) described expanded access for women into graduate school as they received higher degrees from universities between the years 1870 to 1900. "In 1907 academic feminists could rejoice that their efforts had brought about major changes in American and German graduate schools and opened their highest degrees to women" (Rossiter, 1980, p. 176).

By the 1900s, the term "new woman," originally coined by Henry James to describe affluent independent expatriate American women in Europe, was applied to describe the new professional women who exhibited an independent spirit and control over their lives by their economic independence and professionalism; she stood for self-development not self-sacrifice or deference to her family's needs (Bordin, 1993). Literature of "new women" abounded as scholars of women in higher education described their pioneering achievements and institutions they served (Bordin, 1993). Presidents Alice Freeman Palmer of Wellesley College, Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr and Mary E. Woolley of Mount Holyoke, exemplified the "new woman," through their prolific fundraising, educational reforms, and belief that an educated woman was able to achieve anything, and their advocacy for a women's place in higher education (Bordin, 1993; Marks 1955; Scudder, 1937; Wells, 1978).

Women Faculty

Recent literature on women faculty focuses on representation, equity, and advancement (Fairweather & Rhoads, 1995; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Lomperis, 1990; Marschke et al., 2007; Trower & Chait, 2002). During the past decade, the number of

full-time women faculty increased by 46%, representing 42% of full-time faculty (Ryu, 2010). However, the *Minorities in Higher Education Twenty-Fourth Status Report* revealed that the share of women faculty decreases by each successive rank. "Women accounted for 54% of instructors and lecturers in 2007, 47% of assistant professors, 40% of associate professors, and 26% of full professors" (Ryu, 2010, p. 61).The number of full-time administrators increased at a higher rate than the number of faculty over the past decade, 47% as compared with 25% for faculty (Ryu, 2010).

Although the proportion of faculty that are women has been steadily increasing, the need for more equitable hiring has been recognized by many institutions around the country. Marschke et al. (2007) wrote that the progress toward equitable gender representation has been "glacial" among faculty in higher education since the early 1970s. Even though women are now the majority of undergraduate degree holders and approximately 46% of those earning Ph.D.s, they are barely 30% of faculty at doctoral granting universities (Marschke et al., 2007). Even though the number of tenure track women faculty is increasing, women's advancement to faculty ranks is still at a slow pace (Valian, 1999). The increase in women faculty differs by institutional types, disciplines, and rank (Perna, 2001, 2005). At two year colleges, women are 53.6% (new entry cohort of 1998) in comparison to research universities where they are 40% (new entry cohort of 1998) (O'Meara, Terosky, & Neumann, 2008). Scholars have noted that women faculty have great difficulty going from lower ranks (assistant or associate) to higher ranks (full professor or senior) (Glazer Raymo, 1999; Perna, 2001, 2005; Rossiter, 1982). Although there is general agreement that

women are under-represented and disadvantaged in academia (Bradburn et al., 2002),

there is less agreement surrounding why this disparity has occurred.

Barriers to Advancement

Women faculty experience a "chilly" climate, a term coined by Sandler (1986)

that describes subtle personal and social barriers that disadvantage women by limiting

opportunities, affecting productivity and advancement. The cumulative effect of these

small negative attitudes may result in a climate that does not support women and

conveys "underlying limited expectations" and "discomfort in dealing with women"

(Sandler, 1986, p. 177). Chilly climates valuing masculine norms may provide

women with fewer opportunities for success than their male colleagues in research

universities.

Another perspective for explaining the under-representation of women faculty

focuses on structural characteristics related to gender inequality across higher

education institutions, (Fairweather & Rhoads, 1995). Numerous scholars found that

women's representation tends to decrease as the following factors increase:

institutional prestige, level of selectivity (e.g., student entrance criteria), student

population, absence of women's studies programs, research productivity, federal

funding, and Carnegie Classification (Bach & Perucci, 1984; Konrad & Pfeffer 1991;

Kulis, 1997; Tolbert & Oberfield, 1991). Thus, the general pattern of inequality that

can be discerned from these findings is that women's representation declines as

institutions become more prestigious. Research universities, as the most prestigious of

all higher education institutions, tend to have particularly low representation of

women faculty.

Research conducted by Mason and Goulden (2002) posited that the low representation of women in tenure tracks in research universities can be explained by the "leaky pipeline" theory. Their study revealed that women leak out of the "pipeline" at every level of academia. Using the Survey of Doctorate Recipients, a longitudinal employment database of Ph.D. recipients that the National Science Foundation sponsored along with the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Institute of Health, Mason and Goulden (2002) were able to follow more than 160,000 Ph.D. recipients enabling them to actually pinpoint the exact effect of family formation. They found that when women had children post-Ph.D. mattered significantly in their career progression (Mason & Goulden, 2002). The data demonstrated how women Ph.D.s get stuck in the academic pipeline and where they drop out, usually between getting a Ph.D. and their first job. For example, they found that only 55% of women with early babies—babies born any time up to 5 years post-Ph.D.—became tenured professors (Mason & Goulden, 2002). By comparison 78% of men who had babies within five years post-Ph.D. achieved tenure. Mason and Goulden concluded that women dropped out of the track not because they were denied tenure, but because of family issues, wanting to have babies, and to start their families. Therefore, there is a major conflict for women between having children and staying in tenure track positions (Mason & Goulden, 2002).

Women with doctorates also pursued positions outside the faculty track. Studies found that women held senior level positions in administration at smaller private institutions (Evans & Kuh, 1980); women and minorities were best represented in positions related to student affairs and external affairs (CUPA, 1976),

and women senior student affairs administrators earned less than their counterparts (NASPA, 1996). Barriers for women who seek senior level status in student affairs included lack of support systems and a need for institutional structures to acknowledge the importance of mentoring. Various programs such as the NASPA's symposium, HERS, and other leadership development programs groom and prepare women for access and success in senior level positions (Jones & Komives, 2009). Women in senior student affairs position had different expectations placed upon them, including "hidden workloads," and advisory roles on committees (Clement & Rickard, 1992). Additional barriers for women attaining senior leadership roles in student affairs included women being promoted within an institution rather than hired from outside, compared to men who were promoted internally and selected from outside (Sangaria, 1988). In addition, women were hired at lower rates than men who applied for new positions (Sangaria, 1988). Despite their contributions to the field of student affairs, women are not represented in leadership positions in proportion to their numbers in the profession (Jones & Komives, 2009).

Achieving Tenure

Literature on women faculty from early career to tenure indicated that women advance slower than men and are less likely to achieve tenure (Bellas & Toutkoushian, 1999; Goulden, Frasch, & Mason, 2009; Kulis & Sicotte, 2002; UC Berkeley, 2003). Women who do enter tenure-track positions are 20% less likely than their male colleagues to achieve tenure, 27% less likely to become an associate professor than men and 20% less likely than men to be a professor 16 years later (UC Berkeley, 2003). Additionally, women are more likely to teach more hours and less

likely to focus their work hours on research activity than men (Bellas & Toutkoushian, 1999). Considering that research is rewarded most highly, this will have an inevitable effect on the promotion of women.

For promotion to full professor, the greatest discrepancies are found in research universities where often under 20% of full professors are women, or in STEM disciplines where it can be fewer than 10%. In prestigious institutions, in disciplines such as science and engineering and senior academic ranks women are underrepresented; women are overrepresented in less prestigious institutions, disciplines, and lower ranks (O'Meara, Terosky, & Neumann, 2008). Kulis and Sicotte (2002) found that women in STEM fields change disciplines and leave tenure track positions at a higher rate than male faculty, reducing the likelihood that they will be promoted to full professor positions. One study found that women were less likely than men to have received tenure or full professor status regardless of their race (Bradburn et al., 2002). Some researchers have noted that academic careers are not compatible with roles of wife, mother, or caretaker (Astin, 1997; Morrison, Rudd, Nerad, & Picciano, 2007). Others have suggested that institutional rewards place less value on traditional academic "women's work" such as service, teaching, and advising (Clark & Corcoran, 1986; Park, 1996).

Salary

Women faculty tend to be paid a lower salary than men. The gender disparity in salary is consistent across racial categories in the Bradburn et al., (2002) study. Female faculty members tended to be less satisfied with their advising and course workload, the quality of their benefits, job security, and salary levels than their male

counterparts (Hagedorn, 1996). Research on faculty satisfaction suggests that while faculty satisfaction is a cumulative response to many factors, including interactions with students, colleagues, and administrators, non-discriminatory monetary compensation enhances faculty satisfaction and encourages the retention of female faculty members (Hagedorn, 1996). Therefore, campuses that conduct gender equity studies and right unequal salaries as a matter of principle, as MIT did with women scientists, will likely find a more satisfied and loyal cadre of women faculty (Hagedorn, 1996).

Work/Life Balance

A prominent topic in the literature on women faculty is the challenge of managing faculty careers and children (Thomas, 2005; Finkel & Olswang 1996; Perna, 2005). Thomas (2005) contended women faculty were less likely than their male counter parts to be married and have children. For women who were married, there was greater likelihood of divorce for ladder rank women than women on non-tenure track or part-time work (Thomas, 2005). Finkel and Olswang (1996) documented that many women faculty concerned about the "second shift" of responsibilities often perceived having a child as a threat to their career, and therefore decided not to have children or to delay childbearing. There appears to be a greater negative impact of family responsibilities on promotion for women than men (Finkel & Olswang, 1996). Women faculty who had children spent 101 hours per week on professional, housework, and care giving, compared with 88 hours per week for men with children and approximately 79 hours per week for both men and women without children (Thomas, 2005).

Research indicated that women with children and women who were married were less likely to enter tenure track positions (women in the sciences are 35% less likely); in comparison men who have children or are married seemed more likely to have a higher academic rank, while women had no positive or negative effect of family ties (Goulden, Frasch, & Mason, 2009; Thomas, 2005; Perna, 2005).

Women and Leadership

Leadership Theories. Much literature has been devoted to leadership, with early definitions emphasizing command, power, and control aspects (McClelland, 1975; Yukl, 1989). There have been generations of leadership theories from Great Man approaches (leaders are born not made), trait approaches (leaders have superior or endowed qualities), behavioral approaches (leaders express high concern for people and production), situational contingency approaches (leaders act differently based on the situation), influence theories (leadership is an influence or social exchange process), reciprocal leadership approaches (leadership is a relational and shared process), chaos or systems approaches (leadership is described as an influence relationship) (Komives, Lucas, & McMahon, 2007).

Contemporary definitions of leadership include shared power (Bryson & Crosby, 1992; Fisher, 1998), shared leadership (Moxley, 2000) or the leader as servant (Greenleaf, 1977). Leaders today are described as engaging their followers by inspiring and motivating them. In transactional leadership, an individual initiates contact for the purpose of exchanging a valuable item (Burns, 1978). This is contrasted with transforming leadership where leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of ethical aspirations and conduct (Burns, 1978), and transformational

leadership, a power and influence theory, where the leader acts in ways that inspires

and motivates followers to a particular purpose (Bensimon, Neumann, & Birnbaum;

Rost, 1991). Authentic leadership theory emphasizes leading by role modeling and

subscribing to high moral standards, honesty, and integrity (Avolio, et al., 2004).

Other leadership definitions include charismatic leadership (House, 1977),

participative management (Vroom, 2003), and team leadership (Zaccaro, Rittman, &

Marks, 2001).

Gender and leadership. Researchers examining gender, have defined it to be

one's psychosocial definition of biological sex (i.e., female or male)(Unger 1979) or

socio-demographic gender (Ayman & Korabik, 2010). Given that gender is an

ascribed status characteristic, men's higher social status affords them more access to

power and resources than women and hence greater privilege (Ridgeway, 1992).

Korabik and Ayman (2007) have defined three theoretical positions which undergird

the study of gender and leadership: intrapsychic, social structural, and interpersonal

perspective. The intrapsychic perspective affects the leader's preferred style,

behavior, and outcomes, regardless of whether the leader is a man or woman.

Researchers who use the social structural perspective focus on different social roles

that men and women are expected to play in society (Eagly, 1987). And, the

interpersonal interaction perspective examines how leaders interact with their

superiors, coworkers, and subordinates (Korabik & Ayman, 2007).

A meta-analysis study by Eagly and Johnson (1990) found that contrary to

popular notions women were not found to lead in more interpersonally oriented and

less task oriented manner. Other research found there are expectations that women

leaders will be communal (demonstrate mothering qualities) and women who are assertive, directive, or dominant can be disliked or penalized for behaving like a man which undermines their ability to wield influence (Eagly & Carli, 2007). As leaders, women are also held to a higher standard of performance and considered too weak to be effective leaders because they are not tough enough (Eagly & Carli, 2007).

Glass ceiling. Literature on women leaders has focused on the glass ceiling, an invisible barrier that prevents women from attaining elite leadership positions (Northouse, 2007; Maume, 1999). This barrier has been explained by women having less capital investment in training and work experience (Eagly & Carli, 2004), disproportionate responsibility for child rearing and domestic duties (Bowles & McGinn, 2005), self-selecting themselves out of leadership tracks, and choosing the "mommy track" (Belkin, 2003; Ehrlich, 1989). Women respond to work/home conflict in various ways, choosing to be superwomen, or choosing part-time employment, later finding re-entry difficult (Bowles & McGinn, 2005; Hewlett, 2002; Nieva & Gutek, 1981). Research to date suggests women have less work experience and more career breaks than men because women assume more domestic responsibility (Northouse, 2007). Also, women receive fewer developmental opportunities at work which can affect the perception of their qualifications as women leaders (Northouse, 2007).

Pathway to the Presidency

Increasing the pool of associate and full professors is critical to increasing women's access to academic leadership opportunities (Riera et al., 2008). Also, professional development opportunities for women increases social capital that

women need to attain administrative leadership positions. Similar to the literature on women faculty, factors that affect women's under representation in academic leadership include: 1) inequitable access to the professional and social networks that facilitate advancement, 2) work-life balance issues, and 3) differential expectations of women leaders based on gender (Armenti, 2004; Niemeier & Gonzalez, 2004; Riera et al., 2008; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2007).

In the past decade, women's share of full-time administrative positions in higher education grew from 45% in 1997 to 53% in 2007 (Ryu, 2010). In 2007, White women held 41% of full-time administrator positions (White men held 39%), while minority women accounted for 11% (minority men held 7%). White women held a greater share of administrator positions than White men or minorities (Ryu, 2010).

The American College President: 2007 Edition is the most cited resource on college presidents from all sectors of higher education. Because survey participants in 2006 were 2,148, representing half of (approximately 4,000) higher education institutions, there may be missing information on college presidents. *The American College President: 2007 Edition* revealed the most typical position leaders held prior to becoming president was chief academic officer or provost; 40% of presidents came from this position. In addition, 85% of this group served as faculty or academic administrators before becoming chief academic officer. Other first-time presidents came from associate provost or dean positions, and more than 80% became president from academic administrative or faculty roles. In addition 23% held senior executive positions in non-academic areas such as finance, development, and student affairs, while 5% served as faculty or department chairs, and 17% worked outside higher

education. Since 70% of presidents served as faculty members at some point within

their academic careers, this is a critical position and point of entry to the presidential

career pathway.

The American College President: 2007 Edition survey data indicated that the

average age of women senior administrators was 52 years, younger than their male

counterparts, who were 54 years.
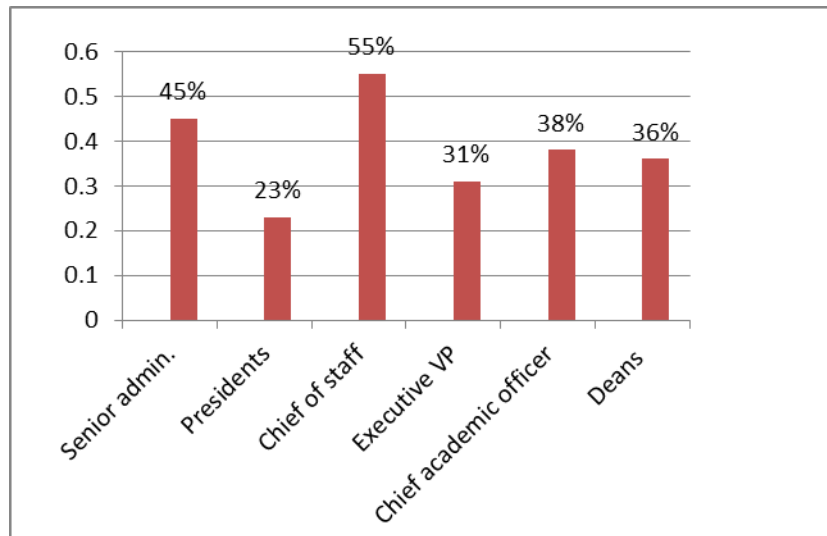
Figure 3. Women Senior Administrator Positions in 2007. Adapted
from J. King and G. Gomez (2008). On the pathway to the presidency
characteristics of higher education's senior leadership. p.4. Copyright
2008 by the American Council on Education.

As shown in Figure 3, women were more likely to hold positions other than president:

45% of senior administrators were women, compared with 23% of presidents. The

proportion of women among senior administrators is growing and ranges from

approximately 55% for chiefs of staff and chief diversity officers to 31% for

executive vice presidents (King & Gomez, 2008). Women held 38% of chief

academic officers, and 36% of deans of academic colleges. At different institutional

types, women were more likely to serve in central academic affair roles and typically

held staff not line positions. Fifty percent of all central senior academic affairs

officers were women (King & Gomez, 2008).
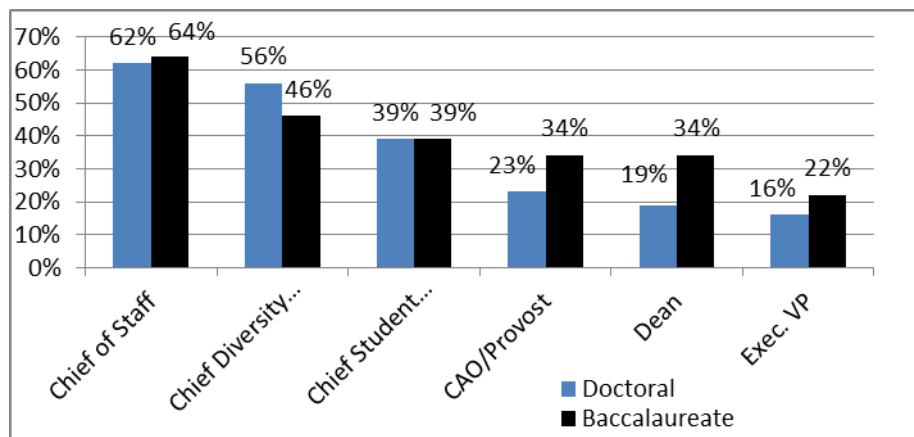
Figure 4. Characteristics of Senior Administrators: Doctoral Granting and
Baccalaureate Institutions In 2007. Adapted from J. King and G. Gomez (2008). On
the pathway to the presidency characteristics of higher education's senior leadership.
p.8,11. Copyright 2008 by the American Council on Education.

As displayed in Figure 4, at doctoral granting institutions, women are 62% of chiefs

of staff, 56% of chief diversity officers, 39% of chief student affair officers, 23% of

chief academic officers/provost, 19% deans, and 16% of executive vice presidents

(King & Gomez, 2008). "The low share of women in senior academic roles is

especially troubling, because these positions are the primary pathways to the

presidency" (King & Gomez, 2008, p. 8). At master's institutions, women are better

represented among chief academic officers than at either doctoral-granting or

baccalaureate institutions. There appears to be a significant pool of women and racial

and ethnic minorities serving as chief academic officers who could be promoted to fill

presidential vacancies (King & Gomez, 2008). At baccalaureate institutions women

hold 63% of chief of staff positions and 3% of central senior academic affairs officers

to 22% of executive vice president positions. In associate institutions, women have

the highest proportion of women in senior administrative roles of any institutional

type, with more than half (52%) of these positions held by women (King & Gomez, 2008). Besides holding a significant share of positions as chief external affairs officer, chief of staff, chief student affairs officers, women occupy 59% of central senior academic affairs positions. Women are more likely to serve as chief academic officer (43%) or dean of an academic college (45%) at an associate institution than any other type of institution (King & Gomez, 2008).

Women Presidents and Academic Leaders

Women made considerable gains in the past two decades in attaining college and university presidencies. In 1986, women were only 10% of presidents, but by 2006 their numbers had doubled, reaching 23%. Yet, as prestige in the institutional type rose, women's representation declined. While 29% of women were community college presidents, 23% women led baccalaureate institutions, 21% master's institutions, but only 14 % were presidents of doctorate granting institutions (American Council on Education, 2007). The largest number of women-held presidencies occurred at public institutions, 34%, while women led 30% of public special focus universities and 20% of public associate colleges (American Council on Education, 2007, 2007).

In the past decade the number of presidencies held by women at prestigious doctoral granting and liberal arts institutions has been increasing (Table 1). Women presidents come from a range of disciplines: classics, science, mathematics, history, business, law, English, French, economics, and international studies.

Table 1

Women Presidents of Prestigious Doctoral Granting and Liberal Arts Colleges in 2012

Carolyn "Biddy" Martin	Amherst College
Debora Spar	Barnard College
Ruth Simmons	Brown University
Jane Dammen McAuliffe	Bryn Mawr College
Pamela Brooks Gann	Claremont McKenna College
Drew Gilpin Faust	Harvard University
Maria Klawe	Harvey Mudd College
S. Georgia Nugent	Kenyon College
Susan Hockfield	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Lynn Pasquerella	Mt. Holyoke College
Shirley Tilghman	Princeton University
Carol Christ	Smith College
Rebecca Chopp	Swarthmore College
Amy Gutmann	University of Pennsylvania
Catharine Bond Hill	Vassar College
H. Kim Bottomly	Wellesley College

Note: Adapted from J. Goudreau, 2009. Where are all the other women leaders? Copyright 2009 by Forbes.com.

As the numbers of women in the presidency has grown, so has literature focused on their issues. Prevalent themes in the literature on women presidents and academic leaders are leadership styles, commitment to social justice, initiating change, and recognizing leadership as a process and collective effort (Astin & Scherei, 1980; Astin & Leland, 1991; Jablonski, 1996; Madsen, 2008). Jablonski (1996) examined leadership styles of seven women presidents and found that they

built community by empowering others, considered it important to listen to others, valued decision-making as a process and a way of enhancing outcomes. Three leadership styles were adopted by the majority of the presidents: hierarchical, entrepreneurial, and task-oriented (Astin & Scherei, 1980). Faculty expected presidents to exhibit a more participatory style and to be strong and aggressive (Jablonski, 1996).

Astin and Leland's (1991) seminal book, *Women of Influence, Women of Vision*, provides a compelling historical account of three generations of women leaders: Predecessors, Instigators, and Inheritors. Astin and Leland viewed leadership as integral to social change and as a creative process that empowers others to organize collectively for action. This is a major comprehensive study that researched 77 women: 38 leaders in educational institutions, 15 leaders in national education and professional associations, nine heads of special programs for and about women, and 15 scholars and researchers. Findings of this study indicated women leaders conceived of leadership as a process of "working with people and through people." Leaders shared a passionate commitment to social justice and change, and initiated change by identifying problems and accepting complexity as a challenge and an opportunity; they developed networks, emphasized clarity of values, listened to and empowered others, advocated doing one's homework, and displayed good self-awareness.

Whereas previous traditional leadership styles emphasized individualism, hierarchy, and power over others' orientations, contemporary leadership has transformed into a revolutionary leadership style that is process oriented, collective,

context bound, and non-hierarchical (Kezar & Carducci, 2009). Globalization has

required leaders to make faster decisions, utilize technology, operate with changing

demographics, and contend with greater competition (Kezar & Carducci, 2009). New

leadership processes understand the importance of interdependence, cultural

differences, and social adaptivity (Lipman-Bluman, 1996, 2000). Assumptions of

leadership as a socially constructed phenomenon (Kezar, 2002) and a process of

shared power and mutual influence has helped organizations to establish power

environments that promote social justice and positive social change (Astin & Leland,

1991; Meyerson, 2003; Meyerson & Scully, 1995). Research on organizational

environments found innovative solutions developed from organizational learning,

problem solving, and utilizing experimentation and collaboration. In fact, boundary-

spanning networks that promoted information exchange (Kezar & Carducci, 2009)

and team leadership (Bensimon & Neumann, 1993) enhanced creativity and

innovation. Another example of revolutionary leadership, Komives, Lucas, and

McMahon's (1998) relationship leadership framework described relational leadership

as a process wherein individuals worked together to accomplish change or to benefit

the common good. Activities include enhanced team learning, trust, conflict

resolution, developing talent, and self and organizational renewal. Leaders today

work in environments where individuals because of their racial or gender background

are perceived differently. Tools to help leaders navigate context and culture include

understanding how to work in different campus cultures (collegial, developmental,

political/negotiating, and bureaucratic) (Berquist, 1992), different organizational

contexts (Bolman & Deal, 1995), or how to analyze distinct organizational cultures (Rhoads & Tierney, 1992).

In addition to understanding organizational cultures, other researchers studied president leadership styles and changeable attributes to ascertain how women were successful and to provide recommendations for future leaders (ACE, 2005; Darden, 2006; Madsen, 2008; Wolverton, Bower, & Hyle, 2009). Studies revealed that leadership was strongly influenced by social, cultural, and historical context, and leadership is a process of collective effort rather than something one person does in a vacuum (ACE, 2005; Madsen, 2008). Prior to their presidency, presidents developed experience in public speaking, teaching, administration, institutional politics, financial management, and conflict resolution (Touchton, Shavlik & Davis, 1993). Leaders described exercising power with others or sharing power (Astin & Leland, 1991; Garcia, 2009; Madsen, 2008). Building a strong base of support and finding mentors was strongly endorsed (Darden, 2006). Serving on a faculty senate or university committees and attending leadership development programs (e.g., Bryn Mawr HERS, Harvard Institute for Educational Management, Harvard Seminar for New Presidents, ACE Fellows Program) was recommended (Garcia, 2009; Darden, 2006). Presidents and senior officers attend at least one and possibly several of these programs during their term in office as needs, interests, jobs and institutional affiliation change (McDade, 2009). Leaders stressed collaboration, being strong advocates, respecting others and having honesty and integrity (ACE, 2005; Howard-Golladay, 2009; Wolverton, Bower, & Hyle, 2009). Aside from developing a strategic plan and vision and taking risks, presidents endorsed developing effective

communication, listening, writing, and speaking skills and having coursework in finance, accounting, economics, and investments (Darden, 2006; Harter, 2009; Siegel, 2009). Women presidents were described as consummate communicators who put their values into action and are passionate about the work they do (Darden, 2006; Schockley-Zalabak, 2009).

Summary

Women entered higher education through diverse institutions, valuing knowledge, vocation, and identity apart from their family (Solomon, 1985). Literature chronicling the 1880s through 1920s illustrated the portraits of academic women at liberal arts colleges and women's colleges (Baker, 1976; Finch 1947; Palmieri, 1983; Wells, 1978). By the 1900s, the term "new woman" described the new professional women who exhibited an independent spirit and control over their lives by their economic independence and professionalism; this "new woman" stood for self-development not self-sacrifice or deference to her family's needs (Bordin, 1993).

Current literature on women faculty focuses on representation, equity, and advancement (Fairweather & Rhoads, 1995; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Lomperis, 1990. Women faculty experience a "chilly" climate (Sandler, 1986) and structural characteristics related to gender inequality across higher education institutions (Fairweather & Rhoads, 1995). Numerous scholars found that women's representation tended to decrease as the following factors increase: institutional prestige, level of selectivity (e.g., student entrance criteria), student population, absence of women's studies programs, research productivity, federal funding, and Carnegie Classification (Bach & Perucci, 1984; Konrad & Pfeffer 1991). Research

conducted by Mason and Goulden (2002) concluded that women dropped out of the tenure track not because they were denied tenure, but because of family issues, wanting to have babies, and to start their families. Other research on women faculty from early career to tenure indicated that women advance more slowly than men and were less likely to achieve tenure (Bellas & Toutkoushian, 1999; UC Berkeley, 2003) and women with children and women who are married were less likely to enter tenure track positions (Goulden, Frasch, & Mason, 2009; Perna, 2005; Thomas, 2005).

Studies indicated women leaders are expected to be communal (demonstrate mothering qualities) and are held to a higher standard of performance (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Women experienced the "glass ceiling" barrier which was partly attributed to having less capital investment in training and work experience (Eagly & Carli, 2004) and disproportionate responsibility for child rearing and domestic duties (Bowles & McGinn, 2005). Yet, the pipeline to the university presidency is growing as the proportion of women senior administrators currently ranges from 55% for chiefs of staff and chief diversity officers to 31% for executive vice presidents (King & Gomez, 2008). Women have made considerable gains in the past two decades in attaining college and university presidencies: 29% of women are community college presidents, 23% of women lead baccalaureate institutions, 21% master's institutions, but only 14% are presidents of doctorate granting institutions (American Council on Education, 2007).

Women of Color in Higher Education

Having examined the issues for women in higher education, the following sections focus individual attention on American Indian, African American, Asian American Pacific Islander and Latina women. Each of these groups has a unique history, cultural differences, and experiences in academe. However, the literature on women of color recognizes common themes for all groups: hostile climates (Padilla & Chavez, 1995; Tippeconnic Fox, 2009), isolation (Acevedo, 1979; Howard Vital, 1989), overt and subtle racism (Myers, 2002; Woo, 1989), prejudice and discrimination (Loo & Chun, 2002; Moore & Wagstaff, 1985), and gender bias (Nieves Squire, 1991; Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). Tokenism, as the only woman of color hired in a department, contributes to her devaluation, and makes her feel isolated (Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Hune, 1998; St. Jean & Feagin, 1998). For some groups, stereotypes based on gender and racial stereotypes (i.e. model minority, or good mother or affirmative action hire) create difficulties for women of color to be seen as competent faculty or administrators (Hune, 1998; Nieves Squire, 1991; St. Jean & Feagin, 1998). Language bias is also prominent for first generation Asian American Pacific Islanders and Latinas (Cho, 1996; Hune & Chan, 1997; Nieves Squire, 1991).

In addition to facing bias, stereotypes and isolation, because of their ethnic heritage, women of color often find themselves caught between two cultures, trying to navigate between traditional values and modern demands. Oftentimes they experience being an "outsider" or the "other" (Gregory, 1995; Hune, 1998; Nieves Squire, 1991).

Considered double minorities, women of color in higher education experience the glass ceiling (Nakanishi, 1995; De los Santos 2008).

Women of color cite finding support through mentoring and networking critical for them to survive in academe, thus giving them a sense of empowerment (Gregory, 1995; Murata, 2006; Stein, 1996; Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). Also, ethnic support groups and women's commissions enable women of color to access information and decision-making at many levels of the university (Matthews, 1992; Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). Furthermore, for some women of color, family and church are strong support systems outside of professional settings (Hughes, 2009; Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). Women of color presidents come from families that instilled strength and confidence in them; they dedicate themselves to their communities and serve with a desire to create change (Garcia, 2009; Hughes, 2009; Manuelito-Kerkvliet, 2005; Tseng, 2005).

American Indian Women in Higher Education

Historical Context

American Indian participation in higher education must be seen in the context of historical events which has affected current participation and leadership roles for American Indian women. Chesler, Lewis and Crowfoot (2005) chronicle the history of American Indians as targets for assimilation in the 1880s, as they were sent to White controlled boarding schools which were "… designed to assimilate, allegedly uncivilized Indians and destroy tribal cultures" (p.3). Children were forcibly removed from their families and sent to reservation and non-reservation boarding schools where they were forced to wear school uniforms and punished for speaking their native languages (LaFlesche 1963; Standing Bear 1975). Kidwell (1994) describes this education as oftentimes resulting in the loss of their tribal identity. Schools were operated by the Federal Bureau of Indian affairs or by Christian groups that received government subsidies. Scholars termed this an Indian war against American Indian children who were forced to assimilate or be extinguished (Chesler, Lewis & Crowfoot, 2005).

There are limited accounts of American Indian women's participation in colleges and universities in early U.S. history (Crum, 2007). Research revealed a few Choctaw women attended higher education in the early nineteenth century (Crum, 2007). In 1873 it was noted that the Choctaw Nation usually sent equal numbers of men and women to be educated paid for by the 'Forty Youth Fund' (Crum, 2007). Women though educated were less visible some became "influential advisors and

indirect politicians" (Crum, 2007, p. 12). A few college educated women took on prominent roles, superintendent of an all-male school, founder of a women's organization, and supervisor of the Oklahoma State Historical Society Museum (Crum, 2007). Choctaw women attended Oklahoma State University, Wheaton College, Drury College and Southeastern State University (Crum, 2007). The women who attended college in 1830 to 1907 were from leading families and had a small amount of Choctaw blood. Research also shows that several of the women from the 1880s and 1890s were full bloods, as the national council believed in geographic representation and did not disqualify individuals because of blood quantum or socioeconomic background (Crum, 2007).

In 1975, American Indian groups lobbied for the passage of the American Indian Self-determination and Education Improvement Act, which enabled tribes to assume management of various programs including education on a contract basis from the Bureau of Indian affairs (Chesler, Lewis & Crowfoot, 2005). However, there were many barriers to American Indians postsecondary success. Suicide rates double that of other racial ethnic minority groups, alcohol related mortalities, and increased high percentage of single-parent headed households were challenging factors for postsecondary completion rates (Manuelito-Kerkvliet, 2005). Cultural and language differences were difficult for students (Pavel, et al., 2001) and geographic location of reservations were isolating and inhibited student access and persistence in mainstream colleges and universities (Manuelito-Kerkvliet, 2005).

Tribal Colleges and Universities

Tribal colleges and universities (TCU) developed in response to the higher education needs of American Indians with the support of two presidential executive orders that integrated tribal colleges in federal funding formulas (Manuelito-Kerkvliet, 2005). In 1968, the Navajo Community College Assistance Act was followed by the Tribally Controlled College Assistance Act in 1976 (Manuelito-Kerkvliet, 2005). Currently there are 33 tribal colleges and universities that serve geographically isolated populations who would have no other means of accessing postsecondary education (AIHEC-TC, 2010). They are located principally on reservations in the upper Midwest, Southwest, and Northern Plains regions; their unique mission is "to combine personal attention with cultural relevance" thereby helping American Indians overcome the barriers to higher education (Manuelito-Kerkvliet, 2005, p. 18).

In 1972, the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) was founded by six tribal presidents to "influence policy, establish higher education programs, and network with federal agencies, other institutions and each other to address the evolving needs of tribal higher education associations" (Schilling, 2009, p.2). Current CEO, Carrie Billy, advocates for her community and believes AIHEC is the way to strengthen tribal nations (Schilling, 2009).

Over the past decade, American Indians made little progress in increasing their representation of faculty, administrators, or presidents in mainstream universities (Ryu, 2010). Undergraduate enrollment in 2007 was approximately 1%. In 1997, American Indians were 0.4% of all full-time faculty at colleges and

universities and in 2007 they represented 0.5% (Ryu, 2010). American Indian men

slightly outnumbered women in faculty posts (51% to 49%) (Ryu, 2010).
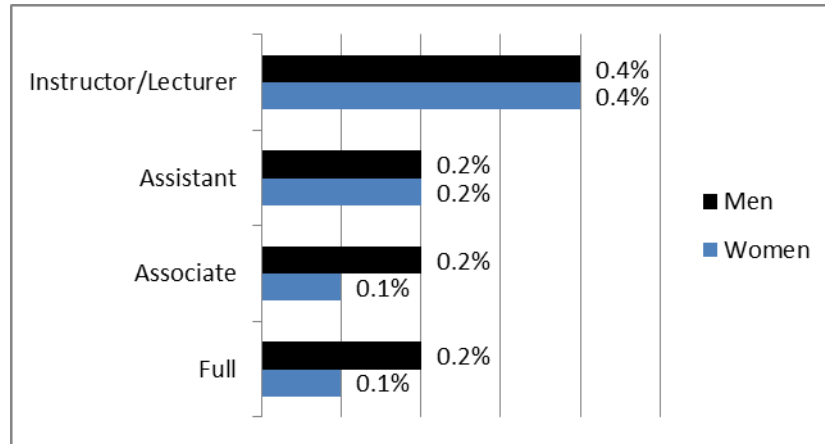
Figure 5. Comparison of American Indian Women and Men Faculty in 2007.
Adapted from M. Ryu (2010). Minorities in higher education: Twenty-fourth
status report. p.114-117. Copyright 2010 by the American Council on
Education.

As Figure 5 indicates, American Indian women and men have very small

representation from Instructor/Lecturer rank to Full professor rank (0.4% to 0.1%).

However, that same year, in administrative positions women outnumbered men, 58%

to 42% (Ryu, 2010). American Indians represented 0.6% of full-time college and

university administrators and in 2007 were 0.7% of presidents in 2006, with men

slightly outpacing women in presidential positions (53% to 47%). According to the

American Indian higher education consortium tribal college and university roster,

American Indian women hold 16 presidencies out of 33 tribal colleges, representing

48% (AIHEC-TC, 2010).

Tribal Values and Culture

Scholars emphasize the importance of tribal values and culture in tribal colleges (Tippeconnic Fox, 2009; Voorhees, 2004; Schilling, 2009; Pember, 2008; Valdata, 2008). As Haskell Indian Nations University fourth president and first woman president, Karen Gayton Swisher, referenced "giving back" as consistent with Haskell's institutional values – responsibility, respect, cooperation, and honesty (Swisher, 2005, p.131). Changing Indian county to help strengthen the tribal nations, or providing service to the community is cited as important to help increase educational opportunities for others (Tippeconnic Fox, 2009; Voorhees, 2009; Schilling, 2009). Dr. Linda Warner, President of Haskell Indian Nations University stresses "Indian country is about community, not competition and ego" (Valdata, 2008, p.2) with an emphasis on helping Comanche youth achieve and be a success (Valdata, 2008). Culture influences leadership and American Indian women leaders describe anticipating, listening, observing before speaking or participating (Swisher, 2005; Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). American Indian women have a strong commitment to education for the purpose of serving her community (Swisher, 2005; Tippeconnic Fox, 2009).

Maintaining Balance

Issues around maintaining balance, whether between family and work or spirituality are important for American Indians (ACE, 2005; Manuelito-Kerkvliet, 2005; Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). Tippeconnic Fox (2009) discovered that women doctoral students found it difficult to balance family with academic demands especially when the institution did not provide supports such as childcare. One

student transferred to another institution to find better resources. "Hozho" a Navajo term, refers to having balance in all aspects of one's life. Manuelito-Kerkvliet (2005) claims "Hozho" to have spiritual, intellectual, physical and emotional balance in her life. American Indian doctoral students expressed finding a balance between their personal lives in school was important to them by taking care of themselves physically, mentally, and spiritually, using counseling and practicing their customs and beliefs (Pember, 2008; Tippeconnic Fox, 2009).

Tippeconnic Fox, one of the few authors that writes about American Indian women in higher education, authored two significant studies on American Indian women doctoral students and faculty: *American Indian Women in Higher Education: Navigating the Doctorate* (2009) and *American Indian Women in Academia: The Joys and Challenges* (2008). In her studies, women doctoral students and faculty described the multiple challenges of gender bias, stereotypes, discrimination and isolation in mainstream universities (Tippeconnic Fox, 2008, 2009).

Tippeconnic Fox (2009) interviewed 13 American Indian women who earned doctorates between 2003 and 2008 and found they experienced overt and covert acts of gender bias, racism, discrimination, stereotypes, hostility, and exclusion in their doctoral programs. Cultural traditions and tribal backgrounds were not respected and the perpetuation of stereotypes and misinformation about American Indians was common in lectures (Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). American Indian women experienced gender bias from professors, making them feel inferior to their classmates. Students internalized the racism and questioned their identity as a result. Faculty made stereotypes about Indians in class and made "generalizations and excuses for

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assimilation policies" (Tippeconnic Fox, 2009, p. 2). Students who were the only

native student in their program or one of a small number on campus described

isolation, exclusion and loneliness, and were often singled out as a spokesperson

(Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). They received inaccurate and inappropriate comments such

as "you will get good grades because professors like minorities" or, "you will get jobs

because of your gender and race" (Tippeconnic Fox,

2009, p. 2).

Finding Support

Support systems helped American Indian doctoral women survive in academe

and gave them a sense of empowerment (Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). Drawing upon

family and friends, professors, mentors, advisors, Indian organizations, groups or

centers, American Indian doctoral women found spiritual, emotional, financial, and

hands-on support (Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). Some women did not have American

Indian professors and staff in their programs, but were able to find support from

faculty of color and non-native staff within and outside their respective programs

(Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). Having a strong cultural identity enabled them to feel

empowered and take strength from knowing their heritage and having a strong sense

of self (Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). An organization called the American Indian Science

and Engineering Society (AISES) was created to increase the representation of

American Indian and Alaska natives in engineering, science and other related

technology disciplines (Pember, 2008). Leaders introduced prayer since spirituality is

a strength in the American Indian community. Elders were supportive of young

people who wanted to preserve culture and meld it with STEM issues (Pember, 2008).

Retaining Faculty

Few studies, reports and essays have been done on the experience of American Indian faculty, partly because of their small numbers and many projects do not include American Indians (Turner & Myers, 2000). In many national studies, American Indians have been ignored or placed in the "other" category (Turner & Myers, 2000). Native faculty are often seen as the "Indian experts" on all matters related to native issues (Turner & Myers, 2000). Identity is a key concern for native faculty for it is difficult for them to maintain ties to their Indian community and participate in an academic community (Turner & Myers, 2000).

American Indian faculty at four year mainstream universities revealed that a lack of mentoring in departments affected American Indian faculty retention and made it necessary to go outside the department for intellectual support (Stein, 1996; Tippeconnic Fox, 2008). Institutional commitment to hiring American Indian faculty, and chairs helping new faculty acclimate by finding a mentor who could help them learn departmental rules and expectations, is needed (Stein, 1996). Developing supportive environments where the climate allows one who has a tribal identity to be held in high esteem, having resources for programs and research, encouraging a productive research agenda, and finding ways to balance teaching service and scholarship was recommended to retain American Indian faculty (Tippeconnic Fox, 2008). American Indian women faculty enjoy academic freedom and autonomy, pursuing their research agendas, teaching and working with students, and serving

their tribal communities (Tippeconnic Fox, 2008). Yet, American Indian women faculty experience racial/ethnic and gender bias, isolation, and being treated as the token (Tippeconnic Fox, 2008). American Indian faculty service to the university community or extended non-institutional community by serving on committees or writing grants, being a role model and mentor to students, and the importance of this service to tenure and promotion should be acknowledged by the department chair and dean of the college (Stein, 1996).

A survey of TCU faculty revealed that TCUs are more altruistic compared to mainstream universities; the gap between TCU salaries and mainstream salaries was $18,000 in 2002-2003 and TCU faculty seemed to be more satisfied than their peers at other colleges and universities (Voorhees, 2004). Fewer TCU faculty had master's and doctorate degrees compared to other two year public institutions, possibly because more faculty are engaged in native language and cultural transmission fields where less importance is place on graduate credentials than on community and life experience (Voorhees, 2004). Faculty expressed that they were drawn to TCUs because of altruistic reasons not personal gain. Their interest in serving at tribal colleges was driven by a desire to make a difference in their student's lives, teach American Indian students, and develop educational opportunities for their communities (Voorhees, 2004).

A need to develop native faculty exists, but TCUs have not placed emphasis on developing new native faculty, instead they have focused on developing existing faculty (Tippeconnic & McKinney, 2003). Boyer (1989, 1997) from the Carnegie foundation recommended that comprehensive faculty development programs be

established at TCUs. Barriers for TCU faculty include: isolated college locations, limited opportunities to interact with colleagues, limited budgets, young developing institutions, heavy teaching loads, work in the native and nonnative cultures, and academically unprepared students (Boyer, 1989, 1997). A survey by Clayton and Born (1998) revealed that TCU faculty expressed high interest in professional development: 80% of faculty stated they would participate in training if it was accessible, and within that group, 34% were interested in obtaining a master's degree, 8% an Ed.D., 34% a Ph.D., and 24% other (unspecified advanced degrees).

Native Leadership

Leadership in native communities is grounded by the principles of community, shared responsibility and cultural appropriateness (Johnson, Benham, VanAlstine, 2003). While western theories of leadership tend to espouse hierarchical relationships, where individuals in positions of power influence followers to pursue organizational goals, native leadership is built on fluid relationships and shared leadership (Johnson, Benham, VanAlstine, 2003). Emphasis is on a community of skilled individuals contributing to the good of the community (Johnson, Benham, & VanAlstine, 2003). Edward Benton-Banai (1975), Ojibwe spiritual leader observes: "A native leader is not known for what he has done for himself, but rather what he has done for his people" (p.1). Coyhis (1993) founder of White Bison, points out that leadership in a Western system is in a "separated" system, where individuals competing for power and control. In contrast, leadership by natives is in an "interconnected" system, where cooperation, relationships, humility, patience and sharing is central.

Johnson (1997) developed a model of leadership that illustrates the type of leadership of tribal college leaders. He uses the metaphor of native leaders as weavers of change; in basket weaving, the weaver is "the facilitator of a group whose purpose is to weave a basket that is both functional and aesthetically pleasing and carries in its designs respect for tribal history and culture" (Johnson, 1997, p. 152). Five themes emerge in his leadership model: leaders serve the community by creating positive social change; they claim their voice for their people and their community; they demonstrate and model ways that education is key to cultural survival and self-determination; they travel across boundaries and strengthen others' abilities to look out into the broader world and envision new possibilities for the future; they nurture their inner spirit and sustain their soul, to maintain a sense of balance in their lives, ensuring their work and life has meaning and balance (Johnson, 1997).

American Indian Women Presidents

Literature regarding American Indian women presidents focused on tribal college presidents with the exception of Dr. Cassandra Manuelito-Kerkvliet, president of Antioch University in Seattle, Washington. As the only American Indian women to lead a mainstream university, Dr. Manuelito-Kerkvliet cites her Navajo heritage as a strength that has carried her into leadership today (Pember, 2008). Her grandfather Chief Manuelito, one of the signers of the 1868 treaty for the Navajos, taught her that education would create a pathway to success (Pember, 2008). Early influences of American Indian presidents were family especially mothers who taught them the value of hard work, expected them to pursue higher education, or teachers that instilled a love for books (Pember, 2008; Schilling, 2009; Valdata, 2008). One

American Indian president cited her law background and interning for a U.S. senator as important training to becoming AIHEC CEO (Schilling, 2009).

American Indian women presidents, Dr. Linda Warner (Comanche) of Haskell Indian Nations University and Dr. Laurel Vermillion of the Hunkpapa-Lakota tribe, President of Sitting Bull College stressed their tribal background as a strength, their focus on future generations, and their presidencies unexpected (Pember, 2008; Valdata, 2008). Finding balance with their lives, being comfortable with themselves and others and being recognized for what they did, gave these leaders a sense of success and feeling of satisfaction to be able to help their students and communities (Ressler, 2008).

Research showed that American Indian women who held leadership positions (presidents, vice presidents and deans) attributed education and opportunities for their current positions as leaders within tribal colleges and universities (Ressler, 2008). Studies revealed that American Indian women who had attended a year-long leadership program made little use of informal mentoring strategies (Manuelito-Kerkvliet, 2005). Inclusive practices of mentoring were recommended to help new leaders acclimate to understanding social and professional connections that could help them navigate complexities of higher education in their early years as tribal college administrators (Manuelito-Kerkvliet, 2005).

Summary of American Indian Women in Higher Education

In this section, literature on American Indian women in higher education is discussed within the historical context of the education of American Indians who were sent to boarding schools, stripped of their culture and language, and forcibly

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assimilated (Chesler, Lewis and Crowfoot, 2005; LaFlesche 1963; Standing Bear 1975). Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCU) were formed in 1968 and currently there are 33 tribal colleges that serve geographically isolated populations (AIHEC-TC, 2010). Literature on TCU emphasizes tribal values and culture, providing service and giving back to the community (Pember, 2008; Schilling, 2009; Swisher, 2005; Tippeconnic Fox, 2009; Valdata, 2008; Voorhees, 2009). American Indian women doctoral students in mainstream universities describe maintaining balance with family and academic demands (Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). Experiencing overt and covert acts of gender bias, racism, discrimination, stereotypes, hostility and exclusion in academe, American Indian women felt their cultural traditions and tribal backgrounds were not respected (Tippeconnic Fox, 2008, 2009). Finding support was critical for retention and many American Indian women drew upon networks of family, friends, mentors and advisors for empowerment (Pember, 2009; Tippeconnic Fox, 2008, 2009). Two surveys on American Indian faculty found that mentorship was important and faculty in TCUs were more satisfied than their peer public institutions (Stein, 1992; Voorhees, 2004). Native leadership emphasizes skilled individuals contributing to the good of the community (Benton-Banai, 1975, Coyhis, 1993; Johnson, 1997; Johnson, Benham & VanAlstine, 2003). Literature on American Indian women presidents cited tribal heritage as a strength and family as an important influence and motivator; the connection between culture and leadership and informal mentoring was helpful in navigating the complexities of higher education (Manuelito-Kerkvliet, 2005; Pember, 2008; Schilling, 2009; Valdata, 2008).

Very little literature exists about American Indian women graduate students, faculty, administrators, and presidents within mainstream universities because of their small numbers and the lack of attention to this topic. Because of the emphasis on community and serving one another, how power and politics play out in native leadership in TCUs may look different than in mainstream universities. Literature that focuses on power and politics in TCU and the experience of American Indian women leaders in mainstream universities is needed. The literature on American Indian presidents of TCUs is emerging but there is a literature gap in studies of their paths to leadership, attributes, and challenges.

African American Women in Higher Education

In 1850, Oberlin College conferred the first diploma to an African American woman, Lucy Stanton Sessions (Evans, 2007). Yet, it was not until 1921 that the first three Black women received Ph.D.'s in the subjects of English philology, German and Economics at Radcliffe, University of Chicago, and the University of Pennsylvania respectively. In administration, the first dean of woman was Lucy Slowe (1923-1937) at Howard University, 1923-1937, who was 'enormously influential' and encouraged students to become well rounded and perform acts that challenged themselves (Evans, 2007). These pioneers led the way for other African American women to enter the doors of American higher education (Evans, 2007).

A historical study of African American women in higher education, from 1850 to the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education case demonstrated that as teachers and administrators Black women, "overcame barriers and participated in formal and informal intellectual pursuits; educational attainment was tied to community service and as a group maintained an epistemological standpoint that assumed a connection between educational attainment and social responsibility" (Evans, 2007, p. 178). Evans posits the existence of a standpoint social contract for Black women, based on Rousseau's Social Contract (1762), Pateman's (1988) Sexual Contract and Mills' (1997) Racial Contract. Placing Black women in a subjugated position, this contract insisted that Black women be ignorant, silent, and subservient and excluded from political participation and social equity. However, despite ever present structural

barriers, Black women developed agency through their historic powers of negotiation (Evans, 2007).

An advocate of agency and oppositional knowledge, Collin's (1998) "outsider-within" describes a location of people that do not belong to one group or exist within "social locations or border spaces occupied by groups of unequal power" (p.5). Black women have unique histories at the intersections of systems of power, and have created world views out of a need for self-definition and to work on behalf of social justice (Collins, 1998). Black women are ideal outsiders-within, in that they are marginalized (as women and as Blacks) yet able to move through various communities. Collins perceives the result of this boundary crossing to be a particular collective viewpoint known as the Black feminist standpoint. Unlike elite knowledge or oppositional knowledge derived from resisting only one kind of oppression, "outsider-within" positions "can produce distinctive oppositional knowledge that embraces multiplicity yet remains cognizant of power" (Collins, 1998, p.8).

Representation in Academe

From 1997-2007, African Americans recorded 145,000 bachelor degrees conferred, an increase of 52% from 1997 (Ryu, 2010). Undergraduate enrollment in 2007 was 12%. African American women received twice as many associate and bachelor degrees compared to African American men except in three STEM fields: computer and information sciences, engineering, and mathematics. African American women outpaced men in the growth of master's degrees and doctoral degrees in all selected fields except in engineering (Ryu, 2010). Over the past decade the number of African American faculty and administrators has been increasing. African American

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faculty full time faculty comprised 4.9% in 1997 compared to 5.4% in 2007 (Ryu,

2010). African American women increased the most, African American women were

4.1% compared to men 2.7%; at the assistant professor level women were 3.6%

compared to men, 2.7%; at the associate professor level women were 2.9% compared

to men at 5.5%; at the full professor level women were 1.3% compared to men at

2.1%.
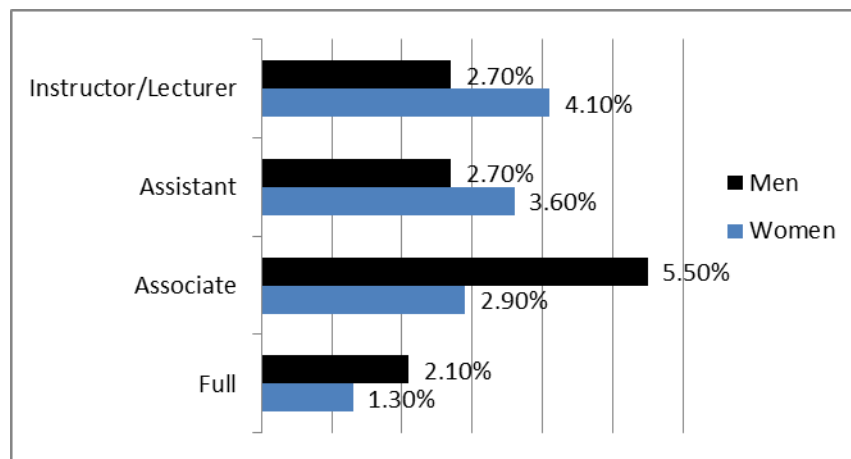
Figure 6. Comparison of African American Women and Men Faculty in
2007. Adapted from M. Ryu (2010). Minorities in higher education: Twenty-
fourth status report. p.114-117. Copyright 2010 by the American Council on
Education.

As Figure 6 illustrates, African American women have the largest representation at

the Instructor/Lecturer rank (4.1%), but there is a drop from Assistant to Associate

(3.6% to 2.9%) with the least representation at the full professor rank (1.3%). As full

time administrators in higher education, African Americans accounted for 10% in

2007 (Ryu, 2010).

In 1990, only 18 of 133 higher education institutions were led by African

American women. African American women presidencies increased to 38 by 1998,

with the majority serving in community colleges and historically Black institutions (Hamilton, 2004).The 2007 membership directory of the Presidents' Round Table of the National Council on Black American Affairs (an affiliate of the American Association of Community Colleges) lists 40 African American women community college presidents. Today, African American women presidents are 22% of the nation's 120 historically Black colleges and universities (Bower & Wolverton, 2009). Only four African American women lead predominantly White four year institutions. *The American College President: 2007 Edition* lists 6% African American college and university presidents in 2006, with 31% of the presidencies held by African Americans women (Ryu, 2010).

Research on African American Women

Scholars agree there is a dearth of studies on African-American women in academe whose concerns and perspectives have remained largely unexamined and addressed (Singh et al., 1995). Evidence suggests that African-American women faculty and administrators face sexism and racism and confront special challenges in promotion and tenure (Sandler, 1986). Because faculty of color are small in numbers, they are not viewed as an important focus of research; and White faculty do not believe faculty of color can be objective when researching their own community (Stanley, 2006).

Early studies examined the concerns and perspectives of African-Americans in the college professoriate and administration and treated them as monolithic: what is true for African-American men is true for African-American women (Björk & Thompson, 1989; Blackwell, 1989; Brown, 1987, 1988; Moses, 1989). Most have not

examined the special problems that minority faculty face as a group, ignoring gender-based differences or coping strategies and interactions of African-American women in different racial and sexual contexts (Howard-Vital, 1989; Moses, 1989). Smith and Stewart (1983) asserted that researchers have only recently begun to recognize and study unique characteristics of male and female African-Americans. Studies that focus on women faculty and administrators have also examined them as one group and have not examined differences based on race (Ekstrom, 1979). Neglect of scholars studying African-American women demonstrates an inability to see contextual interactions that are "pivotal to defining commonalities and differences between racism and sexism" (Smith & Stewart, 1983, p.12).

Barriers for African American Women

Research on African American women in academe describes hostile work environments and difficult campus climates affecting their participation in the university system (Frierson, 1990; Granger, 1993; Moore & Wagstaff, 1985; Myers, 2002; Turner & Myers, 2000). Adverse policies affecting rank and salary, promotions, prejudice, discrimination and underrepresentation are key factors that inhibit their participation and contribute to derailing Black women scholar's success (Frierson, 1990; Granger, 1993; Williams, 1986). Moore and Wagstaff (1985) surveyed 3000 Black women scholars and reported that 95% of all respondents indicated they had experienced discrimination at their institution. Black women doctorates, who had the same training and experience as men, received differential salaries described this as employment discrimination (Tobin, 1981). African American women experience everyday racism, sometimes subtle or blatant and

stereotyping that leads to patronizing treatment (Moses, 1989; Myers, 2002). Moses (1989) argued African American women experience "double bias"; they are judged on preconceived notions about women and Blacks, and are not respected— only tolerated.

Another theme impacting African American women scholars is vulnerability (Crawford & Smith, 2005; Harry, 1996; Jeffries & Generett, 2003). Lack of sensitivity towards minorities in most universities has made African American female administrators particularly vulnerable in the system (Crawford & Smith, 2005). Qualitative research is an informed subjectivity, where individuals are influenced by the macro culture and micro-cultures with which they identify, and researchers conduct their work from locations that are valuable (Harry, 1996). This interactive aspect of identity helps Black women make sense of their existence within the institution, as they fight to have their work published to increase understanding about this position of vulnerability (Jeffries & Generett, 2003).

Tokenism and stereotyping also contribute to African American women's devaluation (Edwards & Camblin, 1998; St. Jean & Feagin, 1998; Myers, 2002). When a department has only one African American female faculty, this individual is held up as the department's symbol of diversity. As the "token" African-American woman, she is particularly aware of her singular status, that she does not fit the mold and is considered the "other" (Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Myers, 2002; Stanley, 2006).

Racism and Sexism

Scholars interrogate the intersection of race and gender and query whether racism or sexism is greater for African American women (Bassett, 1992; Benjamin, 1991; Hoke, 1997; Lerner 1992; Myers, 2002). Benjamin (1991) found that in a given situation the combination of both racial and sexual components makes it difficult to discern which is operating. African American women claimed that racism had a greater effect on them than sexism (Myers, 2002). Race and gender in a historically southern White male dominated institution, took on a particular significance for both Black men and females of color who were considered lesser individuals compared to White men (Myers, 2002).

Lerner (1992) articulated:

> Black women have always been more conscious and more handicapped by race oppression than by sex oppression. They have been subject to all the restrictions against Blacks and those against women. In no area of life, have they ever been permitted to attain higher levels of status than white women (p.xxii).

Perceived as having a lack of status and power, Black women were treated in a superficial manner, or viewed in terms of their sexuality (Moore & Wagstaff, 1974; Moses, 1989). This results in sex discrimination, sexual harassment, social distancing, and a lack of collegiality (Lewis, 1977; Moses, 1989).

Furthermore, African American women experience institutional and individual racism in the academy (McGowan, 2000; Stanley, 2006). Policies and practices disadvantage them based on their racial group, nationality, gender, or sexual

orientation; students challenge their credentials and they are questioned by parents about their knowledge, teaching skills, and grading schemes (Stanley, 2006). Studies of African-American faculty noted classroom challenges appear to be age and gender dependent; African-American women faculty who are 35 years of age or younger appeared to face greater challenges from White female students in their 20s, while those who are 40 years or older appear to face challenges from students in nontraditional age groups (McGowan, 2000).

Affirmative action hires. Described as "twofers" being Black and female, African American women are known as affirmative action hires regardless of whether they were hired under the program or not (St. Jean & Feagin, 1998). African American women's credentials, qualifications and merit are questioned because they are suspected of being affirmative action hires (Banks, 1984; Blackwell, 1987; Moore, 1987, 1988; Moses, 1989; Stanley, 2006).

Loneliness, Isolation, and Burnout

Feelings of loneliness, isolation and burnout are experienced by African American women in academe because of their few numbers (Atwater, 1995a; Crawford & Smith, 2005; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Gregory 1999; Phelps, 1995; Singh et al., 1995). African-Americans experience feelings of isolation, are overburdened with several tasks, and conflicted between their scholarly pursuits and numerous committee tasks (Howard-Vital, 1989). As a result of requests for participation on committees, African American faculty often experience burnout and exhaustion (Phelps, 1995).

Research showed African-American women experienced lower satisfaction with their professional lives, differential and negative treatment from colleagues and greater feelings of isolation on campus (Singh et al.,1995). Isolation and lack of mentoring processes are direct influences in low promotion and tenure rates among African American women in academe (Singh et al.,1995). Oftentimes African American women may experience isolation because of the lack of a critical mass. Having other African American women to share common ideas and concerns validate their presence when the institution fails to do so may influence their decision whether to stay at the institution or look for other employment (Gregory, 1999; Phelps, 1995).

Research and Productivity

With so few Black women faculty members and administrators stereotyping of African American women can lead to excessive demands (St. Jean & Feagin, 1998). She is often asked to sit on committees as a multicultural or Black expert on Blacks, solve problems, and handle racial problems (Moses, 1989; St. Jean & Feagin, 1998). These commitments may distract from time that could be used to focus on promotion and tenure (St. Jean & Feagin, 1998). Black females have heavy teaching responsibilities for undergraduates, are expected to respond to time-consuming concerns of African-American students and teach heavier loads than male counterparts which inhibits their success and tenure (Banks, 1984; Crawford & Smith, 2005; Gregory, 1995; Moore & Wagstaff, 1974). African American women also experience challenges regarding their topics of research. An African American women faculty who wrote on diversity issues was told teaching and service were excellent but her scholarship was questionable, since diversity had minimal

significance and her work did not contribute to the diversity literature (Stanley, 2006). Research focused on Black issues and of a social activist nature is trivialized and devalued (Mitchell, 1983; Turner & Myers, 2002).

Black women reported fewer opportunities exist for them to work collaboratively with colleagues, a lack of administrative support and funding for research (Moses, 1989; Singh et al., 1995). Lack of collaboration is not conducive to research productivity because many research projects are jointly conceived and pursued by colleagues therefore, these negative factors appear to act as major obstacles Black women faculty developing knowledge of funding sources as well as their testing of new ideas for research (Singh et al., 1995).

Support Systems

To retain and advance African American women in academe, networks, social supports and mentoring is recommended in the literature (Elmore & Blackburn, 1983, Fries-Britt, 2000; Gregory, 1995; Higginbotham, 1981; Turner & Myers; 2002). Opportunities to interact with other minorities or other Black faculty increases job satisfaction (Elmore & Blackburn, 1983; Higginbotham, 1981). As an "outsider" African American women have difficulty gaining access to inside networks since they are not invited to participate in insider university networks (Gregory,1995). Because African American women are denied access to informal networking, this affects the outcome of departmental decision-making (Myers, 2002). Alliances with faculty are difficult to enter into and therefore African American women faculty remain "outsiders" (Fries-Britt & Kelly, 2005; Myers, 2002). Literature also notes that African American women utilize professional associations, informal and formal

networks, or mentoring type relationships to provide support and guidance to persevere in academe (Fries-Britt, 2000; Fries-Britt & Kelly, 2005; Gregory, 1995). Professional networks can give access to information regarding job opportunities, affirm one's abilities, enable one to share ideas and collaborate on projects, and offer greater professional visibility (Gregory, 1995). Utilizing a "front row" of advisors (family, friends and colleagues) can help one make critical decisions in one's career (Fries-Britt,

2000, p. 47).

Participation in professional organizations provides formal networks that provide African American women the opportunity to network with other professional women of color (Harris, 1990; Hetherinton & Bracelo, 1985; Matthews, 1992). Also, African American female college presidents and chief executive officers are involved in a variety of professional, civic and social organizations (Harris, 1990). These networking opportunities enable women to empower other women by gaining expertise and knowledge (Hetherinton & Bracelo, 1985). Further, ethnic support groups and women's commissions enable women of color to gain access to information and decision-making of many levels of the university (Matthews, 1992).

Mentoring. Scholars agree that mentoring is a strategy to facilitate the professional growth, job satisfaction and advancement of African-American faculty and to increase their numbers in predominantly White institutions (Cartledge, Gardner, & Tillman, 1995; Crawford & Smith, 2005; Tillman, 2001). Benefits of mentoring include career and psychosocial functions to protégés in traditional faculty to faculty relationships (Holland, 1998; Jacoby, 1991; Noe, 1988).

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Studies on mentoring revealed that African American women administrators

and faculty experienced the benefits of mentoring and a lack of mentoring.

Researchers who examined African American faculty in predominantly White

institutions recommended that new untenured African-American faculty should be

paired with mentors who have expertise in guiding untenured faculty promotion and

tenure; senior faculty members oftentimes sponsor and promote the junior faculty

member's accomplishments; and faculty mentors of the same race, similar personal

and cultural backgrounds could provide support to new faculty in coping with

feelings of professional and social isolation (Stanley & Lincoln, 2005; Tillman,

2001). Cross race mentoring also proved helpful for enhancing faculty relationships

and administrative skills (Stanley & Lincoln, 2005)

Other research revealed that African American women administrators felt they

were overqualified for their positions, lacked mentors of superior rank, special

achievements and prestige, and were not socialized by senior member to the rules and

culture of academe (Crawford & Smith, 2005). Lacking guidance and inspiration for

their career development, respondents believed that if they had been mentored they

would have had greater job satisfaction (Crawford & Smith, 2005).

Church and family. The Black church and family features prominently in the

literature as an important part of an African American women's support system. In

the African-American community the church is a source of emotional, educational,

social, and political support, not simply a religious institution (Billingsley &

Caldwell, 1991). Data from the national survey of Black Americans shows that the

Black church was the greatest source of support in the Black community (Taylor &

Chatters, 1988). Family is another support system that gives African American women leaders a strong self-concept and strength to compete in the White academic environment (Gregory, 1995; Hughes, 2009). An African American woman president recalls that her father set the expectation that she should "do something and not be shy about it" (Moses, 2009, p. 5). Having professional social and religious support systems enables Black women scholars to be successful in their academic careers because they offer coping strategies that enable them to relieve stress encountered from barriers in academe (Gregory, 1995).

Retention

Retaining African American women in higher education poses unique challenges. Early studies indicated that African Americans were the second largest ethnic minority group to leave academe (28%), after Asian Americans (41%), and Hispanics (18%) (Brown, 1988). Research established that non-tenured blacks chose to remain in the academe as non-tenured faculty, and many Black women doctorate holders were employed primarily in the South with the highest number in North Carolina (Tobin, 1981).

Barriers for African American women seeking and maintaining administrative positions include: sex-role stereotypes, organizational barriers, and internalization of traditional female behaviors (Harvard, 1986). Many Black women in positions of leadership find despite having a title and responsibility, they often do not have the authority or the support needed to make decisions or implement their ideas (Moses, 1989). Undercut by colleagues as well as by superiors, Black women felt their

comments were treated as trivial and unworthy of further discussion, or they received

information secondhand, or were not consulted about major decisions (Moses, 1989).

Scholars have noted that some African-American women enjoy their jobs in

academe; positive experiences include a department chair asking her to put her

thinking into practice, significant rewards such as appointment as an administrative

fellow, release time privileges, and having financial backing from senior

administration (Moses, 1989). African-American women emphasize they enjoy work

with students and are committed to fighting for change and against racism and

sexism. They see their positions in higher education administration as a way to affect

change in students' lives and in society (Moses, 1989).

Achieving Tenure

African-Americans are severely underrepresented in higher education and

particularly in predominantly White institutions (Moses, 1989). Promotion and tenure

rates for African-Americans and other people of color are stagnant at all types of

institutions in both the private and public sector (Hutcheson, 1997). The rate of

promotion and tenure among African-American women is slower than that of either

African-American men or White women (Moses, 1989; Moore & Wagstaff, 1974).

Studies confirmed the reason Black women faculty chose to remain in

academe was due to tenure status; those that returned to academe did so out of

personal choice rather than necessity; those who left academe voluntarily tended to

have the lowest job satisfaction (Gregory, 1995). Further, faculty who left were likely

to have the fewest number of academic employment offers and were in non-tenured

positions (Gregory, 1995).

Lack of success for some African-American faculty can be attributed to geographic, professional, and social isolation, lack of scholarly productivity, and their rate of publication (Exum et al., 1984; Hine, 2007; Moses, 1989; Tillman, 2001). Some Black women academicians are offered opportunities at predominantly White colleges in small predominantly White towns and cities (Hine, 2007). African-Americans are likely to be in departments where there are few if any other faculty who share the same personal and cultural backgrounds (Tillman, 2001). A lack of mentors who are willing to spend formal and informal time with African-American faculty to help them become familiar with all components of the professoriate, affects their success (Moses, 1989; Tillman, 2001). Early research stated Black women doctorates were limited in publishing their scholarly research and presenting their research at scholarly conferences (Tobin, 1981). Today, scholars assert that Black women are not promoted as quickly as White and Black male counterparts regardless of productivity and despite having better credentials are passed over (Tillman, 2001). African-Americans and other minorities are not part of informal social groups in which peer feedback and recommendations can be gathered; and since the tenure evaluation process is subjective and value laden, the results will remain largely unexamined (Exum et al.,1984).

Because of the low numbers of African American women faculty, scholars have advocated for transforming the tenure and promotion criteria (Carter & O'Brien, 1993, Gregory, 1995; Turner & Myers, 2002). Scholars recommend expanding what is considered scholarly activity by placing more importance on teaching, service, and curriculum development activities (Gregory, 1995). Careers of Black female faculty

careers can be promoted by 1) encouraging service activities that have system wide visibility while providing faculty incentives and rewards for service overload 2) recognizing differences in teaching styles and research emphasis and 3) enabling collaborative projects by providing resources and funding (Turner & Myers, 2002). Other advocates recommend that institutions re-evaluate tenure requirements placing emphasis on time spent mentoring minority students and providing community service (Carter & O'Brien, 1993).

African American Women Presidents

Early influences. African American women presidents stated that parental and familial influences (particularly maternal and female figures) were strong. As children they were encouraged to "always push the system" and "be unwilling to settle for less" (Benjamin, 1997, p. 202). Many presidents were not first generation students. Their parents encouraged their activities and accomplishments, altruism in service to others, resourcefulness, and judging people by the quality of their deeds not what they looked like (Benjamin, 1997; Moses, 2009). Studies showed that African American women presidents had similar life maps (Benjamin, 1997). Mentors of African American women presidents provided "orientation to political skill, structured opportunities for the women's work to be seen, and nominated them for ventures" (Benjamin, 1997, p.204); African American women presidents measured their success by how their mentors viewed their accomplishments (Tatum, 2009).

Family. Studies revealed that African American women presidents had husbands that were supportive of their careers, had flexible work or were retired, enabling them to relocate, and actively raise their children (Moses, 2009; Tatum,

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2009). Children grew up understanding their mother had an administrative position.

Family was central to these women and provided the support needed to balance the

psychological and emotional withdrawals of the presidency (Moses, 2009); some

regarded work and play as combined and husbands viewed the college as part of the

family (Thornton, 2009).

Leadership skills. African American women presidents developed leadership

skills through various activities: church youth group, training in their discipline,

obtaining a terminal degree, understanding the budget and budgetary processes, and

being involved in national organizations. They learned to understand group dynamics

and political behavior, develop conflict resolution and consensus building skills,

about the instructional mission of an institution, how faculty think, and shared

governance (Benjamin, 1997; Moses, 2009).

African American women presidents perceived themselves and were

identified by working colleagues, peers and associates as possessing an approach to

leadership that is more transformational than transactional (Benjamin, 1997).

Research shows that most African American women college presidents did not plan

to be presidents; others nominated them or asked them to apply (Benjamin, 1997).

Many were unaware that leadership skills were developing; they were enjoying their

work or simply performing their job. Literature attests that African American women

presidents have intellect, emotional intelligence, and the capacity for empathy

(Thornton, 2009).

Leadership development programs such as the Millenium Leadership

Initiative (founded by African American presidents), Ford doctoral fellowship,

California Leadership development program, and executive professional development have helped African American women presidents further develop their professional skills (Hughes, 2009; Moses, 2009).

The four c's. Communication skills were cited as important by African American women presidents. African American women presidents chose precise words to convey their message (Austin, 2009; Tatum, 2009). They recognized the importance of leaders articulating their message, crafting it for different purposes, and using written communication such as email or email newsletter (Moses, 2009). Not only were African American women presidents effective communicators, they were good listeners and took any opportunity to speak to community (Thornton, 2009).

Studies showed that competency was another important skill for African American women presidents. Some cited they developed competence through experience and learning everyone else's job helped develop their breadth of exposure and substance (Austin, 2009; Hughes, 2009; Moses, 2009). They developed a reputation for getting things done (Moses, 2009).

In addition to communication and competency, building consensus and collective results were highlighted by African American women presidents. Presidents brought people along and sought their input to develop a strategic plan (Austin, 2009; Tatum, 2009). Their leadership style was collaborative which enabled them to build a sense of ownership with their constituents through consensus building (Tatum, 2009). Through accommodating individual thinking, they generated collective results, allowing them to negotiate and get to important solutions (Thornton, 2009).

Values and ethics. Values and ethics were cited as important to leadership by African American women presidents and learned at an early age (Hughes, 2009). They attributed credibility, trustworthiness, and the ability to bring integrity into leadership, with consistency in values (Hughes, 2009). Leaders stated the importance of credibility built by trust and honesty (Austin, 2009). Women presidents of historically Black colleges and universities showed appreciation for the college's tradition (Tatum, 2009). Leaders cited the importance of caring about people, caring about students, and having a standard of civility (Hughes, 2009; Tatum, 2009). Values motivated presidents to make the institution better, to be inclusive, to problem solve and give something back (Moses, 2009).

Balance. To maintain their well-being, African American women presidents identified the importance of being emotionally healthy and achieving balance in their lives by taking care of self through: taking walks, eating properly, working on their spiritual, mental, and physical being through prayer and meditation, and getting enough sleep. One president declared: "I do a job, I am passionate about a job, I have a vision for my job, but the job is not who I am as a person" (Austin, 2009, p. 11).

Resilience, stamina and energy. Having resilience, stamina and energy were frequently cited in the narratives of African American women presidents (Moses, 2009; Tatum, 2009; Thornton, 2009). Presidents mentioned going ahead and not changing their mind, being passionate about the work, and maximizing their visibility (Moses, 2009; Tatum, 2009; Thornton, 2009). They also spoke of being the first woman and first African American to be president (Moses, 2009; Thornton, 2009).

Oftentimes they felt they were an affirmative action hire; the person hired to add diversity to the team (Moses, 2009; Thornton, 2009).

Summary of African American Women in Higher Education

In this section, African American women's participation and challenges in higher education is reviewed. Early literature focused on promotion and tenure rates (Gregory, 1995; Moore & Wagstaff, 1974) and reasons for exiting academe (Brown, 1988). More recent literature has addressed the challenges of racism and sexism (Myers, 2000), being labeled affirmative action hires (St. Jean & Feagin, 1998), lack of promotions, and few research collaborations with senior faculty (Moses, 1989). Scholars reference a difficult campus climate and a hostile work environment as barriers to participation (Granger, 1993; Myers, 2002). Tokenism and stereotyping also contribute to African American women's devaluation (Edwards & Camblin, 1998; St. Jean & Feagin, 1998). Racism is reported by African American women as more salient than sexism in academe (Myers, 2002; Lerner, 1992). Support systems such as professional networks, family, and the Black church help break the isolation, loneliness and burnout African American women experience (Fries-Britt, 2000; Gregory, 1999; Phelps, 1995). Mentoring was recommended by scholars but many African American women faculty and administrators lacked formal and informal mentors that could help sponsor their work or help them understand how to achieve tenure (Crawford & Smith, 2005; Tillman, 2001).

Gaps in the literature include studies on African American women administrators at historically Black colleges and universities and predominantly White institutions. Patricia Hill Collins (1988) standpoint theory offers a theoretical

framework of how African American women recognize the intersections of systems

of power take a stance against unjust power relations and use oppositional knowledge

to work on behalf of social justice. More literature is needed to understand how

African American women advance to senior leadership. Emerging literature covers

African American presidents, at two and four year institutions from a narrative

perspective, but cross case comparative studies of African American women senior

leaders are needed. Literature that examines how they negotiate power and politics

within their respective higher education institutions would expand our understanding

of climate and power relations.

Asian American Pacific Islanders in Higher Education

Historical data on when Asian American Pacific Islanders (AAPI) entered higher education and were present in substantive numbers is difficult to find. Today, AAPI in higher education are the immigrants or descendants of two large scale immigrations from Asia and the Pacific Rim (Hune & Chan, 1997, Nakanishi, 1995). The first wave that brought Asian Americans to the U.S. arrived from 1840 to 1930; the second wave arrived after the 1965 Immigration Act eliminated discriminatory national origin quotas that had restricted Asian immigration (Hune & Chan, 1997). Visas were granted to professional AAPIs in nursing, medicine, engineering and scientists as well as unskilled labor to work in vacant jobs in the garment industry and service sector (Hune & Chan, 1997). The Immigration Act of 1965 eliminated discriminatory quota restrictions from the Immigration Act of 1924 (Nakanishi, 1995). The Indochinese Refugee Resettlement Program Act of 1975 and the Refugee Act of 1980 allowed the migration and resettlement of more than one million South East Asians – Vietnamese, Cambodians (Khmers), Hmong, and Laotians (Hune & Chan, 1997; Espiritu, 1963; Kibria, 1993).

Today, the U.S. Census states that there are over 48 ethnic groups that make up Asian American Pacific Islanders. AAPIs encompass individuals from East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asian, Hawai'i, Guam, Samoa and other Pacific Islands. In 1970, AAPIs numbered 1.5 million, in 1980, 3.5 million, and by 1990, 7.2 million (Nakanishi, 1995). Between 1970 and 1990 the population doubled every decade (Nakanishi, 1995). In Census 2000, AAPIs were reported as 10.9 million or 3.6% of

the U.S. population. The American Community Survey of 2008 estimates the number of AAPIs was 15.5 million or 4.6% of the U.S. population. Within this community, 60% of AAPIs were foreign born, compared with 12% of the total U.S. population while 40% of AAPI were native born, compared with 88% of the total U.S. population (M.D. Cruz, UCLA Asian American Studies Center, personal communication, August 18, 2010).

Chinese Americans are the largest ethnic group (3.62 million), followed by Filipinos (3.09 million), Asian Indians (2.73 million), Vietnamese (1.73 million), Koreans (1.61 million) and Japanese (1.30 million). The totals for AAPI are larger than these figures when calculations include combination of one or more races. By 2050 the U.S. Census projects that AAPIs will grow to 40.6 million, amounting to a 162% increase between 2008 - 2050.

In this section, the term Asian American Pacific Islanders is used to describe Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. In the literature, descriptors of Asian Americans have included the terms Asian Pacific American, Asian Pacific Islanders, Asian-Pacific Islander Americans, and Asian American Pacific Islanders. Some in the Hawaiian Pacific Islander community advocated for a separate designation stressing that Asian Pacific American held the term Pacific Islander within it but was not inclusive of their native experience. Scholars have argued that conflating Asian and Pacific Islander terms is misleading because there have not been mutual political or cultural identification of groups as different as Vietnamese, Sri Lankan, and Hawaiians (Kauanui & Han, 1994).

Asian American Pacific Islander Representation

Immigration patterns and population growth has fueled the numbers of AAPI participation rates in higher education. In 2007, AAPI were 6% of undergraduate degrees conferred, with women earning 59% of associate degrees and 55% bachelor degrees (Ryu, 2010). That same year, AAPIs received 5% of all master's degrees and 9% of all doctorates. From 1997 to 2007 the number of AAPI faculty increased by 72% becoming 8% of full-time faculty at colleges and universities. In 2007, AAPI men outnumbered women faculty by 64% to 36%.
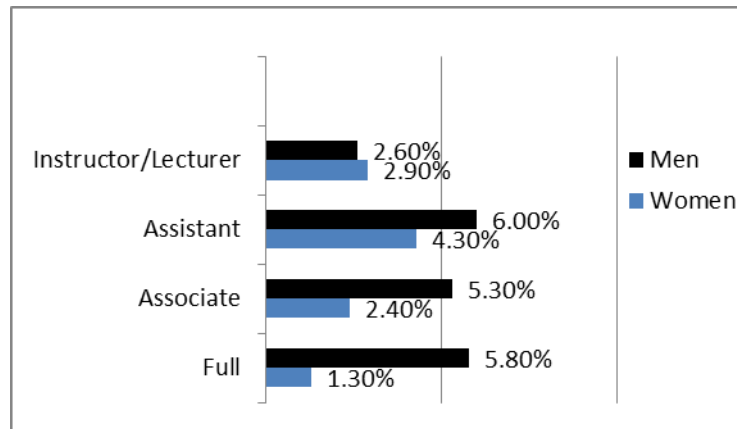
Figure 7. Comparison of AAPI Women and Men Faculty in 2007. Adapted from M. Ryu (2010). Minorities in higher education: Twenty-fourth status report. p.114-117. Copyright 2010 by the American Council on Education.

As Figure 7 indicates, the gap between AAPI men and women faculty increases significantly from the associate professor to the full professor level, with men faculty almost double the percent of women faculty, the largest gender gap of all racial/ethnic minority faculty (Ryu, 2010). Some scholars argue that the percentages of AAPI faculty which appear overrepresented need to be disaggregated because it combines U.S. citizens and residents of AAPI descent with Asian international students who have stayed in the United States and are employed in academe (Nakanishi, 1995;

Hune, 2006; Yan & Museus, in press). Ethnic disparities in faculty ranks are masked because AAPI are lumped together (Yan & Museus, in press).

AAPIs represented only 3% of full-time administrators in higher education in 2007. AAPI women administrators represented 1.6% (3,206) full-time administrators in 2007, an increase from 0.9% (1,189) in 1997 while AAPI male administrators grew from 1% (1403) in 1997 to 1.4% (2,481) in 2007 (Ryu, 2010, p.122).

Model Minority Stereotype

The model minority stereotype first circulated in the news media in 1966 when William Peterson wrote a New York Times essay entitled *Success Story Japanese American Style* suggesting that Japanese Americans were better off than native born Whites; that same year a U.S. News and World Report article, *Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S.* wrote: "at a time when Americans are awash in worry about the plight of racial minorities—one such minority, the nation's 300,000 Chinese Americans is winning wealth and respect by dint of its own hard work" (p.73). Other articles in Newsweek, the Los Angeles Times and Time magazine during the 1980s extolled Asian Americans as academic achievers, majoring in science, overcoming all barriers of racial discrimination and achieving greater success than Whites. Suzuki (2002) decried the stereotype as insidious because "it has become an almost unconscious image embedded in the minds of the public, subliminally influencing their perceptions" (p. 24-25). Scholars critiqued this stereotype claiming it made unwarranted assumptions about the success of AAPIs and the comparisons with other racial/ethnic groups as "invidious and insidious" (Woo, p. 26), in labeling certain minorities underachievers and expecting them to conform to

the "model" (Kim, 1973; Kitano & Sue, 1973; Osajima, 1988; Suzuki, 1977, 1989; Suzuki 1989). Others maintained it serves as a hegemonic device that maintains the dominance of Whites in a racial hierarchy, diverting attention from racial inequality and setting a standard for minority behavior (Lee, 1996). Consequences of this stereotype have resulted in resentment against the success stereotype, lack of services, self-limiting occupational aspirations, and a sense of lost identity (Chun, 1995; Lee, 1996; Museus & Kiang, 2008; Suzuki, 2002).

Gender Roles and Stereotypes

In academe, policies and practices are based upon a "male-centered workplace" where men have wives at home that ensure their career success (Hune, 1998, p. 26). Hu–DeHart (1983) contends that colleges and universities tend to be more flexible about the work needs of men, but are less flexible in accommodating the needs of female professors. Female faculty who experience role conflict—a conflict between roles due to limited time and energy capacities (Ward & Wolf-Wendell, 2004)— are less likely to be satisfied with their jobs and likely to leave academia (Daly & Dee, 2006).

AAPI women faculty face challenges balancing work and home, long commutes, caring for family and extended family (Hune, 1998; Huang, in press). Like other women in dual career households and female-headed households, they work "double shifts" because females have the majority of responsibility for running households and taking care of children (Hune, 1998; Huang, in press). Given the pressures of research, teaching and producing for a doctoral granting research university, women faculty voiced concerns about having time for family or starting a

family which is a common concern in academe (Mason & Goulden, 2002; Ward & Wolf Wendell, 2003; Barnett & Hyde, 2001, Huang, in press). AAPI women faculty reported they had less time to do research on the weekend because of extended family responsibilities (Huang, in press).

Scholars posited AAPI women experienced spaces of difference that are gendered, sexualized and racialized (Cho, 1997; Hune, 1997; 1998; Loo & Chun, 2002; Mau, 1990; Woo, 1989). The image of the "exotic/erotic" personified by the China doll, geisha, Polynesian dancer, or "Miss Saigon" in film, theater, and advertisements affected AAPI women because they were "orientalized" and were seen as quiet, sweet and obliging to others (Hune, 1998, 2006). Asian American Pacific Islander women encountered sexualized harassment in the forms of verbal remarks, unwanted pressures for dates, and deliberate encounters from peers and persons in authoritative positions (Cho, 1996; Hune, 1998). Professor Rosalie Tung filed a grievance alleging race, sex and national origin (anti-Chinese) discrimination after being turned down for tenure at the University of Pennsylvania Wharton School of Business. "[University administrators] felt that I being an Asian would be less likely to challenge the establishment…it was okay to discriminate against Asians, because they are passive; they take things quietly, and they will not fight back" (Cho, 1996, p. 207). Appearing small in stature and youthful many AAPI female faculty and administrators felt they were not taken seriously (Hune, 1998). As a strategy, AAPI women felt the need to dress up to be noticed by male faculty and administrators (Hune, 1998).

Studies revealed Asian American women experienced resistance, exclusion, and were not considered a 'real' minority; they were expected not to challenge the status quo when they experienced racism. Contrasting and contradicting the misconception that AAPI women were "passive, docile, and expected to fade away" (Nakanishi, 1993, p. 55), these women were able to transform sexist and racist encounters and develop greater strength, determination, and advocacy (Ideta & Cooper, 2000).

Racism and Discrimination

Asian American Pacific Islander female faculty, professional staff or administrators often experienced being considered a "token" where they faced scrutiny and were considered an oddity (Hune, 1998, p. 19). Facing sexism and under attention, AAPI women had "outsider" and "stranger" status (Espiritu, 1963; Hune; 1998; Ideta & Cooper, 2000). Resistance against these labels forced them to counter this oppression by speaking out and fight for their identity in the academy (Huang, in press; Ideta & Cooper, 2000).

AAPI faculty also experienced less quantifiable forms of discrimination: revolving doors, glass ceilings, and a chilly climate (Hune & Chan, 1997; Nakanishi, 1995). Cho (1996) described "beyond parity" types of discrimination faced by AAPI faculty. Parity suggests AAPI faculty are successful and therefore do not suffer from bias or discrimination in the academic workplace and that they do not need supports such as affirmative action. Research findings about AAPIs being mistaken as a "foreigner," or lacking leadership skills, or their absence in other management positions are well documented (Cabezas & Yee, 1977; Chan, 1989; Hune, 1998;

Minami, 1995; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Moses, 1993; Wong, 1996; Woo, 2000; Yu, 1985).

Studies indicated that AAPIs confronted a variety of external/institutional and internal/cultural obstacles in the work place (Woo, 2000). Research on AAPI student affairs administrators found that compared to their ethnic peers, AAPIs were the only ethnic group whose presence decreased as they ascended to the highest levels of administration (Suh, 2005). AAPI faced significant levels of discrimination at work, subtler forms of discrimination as well as more serious concerns such as glass ceiling, tokenism, stereotypes, and inequitable professional development opportunities (Suh, 2006).

Literature revealed AAPI faculty experienced racial harassment as well as accent discrimination (Cho, 1996; Hune & Chan, 1997; Nakanishi, 1995). Some AAPI faculty have fought their departments to gain and tenure and promotion and experienced high personal costs of anger, despair, anxiety and loss of belief in a meritocratic system, resulting in some exiting academe (Cho, 1997; Hune, 2006; Loo & Chun, 2002; Nakanishi, 1993). Hune and Chan (1997) argued that limited English proficiency and cultural biases in leadership styles are potential career impediments for AAPI administrators and faculty. Foreign born Asian faculty are ridiculed and harassed for their accents by students (Huang, in press) while native born Asian Americans are complimented on their fluency in English (Kim, 2006). Studies on immigrant faculty confirmed that their accent posed the most problems in an immigrant professors' teaching (Braine 1999; Lippi-Green, 1997; Vargas 2002c).

Skachkova (2007) found that immigrant women faculty teaching skills were judged by students solely on their accents.

Mentoring and Networks

Mentoring and networks create positive support systems for AAPI women in academe (Huang, in press; Hune, 1998; Murata, 2006; Yamagata-Noji, 2005). Mentors of AAPI junior faculty were found to be an important factor in influencing pre-tenure experiences by helping navigate the institutional landscape, department politics and policies (Huang, in press). Participants of the Leadership Development Program in Higher Education, a leadership development program for AAPI, who had the opportunity to be mentored by faculty leaders, chancellors, presidents, and vice presidents, remarked they were inspired and felt empowered with a clear sense of direction (Yamagata-Noji, 2005). Others cited finding a mentor who one could share personal experiences and intuition helped create a support system where newcomers should not have to shed their identities to assimilate into the culture of the academy (Hu, 2008; Murata, 2006).

AAPI women administrators cited limited access to information and support networks that could develop them professionally (Hune, 1998). Despite working harder and having more qualifications, AAPI women administrators were not seen as commensurate with others (Hune, 1998). AAPI women administrators struggled to be considered management potential, and felt that the way they spoke and looked might detract from their candidacy (Woo, 2000). Factors such as invisibility, marginalization, contending with stereotypes, and slow career mobility decreased opportunities for AAPI administrators to move into management (Hune, 1998, 2006).

Asian American Pacific Islander Faculty and Administrators

Junior faculty concerns of isolation and marginalization of being the only AAPI in the department are consistent with the literature on faculty of color (Turner & Myers, 2000). Some faculty reported stress from their job affects their lack of confidence and health concerns (Huang, in press). Level of feedback affected how individuals perceived themselves and their environment which impacts their role performance (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995). Hurtado et al.'s (1999) framework also speaks to the behavioral dimension of the departmental campus climate and the importance of social interactions between and among individuals from different racial and ethnic backgrounds, and the quality of their intergroup relations. The campus racial climate framework attributes what occurs on campus to external and internal institutional forces that encompass: compositional diversity, historical legacy of inclusion and exclusion, psychological climate, behavioral climate, and organizational/structural aspect.

Studies on junior AAPI faculty at a doctoral granting research university discovered having a supportive chair, positive mentoring experiences and timely information on promotion and tenure standards was critical to their success (Huang, in press). Pressures of being at a research extensive university were a challenge for faculty that were doing research in applied areas where timelines for completion of research might be longer than other research or other fields (Huang, in press). Therefore, the number of publications from one's research may not be as many compared to other studies. This was a challenge for new emerging research, which had smaller data sets and might not be published in traditional journals (Huang, in

press); hence this could affect one's tenure review (Bourguignon et al., 1987; Reyes & Halcon, 1988).

In addition to promotion and tenure studies, differences between first generation and second generation AAPI faculty and administrators were discussed in the literature (Chan, 1989; Huang, in press). Native born AAPI administrators were described as lacking self-esteem and being too militant in their leadership qualities, whereas foreign-born Asian candidates were said to be insufficiently assertive or too rigidly authoritarian (Chan, 1989). First generation AAPI faculty spoke of accent bias and discrimination, while second generation faculty spoke of challenges of having good mentoring, research dollars, and having emerging area scholarship supported (Huang, in press; Nakanishi, 1995). Common to both groups was the sense of needing a road map to navigate the institution politically, which is why good mentoring made the difference between those that felt positive about tenure review and those that did not (Huang, in press). AAPI women in educational administration noted social and cultural barriers such as male chauvinism and institutional pressures to assume assertive roles that contradicted their own cultural socialization (Washington Association for Asian and Pacific American Education, 1980). Studies revealed AAPI faculty and administrators placed a high importance on the role of mentor and role models, expressed reluctance to engage in perceived risk, prioritized particular personal values in career decisions, and found executive administration to have an insufficient reward structure (Hu, 2008). AAPI faculty and administrators were uncomfortable in dealing with conflict and confrontation, especially those who did

not aspire to leadership. Individuals were reluctant to engage in leadership that would require them to draw attention to themselves (Hu, 2008).

Spatial Locations

Locations in academe where women can participate and feel at home are at the intersection of culture and identity. The concept intercultural space describes being aware of not fully being comfortable in the space of home life kept by parents, nor in the space of the academy or as an ethnic minority of a predominantly White American society (Kim, 2006). Berry (2001) "defines intercultural space as the intersection of two or more contact groups where cultural boundaries and social relationships are negotiated" (p.133). Asian American Pacific Islander women consider whether to silence themselves or be silenced by others; questioning how much should they risk having a voice in dominant culture (Huang, in press; Hune, 1998; Ideta & Cooper, 1997; Kim, 2006).

Asian American women faculty who move continually between Eastern and Western culture experience the academy as culturally contextualized. The juxtaposition of cultural inbetweenness they experience from moving between China, a country where one must respect traditional values and the current government, to a Western country where democratic rights are espoused—creates tension. Intellectual in-betweenness exemplify linkages between John Dewey and Confucian thought. Another location of political in-betweenness arises as faculty are warned to be careful of writing anything critical of the Chinese government (He, 2006).

Communication and Leadership

Differences in communication styles and leadership contribute to why AAPI's are underrepresented in managerial levels of corporations, government and academe (Hune, 1998, Hyun, 2005; Woo, 2000). Within this assumption is AAPI's need to acculturate to dominant American practices. Some scholars attribute racial and gender biases to AAPI's lack of progress in academic administration (Huang & Yamagata-Noji, 2010; Hune 1998, 2006;Yamagata-Noji, 2005).

Other scholars observe that the context for women leaders differs because of race, ethnicity, ability and sexual orientation. At a discussion of feminist women leaders, one Asian American participant commented that she may use an indirect communication style in her leadership (Chin, 2005). And sometimes Asian leaders may teach or convey a moral message in their communication. Stereotypes of Asian American women as meek and quiet are interpreted as they were unassertive and lacking in leadership potential (Chin, 2005).

Campus Climate

AAPI women experienced invisibility on campuses and those who are among the few Hmong or Pacific Islanders felt especially isolated (Hune, 1998). Their experiences ranged from open hostility to cultural insensitivity, which may be subtle, but still contributed to their marginalization (Hune, 1998, 2006). Asian American Pacific Islander women faculty felt their teaching, research, university service, and student advisement was not fully acknowledged, however, they were requested to assist when diversity issues arose (Hune, 1998). Lack of mentoring, and an absence of community with colleagues contributed to their indifference of campus life. Their

theoretical perspectives, publications and creative work, specifically those involving ethnic and women's issues, could be disregarded by peers, and therefore considered lacking academic merit (Hune, 1998, 2006).

Advancing to the Presidency

Various studies documented the difficulty AAPIs face in advancement to university and college presidencies. Despite the fact that AAPIs wanted to be promoted, they asserted that they were not being recruited, identified or mentored for these positions (Hune, 2006; Yamagata-Noji, 2005). Studies of mid senior level AAPI student affairs administrators revealed they experienced a glass ceiling and subtle racism in academia. Stereotypes that Asian Americans were hard workers, and not interested in advancing in leadership, impacted their recruitment as potential candidates for senior level positions, and thus they were often passed over for promotions (Wong, 2002). Scholars noted the gender gap for AAPI women in executive, administrative and prestige positions and attributed it to a glass ceiling or "bamboo ceiling" (Hyun, 2005; Woo, 2000). AAPI faced cultural biases, questions about their leadership styles, and beliefs that they were better technicians than leaders (Hune & Chan, 1997; Suh, 2005; Wong, 2002).

King and Gomez (2008) asserted there is a potential pool of AAPI presidents. Because AAPIs are 5% of CAO's and Deans at doctoral granting institutions, they could be tapped for presidencies. At master's institutions AAPIs are 3.0% of chief academic officers and 3.6% of chief diversity officers. At baccalaureate institutions, AAPIs are 5.5% of deans, 10.8% of chief diversity officers and 2.7% of chief of staff. At associate's institutions AAPIs are 3.4% of executive vice presidents. King and

Gomez stated that doctorate granting institutions are more likely than other types of

institutions to promote individuals to senior positions from internal rather than

external candidates. Thus in doctorate granting institutions because central academic

officer positions are filled by internal candidates, the prospect for women and people

of color is a promising opportunity for reaching the presidency. The fact that AAPIs

hold 5% of deanships at baccalaureate institutions suggests a pool of candidates for

the presidency (King & Gomez, 2008).

In 1993, 2003 and 2007, AAPIs were less than 1% of the total president

positions (Harvey, 2003; Ryu, 2010). In 2003, five women of 33 AAPI were

presidents, an increase from one AAPI woman president in 1993; three AAPI women

led two year institutions and two led four-year institutions (Harvey, 2003). In 2010,

out of a total of 37 men and women AAPI presidents, eight AAPI women head

community colleges and two lead four year research institutions and one leads a

professional school (Huang & Yamagata-Noji, 2010). The number of AAPI

presidents is derived from lists kept by Dr. Yamagata-Noji and myself, based on data

from the Leadership Institute of Higher Education and AAPI president listserv

initiated by the American Council on Education. The few number of AAPI women

presidents are described by Chen and Hune (2011) as a leak in the pipeline for AAPI

women from Ph.D. to campus president. In 2006, 78% of AAPI presidents were men

(Ryu, 2010).

To increase the pipeline for AAPI from faculty to executive level positions,

institutions must develop faculty into leaders, create policies that retain faculty,

promote AAPI from department chairs to vice-presidencies, and search firms must

develop strategies for recruiting and placing more AAPI presidential candidates (Chen & Hune, 2011; Huang & Yamagata-Noji, 2010).

As there have been very few AAPI women presidents, literature on their experiences is scarce. The first AAPI woman to head a four year institution, Rose Tseng (2005) chronicled her rise to becoming Chancellor of the University of Hawaii at Hilo as unplanned. She wanted to be a teacher and never expected to become an administrator. Yet, her desire to work with the community and to bring about institutional change, led to her first deanship, chancellorship, and then president of the community college. Career decisions were based upon her family's needs rather than a career strategy. She attributed the beliefs she learned from her mother, her desire for knowledge and social justice to help achieve institutional and social change, as pivotal in helping her become a leader (Tseng, 2005).

Summary of Asian American Women in Higher Education

Literature captured relevant themes impacting AAPI administrators, faculty and presidents and their experiences in academe. Literature from the 1990s addressed AAPI women in academe facing gender and racial stereotypes (Hune, 1998); experiencing accent discrimination (Cho, 1996; Hune & Chan, 1997; Nakanishi, 1995) and "tokenism," "outsider," "stranger" status. The "model minority" stereotype first seen in the 1960s is still embedded in popular culture and present day images of AAPI (Museus & Kiang, 2008; Nakanishi, 1995; Suzuki, 2002). Literature also documents how first generation and second generation AAPI administrators and faculty have different leadership qualities and challenges in academe (Chan, 1989; Huang, in press). Recent literature has focused on subtler forms of discrimination

such as lack of professional development opportunities and AAPIs considered

technicians rather than leaders (Suh, 2005; Wong, 2002). Mentoring, networking, and

leadership development was cited as important to developing a positive campus

climate and contributed to retention and promotion in academe (Hune, 1998; Murata,

2006; Yamagata-Noji, 2005). AAPI women in academe referenced differences in

spatial locations and their challenges in border crossing and immigrant identities (He

2006; Kim, 2006). Literature was absent that addresses advancement to the

presidency or presidential studies. There have been two narrative descriptions of

AAPI women presidents but no cross case comparisons of senior leaders at

baccalaureate and research institutions. Literature addresses topics of discrimination

and lack of promotion to the presidency. There is no literature that discusses AAPIs

and power and politics in academe.

Latinas in Higher Education

Latina/os are the fastest growing minority group, a diverse population hailing from Mexico, and other countries in Central and South America (U.S. Census 2000, 2010). The Pew Hispanic Center reports that the Hispanic population is 46,822,476 (American Community Survey, 2008) and of the total population—28,985,169 (61.9%) are native born and 17,837,307 (38.1%) are foreign born (American Community Survey, 2008). Nearly two-thirds of Hispanics in the United States self-identify as being of Mexican origin. Puerto Rican, Cuban, Salvadoran, Dominican, Guatemalan, Colombian, Honduran, Ecuadorian and Peruvian immigrants comprise about a quarter of the U.S. Hispanic population. In total, there are 24 groups that constitute the Hispanic resident population (Pew Hispanic Center, 2010).

The Latina/o population has increased significantly in the last few decades and their participation in higher education (American Community Survey, 2008; Ryu, 2010). Without understanding the historical context of Latinas in the United States, which affects their ascent to university and college administrative roles and the presidency, it would be impossible to understand why there are so few Latinas at the senior level of academe. It is important to note that the United States' acquisition of other lands added to Latina/o diversity. In 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican American War, formalized the conquest and appropriation of Mexico's territory, which is now the United States Southwest (Olivas, 1999). And despite promises to preserve citizenship and language rights of people who lived on Spanish land grants, Mexicans have experienced a series of discriminatory measures which have caused significant socio economic decline (Alonzo, 1998; Menchaca,

2001; Pitt, 1966). Furthermore, imperialist policies were imposed upon the newly acquired Puerto Rican lands in 1898 (Carrion, 1983; MacDonald & Garcia, 2003). Between 1898-1948, American educators in charge of Puerto Rican higher education, preferenced industrial education and normal school curricula (Adams, 1995; Anderson, 1988). These acquired territories added to the Latina/o population within the United States and the educational preparation of these immigrants affected their participation rates in the United States.

In 1960, half of Chicana/o elementary and secondary students attended segregated schools. The community pressed for bilingual education, desegregation, equity in school funding, and affirmative action (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Olivas, 1999). In the late 1970s, and more significantly in the 1980s, across the country, there has been a backlash against social equity programs, an increase in military spending, a decline in education spending, and a growing recession (Olivas, 1999). In higher education, from 1960 to 1970, Latina/o students mobilized and targeted goals to increase access and retention in higher education (MacDonald & Garcia, 2003). Universities, foundations, and state and federal governments designated policies, centers and created curricula to meet student demands, but some of these successes were rolled back because of the economic recessions of the 1970s and 1980s (MacDonald & Garcia, 2003).

Since the 1990s, legislation has limited educational opportunities for Chicana/os, and they have come under attack on issues of immigration, affirmative action, and bilingual education (Moreno, 2002). California's Propositions 187, 209, and 227 affected educational opportunities of Chicana/o schoolchildren in various

ways: Proposition 209 withdrew affirmative action, and then Proposition 227 eradicated bilingual education (Moreno, 2002). In 1996, the Hopwood v. Texas case banned using affirmative action in admissions which had a negative effect on Latina/o college participation rates (Moses, 2002). This case had far reaching effects and in the fall of 1998 there was a precipitous drop in the number of Latina/o and African American first year students at the University of California Berkeley (Moses, 2002). Gándara (1995) critiques the belief in "colorblind" admissions and the detrimental affect they have had on access to and attainment in higher education for Chicana/os. She advocates that for Chicana/os to increase their presence in higher education, either admissions criteria must be transformed or pre-admissions factors that affect current criteria must be addressed (Gándara, 1995).

Barriers to Higher Education

The *Minorities in Higher Education 24th Status Report* (2010) delineates six factors for Hispanic immigrants that are crucial to identifying potential barriers to improving their education and training.

1) Country of Origin: immigrants of Mexican origin make up 64% of Hispanic immigrants ages 25 to 64, but are overrepresented among those without a high school credential (76%) and are significantly underrepresented among those with a college degree (36%). Comparatively, immigrants from Cuba, Colombia, and Peru are overrepresented in groups with a college degree and underrepresented in groups with no high school credential.

2) Age at Immigration: research findings show that young immigrants who arrive under the age of eight are more likely to have better educational performance than those who arrive at older ages.

3) History of Schooling: This is a critical factor in determining whether they continue their education in the United States. Young immigrants who had not made sufficient academic progress in their home country are either unlikely to enroll or to drop out of school after arrival.

4) Language: Hispanic immigrants are less likely to use English as their primary language at home than non-Hispanics. Limited English fluency is likely to increase the difficulty in continuing their education.

5) Motivation for Immigration and Labor Market Mobility: Hispanic adults who migrate to United States are often fleeing poverty and seeking a better quality of life. However continuing education may not be an immediate goal for working age immigrants whose first priority is to gain employment and earn a living to support their families.

6) Legal Status: In 2008, an estimated 12 million people were living in the United States without legal status which is approximately 4% of the total population, or 5.4% of the United States workforce. Three quarters of undocumented immigrants are Hispanic (76%), and 59% are Mexican. Unauthorized immigrants generally lack formal education and do not have a high school credential (Ryu, 2010).

Given these challenges and barriers to educational attainment for Latinos, the graduation rate of Latinos significantly affects the pipeline to the presidency in higher

education institutions. Recent data on Latina/os indicates that 24% are high school

graduates, 15%, have some college education and 10% are college graduates (Pew

Hispanic Center, 2008). The *Minorities in Higher Education 24th Status Report* states

that the number of associate and bachelor degrees awarded to Hispanics rose from 10

to 12% in 2007 (Ryu, 2010). From 1997 to 2007 the number of conferred

undergraduate degrees awarded to Hispanics nearly doubled (Ryu, 2010). Hispanic

women earned 63% of associate degrees and 61% of bachelor degrees in 2007. In

addition, the number of colleges and universities classified as Hispanic Serving

Institutions (HSI) more than doubled, from 164 in 1997 to 386 in 2007 (Ryu, 2010).

The number of total bachelor degrees conferred on Hispanics by HSI institutions

increased from 25% in 1997 to 31% in 2007, and conferral of associate degrees grew

from 53% to 55% (Ryu, 2010).

During the past decade, although the total number of master's degrees and

doctoral granting degrees has risen, Hispanics received a smaller share of degrees—

smaller than African-Americans—of the total conferred at each level (Ryu, 2010). In

2007, Hispanics earned 5% of all master's degrees and 4% of doctoral degrees. From

1997-2007, Hispanic women outpaced Hispanic men in earning masters and doctoral

degrees; at the master's degree level Hispanic women are earning twice as many

degrees, and at the doctoral level they earned approximately 3500 degrees compared

with 2900 for men (Ryu, 2010).

Latina Representation

Latina women in higher education are a relatively recent phenomenon that

arose out of political turbulence from the 1960s civil rights movement and the 1970s

feminist movement (Medina & Luna, 2000). The Civil Rights Act of 1964 laid the

legal basis for affirmative action in higher education creating more access for persons

of color (Cuádraz, 1992; Medina & Luna, 2000). As Latina women gained more

access to graduate programs and institutions of higher education, the number of

female doctorates increased from 39 in 1976 to 366 in 1990 (National Center for

Education Statistics, 1991). However, there is a dearth of qualitative research

regarding historical or current experiences of Latina women in higher education

(Buriel & Saenz, 1980; Delgado Bernal, 1998; Jamarillo, 1988; Medina & Luna,

2000; Sharraden & Barrera, 2005).

A 1995-96 survey of 33,986 full time faculty members notes a small

percentage of Latinas were employed in colleges and universities: 9% of Latina

faculty members held full professorships, 16% held associate professorships, and

75% held assistant, instructor or lecturer rank (Schneider, 1997). Of all women

tenured faculty members, Latinas were the smallest group (Schneider, 1997). From

1997 to 2007, the number of Hispanic faculty increased from approximately 14,000 to

25,000, a rise of 73% (Ryu, 2010). Hispanics made up 3% of faculty in 1997 which

increased to 4% in 2007; by comparison they accounted for 11% of undergraduate

enrollment that same year (Ryu, 2010).
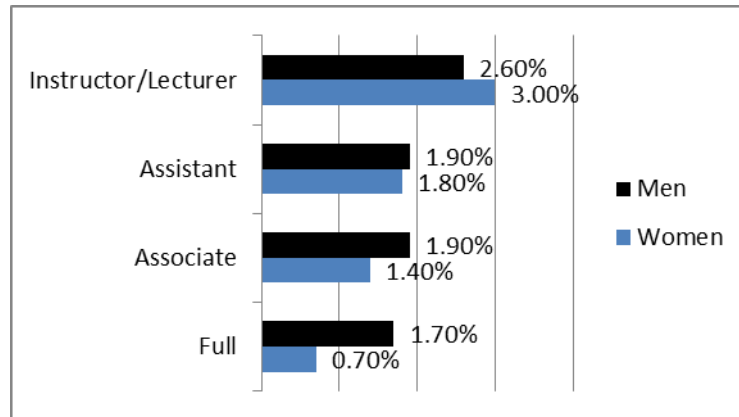
Figure 8. Comparison of Latina and Latino Faculty in 2007. Adapted from M. Ryu (2010). Minorities in higher education: Twenty-fourth status report. p.114-117. Copyright 2010 by the American Council on Education.

As seen in Figure 8, similar to other racial/ethnic groups the number of Hispanics grew at a faster rate among instructors and lecturers, in fact doubling in size, compared with assistant, associate, and full professors (Ryu, 2010). Further, the number of Hispanics increased faster among non-tenure track faculty—doubling in size during the decade—compared with tenured and non-tenured faculty on the tenure track. Hispanics represented 5% full-time college and university administrators and 5% of presidents (Ryu, 2010).

Latina Experiences in Higher Education

In 1991, Nieves-Squire published a seminal report for the Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women, examining experiences of college students, faculty members, and administrators. She reported that Hispanic women are caught between two cultures: trying to respond to traditional values and modern demands; they experience marginality because their values and experiences are different from their colleagues (Nieves-Squire, 1991). They are seen as "not one of us," "outsiders," or "the other" (Nieves-Squire, 1991, p.55). Hispanic

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women face "double discrimination" (p. 5) and double minority status because of their gender and ethnicity (Comas Díaz, 1997; Nieves-Squire, 1991; Padilla, 2003). In western culture "the continuous focus on individuality runs against gender phenomenon and relationships, and it runs against *cultural* which is also relationship oriented" (Arredondo & Castellanos, 2003, p. 230). Hispanic women are described as reluctant to self-promote and are stereotyped as the dutiful daughter, wife and mother (Nieves Squire, 1991). Their sense of duty is negated and Hispanic women are stereotyped as subservient and dependent (Nieves Squire, 1991). Sexual and ethnic stereotypes of Hispanic women may include praise for appearance rather than ability, assumptions that because she speaks with an accent she is passive and not intellectually capable (Nieves Squires, 1991). Stereotyping of Hispanic women as sex objects or decorative figures that need less education than Hispanic males renders them "powerless, pathological, prayerful and dutiful family members" (Lewis et al., 1989, p. 376).

Mexican Americans and Chicanas in Higher Education

According to the U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau (2000), Mexican-American women are the largest and fastest growing of all Hispanic groups. However, educational attainment for Mexican Americans is the lowest and they are the poorest among Latino groups (Chacón, Cohen & Strover, 1986; Gándara, 1995; Orozco, 1990).

Scholars assert not all Mexican Americans self-identify as Chicanas, for Chicanas are shaped by a politicized worldview and are keenly aware of the social, cultural and historical background that shapes their existence (Vera & De los Santos,

2005). Researchers hold contradictory views regarding educational research on

Chicanas. Some argue Chicanas are understudied and more educational research is

needed (Buriel & Saenz, 1980; Delgado Bernal, 1998; Jamarillo, 1988; Sherraden &

Barrera, 1995; Vasquez, 1982). Others insist that despite three decades of research on

barriers, access, retention, and graduation, progress has been slow (Chapa, 1989,

1990). Scholars concur there is a severe underrepresentation of Chicanas in higher

education (Chacón & Cohen, 1982; Cuádraz, 2005), with an overwhelming majority

in two year community colleges (Chacón & Cohen, 1982).

The study of Chicanas and higher education is closely tied to the development

of Chicana studies (Orozco, 1991). Grassroots activism within the Chicana/o and

feminist movements influenced Chicana struggles towards educational equity

(Cockcroft, 1995; Delgado Bernal, 1999; Donato, 1997; Gonzalez, 2001). Another

aspect of the development of the Chicana Studies was a consciousness grounded in

feminist principles for gender equity and justice (Córdova, 1994; Cotera, 1976, 1980;

Garcia, 1989; Hurtado, 2003; Trujillo, 1998). Scholarship on Chicanas and higher

education was revisionist in nature and refuted cultural deficit notions and paradigms

(Candelaria, 1980; Cuádraz, 2005; Padilla, 2003). Chicanas have preferred

multidisciplinary approaches to posit their experiences as racialized women of color

within a historical context (Cuádraz, 2005; Delgado Bernal, 1998, 2001).

Research that focused on the absence of Hispanic females from the

educational "reform" discourse found that challenges Hispanic females face in higher

education include the lack of useable research data, persistent application of the

cultural deficiency model, which blames Hispanic women for their poor educational

performance, and the absence of a conceptual model that would enable accurate interpretations of Hispanic women's educational experiences (McKenna & Ortiz, 1988). Hispanic women were being subsumed under women more generally, thereby obscuring race and class differences, when they needed to be regarded as a separate group (Chacón, Cohen & Strober, 1986; Cuádraz, 1992). The authors recommended using ethnographies and in-depth observational data to better understand the educational experiences of Hispanic women (McKenna & Ortiz, 1988).

Studies on Chicanas researched barriers to progress and resistance strategies for surviving in higher education (Achor & Morales, 1990; Chacón, Cohen & Strober, 1986). Barriers to Chicanas progress in higher education institutions was impeded by the number of hours they spent on domestic labor, receiving little parental support from their mothers as compared to Chicano men, and managing stress factors with the institution (Chacon, Cohen, & Strober, 1986). Chicana Ph.D.s employed various resistance strategies to institutional barriers, which included "challenge tempered by accommodation" (Achor & Morales, 1990, p.282) while rejecting notions that they were unworthy to attend higher education institutions (Cuádraz, 1992),

Mestiza Identity

Literature on Latina identity imbues a feminist theoretical framework with family structure and cultural values (Delgado Bernal, 1985; Pesquera & Segura, 1996; Segura & Pearce, 1993). Gilligan (1982) and Josselson (1987) identify connectivity as important to women's identity, however Delgado Bernal (1985) critiques the traditional feminist narratives for failing to describe Chicanas in ways that critically analyze their lived experiences of "classism, racism, sexism and other

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forms of oppression, especially from Chicanas' perspectives" (Delgado Bernal, 1985,

p. 559). Segura and Pierce (1993) in describing the acquisition of gender identity

within Mexican American culture, note that family structure and values are shaped by

social and historical contexts. Thus their theoretical framework, which is limited to

working class families, is one of the few that acknowledges class, and describes

almost family (compadrazgo), trust and confidence (cofianza), and non-exclusive

mothering (Segura & Pierce, 1993).

Chicana feminists describe the triple oppression of race and ethnicity, class,

and gender in addition to unique experiences that arise out of their social location,

within family and community, as central factors (Delgado Bernal; 1998; Pesquera &

Segura, 1996). Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) describes a hybrid identity for Chicanas, one

in which they straddle two cultures. Naming this a mestiza identity, Anzaldúa writes:

"the new mestiza copes by developing a tolerance for contradictions, a

tolerance for ambiguity…She learns to be Indian in a Mexican culture, to be

Mexican from an Anglo point of view. She learns to juggles cultures. She has

a plural personality. (p. 101)

Mestizas are challenged by the expectations of the dominant culture and the ethnic

culture. She calls this *neplanta*, or the transitional space a person occupies when in

transition, or the contrast and tensions that arise as mestizas are conflicted by the

needs of home or the ethnic culture on the one hand, and the demands of the Anglo

world on the other (Vera & De los Santos, 2005). Being adaptable and flexible,

learning two ways of speaking and sometimes two distinct languages, are descriptors

of the mestiza identity (Elenes, 1997; Rodriguez, 1994). Through learned abilities to

shift in and out of formations and movements, the mestiza identity develops a resiliency that Elenes (1997) proposes positions them within the "discourse of history, culture, and society" (Elenes, 1997, p. 374).

This discourse about Chicanas and mestizas in higher education utilizes testimonies (testimonio) and autobiographical (autohistoria) essays as reflections on experiences in academe (Cuádraz & Pierce, 1994; Rendon, 1992). Gloria Cuádraz and Jennifer Pierce (1994) compared the way that race and class affected their experience as graduate students. Laura Rendón (1992) questioned the cultural separation she experienced between her undergraduate and graduate school experience. Reyes and Ríos (2005) used autobiographical essays to describe their experiences as Latinas from their formative years, to college experiences, to faculty. They saw their roles as Latina faculty to shatter stereotypes, shift historical perspectives, dialogue with students about stereotypes of Latinas, serve as role models, and teach diversity courses that integrate social issues, race, gender and body image (Reyes & Ríos, 2005).

Latina/o Faculty Issues

Many scholars have described the multiple challenges that minority faculty face in higher education. They tend to be more burdened by service activities (National Education Association 1991), time consuming committee appointments (Blackwell, 1989), called upon to be experts on diversity, the liaison between organizations and the ethnic community, and experience cultural taxation (Baez, 2002; Padilla, 1994; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). Moreover minority faculty

scholarship is often seen as tangential and peripheral, less academically rigorous and not published in the right journals (Bronstein, 1993; Garza, 1993).

Latina/o professors expressed concerns of a negative campus climate. They felt isolated and alienated; had poor support systems, were overworked, and experienced cultural conflict at their institutions (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Nieves Squire, 1991; Padilla & Chavez, 1995; Reyes & Ríos, 2005; Solórzano, 1998; Turner & Myers, 2000). A Latina professor's research could be devalued and caught in a "perplexity of gender" (Aleman, 1995, p. 7). If Latinas focus their research on ethnic culture and women, "brown on brown" research (Reyes & Halcón, 1988, p. 4) is considered narrow in scope, mundane, exotic, too soft, or obscure to be considered scholarly (Arredondo & Castellanos, 2003; Ibarra, 2001, 2003; Padilla & Chávez, 1995). Latina faculty, despite being viewed as tokens by some of their colleagues, learned to excel in an institutional culture that was often alien to them, overcame obstacles, and claimed their own "voice" (Medina & Luna, 2000; Padilla, 2003; Rodriguez, 2006).

Latina/o faculty reported experiencing racism and bias in academe: non-Hispanic faculty made remarks about their accents and about Hispanic culture (Astin & Burciaga, 1981; Garza, 1988; Rochin & de la Torre, 1986; Verdugo, 1989). There was a perception among non-Hispanics that Hispanic faculty entered academe by "affirmative action" rather than individual accomplishments or were unqualified hires (Aguirre, 2000; Aguirre & Martinez, 1993; Delgado, 1991; Niemann, 1999; Padilla, 2003). De los Santos (2008) found that Hispanic women experienced limited advancement due to a glass ceiling which was lower for them than their White, non-

Hispanic female counterparts. Because of discrimination, Hispanic faculty careers were slower to tenure than non-Hispanic faulty (Uribe & Verdugo, 1989).

The work of Latina/o faculty includes service and commitment to the community. Latina faculty often feel obligated to take on difficult assignments and service with students and the local community (Arredondo & Castellanos, 2003; Ibarra, 2001; Padilla & Motiel, 1998; Reyes & Halcón, 1988). Nieves-Squire (1991) observes because Hispanic women are so few in number, they are overburdened with advising Hispanic and other minority students and with numerous committee assignments leaving them with less time for research and publishing. Yet, in their research and teaching, Latina/o professors expressed a strong and equal commitment to areas that support and present alternative epistemologies and perspectives, even though advocacy and community involvement are seen as personal goals, separate and distinct from scholarship, especially in research institutions (Reyes & Ríos, 2005; Urrieta & Méndez Benevídez, 2007). Whether it is advocacy for Latina/o communities outside of the university or on behalf of student communities within it, community commitment was central to the work of Chicana/o faculty (Cuádraz, 2005; Reyes & Ríos, 2005; Urrieta & Méndez Benevídez, 2007).

Latina faculty experience the contradictions of expectations of their ethnicity and gender. Researchers of Latina faculty discovered they had to make the difficult choice of abandoning their past, their cultural identity, their indigenous roots to obtain access and mobility in the academy (Medina & Luna, 2000). They had to fight to have their voices recognized and affirmed within the academy (Arredondo & Castellanos, 2003; Medina & Luna, 2000). In addition, Latinas feel the expectations

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of family. One faculty member, a first generation college student, described that despite being promoted and publishing a book her family had a lack of curiosity about her work and did not understand this significant achievement (Arredondo & Castellanos, 2003). Families expect Latinas to have children. Also, for Latina lesbians in the academy, the workplace environment is very stressful (Arredondo & Castellanos, 2003).

Scholars recommend retention of Latina/o faculty through administrative support, family support or through mentoring (Arredondo, 2003; Carozza, 2002; Ibarra, 2003; Medina & Luna, 2000; Padilla, 2003; Turner & Myers, 2000). Departments can assist Latina/o faculty through the promotion and tenure process by dispersing release time, research grants, and having senior administrators review tenure and promotion cases when negative reviews have been given (Carozza, 2002; Padilla, 2003). Latinas cited the powerful influence of family, having supportive relatives, and husbands who helped them pursue their careers at the university (Cipres, 1999; Rodriguez, 2006). Scholars confirm there is a dearth of successful minority mentorship programs targeted at junior faculty members (Medina & Luna, 2000; Turner & Myers, 2000). Reasons include the lack of cultural understanding between mentor and protégé, lack of funding support by institutions, and acceptance of "benign neglect" (Léon, 1993). Outside organizations such as the National Association of Hispanic and Latino studies can provide informal mentoring (Carozza, 2002). Mentorship specific to the needs of Hispanic faculty is critical to developing new Hispanic faculty, to network and publish in refereed journals promoting Hispanic

issues in higher education (Arredondo, 2003; Ibarra, 2003; Martinez, 2008; Padilla, 1994; Rodriguez, 2006).

Latina Administrators

Early literature on Latina/os in higher education administration focused on influences of attaining an appointment at the university, advocacy on steering committees, and stresses from the Latina/o community (Acevedo, 1979; Esquibel, 1977, 1991), whereas more recent literature has addressed leadership training, cultural identity and the political process of appointments. An early major study of Hispanic administrators or leaders is Esquibel's (1977) dissertation on Chicano administrators in colleges and universities in the Southwest (De los Santos & Vega, 2008). He surveyed Chicano administrators in two and four year colleges at the department chair level who were either tenured or on regular institutional funds in five states: Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas (Esquibel, 1977). He found that there were four factors influential in an appointment 1) political involvement 2) pressure by Chicana/o students and community members 3) a concentration of Chicanos within the respondents' institution and community and 4) affirmative action plans and requirements (Esquibel, 1977).

Later studies recommended that Chicano administrators attend training programs and workshops, maintain one's Chicano roots, and have advocates on the governing board screening committees and search firms (Esquibel, 1992). Factors that affected socialization of Mexican American mid-level administrators included having prior socialization to the norms and values of the institution, individuals who had ethnic roles at the institutions with ethnic concerns, stresses from ethnic

constituencies, a lack of peer group members, and a lack of institutional sponsors or mentors to serve as advocates within the system (Acevedo, 1979).

Recent literature highlights gender concerns (Canul, 2003; Ramos, 2008; Silva, 2003). Studies on Mexican-American female academic and student affairs administrators showed that the cultural identity of the female administrator is grounded in family, combined with a strong work ethic and a passion to make a difference (Silva, 2003). Latina administrators describe the balancing act of being a parent and professional—enduring questions when leaving mid-day to attend a child's events, experiencing guilt when staying late to finish reports, and often taking work home to spend quality time with family (Canul, 2003). Research confirmed that Latinas validate the importance of their culture and identity, and despite bias in higher education, through a combination of mentors, champions and strategic plans, they improved their representation in graduate programs, faculty and administration (Ramos, 2008). Latina's ability to penetrate the 'adobe' ceiling is regarded as a counter story to the barriers that prevent their rise to top administrative positions (Ramos, 2008).

Other recent literature has focused on how to increase the number of administrators at various institution types and the political process of appointments. The numbers of Latina/o females and males in vice-presidencies for student services, business affairs, and a few in senior level fundraising are increasing (Haro & Lara, 2003). Within outreach positions, Latina/os are moving into middle and upper management jobs in student services, especially in geographic areas where they have large population densities (Haro & Lara, 2003). In academic vice presidencies,

Latina/os are increasing at two year colleges, gaining a few positions at regional universities, while adding one or two individuals to the provost and chancellor level at research universities (Haro & Lara, 2003). However, at the most selective institutions, it is difficult for Latina/os to be selected as provost and it is from this pool that presidents are picked (Haro & Lara, 2003). This is problematic because at private, four year liberal arts colleges, there is limited representation of Latina/o faculty, department chairs and deans (Haro & Lara, 2003).

Publicly supported two-year colleges have an elected board of trustees who are answerable to an electorate that can remove them when their term expires (Haro & Lara, 2003). Researchers noted at two year colleges, "a correlation emerges between the number of minority trustees and the propensity to select a woman or minority or both as president" (Haro, 2002, p.159). Within districts that have an increasing population of minorities, such as Latinos, the predisposition is greater to hire a minority (Haro & Lara, 2003). At public four-year regional universities there is a correlation between the number of Latinos in state legislative bodies and the appointment of Hispanics to executive level positions. At the University of California, political pressure by the lieutenant governor's office and the Latino caucus in the legislature influenced the appointment of a Hispanic woman as Chancellor of the system's Riverside campus (Haro & Lara, 2003). Boards of trustees are critically important in within institutions, but Latina/os academic vice presidents or provosts are not within their circles of acquaintance, nor are they skilled in self-promotion, or know how to navigate a treacherous political process (Basinger, 2002; Haro & Lara, 2003; Lovett, 2002).

Leadership Development

Literature on Latina/o leadership development was absent until this past decade. Recent studies have focused on the need for training in leadership institutes to prepare Latina/os for the presidency (León 2003, 2005; León & Nevarez, 2006). Literature includes data about Latina/o demographics, experiences of presidents of color in higher education, describes older, traditional programs of leadership development in higher education and newer programs designed to prepare future leaders. The newer leadership institutes not only address traditional subjects of leadership development, but also highlight the particular issues Latina/os face, and give participants an opportunity to gain constructive feedback and support from seasoned leaders (Chen & Van Velsor, 1996; León & Nevarez, 2007). So few Latina/os have reached the presidency that Martinez (2005) observes: "One can count on one hand the number of Latinos who have held presidencies at research institutions" (p. 18). On almost every statistical front, Latina/os in the general population are outpacing Latina/o college presidents (León & Nevarez, 2007). The few numbers of Latina/o presidents in comparison to faculty numbers are because most Latina/os are in student affairs (León & Nevarez, 2007). Three out of four attendees at the Hispanic Association of College and Universities (HACU) leadership institute came from student affairs (León & Nevarez, 2007). Because the traditional route to the presidency at four year institutions has been through academic affairs, it is more difficult for student affairs professionals to ascend to the presidency (King & Gomez, 2008; León & Nevarez, 2007).

Without an intentional strategy to develop Latina/o presidents, homogeneity in administration tends to perpetuate itself. Hence, Vaughan (2004) observes that presidents must actively assume responsibility for developing minority high-level executives. "Without diversity at the top," he states, "Institutions face stagnation and loss of fresh ideas and new perspectives that will keep them vibrant, responsive, and intellectually challenging" (Vaughan, 2004, p. B14).

Making Their Mark as Presidents

Latina presidents can contribute to diversity in academe by their unique perspectives and talents, but their growth in numbers as presidents has been slow. In 2006, only one of the 10 University of California campuses had a Hispanic chancellor, and only three Latinos served as presidents at the 23-campus California State University (León & Nevarez, 2007). However, there are 30 CEO-level leaders at the 109 campuses of the California Community College system (León & Nevarez, 2007). In *The American College President: 2007 Edition*, Hispanics held five percent of all presidencies in 2006. Hispanic males held 65% of the presidencies and women held 35%. Latinas presidents are more likely to head community colleges (Cipres, 1999; De los Santos & Vega, 2008; Knowlton, 1992; Olga, 1999).

There are only a few studies that examine Latina/o presidents at different types of institutions. De los Santos & Vega's (2008) study of Latina/o presidents or chancellors in the United States in 2001 and 2006 is important for several reasons. It is the only research that compares Latina/o presidents in two time intervals and accounts for the number of presidents in states by gender and institutional type. Their analysis shows which states have the most Latina/os presidents or chancellors (CEOs)

and the numerical changes from 2001 to 2006. Also they account for the number of Latina/os serving at HSI institutions (De los Santos & Vega, 2008). They showed that in 2001, only 13 states had institutions in which the president or chancellor was Latina/o; by 2006, that figure had increased to 22. They found that 61% of all Latina/o CEOs served at community colleges. And only 56 or 31% had Latina/o CEOs in the 180 Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI) in the continental United States that were members of HACU in 2007. In 2006, of the 112 Latina/o CEOs, 73 males represented 65% of the total and 39 females represented 35%. Within community colleges, 40 males represented 58% and 29 females represented 42% of the total. At master's institutions, 12 males represented 75% and 4 females represented 25% of the total. At doctoral granting institutions, five males represented 83% and one female represented 17% of the total. In 2006, no Latina females headed baccalaureate institutions, while at specialized institutions Latino males represented 63% and three females represented 37% of the total (De los Santos & Vega, 2008).

Limitations of the De los Santos and Vegas (2008) study include identifying Latina/o presidents by their surnames listed in the 2001 and 2006 Higher Education Directories. There is a possibility of misidentifying Latina/o individuals because individuals may have married individuals with Hispanic surnames, or have Hispanic surnames and not be Hispanic, or females may have married into non-Hispanic households and changed their names. In addition the authors acknowledge they excluded private for profit institutions with an enrollment of less than 1000 students. Also without knowing which individuals led institutions or university systems, it is difficult to gauge the expanse of the CEO's responsibilities and duties.

One of the few Latina presidents of a four year institution, Mildred Garcia is featured in *Women at the Top* (2009). Her first presidency was at Berkeley College in New York and currently she is president of California State University Dominguez Hills. Garcia's story echoes themes in the literature about coming from a low socio economic class background, influences of family, attending public schools, dedicated to serving a first generation low income student population, and commitment to the organization its mission and its people. She attended multiple leadership institutes: the Harvard University seminar for new presidents, American Association of State College and University, the Millennium Leadership Institute, Bryn Mawr HERS, Harvard University's Institute for Educational Management, and Salzburg's Leadership Fellows Program. Garcia notes: "For women and men of color, confidence is not enough; opportunity must exist. I think there are a lot of opportunities out there but the barriers are high. There is a backlash against powerful assertive women" (Garcia, 2009, p. 48).

Aside from the De los Santos & Vega (2008) article and Garcia's (2008) book chapter, research on presidents are dissertations that have investigated Latina/o community college presidents. These studies have examined leadership behavior, challenges, barriers, successes, and how Latina/o community college presidents ascended to the presidency (Mata, 1997; Rodriguez, 2006; Ruiz, 1990; Silva, 2007).

Several dissertations on Latina/o community college presidents focused on the obstacles and positive factors to their ascent to the presidency. Studies revealed that obstacles for Latina/o community college presidents included: Hispanic cultural values, ethnicity, assignments in minority related areas and discrimination (Gorena,

1993), systemic barriers (Munoz, 2008), and a lack of cultural capital (Mata, 1997). Latina community college presidents viewed discrimination as a challenge, something to disprove (Cipres, 1999) and refused to let bias prevent them from advancing in their careers (Munoz, 2008). In one study, all Latina community college president ethnicities—Mexican American/Puerto Ricans and Central/South Americans—reported that household and childcare responsibilities were a hindrance to advancement (Gorena, 1993).

Studies indicated that ethnicity and family members were influences. Researchers found that Latina/o president's ethnicity could result in role conflict which required coping skills; and ethnicity was found to positively influence advancement for Mexican Americans (Gorena, 1993; Ruiz 1990). Cultural identity and bicultural and bilingual skills (having no accent) learned early in life were seen as positive factors for achieving the presidency (Knowlton, 1992). Many studies cited Latina/o family members as role models (Cipres, 1999) and as powerful and strong influences (Knowlton, 1992; Rodriguez, 2006); parental emphasis on education (Knowlton, 1992), their personal economic status (Rodriguez 2006) and family values influenced leadership behavior (Ruiz, 1990).

Studies on Latina community college presidents revealed their leadership style was participatory. They shared decision-making, collaborated with others and held family community celebrations on campus (Cipres, 1999; Knowlton 1992). However different community colleges required different leadership strategies and certain behaviors were preferred (Ruiz, 1990). Latina presidents showed they had strong interests in policy implementation and high commitment to public service (Cipres

1999; Rodriguez, 2006). Participation in leadership programs, Latino consciousness, encouragement and quality mentoring contributed to Latina president's development (Mata, 1997; Rodriguez, 2006). Other important factors included having positive connections to schools and learning, goal setting, and knowledge of advancement (Gorena, 1993; Rodriguez, 2006). Being married, having spousal support, and a Catholic background were positive factors for senior level Mexican American administrators (Cipres, 1999; Gorena, 1993).

Summary of Latinas in Higher Education

The literature on Latina/o explains the challenges and barriers from immigration to graduation rates to participation as faculty, administrators and presidents for this community. Latinas experience "double discrimination and "double minority" status (Nieves-Squire, 1994; Padilla, 2003) and are challenged by cultural demands and work and family balance (Canul, 2003; Mendina & Luna, 2000). Studies on Chicanas reveal that they are the poorest and have the lowest educational attainment rates of all Hispanics (Chacon, Cohen & Strover, 1986: Gándara, 1995; Orozco, 1990). Feminist scholars Delgado Bernal and Anzuldúa describe the *triple* oppression Latina's experience, namely, race and ethnicity, class, and gender within social location. Naming the mestiza identity, Anzuldúa (1987) describes how Latinas juggle two cultures, shift in and out of locations and develop a strong resiliency. Latina faculty are challenged by a negative campus climate, devaluation of their work because of its focus on ethnic culture and women (Arredondo & Castellanos, 2003; Reyes & Halcón, 1988). Latinas cited the powerful influence of family, and having husbands that helped them pursue their careers at the

university. The lack of good mentoring programs and the need for leadership

development to increase the pipeline to the presidency is documented (Léon, 2003;

Medina & Luna, 2000; Turner & Myers, 2000). Literature on Latina presidents focus

on factors that positively influenced or hindered their advancement to leadership

positions, their essential skills and leadership strategies, and the influence of gender

and culture (Cipres, 1999; Flores, 1999; Gorena, 1994: Knowlton, 1992).

Given the focus on Latina community college presidents, what is absent from

the literature are studies that examine Latina presidents at four year baccalaureate and

research institutions. While there is substantial research on Chicanas, much more

research is needed on other Latina ethnicities, socio economic class differences and

lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered populations within the Latina/o community.

The De los Santos and Vega (2008) study contributes to our understanding of

Latina/o CEOs in states and institutional types. To extend this study, research should

analyze background characteristic differences of Latina CEOs by geographic location,

institutional type and look at the political process of appointment (Haro & Lara,

2003).

<center>**Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks**</center>

Since there is no one theory that addresses all dimensions of my research

questions, I utilized five theoretical and conceptual frameworks to address the four

areas of my study, race, gender, power, and politics. These models are: critical race

theory, Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and

politics in organizational decision-making, French and Raven's (1959) theory of

social power, Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership, and Dill and

Zambrana's (2009) intersectionality (see Table 2: Comparison of Theoretical

Frames).

Critical Race Theory

History of critical race theory. Based in the scholarly traditions of W.E. B.

Dubois (1903), critical race theory (CRT) developed out of a body of legal

scholarship in the 1980s that examined the ways in which race and racial power are

constructed in the legal profession in the U.S. and U.S. society as a whole (West,

1995). CRTs scholarship differs in its foci, however there are two common interests.

One is to understand how a regime of White supremacy and its subordination of

people of color have been created and maintained in America, including the

relationship between that social structure and professed ideals such as the "rule of

law" and "equal protection" (West, 1995). The second is not simply to understand the

bond between law and racial power but to change it (West, 1995). Early CRT scholars

examined racism in the Black/White binary, critiquing the slow and unrealized goals

of civil rights legislation. Eventually, their framework was expanded to examine

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"multiple ways African Americans, American Indians, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, Chicanas/os and Latina/os continue to experience, respond to, and resist racism and other forms of oppression" (Yosso et al., 2009, p. 662) (Arriola, 1998; Caldwell, 1995; Wing, 1997, 2000). Scholars Ladson-Billings, Parker, Solórzano and Tate have applied CRT to education settings. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) in

Table 2
Comparison of Theoretical Frames

	Critical Race Theory (CRT) [Bell, Yosso, Crenshaw]	Pfeffer (1981)	French and Raven (1959)	Connective Leadership (Lipman-Blumen, 1992)	Intersectionality (Dill and Zambrana, 2009)
Description	Racism is endemic to American life. Racism contributes to group advantage/disadvan. Recognizes experiential knowledge of POC. Skepticism of neutrality, objectivity, colorblindness and meritocracy. Interdisciplinary (Sociology, History, Literary theory Philosophy, Critical feminist and queer studies. Challenges ahistoricism. Supports indigenous ways of knowing and understanding of the world	Pfeffer (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in org. decisionmaking Politics and power are the processes, the actions, the behaviors through which potential power is utilized and realized Power is the property of the system at rest and politics as the study of power and action (p.7) Environment of org. imposes demands and "means" and "ends"; how org gets job done, goals it pursues. Heterogeneous or incompatible goals sought by members and ways to accomplish goals. Differentiation - creates subgroups produces	French and Raven (1959) theory of social power basis of power is designed as relationship betw. social agent (O) & person (P) orginator of that power a) what determines the behavior of the agent who exerts power? b) what determines the reactions of the recipients of this behavior? (p. 150) Raven (2008) Power/Interactional model - motivation to influence, assessment of power bases, preparing for influence attempts, choice of power bases and effects	Connective Leadership Achieving Styles Model Connecting individuals not only to their own tasks and egos and drives, but also to those of the group and community that depend upon the accomplishment of mutual goals. Achieving styles are defined as the characteristic behaviors individuals use to achieve their goals. Includes three sets of achieving styles: direct, instrumental and relational	Asks questions how racism and sexism are co-constituted Challenges the traditional ways that knowledge has been produced in the US and how this theory provides an alternative model that is foundational to this interdisciplinary intellectual exercise.
Major assumptions And contributions	Highlights experiences of people of color. Challenges status quo (counter story). Moves field of Education forward. Ladson Billings, Tate (1995) adapted this for education. Commitment to social justice, "interest convergence" of civil rights gains. Interdisciplinary perspective incorporates multiple disciplines to analyze race and racism within historical and contemporary contexts.	Primary conditions of scarcity, interdependence and heterogenous goals will give rise to conflict. Managing power requires 1) recognizing org. have interests groups 2) find out what assumptions are 3) understand where power comes from and how to develop it 4) examine strategies and tactics through which power is developed and used in org.	1) Reward - ability of powerholder to reward another to give something valued by another 2) Coercive - person will be punished by the social agent if he "fails to conform to the influence attempt" p. 157 3) Legitimate - social agent has a "legitimate right to influence P and P (person) has an obligation to accept this influence. 4) Referent - attraction of the person to the social agent or desire to join in with that person 5) Expert - belief that expert has special knowledge or belief 6) Informational: power holder explains to target how to do thei job using a more effective procedure.	Direct - intrinsic, competitive, and power, confront tasks to their own efforts, realize their own visions. Instrumental: personal, social and entrusting use gifts of persuasion and negotiation to accomplish goals; understand relationships and networks as vital entrust other with their vision, expect others to implement their goals. Relational: Indv. Enjoy working on group tasks helping others attain goals; working behind the scenes, collaborating with others; mentors who offer guidance and support.	Inequalities derived from race, ethnicity, class, gender, and their intersections place specific groups of the population in a privileged position w/ respect to other groups; offer indiv. unearned benefits on group membership Historical and systemic patters of disinvestment in nonprivileged groups are major contributors to the low social and economic position of those groups. Representations of groups/individuals in media art, music & cultural forms create and sustain ideologies support the use of these factors to explain both individual inferiority/superiority Individual identity exists within and draws from a web of socially defined statuses some more salient than others in specific situations or at specific historical moments
Key Insights	"Focuses on how the social construct of race shapes university structures, practices, and discourses from the perspective of those injured by and fighting for institutional racism" (Yosso, 2009, p. 663)	Assesses power by determinants (knowledge), consequences (recognizing decisions) or symbols (position title, special parking spaces, office size etc.) Reputational and representational indicators indicate social power.	Expounds on psychological change, social influence and social power; defines how change in behavior has to do with changing "opinions, attitudes, goals, needs, values and all other aspects of a person's sychological field" p. 151	Women excel in collaborative, contributory and mentoring behavior, all important aspects of connective leadership. Connective leadership reaches beyond traditional constituencies to presumed adversaries, using mutual goals, rather than mutual enemies to create group cohesion and community membership (Gardner 1990)	Intersectional analysis explores/unpacks relations of domination & subordination, privilege & agency structural arrangements through various services, resources, and other social rewards are delivered in interpersonal exp. of individuals & groups
Criticisms and Limitations	Critical Race Theorists want to replace racism with White supremacy' - homogenizes whites with misuse of statistics showing 'race' trumps 'class'	Research only on university or public sector; weak connection between indicators and power; not as theoretically grounded	Scholars contend French and Raven's power bases contain distorted relationships with dependent variable. Interpret power bases with caution, research needed.	Little evidence of behavioral differences between male and female managers when context controlled (Skaggs, 2000). Few connective leaders in corporations, most are in entrepreneurial or nonprofit organizations	Analytic philosophers argue intersectionality puts "purity" of philosophical methods at risk maintains "feminism" and "multicultural feminism" one side, and "global feminism" on the other
Link to Research Question	How do women of color navigate power and politics to arrive at senior levels of academe? What factors do they perceive as contributing to advancement to senior level positions?	How do WOC navigate power and politics to arrive at the senior levels of academe? How do they make meaning of power and politics? How do they define and see power and politics?	How do WOC navigate power and politics? to arrive at the senior levels of academe? How do they make meaning of power and politics? How do they define and see power and politics?	How do WOC navigate power and politics. to arrive at the senior levels of academe? How do they make meaning of power and politics? How do they define and see power and politics?	How do WOC navigate power and politics. to arrive at the senior levels of academe? What factors do they perceive as contributing to advancement to senior level positions?

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their foundational article, *Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education*, argued that educational inequity is the result of racism being endemic to American life, ineffective civil rights laws and the intersection of race and property rights.

CRT's theoretical underpinnings draw upon "post" perspectives (postmodern, post-structural, and postcolonial theories), interdisciplinary fields of sociology, history, literary theory and philosophy, critical feminist and queer studies, and indigenous ways of knowing and understanding the world (Calmore, 1997). Delgado and Stefanic (2001) noted the following themes in CRT writings: a critique of liberalism; storytelling/counter storytelling; revisionist interpretations of American civil rights law and progress; applying insights from social science writing on race and racism to legal problems; structural determinism, how legal thought or culture influences its content; the intersections of race, sex, and class; essentialism and anti-essentialism; cultural nationalism/separatism; legal institution, critical pedagogy; and criticism and self-criticism.

I found Solórzano's (1997) five tenets of CRT most applicable to my study for its direct application to university settings. Many CRT scholars have applied this framework to education (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Lopez & Parker, 2003; Tate, 1994). The first tenet, the intercentricity of race and racism, assumes that race and racism are endemic to and permanent in U.S. society (Bell, 1992; Russell, 1992). Second, the challenge to dominant ideology of objectivity, meritocracy, color blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity exposes self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups (Bell, 1987; Calmore, 1992; Delgado, 2003; Solórzano, 1997). Third, the commitment to social justice

reveals the "interest convergence" of civil rights gains such as access to higher education (Bell, 1980, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; Taylor, 2000). It aspires to eliminate racism and sexism and poverty, and espouses the empowerment of People of Color and other subordinate groups (Freire, 1970, 1973; Lawson, 1995; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Fourth, the centrality of experiential knowledge affirms the experiential knowledge of People of Color as legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination. Data is derived from counter-story telling methods such as family histories, parables, testimonies (testimonials), dichos (proverbs), and chronicles (Bell, 1992, 1996; Delgado, 1989; Delgado Bernal & Villalpando; Espinoza, 1990; Yosso, 2006). And fifth, the interdisciplinary perspective encompasses multiple disciplines to analyze race and racism within both historical and contemporary contexts (Calmore, 1997; Gotanda, 1991; Gutierrez-Jones, 2001; Harris, 1994). Yosso et al. (2009) asserted these tenets display a unique approach to scholarship in higher education as they focus on how the "social construct of race shapes university structures, practices, and discourses from the perspectives of those injured by and fighting against institutional racism" (p. 663).

Critiques of critical race theory. Critiques of CRT include assumptions that are made about racism, White supremacy, and class. Cole (2007) critiqued critical race theorists who wish to replace the concept of racism with that of 'White supremacy." Cole argued that critical race theorists find 'White supremacy' a more useful description for the everyday reality of people of color than racism. He cited Ansley's (1997) definition that White supremacy hate groups have control over

power and material resources and White dominance and non-White subordination occur across a number of institutions and various social settings. For Cole, 'White supremacy' homogenizes all White people together in positions of power and privilege. He challenged this notion given anti-Semitism, anti-Irish racism, anti-Gypsy Roma Traveller racism and xeno-racism, and Islamaphobia. Hill (2009) also critiqued critical race theorists in Britain's misuse of statistics showing that 'race' trumps 'class' in underachievement at 16+ exams in England and Wales. At a theoretical level, Hill used Marx to argue for a 'raced' and gendered class where some (but not all) minority ethnic groups are racialised or xeno-racialised.

Critical race theory was pivotal to my study in understanding the complexities of the intersection of race and gender within the historical context of American Indian, African American, AAPI, Latina, participation in academe. CRT tenets were helpful in examining WOC-SL minority status and how they have experienced racism in academe. Participants spoke of challenging the dominant ideology of meritocracy, color blindness and race neutrality, and privilege of the dominant group. Their activities and commitments had a social justice component to them that illustrated "interest convergence." (Bell, 1980, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; Taylor, 2000) Women of color senior leaders worked for the empowerment of people of color on campus or in their community. Their stories or counter-stories about their experiences as WOC-SLs in academe and how they have been able to advance to their current positions despite discrimination and racism lend insight into how they navigated power and politics in academe.

Pfeffer's (1981) Model of the Conditions Producing the Use of Power and Politics in Organizational Decision-making

Power has long been a topic of interest in sociology and social psychology (Foucault, 1982; French & Raven, 1959; Weber, 1947), and many authors have written about power and politics in organizations (Kanter, 1977; Kotter, 1985; Pfeffer, 1981). Pfeffer (1981), in *Power in Organizations,* wrote about power from a sociological perspective with the aim of synthesizing what is known about power in organizations to develop a theoretical perspective that would assist in understanding of the power phenomena

For my study, I utilized Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making. Pfeffer (1981) defined power as the ability to change one's behavior, change events, overcome resistance, and persuade people to do things they typically would not do (Emerson, 1962; Kanter, 1970; Pfeffer, 1981). Using Lasswell's (1936) definition of politics (i.e., who gets what, when, and how) and Wildavsky's (1979) descriptions of politics of the budgetary process, Pfeffer inferred that politics involves resolving conflicts over preferences through allocating scarce resources. Describing organizational power and politics, Pfeffer (1981) wrote:

> If power is a force, a store of potential influence through which events can be affected, politics involves those activities or behaviors through which power is developed and used in organizational settings. Power is a property of the system at rest; politics is the study of power in action. (p. 7)

In political situations of confronting the social actor, power needs to be assessed before it can be exercised (Pfeffer, 1981). Power needs to be measured to assess whether or not power is correlated with other attributes and stable over time and across decision issues (March, 1966). Pfeffer maintained there are two tasks required in assessing organizational political systems. One is identifying the principle organizational actors; the other is assessing the power of these various actors. In grouping social actors by categories Pfeffer asked, "is there relative homogeneity in the goals, preferences and beliefs about technology within the categories of social actors identified; and are there differences among the preferences and beliefs of the social actors identified?" (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 36). Using a matrix device to analyze relevant issues or topics and possible political actors, Pfeffer predicted what particular actions will be adopted within the organization. An action that is opposed by the majority of potent actors most likely would not be implemented (Pfeffer, 1981).

Measuring the power of social actors. Pfeffer (1981) described several means of assessing power: by its determinants, consequences, and symbols. The determinant or source of power possessed by the social actor in a given situation could be the result of particular knowledge or competence the participant possesses (Pfeffer, 1981). However, the actor may not recognize he or she possesses this power, or may choose not to utilize the power (Pfeffer, 1981). Assessing power by its consequences can be studied by recognizing decisions made within social systems. For example, one can assess the distribution of power and which social actors benefit and to what extent decisions are contested in organizations. In this manner, Pfeffer emphasized that: 1) it must be possible to ascertain situations "in which resources or

decisions are likely to be determined on the basis of power in the organization"
(Pfeffer, 1981, p. 49) and 2) to evaluate which social actors are the winners or losers
in decisions that are made on contested issues.

 Assessing power by its consequences. Another method in assessing
consequences as they become apparent in the decisions that organizations make is to
examine which social actors benefit and how much, in contested decisions within
organizations (Pfeffer, 1981). This can be self-evident in "budget distributions among
subunits, the allocation of positions, the making of strategy and policy choices, which
are favored by and are favorable to various actors" (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 49). Before
diagnosing the distribution of power by presumed consequences of the use of such
power a few things must be in order (Pfeffer, 1981). First, consequences require that
one must recognize the situations in which resources or decisions will be assessed by
the bases of power in the organization. Second, not only must it be possible to assess
which social actors have gained or lost in decision-making of critical and contested
issues, one must be able to diagnose circumstances in which power has had an effect
and determine who has won or lost in these political contests (Pfeffer, 1981).

 Assessing power by its symbols. Although social actors may not want the
public to know how power has affected decision outcomes, they may not be as
reticent about the visibility of the display of their symbols of power. This may take
the form of position titles, special parking spaces, special eating facilities, restrooms,
automobiles, office size, floor carpeting, and office furnishings. Pfeffer (1981) noted
this ostensible view of an individual's office can provide instant clues of where that
person ranks in the "status hierarchy" (p. 51).

Reputational indicators of organizational power. To determine where power lies in organization one can ask individuals (Pfeffer, 1981). However, there is controversy over using this reputational measurement of power in community power studies. Polsby (1960) criticized this research procedure, because it presumes an answer to the question before asking it. Similarly, simply by asking department heads to rank or rate the power of departments highlights the appearance of a stratified system of power when it is non-existent.

Representational indicators. Whereas reputational indicators of power rely on organizational informants to share their knowledge, representational indicators of power gauge "the position of social actors in critical organizational roles such as membership on influential boards and committees or occupancy of key administrative posts" (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 57). Examining position and committee occupants and their affiliations can yield data (Pfeffer, 1981). Some positions in organizations support social actors with the power to substantiate their power to others; these positions given to powerful social actors as a consequence of their power may provide these factors with additional power from the information in decisions that are accorded from these positions (Pfeffer, 1981).

Model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making. Pfeffer (1981) asserted that when making decisions three conditions surrounding the use of power must be taken into account. The first condition of interdependence occurs when what happens to one actor affects what happens to other actors. By linking organizational participants to one another, interdependence is important because it creates interest in what the other is doing

(Pfeffer, 1981). Without interdependence, there would cease to be a basis for conflict

or interaction among participants. A second condition is heterogeneous goals; goals

that are inconsistent with each other (Pfeffer, 1981). One person may have a goal that

is inconsistent with another yet both are bound together by their interdependence.

The third condition of scarcity produces the use of power. If resources are insufficient

to meet the various demands of organizational participants, then decisions will need

to be made about how to allocate these resources. Pfeffer (1981) explained "the

greater the scarcity as compared to demand, the greater the power and the effort that

will be expended in resolving the decision" (p. 69).
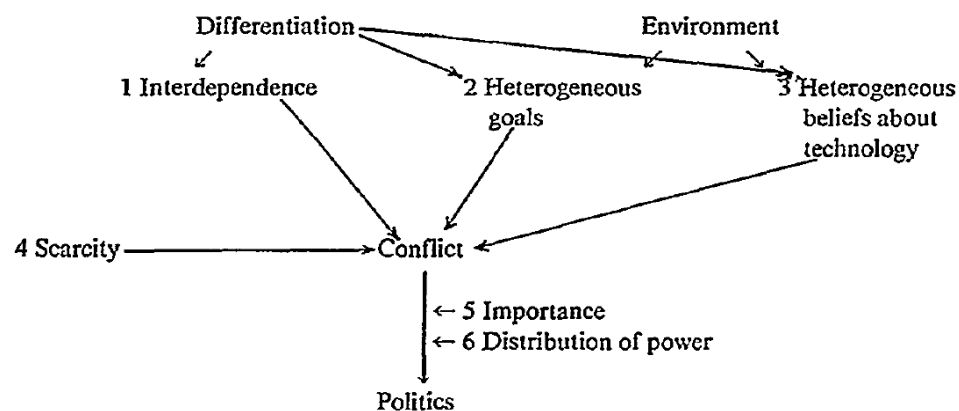
Figure 9. A Model of the Conditions Producing the Use of Power and Politics in Organizational Decision-making. Source: J. Pfeffer, Power in Organizations. p.69. Copyright by Pittman Publishing, Inc.

As described by Figure 9, the conditions of scarcity, interdependence, and

heterogeneous goals and beliefs about technology will produce conflict (Pfeffer,

1981). Two conditions determine whether this conflict will become political. "The

first condition is the importance of the decision issue or the resource" (Pfeffer, 1981,

p. 70). The second condition examines the distribution of power, whether political

activity, bargaining and coalition formation exist whenever power is discharged.

Pfeffer (1981) summarized that when power is highly centralized, this central authority makes major decisions using its rubric of rules and values. If there are political contests, these will occur in organizations because power and authority has been dispersed in the social system. Another central point Pfeffer makes is that when there are conflicting and heterogeneous preferences and goals and beliefs about the relationship between actions and consequences and interdependence among the actors and a condition of scarcity, power will be the only way to resolve decision. Essentially, "power is the mechanism, the currency by which the conflict gets resolved" (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 70). Pfeffer asserted that social power is gained by conflict being resolved as it typically accompanies these scenarios.

In *Managing with Power*, Pfeffer (1992) discussed power in organizations, sources of power, strategies and tactics for employing power effectively, and power dynamics. In his conclusion he delineated the critical steps of how to manage with power. First, it requires realizing that in almost every organization various interests operate (Pfeffer, 1992). Second, one must figure out the points of view of held by various individuals and subunits and understand their perspective and what it means to them. After understanding their perspective, one should understand how their issues in turn affect oneself. Third, "managing with power means understanding that to get things done, you need power" (Pfeffer, 1992, p. 341). Therefore, individuals must understand where power comes from and how to develop sources of power (Pfeffer, 1992). Unless one builds one's sources of power, one may end up not being as effective as possible. Fourth, one cannot be successful without understanding how to manage power by examining the strategies and tactics through which power is

developed and used in organizations, "including the importance of timing, the use of structure, the social psychology of committed and other forms of interpersonal influence" (Pfeffer, 1992, p. 341). Pfeffer asserted by understanding power and how it is displayed one can become more adept and skillful in understanding the range of strategies and tactics of using power and therefore use them most effectively.

Critiques of Pfeffer. When Pfeffer's (1981) *Power in Organizations* was released, Peter Marsden, William Joyce, and Marshall Meyer critiqued his work. They praised the book for making issues surrounding power accessible to students, stimulating further research and its scholarly breadth. All critiqued his focus on university and public sector organizations examples. Meyer (1983) critiqued Pfeffer's weak connection between indicators used in quantitative research and the subject power, wishing the book focused more on method than anecdote. Marsden (2001) found Pfeffer's coverage of politics in organizations not as theoretically grounded as Bacharach and Lawler's (1980) *Power and Politics in Organizations: The Social Psychology of Conflict, Coalitions, and Bargaining*. And Joyce (1982) commented that although Pfeffer gathered a diverse set of relevant laws, he failed to integrate them; power is focused on exclusivity rather than connecting it with other perspectives.

Using Pfeffer's (1981) model, I examined how WOC-SL used power to influence events and politics when conflict occurred. Indicators of power through symbols (e.g., size of her office, location of parking space, access to facilities) illustrated her status through representational indicators (e.g., observe where power lies in the organization), and reputational indicators (e.g., examine organizational

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charts to see where she is ranked, note what committees/boards she serves on, memberships and where she is invited to speak). Pfeffer's (1981) model suggested that the actor may not recognize she possesses power, and even if it is recognized she may choose not to use it. I investigated how WOC-SLs defined power, whether they had a power strategy, how they chose to use it and whether it was consistent with Pfeffer's (1981) model. Women in this study were interdependent on other actors and used strategies to align individuals to their interests. They were political and used information to influence stakeholders to support their decisions. WOC-SL did not exhibit using power to solve conflicts that arose because of scarcity of resources as Pfeffer suggested.

French and Raven

Social psychologists French and Raven's (1959) theory of social power, a seminal work that has been widely used, defines social influence as "a change in the belief, attitude, or behavior of a person (the target of influence) which results from the action of another person (influencing agent)" (Raven, 2008, p. 1). These researchers sought to identify the major types of power and compare them, examining what changes they produced and the effects that accompanied the use of power. Their theory supposed that power and influence is a dyadic relationship between two individuals (the target of influence and the influencing agent). This theory addresses central questions: "a) what determines the behavior of the agent who exerts power? and b) what determines the reactions of the recipients of this behavior?" (French and Raven, 1959, p. 150). Initially, French and Raven described five sources of power: reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert. Reward power refers to the "ability

of the agent to offer a positive incentive if the target complies;" this may be in the form of a raise in pay, promotion, or special work privileges (Raven, 2008, p. 2). If one is using coercive power, the influencing agent will punish the target, if the target "fails to conform to the influence attempt" (French & Raven, 1965, p. 157). In legitimate power, the target accepts the right of the agent to ask for changed behavior and the target complies. Referent power states that a target is attracted to qualities of the influencing agent and "sees the agent as a model that the target would want to emulate" (Raven, 2008, p. 3). The stronger the interest, the greater the target identifies with the agent. Expert power refers to the target's belief in the influencing agent as someone who has superior knowledge of what behavior can be used in a given situation; individuals believe the expert has special knowledge or expertise (Tauber, 1985).

Raven (1992) developed the bases of power into a larger context in *Power/Interaction Model of Interpersonal Influence*, adding a sixth base of power: information. Informational power exists when the supervisor explains to the subordinate how to accomplish his/her job, and is persuasive by utilizing a more effective procedure. His model addressed the motivation for influence and the use of power, through examining the factors that lead to a choice of power strategy. His later model examined how to implement the bases of power, utilize a power strategy, and how to adjust strategies given the lack of change in the target of influence (Raven, 2008, pp. 4-5).

In this later model, Raven (2008) addressed how informational power can make the agent feel more powerful, and can result in a lack of change in the target. If

a leader or supervisor has a high need for power that individual would be more likely to select and pursue a personal course of power in legitimate personal power (Raven, 2008). Individuals who had strong affiliation needs and concern that their subordinates would like them, would utilize referent power and reward power, especially personal reward power (Raven, 2008). On the other hand, if individuals were considering a need for achievement, they might utilize informational and expert power (Raven, 2008).

Motivation for choice of bases of power. If a leader or supervisor has a high need for power that individual would be more likely to select and pursue a personal course of power in legitimate personal power. Individuals who had strong affiliation needs and concern that their subordinates would like them, would utilize referent power and reward power, especially personal reward power. On the other hand, if individuals were considering a need for achievement, they might utilize informational and expert power (Raven, 2008).

In selecting a power strategy, the agent would utilize a cost-benefit analysis of the planned strategy. Therefore, even though informational influence or persuasion might be quite desirable, it could take more time and effort than is available (Raven, 2008). Coercion, on the other hand, could result in rapid compliance, but requires costs of maintaining surveillance, hostility of the unhappy subordinate, and at times, a violation of one's personal value system or generally accepted social norms (Raven, 2008). Raven (2008) stressed that power holders, because of personalities, experiences, and values or even force of habit may select one bases of power over others.

Results of using power bases. Use of the power bases may result in effective changes or a lack of change in the target of influence (Raven, 2008). The target may accept or reject influence from the agent that can be due to personal factors, need for independence, for power or self-esteem, or for personal feelings—positive or negative— toward the influencing agent (Raven, 2008). Further, targets may consider how third parties may view them if they comply or do not comply, and therefore they may at times resist influence inappropriately (Raven, 2008). Therefore, targets may prepare for verbal assault or anticipate what bases of power the influencing agent may use towards them (Raven, 2008). Raven also stipulated an unsuccessful influence attempt may precipitate the influencing agent in altering his or her strategies. However, by the time they enact this change, the target may also have changed (Raven, 2008). Therefore, this interaction becomes more complex as both influencing agent and target are influencing one another (Raven, 2008). Raven cited interpersonal or intergroup conflict as an example of mutual influence attempts, where both parties utilize strategies and analyze the "effects that these have one upon the other" (Raven, 2008, p. 9).

Critiques of French and Raven. There have been several critiques of French and Raven's theory of social power. Schriescheim, Hinkin, & Podsakoff (1991) conducted an empirical investigation of French and Raven's (1959) five bases of power. Their findings supported assertions of Podsakoff and Schriescheim (1985) and Yukl (1989) that French and Raven's (1959) power bases contain many distorted relationships with dependent variables. Because instruments used to rank order the items make them fully ipsative measures (a specific type of measure in which

respondents compare two or more desirable options and pick the one which is most preferred) the empirical relationships among the five power bases are distorted. Podsakoff and Schriescheim found that the results for reward, legitimate, and expert power are significantly influenced by [ipsative] scaling procedure used. They found good short-term stability for the multi-item Likert scales but the results for single-item Likert and single item ipsative (ranking) scales were poor. However, they recommend more research is needed to provide empirical results that can be used for future research and theory construction. Their critique, which validates other previous critiques, informs us that French and Raven's five power bases need to be interpreted with caution and more research is needed to understand social power in organizations (Schriescheim, Hinkin, & Podsakoff, 1991).

In summary, French and Raven's (1959) model offered key insights into psychological change, social influence, and social power. Further, it defined how change in behavior had to do with changing "opinions, attitudes, goals, needs, values and all other aspects of person's psychological field" (French & Raven, 1959, p. 151). I used French and Raven's theory of social power to examine how WOC-SLs used the sources of power to influence internal and external university constituencies, to support their objectives. Participants used reward and informational power for social influence. WOC-SLs did not use power bases or a power strategy to help them advance to their current senior level positions as the model described.

Lipman-Blumen's (1992) Connective Leadership

Connective leadership connects individuals to their tasks and ego drives, and the group and community that are interdependent on the accomplishment of mutual

goals (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). Leadership is based upon the "premise of connection" (Gilligan, 1982), and an understanding that networks of relationships link society together through mutual responsibilities. This integrative form of leadership encompasses transactional and transformational behaviors (Bass, 1990; Burns, 1978; Doig & Hargrove, 1987; Gardner, 1990; Tichy & Devanna, 1986), extends beyond individualism and charisma (Conger, 1989; Gerth & Mills, 1946; Kouzes & Pousner, 1987), and reaches farther than competition and collaboration (Badaracco, 1991; Gray, 1989).

The Connective Leadership/Achieving Styles model (1992) includes three sets of Achieving styles: Direct, Instrumental, and Relational. Each set comprises three different individual styles for a total of nine behavioral strategies that individuals utilize to achieve their goals.

Direct set. Individuals who prefer the direct set of behavioral styles are inclined to manage their own tasks individually and directly. The first direct style, the intrinsic direct, receives intrinsic satisfaction from their exemplary performance, a performance that only they could deliver; they are passionate, and sometimes stubborn, about the vision or goal they have set, due to their self-reliant creativity (Lipman-Blumen, 1992).

The second direct achieving style is the competitive direct, which describes the rugged individualist who competes in an unrelentless manner, in pursuit of overcoming all contenders, challenging odds and incalculable hardships (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). Women typically assign lower valuation to competitive behavior (Axline, Billings, & VanderHorst, 1991); and women of all ages, occupational and

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cultural groups, compared to men of their own group, are less likely to describe using competitive strategies to realize their goals.

The third direct style is the power direct, a "take charge" behavior that is often associated with traditional American heroes (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). Individuals using this style prefer to be in total control of all resources, including situations, institutions, and global events. Even if leaders who prefer a power direct achieving style delegate tasks to other people, they assume strict control over targeted goals and how they will be accomplished.

Direct achievers typically bring together followers to their cause by defining an external enemy, sometimes amplifying the potential threat and creating enemies when none are present (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). Doing so brings internal cohesion to the leader's group and at the same time increases the leader's strength as well as the group's need for the leader's protection and guidance. The heroes of the direct achiever embody the American ego-ideal: "rugged individuals, with creative, visionary dreams, taking control, pitting themselves against impossible odds and winning" (Lipman-Blumen, 1992, p.7).

Relational set. Individuals who enjoy working on group tasks and helping others attain their goals draw on behaviors described in the relational set (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). The first style, contributory, describes people who like to work behind the scenes to enable others to accomplish their tasks. Deriving satisfaction from assisting others enabling a person or group to be successful, they feel a sense of satisfaction from contributing to other's accomplishment. Even though they are a partner in another person's task, they understand the major accomplishment belongs

to that person. They enjoy participating in these undertakings and volunteer to help others whose goals they respect (Lipman-Blumen, 1992).

The second relational style is collaborative. Individuals who prefer this style revel in accomplishing tasks by doing it with others, whether a single collaborator or a team (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). Working with others is much preferred over working by themselves which they usually try to avoid. Individuals who prefer this style enjoy the synergy of working with others, which contributes to a surge of enthusiasm and creativity in their work. They are devoted to the group and its goals. Willing to do their part of the work, they expect that they will be given recognition in the reward. However, if the team is not successful, they will assume their portion of responsibility (Lipman-Blumen, 1992).

The third relational style is vicarious, describing individuals who receive a sense of accomplishment from the success of others (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). They are mentors offering guidance and encouragement, happy to support other individuals and groups with reassurance, direction, and praise. They prefer to be on the sidelines as a spectator or supporter of the individual who is the main achiever. Seeing others succeed is sufficient reward, thus they do not need credit for others' accomplishments (Lipman-Blumen, 1992).

Instrumental set. This set of achieving styles reflects the use of self, system, and others as instruments for goal attainment. The first instrumental style is personal, demonstrated by the action of leaders who utilize their "intelligence, wit, passion, humor, family background, previous accomplishments and defeats, courage, physical appearance, and sexual appeal" to link themselves to individuals who they need

commitment and help (Lipman-Blumen, 1992, p. 11). They enjoy public speaking and exhibit persuasive and exemplary negotiating skills to help them resolve conflicts to enlist others to help their task. They have an acute sense of timing. Using dramatic gestures and symbols to convey essential meaning and the importance of their task, they know how to use ritual and costume to communicate their message. Their unexpected actions are met with surprise and delight by supporters and opponents (Lipman-Blumen, 1992).

The second set of instrumental achieving styles is social. Individuals who prefer this style involve other people who have special skills and experience that can assist with the task at hand (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). They enjoy doing things through other people and are always looking for connections between people and tasks. They are able to think about talents, knowledge, and contacts of their peers and appropriately match them to the task or the right contact. Having strong political connections and networks keeps them in touch with a large group of people who will help them when necessary. Leaders who use this style exhibit system or political astuteness (Lipman-Blumen, 1992).

The third instrumental style is entrusting. These individuals rely on everyone, not only particularly selected individuals, to accomplish their tasks. Letting go of control over execution, social instrumental leaders entrust others with their vision, having full confidence that others can implement their goals better than themselves. This empowers other individuals to meet the entrusting instrumental leader's expectations.

Lipman-Blumen (1992) asserted women excel in collaborative, contributory, and mentoring behaviors, all aspects of connective leadership. Their ability to collaborate, contribute to other tasks and take pride in other people's accomplishments, are central to traditional female role behaviors. Research confirms women have greater propensity for putting others' needs above their own, and across the board rank competitiveness lower than counterpart males, in age, education, and occupation (Lipman-Blumen, et al., 1983; Lipman-Blumen, 1991).

Critiques of Lipman-Blumen. Lipman-Blumen's connective leadership model (1992) stated that relational styles tend to be underused and discounted because of their connection to traditional female roles. Critics assert that research findings in the last chapters of the *Connective Edge: Leading in an Interdependent World*, provide little evidence of behavioral differences between male and female managers when context is controlled (Skaggs, 2000). Connective leaders unlike traditional counterparts fail to see relationships in which they are involved as hierarchical or vertical. Relationships are viewed as egalitarian networks that cross many levels. Power for connective leaders is derived not from individual achievements and accomplishments but comes from the empowerment of others (Skaggs, 2000). A critique of Lipman-Blumen's work is that true connective leaders are few and far between, and her own data collected from other over 5,000 corporate managers found that this type of leadership by both men and women is most prevalent and successful in leaders of entrepreneurial or nonprofit organization (Skaggs, 2000). Therefore, it is doubtful that American leadership will undergo major transformation in the near-term regardless of the extent to which it may be needed (Skaggs, 2000).

I used Lipman-Blumen's model (1992) to see which of the nine strategies women of color employed for their leadership practices. WOC-SLs utilized relational and instrumental styles more than direct styles in their leadership styles.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality developed from the scholarly tradition of Maria Stewart and W.E. B. Dubois, and the fields of ethnic studies and women studies which examined intersections of race, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality (Collins, 2009). Scholarship on intersectionality developed through the 1970s and 1980s, though Crenshaw (1991) was the first to pen the term "intersectionality" (Collins, 2009). By pointing out how gender-only frameworks would be narrow at best, Crenshaw (1991) argued that understanding violence against women would be incomplete without taking into consideration race, ethnicity, immigrant status, and the class of women who were targets of violence. Crenshaw saw knowledge and hierarchical power relations as interrelated to the extent that frameworks that shaped understandings of violence were concurrently influenced by violence and organizational responses to it. Social problems were re-examined under the intersectional framework to understand those that were harmed most by inequalities: "poverty, poor education, substandard healthcare, inadequate housing, and violence" (Collins, 2009, p.viii). For instance, intersectionality asked the questions: how are racism and sexism, class and heterosexism co-constructed, and how does one's citizen status or nationality, affect issues of ability and age? Intersectionality queried the meaning of power and focused on projects that fostered social justice (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Collins in *Black Feminist Thought* (2000) described power as "both a force that some groups use to oppress others" and an "intangible entity that operates throughout a society and is organized in particular domains" (p. 75). Dill and Zambrana (2009) in intersectionality used this concept of power to describe how people experience inequalities that are maintained through four interrelated domains: structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, interpersonal.

Structural power. This domain includes the institutional structures of society such as government, legal systems, housing patterns, economic traditions, and educational structures (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Collins (2000) described the ways in which "institutions are organized to reproduce subordination over time" (p. 277). Policies that discriminated against people of color include: racial segregation, exclusion acts, internment, forced relocation, denial of the right to own property, denial of the right to marry and form stable families. Intersectional analysis examines the source of inequities and instigates correcting them (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Disciplinary power. Disciplinary power includes the ideas and practices that describe and uphold bureaucratic hierarchies that perpetuate and maintain inequality (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). For example, after the New Deal, a two-tier welfare system developed. A national supported social insurance system that gave benefits to workers who were disproportionately White and male, as compared to a poorly funded, state supported system for those who were irregularly employed, of which a disproportionate number were women and minorities. State legislation openly discriminated against people on the basis of race or immigrant status, illustrating

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bureaucratic practices that gave or denied benefits based upon "morality, political loyalty and value judgments of individual case workers" (Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 9)

Hegemonic power. Hegemonic power includes images, symbols, ideas, and ideologies that shape social consciousness (Collins, 2000). Cultural ideologies, which shape group and individual consciousness, link social institutions of structural power and organizational practices to disciplinary power and interpersonal power. These ideas affect how members of various social groups are regarded and represented in society at large and expectations of them (hooks, 1992). Representation of people of color builds upon ideas, images, and stereotypes that are based in American history and affect the differential treatment of groups and individuals (Portes, 2000).

Interpersonal power. Interpersonal power consists of patterns of interaction between individuals and groups. How individuals treat one another, with everyday racism or sexism, goes unnoticed because they become routine practices (Collins, 2000). This includes the practice of referring to White men as "men" and men of color with a racial or ethnic modifier; or White women experiencing feelings of threat or fear when encountering a Black man on the street. Essed (1991) interviewed women of African descent in the Netherlands and the United States and found that Whites in the Netherlands have a narrower definition of racism than Whites in the United States. Intersectional analyses confirm how sources of inequality and the various ways it manifests or intersects with layers of social relations (structural/institutional/ideological/macro and interpersonal/everyday/micro) are

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demonstrated in different historical and geographical milieus (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Intersectional knowledge is developed by the experiences of previously excluded communities—American Indian, Black, Latina/o, Asian American Pacific Islander—who are considered the "outsider within," "subaltern," and "borderland" voices of society (Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 6). Knowledge is derived from people of color's counter histories and counter narratives to narratives of the experiences of social elites. Intersectional analysis reveals how oppression is "constructed and maintained through multiple aspects of identity simultaneously" (Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 7). Structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power draw upon the experiences of individuals who have experienced discrimination because of combinations of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and other aspects of difference (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Critiques of Intersectionality

Feminists, including feminists of color have raised concerns about intersectionality, its limitations, implications, and have questioned its focus (Zack, 2005). White analytic feminist philosophers have biases over valuing certain methods and styles of methodology over others. For analytic philosophers, whether feminist or not, intersectional approaches can be threatening because it puts the "purity" of philosophical methods at risk (Garry, 2011). Analytic philosophers are against tampering with their methods of argument, especially the high level of abstraction with which they discuss issues (Garry). They label the work of philosophers who value intersectionality and want to reflect upon the diverse conditions of women of

color as not actual philosophy (Bailey, 2010). Another critic, Zack (2005) argued that intersectional analyses keep White women central to feminism and exclude women of color and women from the global south from feminist discussions. Intersectionality actually helped maintain "feminism" on one side and "multicultural "feminism" and "global feminism" on the other (Zack, 2005).

Intersectionality was utilized in this study to examine how it fit with the experiences of women of color senior leaders. Women of color experienced racism and sexism differently depending on educational context. Interpersonal power and everyday racism was cited. Intersectionality assisted in understanding privilege and inequality and how that was maintained in structural and hegemonic and interpersonal domains.

Summary of Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

Critical race theory was pivotal to my study for understanding the complexities of the intersection of race and gender within the historical context of American Indian, African American, AAPI, and Latina women's participation in academe. Participants spoke of racism and sexism in their senior roles in administration. Critical race theory framed the discussion of existing entitlements, and how women of color resist racism and oppression in academe. It allowed participants to name their own reality, in their voice, and affirms experiential knowledge. Using critical race theory enabled an interdisciplinary examination of participant's experience, where disciplines such as women's studies, sociology, and LGBTQ studies could be used to illuminate analysis of the data.

Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making addressed the importance of interdependence and how women of color built support among their constituents and stakeholders. Without interdependence, there would cease to be a basis for conflict or interaction between individuals. His model also assisted in understanding that mastering organizational politics required the acquisition, development, and use of power to bring about preferred outcomes in situations where groups are in conflict.

French and Raven's (1959) theory of social power was valuable to this study in examining which of the six bases of power WOC-SL used to influence others as they navigated power and politics in academe. Women in this study reported using reward and informational power.

Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership model connected individuals to their tasks and ego drives, and the group and community that are interdependent on the accomplishment of mutual goals. Through this model, I was able to situate women of color's leadership style based upon the "premise of connection" (Gilligan, 1982), the model's achieving styles: direct, instrumental, and relational. WOC-SL were mostly closely matched to the instrumental and relational achieving styles.

Intersectionality (Dill & Zambrana, 2009) which draws upon knowledge developed by the experiences of previously excluded communities—Black, Latina/o, Asian American, and Native American Indian— was helpful to my study for using knowledge that is derived from people of color's counter histories and counter narratives to narratives of the experiences of social elites. Intersectional analysis revealed how oppression is "constructed and maintained through multiple aspects of

identity simultaneously" for the women of color senior leaders in this study (Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 7). I examined how structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power affected WOC-SLs who experienced discrimination because of combinations of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and other aspects of difference (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

All five frameworks: critical race theory (CRT); Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making; French and Raven's (1959) theory of social power; Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership; and Dill and Zambrana's (2009) intersectionality, combine to examine different areas of my research question. I used CRT as a frame to understand race, gender, and privilege in academe. Then I used Pfeffer's model to understand how WOC-SL use power and politics to manage conflict in an environment of resource scarcity. French and Raven's theory extended Pfeffer's model to look at dyadic interactions between the WOC-SL and other individuals and how she effectively influenced her constituents using French and Raven's power bases. I used Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership model to understand women of color leadership styles. Finally, Dill and Zambrana's (2009) intersectionality examines how structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power draw upon the experiences of individuals who have experienced discrimination because of combinations of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and other aspects of difference (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). In combination, these theoretical/conceptual frames assist in understanding dimensions of how power is transacted, motivations to influence, while simultaneously examining the intertwining of race and gender, and

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critically examining how scarcity, interdependence, power and politics operate in the

organizational system.

Power

"I share power. I don't have a problem with someone else representing me in the community or the provost making the decisions in my absence."

– Mildred Garcia, President of CSU Dominguez Hills

Power is a contested notion. Many scholars have written about it and many definitions of power abound. Scholarship on power crosses many disciplines – economic and post-structural sociology, organizational theory, and political science. Therefore, scholars come from different vantage points and are not in agreement on power.

The purpose of this section is to examine conceptualizations of power, to explain the basis of these power definitions, and to indicate which of these conceptualizations informs my study. To understand French and Raven's (1959) social power theory, one must see its connection to social exchange theory and power dependence theory; power typologies are described at the end of this section. Power can be conceptualized in terms of three frames: "power over," "power with," and "power within." I have also included other areas of power: powerlessness and power conditions.

Marx, Durkheim, and Weber, the great three social theorists, are the early forerunners of contemporary power theories concepts. Their power concepts were divergent yet have profound impacts on the field. Marx's work (1844) was foundational for his concept that human essence exerts a power over human behavior, and therefore there is a relation of power between those who occupy a particular

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position (e.g., the capitalist over the worker, or the legislator over the citizen). Their relation of power makes the relationship between capital and human nature contingent. For example, people are hired for a wage and the supervisor has the power to fire them. Human emancipation happens when men no longer organize their power as political power only but as social power. Durkheim's work (1982) revolved around the study of social facts, a term coined that described phenomena that had an existence in and of themselves and were not bound to the actions of individuals. Durkheim argued that social facts, phenomena that existed in and of themselves, had an independent existence that was greater and more objective than actions of the individuals that composed society. Social facts were endowed with a power of coercion that allowed them to control individual behaviors. For example, there are speed laws in all parts of our cities but speed cameras serve to enforce individuals to travel the posted speed. Coercive power may exist in formal laws and regulations and in informal rules such as religious rituals or family norms.

Most contemporary theorists draw upon Weber's (1947) definition of the concept of power. Weber defined power as the "probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (p. 152). For Weber, qualities of a person and any possible circumstances may put him in a position to impose his will at any time. He argued that it was probable that a command would be obeyed. For example, a teacher has a social relationship with a student and though the student may be resistant to doing homework the teacher will most likely be successful in getting the student to do the assignment.

Early theorists based their definitions of power on Weber's (1947) and expanded these concepts. Blau (1964), Dahl (1957), Mechanic (1962), Kaplan (1964), Bierstedt (1950), and Wrong (1968) conceptualized power as interactive in nature (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980). Theorists extended Weber's definition to include the ability of others to impose their will on others despite resistance and by withholding supplies and rewards or in the form of punishment (Blau, 1964); or by persuading others to do things they would not ordinarily do by influence (Dahl, 1957). Power was also seen as a force or the ability to apply sanctions by potential force (Bierstedt, 1950). Mechanic (1962) introduced the concept of power as a force that results in behavior that would not have occurred if force were not present. Others saw power not simply as influencing the behavior of others, but as changing the probability of a response based on certain stimuli (Kaplan, 1964). Theorists posited that the reputation of power might lead to possession and exercise of power hence, latent power or possible power (Wrong, 1968). However, the difference between possible power and actual power was that social groups or others must have solidarity, common goals, social organization, and leadership to convert possible power into realized power (Wrong, 1968). These definitions of power are interactive in nature and operate in an individual not an organizational context. Parsons (1956) expanded the notion of power as operating within a system unit to interaction within the system; this in turn exerted influence on processes in the system. His description was unique in viewing power of interacting parties that are contained within larger structures that exist independent of the actors (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980). These definitions inform ways of understanding power.

"Power Over"

The first theme that underlies the power literature is "power over." In this conceptualization, power is seen within a hierarchy, having dominance over others, or a top down approach. Individuals may have formal power, which comes from their position; therefore, one cannot have power outside of formal authority (Marx, 1844). Legitimized power gives the individual the ability to get others to do what one wants. People that are well situated in hierarchies of prestige and status have more influence and effectiveness in directing others to accomplish tasks (Kanter, 1977, 1983). Studies found that authority was more acceptable and easier to use than most forms of power for influencing others; even in lateral relations, legitimate power made it easier to obtain information, cooperation, and assistance to do the work (Yukl & Falbe, 1991).

Coercive power. Some theorists have described "power over" as masculine and "power with" as feminine. Sociologist Etzioni (1961) described "power over" as coercive, renumerative and normative (as prestige power). In this framework, an organization has the ability to apply physical, constraining force and pain for non-compliance. Etzioni (1961) applied Weberian principles with an emphasis on compliance relationships and power relationships among groups of actors (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980). Studies found that power located within the organizational hierarchy was seen as oppressive and finite by grassroots leaders that used a confrontational approach (Kezar, 2010). Non coercive power sources were found to be effective for reducing the frequency of intra-channel conflict therefore channel

leaders should use non coercive rather than coercive sources (Baldwin, 1971; Lusch, 1976; Raven & Kruglanski, 1970).

Moreover, "power over" may include control over the supply of material resources, information and support, and contingencies managed (Kanter, 1977, 1983; Smith, 1987). Control of rewards can also translate into coercive power (French & Raven, 1959; Kotter, 1985). On the other hand, individuals may resist the power of domination and struggle for their own power. In early history, this included the power of the people such as the proletariat resisting being dominated by capital (Friere & Faundez, 1989; Marx, 1844).

Oppressive power. Some women studies scholars maintain at the societal structural level, systems of power were implicated in the development, organization, and maintenance of inequalities and social justice (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Aside from seeing "power over" existing within structures and systems, power is a force that some groups use to oppress others and that operates in society and is organized in particular domains—structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal (Collins, 2000).

"Power With"

Interdependence. The second theme of power is described as "power with." This is viewed as interdependence and dependence on others for resources. Interdependence is described as the way specialization creates bonds of solidarity between people who need others to complete their complex tasks (Durkheim, 1947; Pfeffer, 1981). Studies on interdependence found that the most effective top management teams were highly interdependent and devoted more effort to team

mechanisms and interdependence of structure power and culture; this became critical to the change process as making the situation empowering or disempowering (Acker-Hocevar & Touchton, 1999; Barrick, Bradley, Kristorf-Brown & Colbert, 2007). Studies also supported the notion that positional power can influence decisions but other entities can constrict power causing the leader to fail to exercise his power (Baptiste, Orvosh-Kamenski, & Kamenski, 2005). In an organization, political processes develop when there are interdependencies among discretionary jobs. When positions are not routinized, decisions are possible and can affect outcomes (Thompson, 1967).

Dependence through resources. Another descriptor of "power with" is dependence through control of critical resources. If there are problems of getting things through, because of roadblocks, one must have the ability to move things through different check points (Kanter, 1977). Power in organizations lies in an ability to solve dependency problems and to control relevant sources of uncertainty (Kanter, 1977). In addition, scarcity of resources (e.g., money, materials, technology, personnel, support from customers) increases dependence on others (Pfeffer, 1981).

Power bases and power tools. Resources are necessary for dependence, and scholars describe differences between power bases and power tools as pivotal for creating change and interdependence. Uncertainty increases the bases for power and the number of power bases increases with the number of uncertainties or contingencies it faces (French & Raven, 1959; Kanter, 1977).

Scholars describe power tools as important for innovation and creating change in the organization (Morgan, 2006; Kanter, 1983; Pettigrew, 1972). Information (e.g.,

data, technical knowledge, political intelligence, and expertise) is one tool, and resources of funds, materials, space, staff, and time are others. Research showed that outside information sources were less of a determinant of influence in decision situations but for new purchases, information gathering was highly related to influencing the decision (Salancik, Pfeffer & Kelly, 1978). Power tools also encompassed support (endorsement, backing, approval, legitimacy) and control of technology. Technology affected power relations between individuals and departments through its interdependence between units (Kanter, 1983; Morgan, 2006; Pettigrew, 1972).

Power sources. Other scholars differentiate between power bases and power sources (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980; Kotter, 1985). Bacharach and Lawler (1980) defined bases of power as what parties' control that enables them to manipulate the behavior of others, whereas sources of power included how parties come to control the bases of power. He identified four sources of power— structure, personality, expertise, and opportunity, and four bases of power— coercion, remunerative, normative, and knowledge. Research on the bases of power indicated that the cognitive accuracy of the informal network was itself a base of power and the structural power base, the formal position one has in the organization, was related to power and advice centrality, but did not necessarily correlate to cognitive accuracy (Krackhardt, 1990). As problem situations arise and uncertainty occurs, the bases of power and influence in the organization may shift (Salancik, Pfeffer & Kelly, 1978). Kotter's (1985) definition was more similar to power bases and power tools. He

described three sources of power as information or knowledge, good working relationships, a good track record, and a good reputation.

Reputational power. Studies on representational indicators of organizational power requested respondents rank departments in order of how much power they had within the organizations. Using questionnaires and interviews to assess the power of subunits, researchers asked academic departments at the University of Illinois to indicate how much power they thought various departments possessed (Hinings et al., 1974; Perrow, 1970; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1974). Reputational power was found to be significantly related to cognitive accuracy of the advice network not the friendship network; thus knowledge of the relevant network was associated with reputational power, independent of other structural bases of power (Krackhardt, 1990).

Power in relationships. Another aspect of "power with" is power in relationships. Many theorists have discussed that power is not held in a position title, nor authority, but in relationships with others (Foucault, 1982). Power is not hierarchical and is exercised between individuals regardless of their status. Individuals have relationships and are themselves the vehicles of power (Foucault, 1982). Accessible to all, power exists when it is put into action (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980; Foucault, 1982; Weber, 1946). Research on community-based organizations found that interpersonal relationships were key to developing a network of relationships that mobilized individuals seeking power in the community and created a setting where they could be empowered in their organizations (Speer, Hughey, Gendsheimer, & Adams-Leavitt, 1995).

Empowering others/collaboration. "Power with" has also been characterized

as feminine in the literature because studies revealed that women placed greater value

on autonomy than men and their relationship was more egalitarian than one sided in

its balance of power (Falbo & Peplau, 1980). Research on women leaders found they

rarely mentioned their own power, instead they emphasized empowering others in

creating consensus, demonstrating a collaborative process and feminist leadership,

and generating power through their roles as nurturing mothers and caring teachers

(Brunner & Schumaker, 1998; Chen, 2007; Cheung & Halpern, 2010). They

discussed creating flatter organizations and sharing information widely through the

organization essentially describing what is known in the leadership literature as

transformational leadership style (Cheung & Halpern, 2010).

Shared power. Studies found women were likely to share power and

information, because it created loyalty signaling to workers that they were trusted,

and set an example for others that enhances good communication flow (Rosener,

1990). Sharing power and information allowed employees and coworkers the

opportunity to reach conclusions and solve problems and was described as a shared

collaborative approach to leadership (Crosby, 2010; Rosener, 1990). Through

appealing to shared interests, individuals shared power by working informal power

processes to overcome inertia thereby empowering themselves through the process of

change (Kezar, 2010).

Research has also contrasted "power over" and "power to" orientations,

finding that a "power to" orientation seeks a decision-making process that delivers

policies all can support, described power as teamwork, and strengthened interpersonal

relationships within the community; some women preferred the term "influence" instead of "power" (Brunner & Schumaker, 1998; Isaac, Behar-Horenstein, & Koro-Ljungberg, 2009).

Personal power. Studies drew a distinction between personal power and structural power. Women were more likely than men "to use power based on charisma, work record, and contacts (personal power) as opposed to a power based on organizational position, title, and the ability to reward and punish (structural power)" (Rosener, 1990, p. 121). Two skills that were likely to be sources of personal power were persuasiveness and charisma (Yukl, 1991). In addition, rational persuasion has been noted to be an important influence technique (Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980; Yukl & Falbe, 1990). Charisma, the perception by others that a person is extraordinary and can be trusted to lead a group or organization, was seen by leadership theorists as a significant source of influence for managers (Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; House, 1977). Research findings also established correlations between power measures and criterion variables that supported prior findings that personal power was more important than position power as a "source of leader influence on subordinate performance" (Yukl, 1991, p. 422).

Networks. The use of informal networks, sponsors, mentors, alliances, and having friends in high places provides a source of power that may be used to exert interpersonal influence to bring about desired ends (Kanter, 1997; Pfeffer, 1981). Today, in our information-based society, networks are quickly replacing hierarchies and knowledge workers are less deferential (Nye, 2012). Studies indicated there are different kinds of networks that serve different purposes. Critical advice networks

(who goes to whom for work-related advice) represented instrumental, work-flow-based networks within the organization, while friendship networks or the "primary network" engendered important affective and social bonds that affect trust during times of change (Krackhardt, 1990; Lincoln & Miller, 1979, p. 186). When formal authority networks were tightly coupled with either friendship networks or trust networks, the greater their degree of coupling, the greater the individuals identified with the organization (Krackhardt, 1990). Trust networks that were based on personal attraction coupled with formal authority networks helped facilitate the transfer or confirmation of values and beliefs (Krackhardt, 1990). In another study, managers belonged to more clubs and societies, had large core discussion networks, more stranger pairs, and had closer intimate ties than non-managers (Caroll & Teo, 1996; Kuipers, 2009).

Power Typologies

Social power theory. Interpersonal influence and reciprocity are rooted in concepts of social relationships that are related to French and Raven's (1959) social power theory. French and Raven's theory is based upon two theories: social exchange theory and power dependence theory. Social exchange theory views power as an exchange approach to social relationships (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980; Blau, 1964: Emerson, 1962, 1972; Homans, 1974; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Dependence makes exchange an essential part of the social relationship; dependence exists when an actor's outcomes are contingent not only on his or her behavior but on what other actors do in reaction to his or her behavior (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Therefore, dependence varies from relationships to settings. In an organizational context, any

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given subgroup has a relationship with many individuals and subgroups within the organization (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980).

Power dependence theory. Power dependence theory proposes that dependence is an underpinning of social relationships and also for the power an actor has in a relationship (Blau, 1964; Emerson 1962, 1972). Power is an inherent part of a social relationship even if it is not always recognized by the actors. Since power is a function of dependence, the more others depend on the actor, the greater his power. The greater the actor's dependence on the other, the greater the other's power is in the social relationship. Given that dependence is based on the availability of alternative outcome sources (outcome alternatives), and the degree of value (outcome value), the outcome alternative is the probability the actor can obtain better outcomes from other relationships (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980; Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1962, 1972; Gergen, 1969; Homans, 1974; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Thus, power must be seen not in isolation but within the network of relationships that surround the particular relationship (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980). Dependence theory relates to Weber's (1947) definition, an ability to overcome resistance that is grounded in the dependence relationship (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980). It identifies parameters that constrain a relationship: "whether parties stay in a given relationship, attempt to change it by tactical action, increase the amount of distance in the relationship, or simply abandon it" (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980, p. 23). Any power relationship contains potential for sanctions (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980; Bierstadt, 1950; Dahl, 1957; Wrong, 1968).

French and Raven. French and Raven's (1959) theory of social power draws from social exchange theory and power dependence theory. Their original theory identified reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert power bases, and later added a sixth base (Raven, 1965) of information. French and Raven identified major types of power to compare them to the changes they produce and other affects that accompany the use of power. For French and Raven, the phenomena of power and influence, developed from the relationship between two agents and two points of view: a) "what determines the behavior of the agent who exerts power? and b) what determines the reactions of the recipient of this behavior"(French & Raven, 1959, p.150)?

Studies supported two-factor taxonomy of power sources: position and personal power (Yukl & Falbe, 1991). Additional power sources were recommended to be included in French and Raven's taxonomy, persuasiveness and information power (Yukl & Falbe, 1991). Other studies suggested that legitimate power was a very important source of day-to-day influence in organizations confirming that authority systems were essential for large organizations to function smoothly and effectively (Hamner & Organ, 1978; Katz & Kahn, 1978; Yukl & Falbe, 1991). How to differentiate between reward and coercive power is difficult because of substantial overlap in the scales measuring control over rewards and punishments as characteristic of the agent's position (Podsakoff, Todor, & Skov, 1982; Yukl & Falbe, 1991).

"Power Within"

The third concept of power can be conceptualized as "power within." Feminist theorists conceive of situated knowledge, standpoints and claiming/reclaiming language, linguistics, and identity to assert their "power within."

Feminist standpoints. Returning to the original definition of Marx's (1844) concept of power and the social relations between a ruling class and a class that is dominated (for example, bourgeois and the proletariat), the oppressed group struggles against domination, but is forced to participate in this vision of the ruling class (Hartsock, 2010). As the oppressed group struggles to change these social relations they adopt an "engaged vision," a standpoint that reclaims the value of their experiences (Hartsock, 2010).

Feminist standpoints enable the oppressed to reclaim value of their experiences and assert value in the difference of womens' experience (Collins, 1995; Hartsock, 2010; Narayan, 2010). Collins (1995) in *Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought*, argued that self-defined standpoints can stimulate oppressed groups to resist their domination. Black women were encouraged to create new self-definitions and provided with a tool of resistance to all forms of domination (Collins, 1995). Black women had the experience of being a part while standing apart from groups through their "both/or" orientation (Dill, 1989; King, 1987). Afrocentric feminist epistemology challenged alternative epistemologies of what passes for truth (Collins, 1995), raises questions of "positionality and its relations to the production of knowledge and its reception" (Mani, 2010, p.365).

Situated knowledge. Situated knowledge, another means of reclaiming power or defining knowledge, involved positioning and including the practice of grounding knowledge around Western scientific philosophical discourse (Haraway, 2010). Vision and having the power to see opened up questions about other modes of inquiry (Haraway, 2010). Feminist theory critiqued the manner of speaking (who speaks and how) and it was received (how it was interpreted and why) (Haraway, 2010). Who gets to see, from where, and who gets to have more than one point of view, raised the question of who had the power to determine these vantage points (Haraway, 2010). Situated knowledge enabled the individual to define what was being seen and to develop his or her own knowledge to determine, who speaks, when and how – thus developing his or her own power.

Women of color feminists. Situated knowledge exists within a body of literature that describes a schism between white Anglo feminists and women of color. Anglo American feminist epistemology conceived White middle class women as the subjects who construct knowledge differently from men. In *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2002), women of color feminists argued they are excluded from feminist theory. They claimed oppositional thinking was originally gender based, but obscured race, class, sexuality, and other differences. Therefore, diverse groups of women, including working class women and women of color were excluded from intellectual work and need to be the subjects and objects of theorizing (Jaggar, 1983).

Language and linguistics. Diversity, in addition to race, class, and sexuality also includes language and linguistic issues. Lugones addressed the issue of how women of color may be subjects as well as objects:

> We cannot talk to you in our language because you do not understand it…The power of White Anglo women vis-á-vis Hispanas and Black women is in inverse proportion to their working knowledge of each other..… Because of their ignorance White Anglo women who try to do theory with women of color inevitably disrupt the dialogue. (Jaggar, 1983, p. 386)

Inequality in language and power to express oneself is represented in linguistic use. *This Bridge Called My Back* references having the "silence and silencing of people through the enforcement of linguistic conventions, resistance to relational dialogue, and disenablement of peoples by outlawing their forms of speech" (Alarcón, 2010, p. 411). For my study, these linguistic issues were particularly salient for Latina, and AAPI populations. However, "power within" for them involved reclaiming their indigenous or native language and telling counter stories and testimonies.

Identity. The final issue to be addressed under "power within" is the complex issue of identity. White feminists and feminists of color critiqued the heterogeneous representations of gender, race, class, sexuality, across languages and culture. Can there be solidarity and "politics of unity" based on gender (Alarcón, 2010)? Recognizing these differences, it is not always possible to easily and self-consciously decide to "reclaim identity from multiple assimilations" (Lauretis, 1986, p. 9). Anzaldúa's (1987) mestiza, was described as a fifth race created from a racial, ideological, cultural and biological crosspollination. Yet, the mestiza tolerated

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ambiguity and contradictions, sidling between country and homeland. Anzaldúa emphasized that men will be afraid of women and their power, and will need to stop putting women down. Anzaldúa declared: "But more than words we demand acts. We say to them: we will develop equal power with you and those who have shamed us" (pp. 105-106). One can be disenabled to hold an identity, but one can also reclaim it.

Women of color have different experiences than White men and therefore have adopted Black feminist standpoint or feminist standpoints. Their situated knowledge allows them to define their own vantage points. Claiming/reclaiming language and linguistic voice, their identity, enables them to assert their "power within."

Other Areas of Power

Powerlessness. In contrast to "power over" or dominance over others, there was a theme of "powerlessness" that emerged in the literature. Individuals may have authority (position power), but if they lacked system power and were unable to make powerful alliances to manage bureaucracy, they were ineffective (Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Kanter, 1979, 1983; Morgan, 2006). Although they had a formal role, they lacked informal political influence giving them access to resources, outside status, sponsorship or promotion opportunities, which rendered them powerless in the organization (Kanter, 1977). First line supervisors, considered "men in the middle" had little chance to gain rewards through activities, nor were they highly visible, and they had few rewards to distribute (Kanter, 1977).

Power conditions. Positionality theory suggested that in addition to differences in one's background, power conditions shape perspectives. This theory

assumed that "power relations could change, and that social categories were fluid and dynamic, affected by historical and social changes" (Kezar, 2000, p. 726). Within positionality theory, power is a force that permeates contexts, historical situations, and interpersonal relationships (Alcoff & Potter, 1993; Haraway, 1991). Just as power conditions are shaped by people, they are simultaneously negotiated, constructed, and transformed. Power is defined, understood and manifested locally (Kondo, 1990). Power conditions within campus environments positioned people within a context and the relationship of power influenced the ways individuals constructed leadership (Kezar, 2000).

Summary of Power

Three great social theorists, Marx, Durkheim and Weber, developed power theories. Marx (1844) and Durkheim (1982) initially conceptualized power as "power over," a coercive power, allowing control of human behaviors. Weber (1947) refined this concept by expanding the definition to include a social relationship where one person could carry out his or her will despite resistance. Weber's definition led to theorizing by political scientists, economic sociologists, and structural sociologists (Biersted, 1950; Blau, 1964; Dahl, 1957; Foucault, 1982; Mechanic, 1962; Kaplan, 1964; Wrong, 1968). Practitioners applied these theories to many disciplines: business, education, organizational development, community activism, teacher development, presidential leadership, and university governance (Baptiste et al., 2005; Barrick et al., 2007; Brunner & Schumaker, 2008; Caroll & Teo, 1996; Isaac et al., 2009; Kuipers, 2009; Moscovici, 2007; Rosener, 1990; Salancik, Pfeffer & Kelly, 1978; Speer et al., 1995). The definition of power, once seen as hierarchical and

based in an authoritative position, has shifted conceptually into power in relationships, through controlling resources, and interdependence on others (Durkheim, 1982; Kanter, 1977; 1983; Marx, 1844; Pettigrew, 1972). Terminology has changed as contemporary writers now use terms of "influence" and "empowerment" to describe power rooted in power bases, tools, and sources (Chen, 2007; Isaac et al., 2009; Speer et al., 1995). Feminist theorists see "power within" as a means to define positionality and group knowledge, to shape power relations and political action, and to claim their identity and language (Collins, 1995; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2002).

Power literature needs more research on the intersection of women of color and their use of power. Few studies have focused on women of color and her negotiation of power as she rises to senior leadership in academe. As there are very few women of color that have reached the university presidency or cabinet level positions, much remains to be known about how women of color exercise and use power at that senior level.

My study drew upon literature of power in relationships, resource dependency and power within. I used power theories to examine WOC-SL in their relationships with their direct reports, upper management, and board of directors and how these relationships contributed to and affected their power base. I used theoretical frameworks to understand how they used their networks to develop coalitions for information purposes and as power bases and tools. Resource dependency, or interdependence and dependence provided a lens to examine how WOC-SLs used power bases, power tools, and power sources to solve dependency problems. I used

concepts of power in relationships or power conditions to see how WOC-SL

controlled knowledge, information, and expertise to effect change (Kanter, 1977;

Kezar, 2000; Morgan, 2006; Pettigrew, 1972). French and Raven's (1959) social

power theory of power bases was used to see which of the six power bases WOC-SL

used to influence the agent or the recipient.

Politics

Upon being asked why he was leaving Princeton University to run for the Governorship of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson replied, "I want to get out of politics." Dr. Robert Suzuki, President Emeritus, recounting Wilson's comment at the National Conference on Race and Ethnicity (2010), remarked that university systems are highly political and seemingly more political than politics itself. Birnbaum (1988) echoed this sentiment explaining that American colleges and universities are organizational systems that are dynamic in their interactions (Birnbaum, 1988). Cyert and March (1963) described colleges as political systems that exist as super coalitions of sub coalitions with diverse interests, preferences, and goals. Thus, mastering organizational politics requires acquiring, developing, and using power to bring about preferred outcomes in situations in which groups do not agree (Pfeffer, 1981b).

This study sought to answer research questions regarding how do WOC-SL define power and politics, how do they make meaning of power and politics, and what factors do they perceive as contributing to their advancement to senior positions. Examining the literature surrounding the political perspective enables an understanding of how politics has been defined and how it connects to power to bring about preferred outcomes (Pfeffer, 1981b). The interwoven nature of politics and power is represented in the literature. The political perspective unlike bureaucratic, rational, and symbolic perspectives of organizations, assumes that organizations are political arenas that exist within individual and group interests (Bolman & Deal, 2003; Stagner, 1969).

Political Perspective

Early organizational theorist scholars held that the political perspective/model viewed organizations as interactive political arenas that exist within a complex web of individual and group interests (Bowen, 1987; Stagner, 1969). Cyert and March (1963), who provided foundational work in this area, developed the coalitional view of organizations in their description of organizational decision-making. In contrast to an economic or incentive view of organizations, described by business literature, political models espouse that wage incentives are not completely effective in producing a common set of goals (Pfeffer, 1981). Baldridge (1971) extended Cyert and March's (1963) concept of coalitional organizations and argued that political models view organizations as "pluralistic and divided into various interests, subunits, and subcultures" (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 28). Malen and Knapp (1997) argued that the political perspective is rooted in political science, where actors compete against one another and try to influence one another through bargaining, negotiating, and compromises. As the political perspective is focused on interests, individuals compete or cooperate with one another to influence the outcome (Malen & Knapp, 1997).

Setting the Agenda

A leader must set an "agenda for change" that includes a vision that recognizes the long-term interests of two parties and a strategy that will encompass how to achieve that vision (Kanter, 1983; Kotter, 1988). Pfeffer recognized that gathering information and developing a vision are closely tied to one another: "Many people think of politicians as arm twisters, and that is in part true. But, in order to be a

successful arm twister, one needs to know which arm to twist, and how" (Pfeffer, 1992, p. 172). Kanter (1983) recommended that while gathering information, the entrepreneur can plant seeds of ideas that will germinate and circulate in the system beyond the innovator. Besides developing a vision, a strategy must be developed that recognizes the forces for and against the agenda (Bolman & Deal, 2003). Smith (1988), writing about the presidency, maintained that the primary task of the president is to fix the nation's agenda – because without winning the agenda game, the president cannot be effective.

Political Terrain

Prior to launching an initiative, managers should first survey the political turf surrounding them (Bolman & Deal, 2003). Pichaut (1993) recommended four steps in developing a political map. First, find channels of informal communication. Second, identify the individuals who are principal agents of political influence. Third, analyze possibilities for internal and external deployment. And fourth, anticipate strategies that others are likely to utilize. Bolman and Deal (2003) explicated Pichaut's mapping the political terrain, by suggesting creating a two dimensional map of the players that are in the game; then assessing how much power the players have, and the interests that each player wants. Resistance may be very intense, requiring considerable skills as the politician (Bolman & Deal, 2003).

Allison and Zelikow (1999) found that using "action channels to weigh particular interests and enables distribution of information, access, and bargaining advantages to players" (Allison & Zelikow, 1999, p. 265). Action channels also determine "staffing procedures" which include how information is acquired, who it

goes to, and what type of analysis is performed and hence how the decision or memo

gets packaged (p. 265). This can be particularly advantageous to parties that receive

this information for it may support one's interests and makes it possible to peddle

influence in a political environment (Allison & Zelikow, 1999).

Coalitions

Birnbaum's (1988) pivotal *How Colleges Work*, defined the purpose of

forming coalitions as finding individuals and groups that yield more power and

influence than could be achieved by one individual. During a political struggle,

interest groups must decide whether to orchestrate their political goals away from

other interest groups or form a coalition of interest groups to pursue a common goal

(Bacharach & Lawler, 1980). Coalitions require that people are dependent on one

another. When the level of diversity and interdependence is great enough, persuasion,

or forcing a solution, and manipulating parties to make the decision, results in

"bureaucratic infighting and parochial politics" (Kotter, 1985, p. 19).

Since interdependence forces people to interact with other, and people have

different goals, priorities, and beliefs, it is difficult to resolve conflicts in a mutually

satisfying way (Baldridge, 1970). Hence, conflict turns into political processes and

destructive power struggles (Baldridge, 1970). This dependence makes it important to

rely on one another for information and keep aware of what activities others are doing

or their behaviors (Birnbaum, 1988). For example, clerical and blue-collar groups can

call upon the power of their union to change policies; whereas academics coming

from different ideologies are able to build coalitions where their conflicting interests

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can be addressed in spite of their differences of young and old, male and female, minority and White (Birnbaum, 1988).

Baldridge (1980) argued that if the system is political then groups will form coalitions and exert pressure. Groups who coalesce to apply political pressure have similar values that encourage coalition building to take action, and support the notion that the system's action is correct (Baldridge, 1980). In complex institutions, groups may be specialized and heterogeneous and therefore will have different interests and preferences (Birnbaum, 1988). These can be workgroups within academic departments or administrative offices. Groups that have been in existence for a while may align with one another because of similar interests and values, or new groups may form alliances amongst themselves (Birnbaum, 1988). Coalition building helps generate comments, criticisms, to redefine and shape the project so that it will be successful (Kanter, 1983). Therefore, in the political perspective, using coalitions and alliances to negotiate and maneuver through conflict can yield some formidable outcomes (Birnbaum, 1998; Bolman & Deal, 2003).

Scarce Resources, Conflict, and Politics

During difficult times, scarcity of resources (money, materials, technology, personnel, and support from customers) increases dependence on others, which makes conflict more likely, and power a central asset (Pfeffer, 1981). When resources are not available or in short supply, the political contest can heighten (Bolman & Deal, 2003). In these situations, "administrators often find themselves wrapped up in political forces that they can neither understand nor control" (Bolman & Deal, 2003, p. 188). Studies of academic heads found that their average length of time in office

decreased as resource scarcity and increased conflict proliferated in the 1970s (Pfeffer & Moore, 1980a). In an era of contentious proxy fights and take-overs, corporate officers depend on employment contracts to lend a measure of financial protection, demonstrating that managing in an environment of scarcity is increasingly difficult (Pfeffer, 1971).

On the other extreme, slack resources or excess resources can reduce the use of power and politics in two ways. First, excess resources reduce the amount of interdependence among units (Pfeffer, 1971). Since, interdependence is an important prerequisite for conflict (Schmidt & Kochan, 1972), reducing the amount of interdependence among units in the organization reduces the potential for conflict. And second, slack resources reduce interdependence by permitting activities of various units to be relatively uncoupled (Pfeffer, 1971). Therefore by decoupling the process, not only is interdependence reduced, so is the potential for conflict (Pfeiffer, 1971). With plenty of resources there is less need to contest for allocations since all subunits are well situated (Pfeffer, 1971).

All organizations have conflict, however, how that conflict is handled indicates whether it is healthy or destructive. Birnbaum (1988) contended that conflict can bring about "personal and social change, creativity and innovation" (p. 298). However, there may be hierarchical conflicts that raise the potential for lower level employees disregarding management directives (Bolman & Deal, 2003). If weak leadership is unable to manage conflicts in a productive way then more bureaucratic infighting, parochial politics, and destructive power struggles will result (Baldridge, 1970). Strong leadership constructs an environment where conflicts can lead to

teamwork and bureaucratic infighting and parochial politics are kept to a minimum (Baldridge, 1970).

Goals and Decisions

Bolman and Deal (2003) described goals and decisions as bargaining, negotiation, and jockeying for position among competing stakeholders. Similar to a chess game, the political system moves people like chess pieces; players bargain with one another "with separate and unequal power over particular pieces and with separate objectives in distinguishable sub games" (Allison & Zelikow, 1999, p. 295). Kanter (1983) defined politics as campaigning, lobbying, bargaining, negotiating, caucusing, collaborating, and winning votes. The political perspective regards complex organizations as miniature political systems with interest group dynamics and conflicts akin to city, state, and governmental politics (Baldridge, 1980, p. 50). Regardless if one has positional power, stakeholders can use other resources, such as information and expertise, control of rewards, alliances and networks to win the game (Bolman & Deal, 2003).

Simply winning the political contest does not always guarantee that one will be considered credible, for it is just as important to do what is socially and politically correct. Bolman and Deal (2003) asserted that organizations and individuals should become experts of the political game and it should be conducted in a constructive and positive manner. "The question is not whether organizations will have politics, but rather what kind of politics they will have" (p. 200). Therefore possibilities of the political endgame can be disruptive or used in a positive manner (Bolman & Deal, 2003). As players negotiate and interact, there may be internal and external divisions

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that keep leadership from managing the process (Bolman & Deal, 2003). In the process of group negotiations, compromises may be struck, coalitions formed, and original agendas changed (Bolman & Deal, 2003).

Because universities are fragmented, decisions are rarely made by one official; it is dependent on input from numerous people (Baldridge, 1970). In the university, a committee system reflects the need for professional influence to combine with bureaucratic influence (Baldridge, 1970). Therefore, the decision process is taken away from individuals but placed in a committee network that has combined knowledge and expertise (Baldridge, 1970).

Political Process

The political process of decision-making is described by Baldridge (1971) in *Power and Conflict in the University* in six steps. First, power political forces cause an issue to emerge, and certain "attention cues" force the political community to consider the problem. Second, there is a struggle for who has the right to make the decision, which will usually determine the outcome. Third, the decision is "pre-formed" such that by the time one person is given the power to make the decision, not all options are available and are limited by previous conflicts (p. 191). Fourth, these political struggles are more likely to occur with "critical" decisions rather than "routine" decisions (p.191). Fifth, a complex decision network is created to compile the information needed to make the decision. Sixth, as the decision process is underway, deals, compromises, and bargaining occur to deliver a decision (Baldridge, 1971). Baldridge's description of the political process of decision-making

underscores the complexity of decision-making that requires a contest to decide who will make the decision and a decision network to compile the information.

As described by Birnbaum (1998) and Baldridge (1971), universities are complex organizations with complex decision-making processes. In my study, I used politics and power as described by Kotter (1985) and Baldridge (1971) and Pfeffer (1981) to understand coalition building, decision-making processes, scarcity of resources, and interdependence. My study examined how WOC-SLs navigated power and politics in academe. In the university environment, a complex organizational system, WOC-SLs must maneuver through an environment that is fragmented into many departments and subunits. Dependent on others, she needed to build coalitions with colleagues to effect change, gain information for influence, and win political contests. In the current economic environment, many university departments operate perpetually in a position of scarcity, therefore WOC-SLs needed to utilize resources to bargain, lobby, and collaborate with others for initiatives or projects. Although the literature on the political perspective described organizational politics as based on the assumption of how an individual will act during given conditions, it lacked specificity regarding actors who, because of race and gender differences, may not have had equal access to coalitions or may have had a different process in building coalitions and maneuvering through the political environment.

Summary of Politics

The political perspective described organizations as political arenas that exist within individual and group interests (Bolman & Deal, 2003; Stagner, 1969). Cyert and March (1963) described colleges as a political system that exist as super

coalitions of sub coalitions with diverse interests, preferences and goals. Thus, mastering organizational politics required acquiring, developing, and using power to bring about preferred outcomes in situations in which groups do not agree (Pfeffer, 1981b). Bolman and Deal (2003) utilized political assumptions to structure descriptions and definitions of these sub-areas: Coalitions, Information and Interests, Scarce Resources, Conflict and Power, and Goals and Decisions. Scholars linked politics and power as part of organizational processes, where coalitions were formed that required power to accomplish their goals (Bolman & Deal, 2003; Pfeffer, 1981). Scarcity of resources increased power and political activity in organizations (Bolman & Deal, 2003; Pfeffer, 1973). Therefore, politics and power in the university system required skillful negotiating to gain influence and to bring about preferred outcomes (Birnbaum, 1988).

We do not have literature about how race and gender affect political dynamics in colleges and universities, because these theories assume that all individuals enter the 'game' with equal position and power, not accounting for the disparate histories and access points for women of color in academe. There are no studies of WOC-SL in academe with a political perspective of how they use coalitions, information and interests, scarce resources to accomplish their goals. However, research in organizational behavior confirmed power imbalances among various culture groups in organizations can reduce the motivation and perceived opportunity among members of minorities to participate and excel, which can cause them to become passive, violate group norms or withdraw (Cox, 1993; Webber, 1974). This study contributed to building a body of literature in higher education that applied

Birnbaum's (1988), Bolman & Deal's (2003) Cyert and March's (1963), and Pfeffer's (1981) work to WOC-SLs navigating politics in academe. Findings diverged from traditional notions of politics in the academe, which will contribute to multifaceted understandings about politics intersecting with race and gender.

Conclusion

This chapter detailed bodies of literature that informed this study. Literature on women in higher education indicated women dropped off the tenure track because of family issues (Mason & Goulden, 2002), experienced structural characteristics related to gender inequality across higher education institutions (Fairweather & Rhoads, 1995) and were stymied by the "glass ceiling" barrier. However, women have made considerable gains in the past two decades attaining college and university presidencies. Literature on women of color in higher education found similar themes for all groups: hostile climates (Tippeconnic Fox, 2009; Padilla & Chavez, 1995); isolation (Acevedo, 1979; Howard Vital, 1989); overt and subtle racism (Myers, 2002; Woo, 1989); prejudice and discrimination (Loo & Chun, 2002; Moore & Wagstaff, 1985); and gender bias (Nieves Squire, 1991). However, finding support through mentoring and networking helped women of color survive in academe and gave them a sense of empowerment (Gregory, 1995). Women of color presidents came from families that instilled strength and confidence in them (Garcia, 2009; Tseng, 2005). Following the literature on women of color were descriptions of the five theoretical and conceptual frameworks that support this study. These included: critical race theory, Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making, French and Raven's (1959)

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theory of social power, Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership, and Dill and Zambrana's (2009) intersectionality. Literature on power showed the definition of power, once seen as hierarchical and based in authoritative position, has shifted conceptually into power in relationships, through controlling resources, and interdependence on others (Durkheim, 1982; Kanter, 1977, 1983; Marx, 1844). Contemporary writers use terms "influence" and "empowerment" to described power rooted in power bases, tools, and sources (Chen, 2007; Isaac et al., 2009; Speer et al., 1995). Literature on politics described organizations as political arenas that exist within individual and group interests (Bolman & Deal, 2003; Stagner, 1969). Scholars link politics and power as part of organizational processes, where coalitions are formed that require power to accomplish their goals (Bolman & Deal, 2003; Pfeffer, 1981).

Chapter III

The major research question guiding this study was: How do women of color navigate power and politics to arrive at the senior level in academe? This study also sought to answer the following sub-questions:

1. How do they define and see power and politics?

2. How do they make meaning of power and politics?

3. What factors do they perceive as contributing to their advancement to senior positions?

In this chapter, the study's design and epistemological framework are discussed and rationale for selecting senior leaders and institution. Then, sampling techniques, data collection and analysis, and trustworthiness and credibility will be explained.

Design of the Study and Epistemological Framework

Research typically falls into three forms of research – positivist, interpretive, and critical – (Carol & Kemmis, 1995), and Lather (1992, 2006) adds post structural and postmodern. A positivist orientation holds that knowledge gained through this method is labeled "scientific" and includes the establishment of "laws" which has espoused logical empiricism and postpostivism (Merriam, 2009). In contrast, interpretive research affirms that "reality is socially constructed," and in fact there is no one "single observable reality" (Mertens, 2009, p. 8).

This study included nine individual case studies of women of color senior leaders in academe at doctoral granting or baccalaureate granting institutions. While academe includes associate (for profit and not for profit) and special focus institutions

(e.g. medical, seminary), this study focused on women of color at doctoral granting or baccalaureate granting institutions who have advanced to senior level positions. As part of the interpretive research tradition, case study research was selected because it maintains there are multiple realities and hence multiple interpretations: researchers do not "find" knowledge; they construct it from the experiences of the participants. Creswell (2007) described how the researcher develops subjective meaning of experiences and looks for complexity of views. He wrote:

> Often these subjective meanings are negotiated socially and historically. In other words they are not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interaction with others (hence social constructivism) and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individual lives. (pp. 20-21)

Within the interpretive tradition, this study situated each woman's portrait or story socially and historically within her institution and analyzed how she interactively engaged with the members of her organization. The multiple realities and interpretations required the researcher be attuned to the cultural underpinnings and contextual markers of the organization and its institutional history.

A benefit of using qualitative research is the observer does not stand outside the research arena, but is part of the experience (Mertens, 2005). Using field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, and memos, the qualitative researcher uses an "interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world" (Mertens, 2005, p. 229). Case study method was appealing because it is one type of ethnographic (interpretive) research that examines closely one individual or a group through observation, self-reports, and other means (Mertens, 2005). Stake (1995) identified the case study as a way of

understanding something. Cases may be intrinsic where we need to learn about something. Or, the case may be instrumental where we want to understand something (Stake, 2005). This was an instrumental case study in that the research questions query "how" WOC-SL define power and politics and make meaning of power and politics (Stake, 2005). Moreover, Merriam's definition of case study is "an in depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (Merriam, 2009, p. 40). She emphasized the unit of analysis as a single bounded system that is the defining feature of a case study. Expounding on the importance of a bounded phenomenon and how finite the data collection may be, Merriam delineated that it is this aspect that sets apart the case study from other qualitative research.

Another important aspect of ethnographic (interpretive) research is the researcher's task to convey thick description to the extent that slightest nuances are discerned (Geertz, 1973). Denzin (1989) explained:

Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into experience. It establishes a significant of an experience, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard. (p. 83)

To this end, this study comprised nine individual case studies of WOC-SL at nine institutions. The "unit of analysis" (Merriam, 2009) was each individual woman and each institution was the bounded system.

Stake (1995) recommended using each case study as instrumental to learn about that case but also choosing several cases to study rather than one case as a "collective case study" (Stake, 1995, p. 4). Merriam termed this "cross-case,

multicase, or multisite studies, or comparative case studies" (Merriam, 2009, p. 49).

Stake (2006) defined these cases to be linked because they have a common

characteristic or condition and were somehow categorically bound together. He

expounded "they may be members of a group or examples of a phenomenon" (Stake,

2006. pp. 5-6). Selecting case study methodology allowed the researcher to examine

unique cases of each woman of color while conducting cross-case analysis to examine

intra-group (e.g., African American, American Indian) or intergroup similarities or

differences (Merriam, 2009).

Theoretical Frameworks

The five theoretical frameworks used to understand this study were: critical

race theory (CRT), Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of

power and politics in organizational decision-making, French and Raven's (1959)

theory of social power, Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership, and Dill and

Zambrana's (2009) intersectionality. All five frameworks were useful to this study in

how they complemented one another in addressing specific areas of my research

question.

Critical race theory was pivotal to my study in understanding the complexities

of the intersection of race and gender within the historical context of African

American, Asian American Pacific Islander, Latina, and American Indian

participation in academe. Using this theory helped with analyzing participants'

speaking of their experience of how racism intersects with subordination of gender,

class, sexuality, language, culture, immigrant status, phenotype, accent, and surname

(Collins, 1986; Crenshaw, 1991; Espinoza, 1998). Other aspects of this theory that

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proved central to my analysis were naming their own reality, their "voice," and the centrality of experiential knowledge. Because literature on WOC-SL referenced the importance of African American, Asian American Pacific Islander, Latina, and American Indian experiences, capturing these women's stories from their perspective was valuable and demonstrated CRT's central tenets. Women of color senior leaders referenced their commitment to social justice or their challenges with dominant ideology (meritocracy, color blindness), gender, class, sexuality, language, culture, immigrant status, phenotype, accent and surname. In addition, CRT enabled an interdisciplinary examination of participant's experience, to examine race and racism in historical and contemporary context using disciplines such as women's studies, sociology, and LGBTQ studies.

Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making was used to understand how WOC-SLs understood power as a force and politics as activities or behaviors that were necessary to influence events. This model explained how power was distributed, by whom, and how this dispersion of power and authority in the social system created conflict. Pfeffer's model was useful to perceive who held power: by symbols of power, reputational indicators, and representational indicators (e.g., positions in organizations). In doctoral and baccalaureate granting institutions, participants were impacted by scarcity of resources and their reliance on others (interdependence). Pfeffer's (1981) model was useful to explain how in times of great scarcity, WOC-SLs needed to use more power and effort to resolve situations.

French and Raven's (1959) theory of social power was valuable to this study in examining how WOC-SLs were either the target of influence or the influencing agent as senior leaders in academe. Participants reported using two of the six bases of power—informational and reward—in their ascent to senior level positions in academe. Using the bases of power for comparison with what participants reported, I assessed how the theory of social power helped explain what WOC-SLs experienced. Further, Raven's (2008) model for power/interaction lent itself to analyzing participants' motivation to influence, her choices for influence attempts, and how she selected and utilized power bases.

Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership model was essential to my study to understand participants' leadership styles. Her intrinsic, personal, collaborative, and social achieving styles aptly described the participants. One WOC-SL exhibited an intrinsic direct, a "take charge" behavior; they maintained total control of all resources, including situations, institutions and global events. Some WOC-SLs were personal achievers who utilized their "intelligence, wit, passion, humor, family background, previous accomplishments and defeats, courage, physical appearance, and sexual appeal" to link themselves to individuals who needed commitment and help (Lipman-Blumen, 1992, p. 11). Other participants were collaborative achievers, who appreciated accomplishing tasks by doing things with others, whether as a single collaborator or a team. WOC-SLs who were social achievers enjoyed doing things through other people and were always looking for connections between people and tasks. Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership model explained how women of color senior leaders' ability to collaborate,

contribute to other tasks, and take pride in other people's accomplishments, were central to traditional female role behaviors.

As the fifth framework, Dill and Zambrana's (2009) intersectionality exposed how people experience inequalities that were maintained through four interrelated domains—structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, interpersonal. Intersectionality asked the questions: how are racism and sexism, class and hetero sexism co-constructed, and how does one's citizen status or nationality, affect issues of ability and age? Intersectionality queried the meaning of power and focused on projects that fostered social justice (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Intersectional analysis was useful to this study for how explaining how oppression was "constructed and maintained through multiple aspects of identity simultaneously" (Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 7). WOC-SLs experienced discrimination because of combinations of their race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity and other aspects of difference (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Individually these five theoretical frames examined different aspects of my research questions. In combination these theoretical and analytic frames assisted in understanding dimensions of how power is transacted and motivations to influence; the intercentricity of race and racism, naming one's own reality and valuing experiential knowledge; women's connective leadership; how scarcity, interdependence, power and politics operated in the organizational system; and oppression and discrimination because of one's race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity and other aspects of difference .

Sampling

Working within the interpretive paradigm assisted in selecting a sample that had identifying information and rich cases that enabled studying my case in depth (Mertens, 2005). Purposive sampling allowed the researcher who had knowledge of the population to select subjects that represented this population (Berg, 2007). Criterion sampling, a strategy within purposive sampling, described by Mertens (2005), allowed the researcher to set up criterion and then identify cases that met that criterion.

For this study, criterion sampling was used to elicit information that that answered the research questions (Maxwell, 2005). Using research questions as a guide, I selected my participants by the following criterion. The three criteria I used to select the nine participants for my study were:

1. Participants must self-identify as a WOC-SL. This will include African American, Asian American Pacific Islander, Latina, and American Indian women.

2. Participants must be Dean, Vice-President, President, or cabinet level rank at their institution.

3. Participants must work at or have worked for a doctoral granting or baccalaureate granting university within the last two years in the United States.

Criterion #1. For this study three African American, two Asian American Pacific Islander, two Latina, and two American Indian women were interviewed. As race was central to this study, women of color from four racial/ethnic groups were

selected to capture racial, immigrant, native born, ethnic, and class differences. Cross case comparisons within and between racial groups were used to examine similarities and differences in how WOC-SL navigated power and politics in academe.

Criterion #2. In selecting participants who were at the cabinet level at the university, this study examined power and politics occurring at the most senior levels of academe. Women who ascend to this level have demonstrated success in navigating power and politics in their institution. *On the Pathway to the Presidency* asserts women of color comprise only 3% of chief academic officers and they are 7% of all senior administrators. With so few WOC-SL at this senior level, it would benefit academe to understand how WOC-SL ascend to these positions and continue to advance.

Criterion #3. A primary objective of this study was to understand how WOC-SL navigated power and politics in academe. I selected doctoral granting or baccalaureate granting university as sites because of the complexity in governance and organizational systems. Because the numbers of WOC-SL who reach senior level positions in doctoral granting or baccalaureate granting universities were so small, observing how these women were able to ascend to their positions provided rich information.

Besides criterion sampling, this study also utilized snowball sampling. In snowball sampling key informants who were knowledgeable about the program or community recommended women senior leaders the researcher should interview based on their knowledge about the program (Mertens, 2005).

Identifying WOC-SL participants for this study required different strategies for each group. The number of African American women participants serving in a variety of senior level positions at a research or baccalaureate institutions were more plentiful than the other three race/ethnic groups because they have been administrators in higher education longer. I recruited African American participants from African American colleagues and the American Association of Colleges and Universities. Asian American Pacific Islander participants were recruited from American Council of Education's "Breaking the Bamboo Summit: Asian Pacific Americans and the Higher Education Leadership Pipeline" attendees. Senior level Latina participants were recommended from a Latino professor at Arizona State University who founded the American Association for Hispanics in Higher Education. And I recruited American Indian participants from the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) website.

Data Collection

Prior to collecting my data, I conducted a pilot study to 'test' my interview protocol. I set up two pilot interviews with retired senior level women of color leaders: an Asian American Pacific Islander who served as a Vice President for Student Affairs at a minority serving institution, and an African American who was previously a Provost at a historically Black college and university. After conducting the interview, I asked for feedback on any assumptions or biases that existed within the questions, wording, and placement of questions. Women of color senior leaders helped me reorder the questions and change the phrasing slightly.

Data was collected through interviews, observations, and documents. Rubin and Rubin (2005) explained responsive interviewing is based in interpretive constructive philosophy, critical theory, and presumes the interviewer and interviewee form a relationship during the interview that produces ethical responsibilities for the interviewer. Patton (2002) explicated interviewing is discerning what someone else is thinking as one cannot observe their feelings, thoughts, and intentions or the behaviors that took place. Because of this inability to observe how people organize their worlds and what meanings they attach to the world the researcher needs to ask questions about these things; "the purpose of interviewing then is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective" (Patton, 2002, pp. 340-341). Therefore, interviewing was recommended as the best technique to conduct intensive case studies of a few selected individuals (Mertens, 2009).

For this study, I conducted semi-structured interviews with an interview protocol of structured interview questions. Initial questions were structured and then moved into more open ended questions that probed WOC-SLs definitions about power and politics and how she made meaning of these terms. I constructed one question of a hypothetical situation that was based upon recent events on her campus, to allow the participant to explain how she would use power and politics to diffuse the situation.

Prior to beginning data collection, I applied for Institutional Review Board approval by submitting my proposal for this research to the University of Maryland Human Subjects Review Committee. The requests for the interview (formal letter, emails) (see appendix A), the interview protocol (see appendix B), participant's

demographic and personal profile (see appendix C), are documented in the appendices. The participant's demographic and personal profile was a questionnaire that asked questions about: race, birth place, primary language, educational attainment, position title, and professional and volunteer committee roles. I filled out this information from the participant's curriculum vita and published biographical information. If there was information that was outstanding, I asked participants to fill out remaining information at the end of the interview.

After selecting participants for the study I sent a formal invitation letter and email to each participant explaining the purpose of the study, my study criteria and request for an interview. I sent 12 invitations and nine participants agreed to participate. Most of the WOC-SLs responded within 48 hours. I followed up by email with the participants' assistants to arrange the interview date and time. Data was collected by interviewing WOC-SLs for 60-90 minutes in her office at her home institution. Two of the senior leaders had retired so I interviewed them at an agreed upon location; one senior leader travelled to Washington for a conference so I interviewed her at the conference site. Data collection occurred over a six week period from July 2011 to mid-August 2012. Geographic locations included the Northwest, West, Southwest, Midwest, South, and Northeast.

Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed. I also made notations about the participant's mood at the time of the interview, which may have affected the quality of the data obtained, and any informant ulterior motives for participating in the project (Mertens, 2009).

In addition to in-depth interviews I corroborated "interview data with information from other sources" (Yin, 2009, p.110). One method of gathering information for the case in its natural setting was direct observation. Yin (2009) wrote, "observations of a neighborhood or of an organizational unit add new dimensions for understanding either the context or the phenomenon being studied." Admission officers or chiefs of staff gave me campus tours that allowed me to see the size of the campus, understand the history of the institution and note the exterior and interior of its buildings. I noted the layout of the campus, technology, and facilities. Before interviewing each WOC-SL, I took notes of the waiting room area and what her office looked like: location of her office, physical dimensions, and important items (carpeting, conference tables, sofas, executive chairs) of her office (Pfeffer, 1981). I also observed the location of the building that she worked in; how well maintained that facility was, the location of that building to central campus, her parking space location and its proximity to her office in central campus. Pfeffer (1981) indicated these indicators may provide clues to symbols of power representing WOC-SL's status and the resources she controls. I also took photographs that allowed me to study the space more in-depth following the interview. Photographs were taken not only of the waiting rooms and offices, but of the multicultural and ethnic art (cultural artifacts) located in the hallways, and conference rooms. Dabbs (1982) argued in some cases photographs can help convey important case characteristics to outside observers.

In case study methodology, documentary information can be highly relevant. Some strengths of documentary evidence are "they are stable and can be reviewed

repeatedly; they are unobtrusive (exact, they contain exact names references and details of an event) and they provide broad coverage of a long span of time, many events, and many settings" (Yin, 2009, p. 102).

I examined primary and secondary documents for my case studies. Primary sources included: the department and university's organizational chart, archival documents of senior leader correspondence, memos, and strategic plans. Secondary sources included: newspaper articles about the WOC-SL, web site biographical information, university publications, and admission brochures. Documents were examined to examine WOC-SL's power and status in the university.

As I collected my data I wrote field notes and memos simultaneously. Bodgan and Biklen (2007) recommended reviewing field notes and memos to pursue specific leads in the next data collection session, writing memos to oneself about what one is learning, and trying out ideas and themes on participants. Rubin and Rubin (2005) recommended demonstrating transparency that allows the reader to see the process through which the data were collected. My notes and memos recorded my initial observations of the woman leader, initial categories, and any thoughts that came to mind as I was coding, such as themes from one transcript that might link to another. By taking notes or making recordings that others could read or play back, I ensured a level of detail, ensuring a transparent process (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of making meaning out of what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read (Merriam, 2009). Often times, both deductive and inductive inferences may be utilized, therefore it is important to define

them. Schwandt's *Dictionary of the Qualitative Inquiry*, states deduction requires that the conclusion must follow the premises (in other words it is logically impossible for the conclusion to be false if the premises are true); inductive inferences (or arguments) rely on the principle of enumeration to reach a general conclusion about a group or class or individual's or events from observations of a specific set of individuals or events. Merriam (2009) described the data analysis process:

> Data analysis is a complex process that involves moving back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts, between inductive and deductive reasoning, between description and interpretation. These meanings or understandings are insights that constitute the findings of the study. (p. 176)

I searched for segments in my data that were responsive to my research question (Merriam, 2009). The segment which is a unit of data, may be as small as a word, or as large as many pages of field notes. Lincoln and Guba (1995) asserted that the unit should meet two criteria: it should be heuristic—besides revealing information that is relevant to the study it provokes the reader to think beyond the particular bits of information. Second, the unit should be "the smallest piece of information that can stand by itself—that is it must be interpretable in the absence of any additional information other than a broad understanding of the context in which the inquiry is carried out" (p. 345).

I examined raw data from the transcripts and began a first round of coding by writing in the margins using open coding: line by line codes, gerunds, and in vivo codes. In vivo codes are useful as a 'catchy' phrase, or a participant's innovative term that captures meanings or experience, or may be insider shorthand terms that are

specific to a particular group that reflects their perspective (Strauss, 1987). Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommended constant comparative methods to establish analytic distinctions and make comparisons at each level of analytic work. I consistently went back and forth from the codes to the transcripts.

Once I developed my initial codes (about 1,200), I sorted and synthesized these codes into 48 categories. Strauss and Corbin (2007) termed this axial coding or analytical coding; it is "coding that comes from interpretation and reflection on meaning" (Richards, 2005, p. 94). With this initial list of categories, I continued to sort the categories until I arrived at eight categories and then finally four themes with embedded subcategories. Through this process I ensured my categories were responsive to the purpose of the research, were exhaustive, mutually exclusive, sensitizing, and conceptually congruent (Merriam, 2009).

For data management, I used Nvivo9 software to code, sort, and group themes for analysis. Interview transcriptions and observation notes were entered into this computer program, allowing me to analyze the data, make notes, retrieve and print any category or set of data needed. I also used this software to store photographs and descriptors of the room and artwork.

A challenge in analyzing the data for a multi-case study is the management of the data. Merriam (2009) advocates "a focus on understanding…the typically broad range of data available for analysis. In a multiple case study a within case analysis is followed by a cross case analysis" (pp. 204-205). First, a within case analysis is done where each case is treated as a comprehensive case, such that data is gathered to allow the researcher to learn as much about the conceptual variables as possible that

affect the case. Then, after the case analysis is completed, a cross case analysis begins. Through the multi-case study, abstractions across cases are sought; and, even though specific details of cases may vary, the researcher attempts to build a general explanation that can fit the individual cases (Yin, 2008). Therefore, in this study, I conducted a within case analysis and a cross case analysis for WOC-SLs that allowed me to see unique issues for women of specific race/ethnic groups and cross group comparisons.

Trustworthiness

In evaluating trustworthiness, Merriam (2009) questioned whether the researcher is a valid and reliable instrument, and if the researcher is biased and trying to support expected conclusions. Firestone (1987) asserted that by providing the reader with enough detail to show that the author's conclusion 'makes sense' (p. 19) the qualitative study is able to describe people acting in the events. Trustworthiness in a qualitative study can be confirmed by ensuring credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Credibility. To ensure that one has credibility, Wolcott (2005) stated there must be "correspondence between research and the real world" (p. 160). Lincoln and Guba (2005) queried are the findings credible given the data presented? Has the researcher presented convincing evidence for every conclusion that is made, and described thoroughly in the methods and design section, who was interviewed, and length of time spent interviewing them and other details (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). I spent a year preparing for this study, ensuring that participants matched the criterion set forth. I studied each participant's website information, archival documents,

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physical artifacts (works of art), and took notes on campus tours. Because of the sensitivity of the data, peer debriefers were not used instead an intercoder reliability checker reviewed my coding and categories. Member checks provided another level of validity by ensuring that the data that was recorded was what the participant intended to say. Also called respondent validation, the researcher asks for feedback on her emerging findings from the individuals interviewed (Merriam, 2009). All transcripts were member checked by participants.

Transferability. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested providing "sufficient descriptive data" that enables transferability (p. 298). A recommended facet of transferring results of a study to another setting is to use "rich, thick description" (Geertz, 1973). Having an emic or insider account, Maxwell (2005) argued refers to a "highly descriptive, detailed presentation of the setting and in particular the findings of a study" (p. 116). This can be done through detailed quotes and description of the setting and individual interviews. In the individual case summaries and cross case summaries, I offer the reader a "thick description" of my data to provide a detailed description of the study and its findings. Descriptions of my participants, the research study, and the findings will enable future researchers to "transfer" results to another study (Merriam, 2009).

Dependability. Dependability requires that data were precisely represented and described the changing conditions of the phenomena being investigated. An intercoder reliability checker evaluated the data collection and analysis procedures, examining the researcher's memos, coding, and categories development to ensure this information was precisely represented.

Confirmability. To ensure confirmability, the findings of the study must demonstrate a degree of neutrality such that the findings of the study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I kept copious notes and memos throughout the process of collecting data to reflect on my thought process and how my biases, values, and interests may have influenced interpretation. An intercoder reliability checker was used to verify the coding process.

Triangulation. Denzin (1978) proposed four types of triangulation in doing evaluations. These include using multiple methods, multiple sources of data, multiple investigators, and multiple theories, for the purpose of confirming emerging findings. For my study, I utilized multiple methods of gathering data: direct observation, interviews, artifacts, and document review. This enabled me to collect information from multiple sources that corroborated the same fact or phenomenon. Yin (2009) stressed the importance of triangulating your data by having events of facts of the case study supported by more than a single source of evidence. Triangulation using multiple sources of data involves "comparing and cross-checking data collected through observations at different times or in different places, or interview data collected from people with different perspectives or from follow-up interviews with the same people" (Merriam, 2009). I compared all sources of data, primary and secondary documents, interviews, artifacts, direct observation to corroborate findings. Since this is a dissertation I did not have multiple investigators on this study.

Summary

This study was comprised of nine individual case studies of women of color senior leaders at doctoral granting or baccalaureate granting institutions. Five theoretical frameworks were used to understand this study: critical race theory (CRT), Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making, French and Raven's (1959) theory of social power, Lipman-Blumen's (1992) connective leadership, and Dill and Zambrana's (2009) intersectionality. For this study, criterion sampling was used to elicit information that answered the research questions (Maxwell, 2005). The three criteria used to select the nine participants for my study were: 1) Participants must self-identify as a WOC-SL. This will include African American, Asian American Pacific Islander, Latina, and American Indian women; 2) Participants must be Dean, Vice-President, President, or cabinet level rank at their institution; 3) Participants must work at or have worked for a doctoral granting or baccalaureate granting university within the last two years in the United States. Prior to collecting my data, I conducted a pilot study to 'test' my interview protocol. Data was collected through interviews, observations, and documents. I conducted semi-structured interviews with an interview protocol of structured interview questions. Data was collected by interviewing WOC-SLs for 60-90 minutes in her office at her home institution or at an agreed upon location. I used open coding and in vivo coding to initially code the raw data, then used axial coding to sort into categories, continually refining categories which later became four themes. Trustworthiness was achieved by ensuring credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Triangulation was

accomplished by using multiple methods of gathering data: direct observation,

interviews, artifacts, and document review. This enabled me to collect information

from multiple sources that corroborated the same fact or phenomenon.

"A rising tide raises all ships"

-American Indian president

This chapter includes nine participant individual case profiles and a group profile. Given the demands of the senior leader's position and limited time, I asked participant assistants to send their senior leader's curriculum vita and biography information. From these sources I filled out most of the demographic questionnaire and at the end of the interview asked them to review and fill in any remaining information. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim, and transcripts were sent back to senior leaders for respondent validation and to confirm their accuracy. Corrections were noted (Maxwell, 2005). All interview data were coded with NVivo 9 software into codes, subcategories, and categories. Initially, open coding produced 1,200 codes which I studied for patterns and developed 48 categories. Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommended that qualitative data analysis be inductive and comparative. Using axial coding, after comparing the categories with the data, 28 categories materialized. Eight major categories emerged with several subcategories. After studying these categories I combined a few of the categories to create four major themes. Mapping and graphing the categories to examine conditions, actions/interactions, and consequences (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), the four major themes that emerged from the data were: 1) Advancing Women Through Opportunity and Experience; 2) Challenges of Race and Gender: Inviting Partnership with Community; 3) Inclusive and Persuasive Leaders: Creating Positive Change; and

4) Using Power and Politics to Influence Goals. These four themes are used to organize the reporting of the data in the individual case profiles. To ensure consistency and dependability, an audit trail of my memo logs, how I identified coding schemes and placed data into categories were reviewed by a Ph.D. researcher, an intercoder reliability check to ensure that he came to the same conclusions (Berg, 2007).

Semi-structured individual interviews lasted between 60-90 minutes. Along with the interviews, I examined the public record that included primary and secondary documents and participant observations. I conducted four of the interviews on campus and visited the university archives to examine newspapers, presidential letters and correspondence, and official documents. Three admission directors and one chief of staff gave me personal tours of their campus, explaining how the campus developed, what buildings were under renovation, admission statistics, and current issues on campus. I also took photographs of the president's office, parking spaces, waiting room areas, and artwork to ascertain her status and resources of the university (Pfeffer, 1981). Two of the presidents were retired therefore I interviewed them in locations outside their universities. One president came to Washington, DC for a meeting thus I interviewed her at the location where she was speaking.

Each case profile answers the main research question: how do women of color navigate power and politics to arrive at senior levels of academe, and the sub questions of how do they define power and politics, how do they make meaning of power and politics, and what factors do they perceive as contributing to their advancement to senior positions. In the data, formative influences contributed to their

advancement to senior positions; therefore I begin the individual case profile with this theme, and discuss power and politics at the end.

From the literature review, we know that women of color represent less than 5.4% of presidents in academe (American Council on Education, 2007). According to data compiled from racial/ethnic listservs and recent books on women of color leaders, African Americans lead 34 four-year institutions, Latina's lead eight, Asian American/Pacific Islanders lead two four-year institutions, and American Indians lead 17 higher education institutions.

With so few women of color leaders, this study informs readers of the backgrounds of women of color who were successful in achieving the highest levels of administration (i.e. president, provost or vice-provost). Using data from their curriculum vita, biography, and demographic questionnaire, I summarize the group profile of these nine women of color senior leaders.

Group Profiles

In this sample, there were five serving presidents, two past presidents, a vice provost, and a past provost. Participants included three African Americans, two Latinas, two American Indians, and two Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders. Participant ages ranged from 51 to 63 years old. The longest term of service by a woman of color senior leader was 31 years (see Figure 10). Three women had held three presidencies.
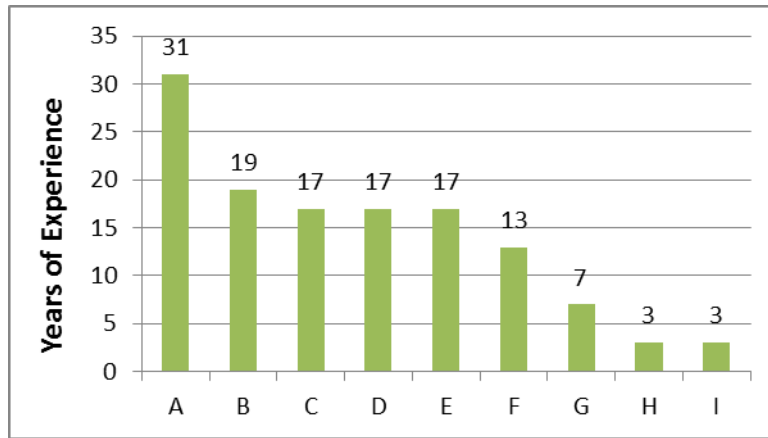
Figure 10. Women of Color Senior Leaders Years of Experience

Previous positions held by senior leaders included: provost/vice president of academic affairs and associate vice chancellor academic affairs, vice chancellor, special assistant to the president, dean, and CEO of a nonprofit.

As illustrated in Figure 11, institutional type varied with two African American presidents and a provost serving at historically Black colleges and universities, of which two were land grant institutions; one vice provost and president presided over a doctoral research institution, and one president headed a master's institution. One president led a Tribal baccalaureate university, one led a Hispanic serving institution, and one president led a private nonprofit four year institution.
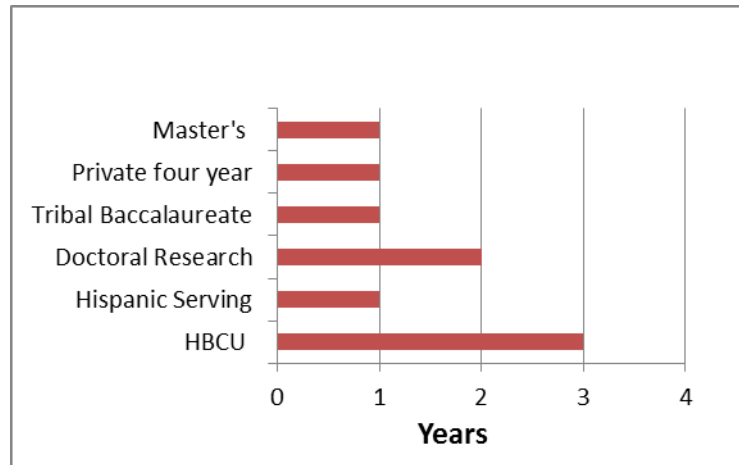
Figure 11. Women of Color Senior Leaders Institutional Type

With the exception of two presidents, all presidents, provosts, and vice provosts were born in the United States and were either second or third generation. English was the primary language for participants, with the exception of three participants who were either born outside the United States or grew up in households where their parent's native language was spoken. Four participants were Protestant, two Catholic, one Buddhist, and one observed Native American traditional ceremonies. Six women were married or partnered and three were divorced. All but one senior leader had children.

All participants attended public high schools, and the majority attended state universities for their bachelor's degrees. Many participants attended leadership development training: two were ACE Fellows; two were Ford Fellows; several presidents attended the Harvard Institute for Educational Management program; one attended the American Association of College and University new presidents training. Participants indicated they were involved in professional, community, and women's boards or committees (see Figure 12). Senior leaders served on between two and eight professional boards/committees including the Ford Foundation, National Association

for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, American Association of Colleges and Universities, HERS, and the National Science Foundation. Many were active on community boards such as the National Indian Education Association, National Council of Negro Women, and YMCA. In addition, they served on boards/committees for women's organizations such as American Association of University Women, Girl Scouts, women's clubs, and women's shelters.
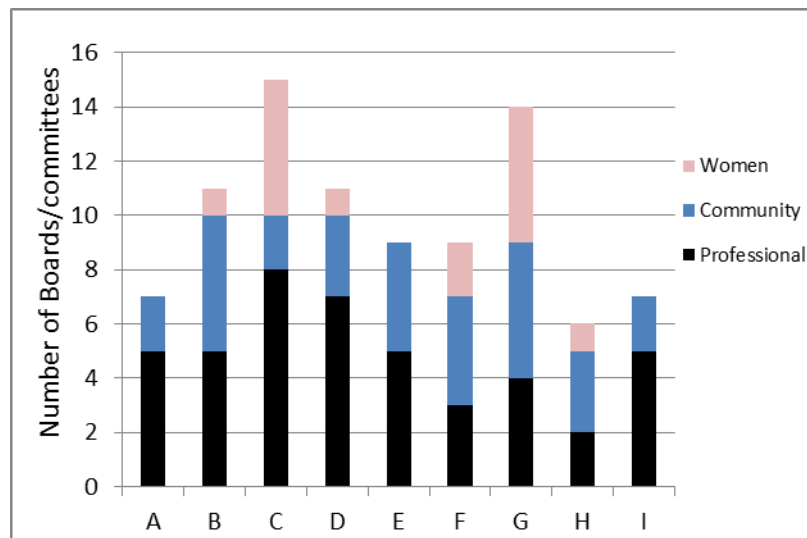
Figure 12. Women of Color Senior Leaders, Number, Types of Boards/Committees Having described the group profiles, I now describe the individual case profiles. As I considered how to write these individual case profiles with descriptions of institutional contexts, it was necessary to remove race and ethnic identifiers to protect the identities of my participants. Because the sample of women of color senior leaders is so small, institutional type and geographic locations have also been omitted, and one participant's title has been changed. In Chapter Five, race and ethnic identifiers and institutional type are discussed in the cross-case analysis.

"Jacqueline"

"Tyler" University, a coeducational, residential Master's university founded in 1889, is situated on 182 acres. Recent renovations include a science building, a fine arts center, public safety building, and a student center. Tyler University has an enrollment of 6,000 students with over 4,000 full-time undergraduates; 54% are female and 45% are male. The university offers three graduate programs in education, organization management, and educational technology.

Touring the university with the interim admissions director, I saw new buildings that had the latest technology and a renovated student center. In one of the academic buildings where classes are taught, faculty offices were housed on the opposite side of the building. This was recommended by the strategic planning committee, so that students could make a smooth transition from attending class to faculty advising. The strategic planning committee was charged with charting a course for the institution that aligns Tyler with the external community, creating an image of excellence that increases external knowledge of Tyler's missions and strengths. A PowerPoint document I reviewed from the university archives showed that the strategic plan committee involved over 200 people (students, staff, faculty, alumni, community members, and representatives of state agencies) who were involved in planning and implementation phases of the strategic plan. Documents revealed the strategic plan committee met for three years. During the strategic planning process, four major subcommittees presented reports to the general strategic plan committee, and a stakeholder's conference and a strategic planning retreat

occurred. The strategic plan included 18 initiatives from the subcommittees that were approved by the senate including: implementation of the first-year program, academic advising, global citizenship initiatives, and a liberal arts work initiative.

Other public records I reviewed included a convocation speech (the first year of her presidency), a letter appointing the chief diversity officer (CDO), student newspapers, a YouTube interview with a student, and a speech on the topic of the achievement gap for underrepresented minorities. In the CDO appointment letter, Jacqueline cited the importance of inclusion, the critical place that public universities play in facilitating social mobility, and the goal of recruiting and retaining a diverse faculty, staff, and student body. I reviewed several years of student newspapers and found no negative articles about the president. When I mentioned this to the archivist, she said, "the president is very popular with the students." In her speech on the achievement gap, Jacqueline recalled how her parents, from a lower socio-economic background with little secondary education, valued education strongly. She insisted that students take one step at a time, not get overwhelmed by circumstances, but keep their focus on their goals and keep moving. She told students at the convocation at Tyler University, that one must form one's own opinions and be grounded by information, basing one's actions on values and principles. Besides learning, she exhorted the class of 2010 to understand and respect other cultures, exhibit leadership in their families and their personal lives, and to be actively engaged with their community, because part of social responsibility is giving back to the community.

When I arrived at the president's office, I immediately noticed the expanse of the waiting room, and beautiful multicultural art hanging in the hallways and the

president's office. There was a strong sense of culture and vibrancy from the artwork displayed. One painting was of African American children, tapestries, Spanish women in elaborate gowns outside mansions. I asked the executive assistant about the artwork and she said the artists were faculty in the Art department and the president selected the art and worked with a gallery person about the look she wanted to achieve. There were two boardrooms, a larger boardroom and a small boardroom. Outside the boardroom was a kitchen that prepared catering. In the large boardroom, a series of paintings of homeless people were on display. I thought this was striking given the placement of this art in a room where powerful decisions are being made. Artwork focused on the lower socioeconomic class seemed resonant given Jacqueline's working class background. Her office was large and contained cherry colored executive style furniture that she said was left by the previous president. In the parking lot outside the building, parking places were designated for the most senior staff, including the president.

Advancing women through opportunity and experience. Jacqueline was able to advance to the presidency because she had strong mentors. She recalled how one mentor would take her to meetings with senior staff and debrief the true meaning behind people's comments, describing this as "connecting the dots." Her mentors had social capital that gave her access to circles that she did not; they had the power to navigate the system, and the ability to negotiate on her behalf. She credited her mentors with seeing her potential, steering her in the right direction and telling her how to get where she wanted to go. One White male mentor was instrumental in catapulting her into becoming the Dean of the faculty. She also credited the Ford

Fellowship with enabling her to get her doctorate and the important work experience she gained as an ACE Fellow.

Challenges of race and gender: inviting partnership with community. As a woman of color president, Jacqueline was concerned that she might be considered a token hire. She commented that sometimes race and ethnicity make people uncomfortable. In her experience, she found it harder to work for a woman supervisor than a man, and particularly if male supervisors treated women like daughters or wives. She observed that some male supervisors are comfortable around women and treat them as equals. She found that White males can be dominant in meetings; they also assisted her by being powerful behind the scenes. Another aspect of diversity was her family commitments. Family was very important to her thus she balanced family and job responsibilities carefully to ensure she had time with family. Throughout her career, she did not sacrifice her family for her job.

Inclusive and persuasive leaders: creating positive change. As a leader, Jacqueline believed strongly that senior faculty are obligated to speak for students and must fight to protect the status quo. She demonstrated advocacy by asking her peers to become participants of her women of color graduate student's dissertations. Jacqueline believed change is not bad, and as an administrator one must be open to changing one's position.

Jacqueline built consensus in her decision-making process. Before presenting her argument she thought through systematically how to defend her position. Persuading others through rational discourse and data, conveying her philosophy, and presenting all sides of the issue helped her sell her argument to people. Jacqueline

asked for advice from constituencies such as the union, senate, and faculty. She met with key individuals and held separate meetings with faculty. She opened up the decision-making process to all, respecting individuals and waiting to hear what they think. Having faculty and students involved enabled her to explain the advantages of the decision. To ensure that everyone has information about the budget, she was transparent and posted the budget on the web for everyone to view. Having connections and relationships with people combined with good information and feedback enabled her to get good advice and have a strong presidency.

In the first year of her presidency, she attended the American Association of College and Universities' new president boot camp where she learned the importance of setting her vision and having the right institutional match, which is why she believed she has a successful presidency. She valued people telling her the truth and not being afraid to disagree with her; she believed many presidents fail because people are afraid to tell them the truth. Jacqueline stated always thank and appreciate people for what they tell you regardless of whether it is good or bad news. Jacqueline's leadership style invited people to participate and have a process of discussion. She believed one should be flexible in one's thinking, because others may improve upon your idea. As she worked with committees and listened to other people's opinions, staff felt protected because the process was opened up. She never sought a minority serving institution presidency, she only sought to lead a predominantly White institution. She saw herself as a president first, then a woman of color. Though she described herself as not the smartest person, she had strong academic skills, and her intuitive skills helped her size things up quickly.

Using power and politics to achieve goals. Jacqueline defined politics as a set of conditions that are influenced by people with political influence or authority. One should learn about the political processes and who influences decision-making in institutions. She asserted having individuals who are strategically placed and who can intervene with senior decision makers can be very helpful. Early on as a faculty member, she learned about the nuances of institutions and political structures. Sometimes decision-making is political, and one makes a calculated political move based on personal values. As Jacqueline made decisions she was concerned about how to protect the university, students, and alumni interests. She argued power gives one the platform to be powerful and influential if people trust and respect you. One gains power by being a team player and flexible. Above all, keeping one's personal integrity through the process is most important.

"Rebecca"

"Solaris" University, part of a five-part campus system, is based on principles of rigorous liberal arts and education, innovative experiential learning, and socially engaged citizenship. The university website described the purpose of multiple campuses of the university as helping their students develop skills and knowledge that will enable them to be lifelong leaders of democracy and global citizens. The campus is just under 40 years old. They are known for their programs in applied psychology, and have a master's degree in environment and community. Ninety-seven percent of the faculty holds doctorate degrees. Of the 900 students, about 77% are studying for a master's or doctoral degree. Because of financial difficulties of the flagship campus, Solaris University has had to contribute funding to help support the flagship campus.

In an article about the downsizing and financial challenges, Rebecca acknowledged these challenges and said it is an exciting time to work at the university because the chancellor has a system wide initiative to build things up and help the campuses work as a system. Solaris University was named as one of the top 20 colleges committed to community service. Specifically, a women's project run by the institution, serves homeless and formerly homeless women in the downtown area, providing an educational day program and offering a way for the university to contribute to the community.

The organization chart shows that the president and the Board of Trustees report to the university chancellor who reports to the university Board of Governors. Three vice presidents report to the president: academic affairs, finance and administration, and institutional advancement. The vice president of academic affairs oversees five divisions.

In an interview on the university website, Rebecca was asked why she took the position and what strengths she brought to the presidency. First, she was attracted to the university's philosophy of giving back to the community. Also, her beliefs in higher education access and inclusiveness drew her to the university and she desired to spread that message. Firmly rooted in her values and integrity, Rebecca brought synergy and direction to community building. She intended to increase the university's enrollment by increasing diversity and access for all students, faculty, staff, and administrators who come from all walks of life. Through opening doors, she wanted to create access for students that never thought that they could be a part of Solaris University. She likened her leadership and decision-making style to weaving a

tapestry: working across disciplines from the bottom up and from administration down. She focused on people who have never been acknowledged or appreciated, and believed that everyone is invaluable to the university community. Because she would like people to be able to approach her and be comfortable in her presence, she was open about her personal life and this drew her close to people she worked with. Her parents had an eighth and eleventh grade education and experienced discrimination in their educational life, however they encouraged her never to give up on education and said they would support her with their prayers. One elderly woman who she kept corresponding with endowed the university $1 million to be used for minority scholarships.

   Advancing women through opportunity and experience. Rebecca became interested in Solaris University because of its progressive reputation in social engagement, social justice, and experiential learning. She had been invited to apply for many of her positions, including her current presidency. Mentors and presidents believed in her and encouraged her to pursue her Ph.D. and helped her grow into her presidency. Rebecca observed there are not enough women of color in senior leadership positions therefore it feels lonely at the top; she wished she could socialize with more women of color sisters. She suggested advancing women of color by writing articles about women of color leaders and perhaps having a journal for them similar to Black Issues in Higher Education. Conferences, institutes, and forums, such as the American Council on Education Fellows program and Kaleidoscope should provide scholarships for women of color to attend. She argued many do not

attend because it requires securing permission or funding from their supervisor or having to pay for it themselves.

Challenges of race and gender: inviting partnership with community. She stressed it is important to have respect for your ethnicity and culture. Speaking about equity, she said one must go directly to the community and not ask the community to come to the university. Since she was from two cultures she thought of different words in different languages. Sometimes, not understanding language idioms led her to misunderstand meanings because she took the phrase literally and personally. Working for a predominantly White institution, she missed her culture and people. She was careful not to emphasize her race and ethnicity, which might jeopardize her being seen as having the skills and leadership to lead her institution.

Inclusive and persuasive leaders: creating positive change. Rebecca believed advocacy is listening, knowing what the issues are, what your needs are, and making it a win-win situation. She led change by using data to compare information with other sources. She was vigilant about being transparent in including others and making decisions. Rebecca believed strongly in doing the greatest good for the community and carefully listening to people's concerns.

Using power and politics to achieve goals. Having balance in her life, physical, emotional, and spiritual, created a foundation that enabled Rebecca to be the best leader. Although in her culture, the word "balance" not power was used to describe leadership. This explained where one has been, where one was going and that one did not have all the answers. Rebecca asserted that by doing these things— walking with integrity and honesty— everything falls into place and one brings a

silent leadership that is very powerful. Others commented that when she spoke, people listened. Rebecca empowered executive teams by being collaborative, communicative, and transparent with them. She empowered others by using information to bust myths that weren't true.

Speaking about politics, Rebecca defined it as finding hidden agendas. She would go into a meeting knowing what her needs were, what was on the table, and negotiate so the outcome was a win-win. She emphasized that listening was important, and taking the time to do one's homework in advance by reading reports. Rebecca found that she was able to connect what she read to what she heard in the meeting and decipher the hidden agenda. Rebecca stated it is important to find time to read what is happening nationally in higher education, and think about whether there could be a connection to the hidden agenda. She believed strongly in exposing anything hidden (words, rules, agendas) so everyone on campus could understand.

"Caroline"

"Caroline" is president of "Diamond" University, a baccalaureate arts and science university founded in 1947. The university has six colleges with 36 bachelor; six master's degrees; and, 2 doctorates. Enrollment is 4,000 students – 70% resident, 30% out of state, and 8% international from 37 countries. Most students are undergraduates and there are 454 graduate students. Forty-one percent are male and 59% are female, with 19% part-time students and 81% full-time. Since 1998, nine buildings have been built including a new Student Life building, a Marine Science building, and a College of Pharmacy. The university has 13 NCAA Division II teams,

an Upward Bound program and processed $34 million in financial aid during the previous academic year.

I reviewed two brochures about the university and its timeline of progress. The brochures emphasized the new ventures of the university, an emphasis on renewable energy, and a focus on strengthening the economic foundation of the community. Economics was a central theme given the knowledge-based economy. The president was quoted as saying "Diamond" university has a commitment to help the whole state with economic stimulus; therefore, the university is an economic engine for the local community. International relations with different countries were highlighted with the university cooperatively developing and utilizing electricity from renewable energy. Partnership and town gown relationships were central and the community is described as the university's greatest champion. A centennial campaign recently generated over $15 million and a $1 million anonymous gift supported financial assistance and scholarships.

Advancing women through opportunity and experience. Caroline was not looking for her position as president but was nominated by someone from the Harvard Institute for Educational Management program. Carolyn recommended women prepare themselves to learn about student services and academics so that they develop broader expertise. Also, by volunteering, one can develop new skills, expand one's network, and showcase one's capabilities.

Challenges of race and gender: inviting partnership with community. Until recently, Caroline did not think she experienced racism or sexism, since she minimized these experiences by continuing to do her work and ignoring it. She

believed that doing things based on positive energy and helping people is how you create change. In her experience, because people can be jealous and biased; she ignored bias through winning faculty over and ignored media who were focused on negative energy.

Inclusive and persuasive leaders: creating positive change. She was nominated to become president because she was entrepreneurial. She was not looking for a presidency at the time but pursued this presidency because of its multicultural campus. Upon ascending to the presidency she found the university had a large deficit of several million dollars. She was able to use incentives to create a new program that would reduce enrollments in other majors and at the same time increase resources. Though she stressed the importance of being honest with the community, she did not feel bound to their votes.

Caroline believed that to create change you need to involve your constituents. When making decisions, she would first survey the community and then talk with faculty to get their buy-in. She believed that it is important to involve as many people as possible in decision-making and explain benefits and advantages to constituents. She asserted when working for change it is important to work with a positive group towards enhancing the university. As a young academic she championed a name change for her department and learned how to do marketing while developing community. She admitted that sometimes people are ready for change, but one should convince people and gain as much support as possible; however if there are one or two people that are not supportive one may need to ignore them. She worked closely with the faculty union to build trust and aligned herself with the community who

endorsed her efforts. By asking the community what they wanted to be done, she involved them and her advisory board in the visioning process. Thus, rather than order people around, she was successful by using incentives to align people's opinions with her objectives.

Caroline emphasized developing trust with people and using key people to convince others to support your program. Key stakeholders such as the region's legislature, community members, Chamber of Commerce, and the economic development board were important to validate decisions. During her tenure, she made difficult decisions to cut the budget, faculty, and staff and there were some reactions to her decisions, but she took leadership for making the cuts. She reviewed data when making decisions about which programs to cut and allowed people to give their ideas. She relied upon the community for their opinion and developed a vision with them about the future. When there were problems with the media, the community came to her defense and supported her. She found working with an advisory board in the community helpful.

Using power and politics to achieve goals. Caroline was the only participant who said she was not comfortable with the term power because she viewed it as forcing someone to do something. To her, power was the ability to bring people together using a strategy to get things done. She believed it is possible to get things done without power, by building relationships with different constituencies and having a flexible plan. Caroline defined power as achieving the best results for the community, the university, and faculty while developing quality education. One uses

power to serve underserved students helping them learn more, which benefits the community and the state.

Caroline was also the only participant who said she does not play politics and disliked the term "maneuver" through politics because of its negative connotation. She preferred to think of politics as getting things done by working with people with positive energy. She achieved things because she didn't think about politics but did what was best for the community and the students. In fact, Caroline believed power and politics is not just getting what you want, but doing the right thing for society, the community, and the students. Politics has the broader goal of fulfilling a mission, a strategic plan for a better university, and getting resources.

"Crystal"

"Diamo" a private, independent, Liberal Arts college for women founded in 1881, has goals of integrating and globalizing learning, teaching creatively, living sustainably, improving themselves continuously, and collaborating to improve their city's quality of life. The student body includes more than 2,100 students from 41 states and 15 foreign countries. Eighty percent of full-time faculty earned Ph.D.'s or other terminal degrees and the student-faculty ratio is 12:1.

Crystal served for two years as provost and vice president for academic affairs and for one semester as interim provost at Diamo College. Biographies about her on the web noted her commitment to the importance of high-quality literacy instruction for students and the professional development of teachers through the K-16 spectrum. Executive board members cited her dedication to improving writing instruction, her understanding of the importance of school-university partnerships, and her rich

background of understanding diversity and equity issues. Prior to becoming provost at Diamo College, she served as founding director of a program that improved student retention and graduation. She created a teacher preparation mentor program with K-12 teachers and led a collaborative K-16 partnership that designed and implemented an academic enrichment program that assisted high school students to attend college. These experiences encapsulate her commitment to teaching, students, diversity and equity.

Advancing women through opportunity and experience. Discussing her career advancement, Crystal acknowledged the importance of mentoring and professional development opportunities. A department chair helped her understand the importance of writing publications, teaching, and joining committees. She took the opportunity to take a sabbatical to do a fellowship at another university to ground herself in another discipline. She strongly believed in ongoing professional development or professional learning.

Challenges of race and gender: inviting partnership with community. Family played a key role in preparing her for her professional life. Her mother taught her to carefully listen to what other people say, and the importance of valuing herself which helped her withstand racism and sexism. She learned to filter out negative messages from teachers and listen to individuals that cared about her. Initially she applied for a job at a predominantly White institution because one family member attended there. She experienced racism when she was informed that the institution would not promote her to be dean because she was a woman of color.

Inclusive and persuasive leaders: creating positive change. Crystal developed her leadership skills in the Girl Scouts, having responsibility working at camps and directing a riding program. She is passionate about leadership and reads everything she can on the topic. As a junior faculty member, participating on committees for tenure and promotion, reassignment, and curriculum helped her learn about tenure. By becoming interim provost she learned about contracting with part-time faculty, the budget process, and how to take care of administrative affairs. As interim provost she was working on developing a faculty handbook when the opportunity to become provost materialized. Her colleagues credited her with doing more in three months as interim provost than previous provosts. To succeed in a senior level position, Crystal stressed it is important to develop strong self-esteem, confidence, and have a good sense of self.

Using power and politics to achieve goals. Crystal was the only WOC-SL to discuss social identity. She described power coming from positions of privilege that can be attached to one's social identity: race, class, gender, class and sexual orientation. Crystal explained one's sex or gender impacts one's social power; and power is about having social and influential power. Previously when working at a predominantly White institution, students would think because of her race, she had no privilege and no power. For her, power was complex and intertwined with authority. One may be able to discern a person's authority by observing them as well as where they are located on the organizational chart. She defined power as separate from authority, which can be assigned through position. She has noticed there are faculty at her institution, who have little authority and a great deal of power, who are able to

influence others opinions simply by saying they endorse a certain position. Power can involve educating and advocating for needs with legislative bodies. Currently, she uses power in a wider range of ways than she did earlier in her career. She gave power to her staff by creating a space for others to speak in meetings, bring recommendations, and make decisions that empower them to take leadership.

Crystal defined politics as understanding people's motivations, what their interests are, what drives them, and their behavior. At the university, she noticed language politics as faculty spoke differently at the faculty senate then they did one-on-one in the hallway. Although some saw politics as bad and construed it as negative, Crystal saw it as a way of navigating environments. She believed that it is important not to get caught up in politics but to view it as useful information and a game. One learns how to navigate politics through experience in different situations.

"Alicia"

"Tigris" University, founded in 1884, later became a junior college, and is currently a baccalaureate institution. The institution enrolls over 1,000 students each semester, 46% female and 53% male, and offers Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees in Business Administration, Environmental Science, and Elementary Education. The vice president of academic affairs and the vice president of university services report to the president. In the organization, there is a director of facilities management, chief information officer, and chief financial officer. The vision statement empowers students for leadership and service to their communities and the world through its excellent academic programs and research, creative activities, and culturally diverse students' experiences.

Website blogs about Alicia's leadership, credit her with trying to improve the lives of Tigris students and faculty. She stood up for her students by telling the kitchen staff they could not lock students out of the cafeteria. And she tried to implement two new bachelor programs. Other articles argued she was ahead of her time for the university bureaucracy because her improvements to the university were criticized by her Board of Regents and threatened some faculty. Graduation rates at the institution continued to fall after her departure. Alicia served as president of Tigris University for three years.

Advancing women through opportunity and experience. To advance, Alicia has moved every three to five years and stresses women must be willing to move for their career. When she was advancing into senior level positions, being one of the first women of color opened doors for her. She felt knowing people helped her get to the senior level and stated who you know is more important than what you know. To hire senior leaders, she believed the focus should be on hiring the best person to help students whether it is a woman or a man, not necessarily a woman of color. She encouraged women of her racial/ethnic group not to settle for less than what they deserve. She was bold about speaking her mind and was unafraid to tell her high-powered supervisor, who intimidated everyone, exactly what was on her mind. One time her colleague was recruiting for position and she was mad that he did not consider her until she said she was interested.

Challenges of race and gender: inviting partnership with community. In Alicia's racial/ethnic community, everyone was family. In a relationship-based community, people look to leaders to take care of community members in all areas,

financial and other. Alicia chose to work at this university because she wanted to work at the institution where her family had previously attended and to serve her alma mater. The primary reason she selected this presidency was to be closer to her mother who was advancing in age. Family was very important to her but she had some bosses who were inflexible about giving her leave when she needed to see her father who was ill. She believed in putting family first, taking care of one's health before the job, therefore Alicia would tell her women staff to stay home and take care of their sick kids.

Inclusive and persuasive leaders: creating positive change. Enacting change on her campus was not easy. When Alicia arrived at the university she alerted people that it was not going to be business as usual and that she would do things differently, but soon learned she would be constrained by institutional rules. At her university the cafeteria was not open when athletes were done practicing, so oftentimes the coaches had to buy them pizza for dinner. She directed the cafeteria to change the hours that meals were served to accommodate athletes. Because she wanted to provide more resources for the students, she wanted to gradually increase the fee structure that could upgrade technology and fund programs. When she tried to add more bachelor degrees she was stopped by the union and a department, because staff were afraid that they were going to lose their jobs.

In the first six months of her presidency, everyone on campus was aligned with her vision, but shortly thereafter she started to find resistance to change from a small group of people that had been running the school before she arrived. She had a different agenda than naysayers. She was hired under a presumption that as president

she would be doing fund raising but that did not end up being the case. Asked to define a leader, Alicia commented, a leader is someone others would follow into a burning building. Over time she has learned that leadership is learning sometimes you are wrong and others have better ideas than you. Alicia was honest and logical, and when she developed a plan, she based it on certain principles, and invited people to participate.

Using power and politics to achieve goals. Alicia described power as a living entity that is part of the environment and can flow to good people or evil people. She viewed power as something that can be generated when people do good. Sometimes she observed people attributing position power to their leaders and wanting help in making decisions. As a senior leader, Alicia used persuasion as power.

Alicia described politics involving conflicts, posturing, and distortion. When she arrived at Tigris University, Alicia learned unspoken rules through her assistant who was the previous president's assistant for ten years. Targeted by protesters who believed there was a conspiracy at her college, she dismissed untruths that were leveled at her. She was disturbed that individuals sent out distorted information that circulated rumors about the previous president's family that caused the previous president to leave. Alicia was the only participant to define politics as glossing over something, such as a leader smoothing things over with his constituency and telling them what they want to hear. Because she has observed politics as posturing by board members, she cautioned one has to be political and open about what one is doing and keep others informed.

Alicia articulated that as president you need to have skills. She believed that knowing statistics and sociology is most important. As president she experienced people who were physically aggressive and bully other people on her campus and she stood up to them. In her career, she has learned from negative role models how not to behave. Some of her staff were defiant and did not want to follow the principles and values that she laid out, so she used incentives to incentivize people. Even when advised not to do so, she has always trusted people until they proved themselves unworthy. Alicia strongly believed in aligning oneself to truths and values that have integrity, and to always stay on the moral high road.

"Anna"

"Evans" University is a public land grant research institution that has 32,000 students—25,000 are undergraduates and 7,000 are graduate students. The university offers more than 100 academic majors and 90 graduate programs within Letters and Science, Engineering, Biological Sciences, and Environmental Sciences. Professional schools include Business Management, Education, Law, Medicine, Nursing and Veterinary medicine. Evans University is known for its leadership in sustainability, innovative research, and public service. The Center for Entrepreneurship brings Science, Engineering, and Business students and faculty together with experienced entrepreneurs, investors, and corporate leaders to collaborate and blend theory with hands-on participation and results-oriented innovation. The School of Law is committed to helping the community by providing support in immigration, prison law, civil rights litigation and family protection. Anna served as vice provost at Evans University for seven years.

I reviewed documents available on the website: the Chancellor's Annual Report for 2010, and a university statement. The chancellor acknowledges that despite the financial challenges of the previous year, academic strengths have never been stronger. The university has ranked within the top ten in terms of public research funding, and has just launched a comprehensive fundraising campaign to raise money from 100,000 donors to support students by 2014. Much of the report describes the fundraising campaign and also lists the university's rankings, including: first in scholarship on sustainability and fourth in international scholars. The university is committed to sustainable technologies and to fostering learning and scholarship of the highest quality within a culture of organizational excellence as one of the world's top research universities. The organizational initiative in this report described streamlining and aligning finance, human resources, information technology, and payroll to ensure strategic energy efficiency.

A university statement affirms its commitment to learning, teaching and serving society. Basic principles include the importance of inherent dignity, maintaining a climate of justice, fostering mutual respect and understanding, civility, and expressing ideas with courtesy, sensitivity, and respect. The university rejects all manifestations of discrimination, including those based on race, ethnicity, gender, age, disability, sexual orientation, religious or political beliefs, and celebrates differences.

Advancing women through opportunity and experience. Anna advanced by observing how others navigated the institution in order to get things done. She sought senior leadership positions because of her desire to help students. Anna

believed having women of color as professional coaches/mentors would help support one's ethnicity and gender. Her mentors helped her learn how to maneuver through processes, procedures and events, explained what was happening, and encouraged her to think about what she would do next. They also nominated her for fellowships. Having a woman president take an interest in her career path made a huge difference, giving her an opportunity to shadow a president up close. Without someone looking out for her, she felt that it would have been difficult for her to rise to the vice provost level. Advancing women of color into senior leadership requires first acknowledging there is a problem that few women of color serve in senior leadership positions. Whether because of naiveté or ignorance, people try to avoid admitting this is a problem. With few senior women of color that can mentor others like them, individuals sometimes feel that there is something they are not doing right. Anna estimated there are few women of color in senior positions because women of color on their way up have experienced discrimination, racism, and sexism discouraging them from choosing to pursue senior level positions.

Challenges of race and gender: inviting partnership with community. Regarding diversity, Anna asserted there is a lack of people of color in administration making policy decisions. People bring stereotypes because they don't have experience with people of color. One stereotype is that senior leadership looks different than women of color. She felt excluded when a White male was selected as the stronger person representing the university even though she had the expertise. She sometimes felt excluded at senior meetings because the informal conversations were often very male oriented. Feeling excluded can make one feel isolated. Her experiences with

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racism and sexism prompted her comment that educational institutions had not evolved— sometimes racism is blatant and sometimes it is subtle.

Inclusive and positive leaders: creating positive change. Making change through decisions involves listening to people of color for decision-making. Anna believed decisions are not made individually but as part of the team whether through a board or a system. By looking at facts, listening to people, and examining all the alternatives, one can explain decision-making processes and decisions to various constituent groups. Anna explained oftentimes there are competing interests and how data is used to make decisions can be controversial. Sometimes one can make a costly decision that is criticized because it favors communities of color.

Anna described leadership as the marriage of one's cultural upbringing, background, and personality. She continued to serve in administration because of her commitment to helping students of color. A colleague admired Anna's ability to speak up in meetings and though she did not say a lot, everyone listened, and Anna left getting what she wanted. She asserted one must be comfortable with one's style of leadership. Sometimes Anna has to modify her style and be more aggressive and assertive based on the people in the room. Deciding how to act depended on the content and how important the topic was to her.

Using power and politics to achieve goals. Anna believed power and influence are intertwined. Positional power and authority are based on one's position therefore individuals have different amounts of influence over others. Anna asserted one acquires power that one may not have initially, by earning trust and becoming an expert in one's area. She recommended to affect a desired outcome it is important to

do one's homework before attending the meeting, and talk one-on-one with key decision makers and influencers beforehand. Then, when a vote is taken one knows where people stand on the issue. Anna defined power as a combination of personality, culture, and mentoring. Leadership style is based on cultural background and upbringing. However, modeling her leadership upon successful women of color was difficult because there were so few women of color at the senior level.

Anna described politics as governmental politics, state politics, and office politics. Also, politics can be institutional and interpersonal with interpersonal politics as the toughest. One aspect of politics is one's political perspective based on one's values. Anna argued politics that people engage in to realize their ends is not always upfront and fair. Despite people believing that education should not be political, everything one does is political. Anna believed making decisions and influencing others requires political savvy, and this is not something women of color are necessarily schooled in. However, being a successful woman of color requires political savvy, which can be learned from mentors explaining how to maneuver in certain situations and from trial and error. Anna argued one can observe which individuals are influential and which constituencies carry power. Therefore, if there is a controversial issue, one can bring in groups and allies that are perceived to have the most power on that issue. She learned about unspoken rules in the university from colleagues who had stature and from interacting with people, not from fellowships or internships. She cautioned be on guard and be careful about whom to trust.

"Pearl"

"Taille" University was founded in 1912 as a public land grant urban doctoral research institution. The university consists of seven colleges: Agriculture, Human and Natural Sciences, Business, Education, Engineering, Technology and Computer Science, Health Sciences, Liberal Arts, Public Service, and Urban Affairs. It also has a School of Graduate Studies and Research. The university offers 39 bachelor degrees, 23 master's degrees, and awards doctoral degrees in seven areas: Biological Sciences, Computer Information Systems Engineering, Psychology, Public Administration, Curriculum and Instruction, Administration and Supervision and Physical Therapy. There are 430 full-time faculty and approximately 200 part-time faculty that serve a student population of more than 8,500 who come from 42 states and 45 countries. Females are 63% and males are 37% of the student body; 20% of students are part time and 80% are full time.

Several different organizational charts explained the reporting line to the president. One organizational chart showed that six vice presidents report to the president: academic affairs, research, student affairs, business and finance, university relations and development, communication and information technologies. There were nine deans who report to the vice president of academic affairs. In the executive boardroom, photographs of past presidents of the institution and years served, lined the wall horizontally. In this institution's history, all past presidents had been White with the exception of the previous president who was African American.

Several articles in the local paper and student newspaper listed the challenges facing the president. The local paper cited a decision by the State Board of Regents to

cut 37 low producing programs statewide. Pressures emanated from a recent college completion act, which sought to renovate public higher education by enacting changes in academic, fiscal and administrative policies. The paper applauded Pearl's leadership in making tough decisions that were in the best interest of the university, such as eliminating six low producing majors without eliminating jobs. An article written by Pearl to the community explained the changes that she had made and her rationale. She explained the reduction of 13.3 million in state appropriations and why she found the graduation rate of 40% unacceptable. She clarified why she needed to discontinue certain programs and that she did not cut any positions. During the reorganization, existing retention programs were strengthened and a variety of services were established to help students complete their degrees. She remarked that she came to the university because of its excellent potential, and she ended her article by asking the public to support her institution because the beneficiary of change was not the institution but the state.

Another article posted by the university's newspaper discussed the reorganization of academic programs. According to the article, the program actions were a result of careful study by various committees that included the faculty and the faculty senate. Pearl invited the faculty to discuss proposed changes with her and to make suggestions related to the changes; as a result, many of these changes were accepted and acted upon. The budget analysis of the final program reorganization revealed an annual cost savings of over $700,000. Reallocation involved moving non-producing areas to revenue generating areas; hence no faculty jobs were eliminated. Two vice-presidency positions were eliminated. Degree programs were cut but

certain majors were re-designated as a minor. And only one major degree that had few graduates was eliminated. Some programs were relocated into units with financial support. External reports as well as institutional data indicated the university could not support 67 degree programs with their current enrollment. Retaining programs with few students and graduates puts the university at significant risk under the new funding model required by the state's college completion act.

Prior to assuming the presidency of Taille University, Pearl held two previous presidencies. She was hired by Taille's Board of Regents to lead the university through a critical transition period. At her previous colleges she helped with accreditation problems, improved academic programs, institutional effectiveness, raised campus standards, and enhanced the college's financial operation.

Advancing women through opportunity and experience. Pearl's family provided encouragement and support for her career. They instructed her that though things might be hard, there was nothing that she could not achieve. She also had the support of her husband, who encouraged her to investigate new opportunities. This included a director position and eventually the presidency. Today, she invites her granddaughter to her office to see her as president, in the hopes that she can instill in her confidence to do whatever she wants to do in the future

Pearl noted women of color have to prove themselves every day. When she would attend cabinet meetings, she discovered men were so surprised that she could talk about football. Sometimes she wondered if she was asked to be part of the search pool because the institution was looking for underrepresented minorities. She

articulated that women need to fight for positions but must be careful about how assertive they are.

In her first presidency, Pearl benefited by attending Harvard's new president program. Today, there are grants and fellowships from the National Science Foundation, the American Association of Colleges and Universities Millennium Institute and Harvard that train leaders about important issues and provide networking opportunities. She believed that attending seminars is an important action because you learn new skills and this typically leads to being considered for jobs.

Pearl suggested that one way to develop one's abilities is by volunteering for committees, and attending meetings, especially educational associations, to learn as much as one can. She developed her abilities through doing different jobs such as being in charge of undergraduate education and department chair. She believed that one should always follow through with a suggestion and improve the program. Through making changes that enhance the institution, one becomes eligible to advance to the next level.

Pearl believed that mentoring is very important, especially having a mentor that will take the time to mentor you. Her mentor trusted her and provided resources whenever she had an idea and helped her make it happen. Though mentoring helped her advance, she felt that minority women are taught to be ladylike and not given experiences to lead. Once she was nominated for a deanship and she was one of the final candidates but did not receive the offer. Then, the search firm invited her to interview for a presidency because she did well in the dean interview. She interviewed for the presidency and was selected. At the time, she was not trying to be

a president and not even thinking about it. Pearl emphasized one must prepare

oneself for what is coming next by taking on responsibilities. She stressed

volunteering for opportunities because it expands one's capabilities.

Challenges of race and gender: inviting partnership with community.

Pearl stated race was not a factor in her presidency. However, there was some racially

charged incidents in the state where she was serving. She experienced sexism. For

example, one time she was asked to take notes for the meeting and she assertively

told the chair that from then on they would rotate the duty. Pearl found the university

to be a challenging environment because sometimes one is not always heard by males

in a meeting. In board meetings men presidents called her pretty and said they liked

the way that she carried herself. There were also perceptions that she got her job

because of personal connections, but she explained it was because she worked hard.

She thought male senior leaders saw women as though they were nurses.

Inclusive and persuasive leaders: creating positive change. Once Pearl

observed another woman president's leadership style as competitive and realized it

was not for her. Pearl's leadership style was less strident and more supportive of

other's achievements. Her first major task as president was to cut $7 million out of

the budget, the hardest decision she has made in ten years. She had to eliminate six

programs that she described as a "cataclysmic change." Through merging schools

together she used the resources to run one program. She cut money from lapsed

salaries, travel, and wherever possible. Asking faculty to evaluate their departments,

she invited them to meet with her and tell her what they thought about the decision

but not be emotional. She made parking first-come first-serve and increased the number of police on campus, which was praised by her university community.

Leadership is working hard for the institution, students, and the community but keeping one's balance and bringing balance to the people. Pearl would always ask people to give input, not hold back but bring their facts to the table not their emotions. Through including others in the process she invited them to tell her what they would do differently and includes their opinion. She stressed that if there is conflict, it is important to have students on your side and the majority of faculty need to be included in the decision. She had an open door policy and invited people to drop in bi-weekly and spend 15 minutes with the president. To be aware of what the rest of the institution was thinking, she regularly sat in on various department meetings to listen. Ensuring that everyone knows what she was thinking, she held monthly meetings with the entire university explaining to them where they were in the process of reorganization. By taking the temperature of the group, she was able to find a way to convince them of her initiatives.

Pearl emphasized a president must exhibit integrity. She admonished one must be respectful in meetings and not tell off-color jokes, because the conversation may spiral downhill, and it is the president's responsibility to set the tone of the meeting. Prior to becoming president she had never heard of her current university, nevertheless she convinced people that she could work in a different environment. Actually, she had not been thinking about pursuing a presidency; it never crossed her mind. She had observed presidents but had not tried to be one. She hopes her presidency inspires her students that they can be president someday. Previously, she

was offered a presidency at a totally White institution but she turned it down because she felt the students at her historically Black college and university needed her more.

Using power and politics takes to achieve goals. Pearl believed there is a significant difference between controlling others and using power. She defined control as management versus power as the ability to persuade others. For example, she described one can have control but not power in the academic setting because without constituents one does not have power. At a previous institution, she was making decisions for the campus and realized that no one was behind her, thus she had no power. Pearl defined power as having people follow you and doing what is best for the institution based on the influence of one's constituents.

Pearl described politics as having an understanding of what people want and when giving it making sure it is done with integrity and one's needs are met. She saw politics as a give-and-take process between oneself and others. For example, she was able to use politics to help her mayor see that they needed more security for the schoolchildren attending a program on her campus and he bought into it.

"Lauren"

"Erie" University, founded in 1890 as a land-grant university, enables a diverse student population of traditional and non-traditional students to be prepared for a multifaceted, ever-changing global society by providing student-centered learning and delivering teaching, research, and service through high-quality undergraduate and select graduate programs. "Erie" University is committed to its legacy of service through involving the community in civic projects that enhance the quality of life of its citizens. "Erie" has about 2,300 students; 40% male and 60%

female. The university sits upon 308 acres with 38 buildings including six residence halls.

The president gave me a driving tour of the university and showed me buildings they were purchasing and renovating. She listed the dollar amounts they had paid for each building and how they were financing or selling them to raise more money. Later in the interview when she described herself as an entrepreneur at heart, this label seemed particularly appropriate. As we drove through the campus, she saw one of her students and spoke to him from her car window. He immediately straightened up and stood to attention. I was surprised that in a student population of 2,300 she would know her students by name. During the car ride she engaged in a phone conversation with one of her staff, giving him directives about what they would discuss in the meeting, things he needed to prepare, and her expectations. Her tone of voice was authoritative, direct, and she negotiated with him throughout the conversation.

The president's office is situated within a building, about 100 years old, with very tall ceilings—that had the aura of a historical bank. When I entered Lauren's office I noticed her desk was a long dark wood table uncluttered with paper and orderly. She had two red upholstered chairs facing her chair and a striped sofa, which presented an informal setting. Artwork on the walls was multicultural and ethnic.

Advancing women through opportunity and experience. Mentors played a significant role in developing Lauren's career. She learned by observing her president mentor, as he allowed her to sit in on cabinet meetings. After her president mentor encouraged her to pursue a presidency, she was contacted by a headhunter and got the

job. Her president mentor advised her that the worst thing one can do is make the wrong decision because it is what everyone thinks is the right thing to do. Lauren noted mentors who are outside the university or involved in the broader community, are helpful to have to validate one's decisions. Lauren learned that one must be involved in the community, not only one's own work. She advocated women of color should take on roles and not wait for someone to ask. By doing so, it broadens one's network and enables one to influence more people.

Challenges of race and gender: inviting partnership with community. As a woman of color, Lauren believed she had to be better because the bar is set very high, and people questioned her ability level. People see your color first and then that you are a woman. Stating that women are not able to get away with things a man would, Lauren commented sometimes people see her as aggressive. She believed all people of color are different and there is no monolith. Yet, people are surprised by her speaking ability and her quantitative skills. She experienced sexism when she was told a position she applied for required a man with a military background so the decision was based on gender. She has experienced more racism than she wants to talk about; there is almost as much sexism as racism. Yet, Lauren admonished not to let racism, sexism, and stereotypes distract because one has work to do. Sometimes people are unaware that what they are saying is racist and may have little exposure to people of color. She witnessed racism in the difference in salary between a Black male president and the subsequent hired majority member. When she heard people saying racist or sexist things, she told them that they were entitled to their opinion but explained why what they were saying was racist or sexist.

Inclusive and persuasive leaders: creating positive change. Producing

change in her institution required involving others before making decisions. Prior to

becoming president, she reviewed 12 years of the university's newspaper articles and

she administered a survey to faculty and staff where they could give feedback

anonymously about areas that needed to be addressed at the university. She sat down

with the vice president, alumni, and staff to discern what were the major problems

and issues at the university, enabling her to establish a work agenda as soon as she

began her presidency. Lauren asked faculty to evaluate their units for areas of priority

and where they could grow in value. By evaluating how to utilize revenue in the best

way, she calculated productivity and efficiency in the number of students that were

graduating in a shorter amount of time. Lauren asserted that in decision-making,

people expect the president to make the decision. However, she asserted timing is of

the essence because either one makes a decision or someone will make it for you. She

used her instinct, senses, and data to make informed decisions.

Lauren asserted to effect change in the university may require multiple

meetings to explain one's vision. Getting people to listen and to be involved ensures

their buy-in. She stressed bringing people together and making sure that they are

comfortable telling you bad news without killing the messenger is critically

important. To ensure that all stakeholder groups have the same information, Lauren

held town meetings with alumni, students, faculty, and staff. Persuading others and

building consensus with people who have different viewpoints involves cooperative

decision-making. She spoke up and advocated about issues in decision-making.

Lauren changed the pedagogy at her liberal arts land-grant institution through

embracing technology, smart classrooms, and iPods for learning. After discovering

weak areas in the program that were not retaining or graduating students, she put

classes online which was a major culture change for the university.

Leadership involves listening to others, and including others when making

decisions. When she configured her team she was proactive and strategic and found

people that would complement her abilities. Having someone on her team that she

trusted that would tell her she was going down the wrong path was invaluable. Lauren

asserted it is as important to understand the other side's opinions as well as you

understand your own. She had an open door policy and believed one must be

transparent by listening to people who want to talk, acknowledging and expressing

that you appreciate what they say. She asked people for feedback and incorporated

ideas that brought innovation to her campus. By including others, she made sure that

all stakeholder groups participated – faculty, staff, and the Board of Regents. She

brought together small teams within town hall meetings. Because she did not trust

having her message conveyed to faculty, she made sure to meet with them herself.

She stressed taking charge, doing what was right, going with your gut instinct and

trusting yourself to share your vision.

Lauren explained part of learning to be president involves knowing oneself.

She asserted one should always tell the truth and people will remember that you are

always honest. Once she was pulled into a closet and chastised for something she had

nothing to do with. This ended up backfiring on the people that were angry at her, and

that year people donated more money to the school. Lauren asserted if you make a

mistake, acknowledge it and always tell the truth, because if you make a mistake in what you don't believe in, it is harder to recover from.

Using power and politics to achieve goals. Whereas power involves influencing others, politics is how things are accomplished. Lauren defined power as the ability to influence others to get things done, through one's vision and getting people to take part of that vision. Although people know that power is inherent in the president's position, Lauren observed people do not share knowledge and power easily because it means giving away one's power. Politics refers to a belief system for how to get your vision, and your work. In order to maneuver through politics, Lauren advised one must first understand who the players are. She recommended one should be quiet, listen, and find out what people's agendas are and see if there is common ground. One must be careful about whom to trust and be able to size people up. Aside from finding people to trust, Lauren stated local and national politics play a role in one's presidency. Sometimes your party affiliation plays a role, and having your party in power can influence your ability to get your job done. Regardless of one's party allegiance, Lauren believed it is important to find allies in both parties to support one's positions.

"Genevieve"

"Meridian" University, a four-year public baccalaureate institution, was established in 1991 by the state legislature to meet the growing demand for university-level needs. The institution offers a wide range of programs, from continuing education to undergraduate and graduate degree programs with centers of excellence in science, music, master teaching, language and entrepreneurship. New

buildings continue to arise such as the Science, Engineering and Technology Building in November 1997. Since then, the university has built the Education and Business Complex, the Life and Health Sciences Building, and a student housing facility. Faculty and students conduct research in the Biomedical Research Building, a 66,000-square-foot facility largely focused on diabetes, epilepsy, and Alzheimer's disease. The university embraces teaching excellence, active inquiry, lifelong learning, rigorous scholarship, and research in service to the common good.

The total enrollment at Meridian University is 15,000, with 77% undergraduate and 5% graduate, and 18% dual credits; 323 students are international. Full-time student enrollment is 45% and part-time enrollment is 55%. Females comprise 60% of the student body and males are 40%. The average age of the student body is 26, with 27% of the student body in the 18-21 year old range.

The chief of staff remarked to me that when they do fundraising in the community, the president asks for a show of hands of how many people graduated from Meridian University or have sons or daughters or someone in their family attending Meridian. Almost everyone in the room raises their hand, because this institution educates the greater majority of people in this city. Therefore, the community supports many institutional projects because of their relationship to the university and because many have benefited from the institution. During my visit, I was sitting in the waiting room and a family came in and demanded to see the chief of staff who was unavailable, so they asked to speak with the president who was in a meeting. Consequently, they spoke with a senior staff member. Apparently requests to see the president without an appointment occur frequently. The administrative

assistant said that when the president is available she tries to accommodate and speak with the families directly.

The doors to the president's office were large wooden doors. The waiting area had a few chairs near the administrative assistant's desk. The artwork was modern, with black and white geometric shapes and an end table that had a simple vase with flowers. A kitchen adjoined the president's office. The interior of the president's office was informal, with brown chestnut-colored, simple wooden furniture with a long oval conference table. The room appeared more like a library, or a living room, with modern style art, photographs, and books on the shelves, lamps, and a coffee table with a chessboard on it.

Advancing women through opportunity and experience. To advance women of color, Genevieve asserted there should be leadership training for staff and faculty. On her campus, when they were recruiting for a senior position, she said she was alarmed by the small numbers of women of color in the pool, so she advocated for recreating the application process and structure and encouraged women of color to apply. She advanced to senior level positions by learning from key individuals who were not necessarily college educated but who had unbelievable courage. Her parents were strong advocates who pushed for her to be placed in appropriate classes.

Challenges of race and gender: inviting partnership with community. Genevieve commented that when she enters a room men do not automatically think of her as president, they think of her as a woman of color first. Citing her family history, Genevieve remarked her father believed there were no gender differences and everyone in the family was expected to go to college. As the only woman of color on

her board, she has learned it is her responsibility to speak up and to open the door so that others can follow her. Although racism and sexism were negatives for her at the start of career, she has learned that the only way to solve this is to be smarter and not fight it.

Inclusive and persuasive leaders: creating positive change. Genevieve asserted creating positive change involves advocacy and decisions. In some instances she used persuasion to convince external partners to be supportive of her cause and to convince others who could help support her that they are on the right side. She articulated that making key decisions was not difficult but fighting the battle in public was challenging. Standing up to the highest level of government in a key decision that would affect her campus caused others to doubt whether they were doing the right thing; however, she felt the decision ran against their mission as a college to build relationships across communities.

Leadership involves configuring a new team. Having a team of three to four people whom you can trust and who are very smart, and who can bring strengths to the discussion will help you do a difficult job. The more difficult the job, the more good people are needed to work with you. Colleagues helped her work through the budget process. Her process for deciding what positions would be cut, involved having people recommend how the work should be done with less staff, and then managers making the final decision about who would stay. To help those people that were let go, the university held an auction for them. Calling meetings asking staff and faculty for ideas for incentives to encourage people to retire, she was able to blend ideas to create a better decision. In this setting, staff could air out conflicting opinions

and come to a common understanding. People were included in the decision-making process from the bottom up to the vice president, insuring that senate officers, faculty senate officers were all connected and action did not occur until all parties were involved. By keeping people informed and empowered by information, she was able to circumvent rumors.

Using power and politics to influence goals. Genevieve observed one has power not because of one's title, but from borrowing credibility from smart people she conferred with or from individuals who have more social power and networks. For example, once she was trying to teach a class and the students were not paying attention; one of her students, a Vietnam Vet stood up and told the class to respect what she was trying to teach them, and everyone did as he asked. He lent her his power. Genevieve believed power is also being able to do what you need to do in an organization. She described power as a privilege and a responsibility as people give one power and stewardship over their assets. She argued staying in power as president requires having the respect and support of faculty and staff and earning it along the way. At the Harvard Kennedy School, she learned of environmental scanning that identifies where one's weaknesses and strengths are and build up those areas. Power can also be used to hold someone accountable for what they are doing.

Genevieve described politics as the stewardship of trust. Power and politics differ in their purest sense but have the same goal. Politics is leadership by the people and representing people in the political arena. By asking questions and learning from other people, one learns how to maneuver through politics. She learned to be quiet even when she wanted to say something. In certain situations, she found that though

people wanted to support her cause, they were afraid to do so publicly. Therefore, they might loan her power and advocate for her behind the scenes. Genevieve articulated power and politics is also intuitiveness, but this is forgotten in academia. Besides data-based and research-based decision-making, Genevieve recommended sometimes it is best to go with one's intuition even though it might not make sense.

Chapter V

This chapter will provide a cross case analysis of the findings followed by a discussion of the main research question, sub questions, and the findings that illuminate these questions. In a multiple case study, a within case analysis is followed by a cross case analysis (Merriam, 2009). After examining the case analysis, abstraction across cases is sought, and the researcher attempts to build a general explanation that fits the individual cases (Yin, 2008).

After coding and synthesizing the codes into major categories, four themes emerged which were grounded in the data: 1) Advancing Women Through Opportunity and Experience;
2) Challenges of Race and Gender: Inviting Partnership with Community; 3) Inclusive and Persuasive Leaders: Creating Positive Change; 4) Using Power and Politics to Achieve Goals. Using these four themes, I will discuss findings in each and integrate theory and literature where possible.

Advancing Women Through Opportunity and Experience

Critical race theory (CRT), drawing from "post" perspectives (postmodern, post structural and postcolonial theories) and interdisciplinary fields of sociology, history, literary theory and philosophy, critical feminist and queer studies, supports indigenous ways of knowing and understanding the world (Chapman & Dixon, 2010). One of Solórzano's five tenets of CRT emphasizes the centrality of race and racism and its persistence in U.S. society. Another tenet is the challenge to dominant ideology of subjectivity, meritocracy, color blindness, race neutrality, and equal

opportunity exposes self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups (Bell, 1987; Calmore, 1992; Delgado, 2003; Solórzano, 1997).

In addition, a facet of intersectional analysis is hegemonic power, which refers to cultural ideologies, images, and representations that shape our views of groups and individuals which in turn support or justify policies in the structural or disciplinary domains. The manipulation of ideology can affect how social groups are viewed in society (hooks, 1992), and intersectional analysis challenges those ideologies and representations (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Parental influence. Many participants spoke of the enduring effects of parental influence. Parents taught them values, and their sacrifices and support motivated women of color to achieve senior level positions. Three African American senior leaders spoke of parents teaching them to be resilient and to work hard. One African American mother told her daughter: "Don't sit and cry over spilled milk. There's much more work to be done out there." While another said, "You can say it's hard, but you can't say you can't do it." Literature referred to family as an important influence and motivator (Knowlton, 1992; Manuelito-Kerkvliet; Pember, 2008; Rodriguez, 2006; Schilling, 2009; Valdata, 2008).

Participants' parents taught them lessons of resilience. One WOC-SL's mother, who did not graduate as a valedictorian because of her race, told her daughter she would have to fight racism and learn how to handle it, and the way to do so was to be smarter:

> That's why you have to be smart. Because it's always gonna happen to you
> and you have to be smart in two languages and so you'll be smarter than they

because you will be able to perform the same job but in two languages and so

that'll be a one-up for you.

Because they lived in a racist society, parents taught women of color leaders that, as

minorities they needed to be better than others. Also, as demonstrated in

intersectional analysis, cultural ideology manipulates how language minorities are

viewed in society. Some participants faced discrimination because of their

race/ethnicity and had the additional burden of negotiating two cultures and two

languages. Nieves-Squire (1994) and Padilla (2003) confirmed that Latinas

experience "double discrimination" and "double minority" status. Faculty of color

who were nonnative speakers experienced language and cultural bias (Huang, in

press).

Parents encouraged them to work harder and not be distracted by negative

remarks. WOC-SLs carried these teachings into their work as leaders, so they were

not discouraged by the challenges they faced or the resistance they experienced. One

senior leader reflected that one has no control over what people will say or do,

therefore one should refrain from spending much time thinking about it because one

has work to do.

Parents of women of color leaders gave them a strong sense of self and taught

them to remember who they were. Critical race theory asserts that the experiential

knowledge of people of color is legitimate. It describes the importance of the counter

story: parents teach their children to remember family histories, testimonies

(testimonials), dichos (proverbs) and chronicles:

And she was constantly trying to instill that in us to be able to say you need to

listen closely to what people say and not what you hope they're saying. Think

about the words they're using, you know. If people tell you something that is

different than what you know about who you are, you need to go with what

you know about yourself, especially when you get that reinforced by others

who know and love you.

This participant cited these teachings as helpful when she faced racism in her

graduate program or when advancing to senior leadership positions. CRT and

intersectionality inform our understanding of how parents of WOC-SLs schooled and

prepared them for the challenges they would face because of their race and racism in

the outside world. In the literature, family gave African American women leaders a

strong self-concept and strength to compete in the White academic environment

(Benjamin, 1997; Gregory, 1995; Hughes, 2009). Family members also validated

participants and helped them overcome self-doubt.

Parents emphasized education and set the expectation that women of color

leaders could achieve anything they wanted. Family supported and sacrificed for

participants to get the education necessary to make it possible for them to attain

senior leadership positions although some parents had low levels of education. Other

participants' parents believed there were no gender differences and expected that their

daughters would go to college. Recalling her family's sacrifice for her to obtain an

education, especially since few in her community were able to obtain an education,

this WOC-SL remarked:

Tremendous sacrifices were made for me to be in my role…. All those people

and all those prayers and all those songs and all those ceremonies, they

sacrificed….for me to know them today, that's my foundation. And at the

same time, my parents, my grandparents sacrificed a lot for me to get an

education.

This participant was indebted to her family for their sacrifice and she retained values

of family, community, and spirituality in her senior leadership role. Much of the

literature on women of color cites family influences, particularly mothers who taught

them the value of hard work and expected them to pursue higher education (Pember,

2008; Schilling, 2009; Valdata, 2008). Other literature of an African American

president cited her father who set the expectation that she should "do something and

not be shy about it" (Moses, 2009, p.5).

Partner influence. Several women described their marital status and partner

influence as instrumental in their career success. Partners pushed them to take risks

and saw their potential before they recognized it. Partners were supportive of their

careers, and encouraged them to interview for senior level positions. In the literature,

African American women presidents had husbands who were supportive of their

careers, had flexible work, or were retired (Moses, 2009, Tatum, 2009). Their

husbands were able to relocate and actively raise their children (Moses, 2009, Tatum,

2009). Literature on Latinas cited the powerful influence of family and having

husbands that helped them purse careers at the university (Cipres, 1999; Rodriguez,

2006). This participant described her reticence in pursuing a presidency and her

husband's encouragement:

… I said, "The presidency?" I went back home and talked to my husband, I said, "What is this?" And he said, "Go for it. Whatever it is – you can always say, 'I don't want it.'" Because truthfully, I had never heard of _____. And I wouldn't tell him that but I hadn't. And so I went down and I met with the people, and whatever it was that I got at those other –working with those organizations and being at the _____school, I think convinced them that I could work in a different environment because in a _____ school, did you know Ph.D.s don't count?

Other WOC-SLs commented that they lacked confidence, however their partners told them to apply for positions. They encouraged them to investigate positions and to not be shy about pursuing opportunities. Literature confirmed that women of color presidents attributed marrying the right person, one who was able to see their potential career and supported them in times of self-doubt, as critical to their pathway to the presidency (Turner, 2007). Many participants disclosed they had not considered becoming a president or senior leader. One was nominated by a fellow classmate at the Harvard Institution for Education Management (IEM) program; another was asked to apply for a presidency by a search firm because she had done well in a Dean search; another was encouraged by her president to apply for a vice-provost position. These findings confirm other studies. Benjamin (1997) found that African American women presidents did not plan to pursue the presidency position; others nominated them or asked them to apply (Turner, 2007).

Advancing to senior level positions oftentimes was based upon having connections with individuals with hiring authority. Sometimes women of color

leaders were frustrated that colleagues did not consider them for positions. One participant cited her frustration that a former supervisor asked her to recommend a woman of color for a position, yet did not consider her as a potential hire:

> You just make me mad. How come you don't even invite me? He said you just went to _____. I didn't think you'd want to come. I said well, maybe not but I want to be invited. He said, okay, I'm inviting you.

If this senior leader had not spoken up she would have missed an opportunity to work for a national organization, which led to other senior opportunities. She commented that advancing to senior level positions had a lot to do with one's connections.

Another finding was the privilege of one's marital status as a senior leader. One WOC-SL, who was unmarried, remarked that in advancing to higher level positions, having a partner gave certain social status. A partner's position title and how involved they were willing to be in campus life could be an asset to a senior leader. In this study, the majority of women were married or partnered. A few were divorced and one remarried. In the American Council on Education's *The American College President: 2007 Edition*, only 63% of women presidents were married, compared with 89% of their male colleagues. This has significantly increased from 1986, when 35% women presidents were married. Nineteen percent of women presidents reported they were divorced, separated, or widowed (ACE, 2007). The statistics of women senior leaders in this study who were married or partnered is similar to *The American College President: 2007 Edition* study. How marital status affects senior leadership selection or advancement could be a factor for senior

leaders. Multiple aspects of identity can extend privilege or perpetuate inequality because of social identity (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Class privilege was another social identity that impacted advancing to senior leadership. One president, who was from a working class background, said without a fellowship from the Ford Foundation she would not have made it to the presidency, because it helped pay for her graduate education. Viewed through an intersectional lens, we understand that the fellowship mitigated her working class background by providing her equal opportunity to benefit from graduate study (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Opportunities to lead. Women of color were able to advance to senior leadership roles through opportunities to lead. Turner (2007) confirmed that for women of color presidents "individual validation with institutional opportunity (is) critical to growth and development, personally and professionally" (p. 17). When asked if she encountered any obstacles to being one of the first women of color in senior leadership, this participant said that being the first woman of color had the potential to open doors:

> Not a negative factor. I think because at my age I would have been one of the first, see. So it opened doors for me instead of [closing] them, but at a time when this country was looking to open some doors.

This participant had multiple opportunities to advance through personal connections. She welcomed the opportunities and stressed that if women desired to advance they had to be willing to move to other places in the country. Being in the right place

presented opportunities for WOC-SLs, and as the first woman of color, it established the way for others to follow.

The experiences of the women in this study suggest that women of color need to be on their guard because there are few women of color in senior roles it is hard to know who to trust. This was not discussed in the literature. One could interpret this finding using intersectional analysis as women of color experience everyday racism and with so few women of color in senior leadership, they must be careful of whom to trust (Collins, 2000; Bonilla Silva, 2006; Essed, 1991).

Learning and preparation. WOC-SLs stressed the importance of learning new skills and preparing to advance to senior leader positions. They recommended learning a new discipline, rounding out one's knowledge base by learning about new areas of administration, attending seminars to expand one's skill set, observing others, and taking on additional roles and responsibilities. All WOC-SLs participated in professional development programs including the Harvard Institute of Education Management (IEM), American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) training for new presidents, Council of Independent Colleges New Chief Academic Officers Seminar, and the American Council on Education (ACE) New Chair's Workshop. Other leaders received American Council on Education and Ford Fellowships. One participant who participated in a new president training credited it with helping her be successful in her first year:

> In new president's boot camp it's run by AASCU, the American Association
> of Colleges and Universities. They tell you to think deeply about your first
> year not about your presidency, that first year. What things do you want to

accomplish in that first year because that sets a real tone for your presidency

and a lot of people make strategic mistakes in their first year and they can't

come back from it. So in that boot camp, in those classes I really thought

about what I was going to do and one of the decisions that I made was that I

would study my team and give them the year to work with me. Instead of

making the decision up front about who should go, who should stay when…

She emphasized how critical it was to have the right team in place, and as president to

be matched to the right institution. Other presidents added that having the right team

in place included advisors that helped them be successful in their presidencies.

Senior leaders explained that they advanced in their careers by working hard,

volunteering in committees, and preparing for what would come next:

And I don't know if that's a common thing but I find the more you learn from

different people, the more you are knowledgeable …... leadership takes broad

understanding, cannot be too narrow. So you have to know other department

(s), other program (s), (the) academic side…..volunteer in academic

committee or something if possible, when you have time. If you don't have

time, don't do it. Teach a course …….So it's to prepare yourself into all

direction.

Thus, preparation included knowing both student affairs and academic administration.

By learning new areas and developing new skills, senior leaders stated they met more

people which added to their network and contributed to their understanding of

multiple areas on campus. Literature cited senior leaders developing competence

through experience and learning everyone else's job which developed their breadth of exposure and substance (Austin, 2009; Hughes, 2009; Moses 2009).

Communication skills were frequently cited in the literature as contributing to senior leaders' success. African American women presidents recognized the importance of being able to communicate effectively—articulating their message, and crafting it for different purposes (Moses, 2009). Two participants emphasized developing skills of argumentation, a divergence from the literature in that effective communication skills (Darden, 2006) are stressed not argumentation. One WOC-SL president participated in debates during college and reflected on how she benefited from this skill in her current situation (she was one of two women out of fifteen presidents in her university system):

> As it turned out, I debated in college and in those days when you debate women debated against women, men debated against men. Now it sounds kind of funny but that's how it was. But if you were a mixed team, boy and girl, you had to debate in the men's division. Well, it turned out I had a boy as a partner so I always debated in the men's division and I cannot help but think that growing up with boys and debating in the men's division all was some sort of preparation for what my world was to be.

As a woman of color working with White males she has had to use her debate and argumentation skills, and unwittingly, she prepared for it in college. WOC-SLs participated in a predominantly male context, with very few women at the highest level. Intersectional analysis helps us frame issues of hierarchy and privilege these women of color negotiate in academe.

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Mentoring. As an analytical framework, intersectionality (Dill & Zambrana, 2009) helps us understand the particular nature of inequalities derived from the intersection of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. Placing specific groups in a privileged position with respect to other groups offers individuals unearned benefits or group membership. Hence, participants were challenged in the academic arena by negotiating environments where race, class, and gender intersected with structures of power and privilege. The women in this study emphasized the importance of navigating the environment with a guide (mentor). Participants recommended assigning mentors right away to junior faculty or administrators. In the literature, mentoring was a strategy that facilitated the professional growth, job satisfaction, and advancement of African American faculty in predominantly White institutions (Crawford & Smith, 2005); it also helped them navigate the complexities of higher education in their early years as tribal college administrators (Manuelito-Kerklviet, 2005). As a newcomer trying to find one's way in the challenging terrain of the institutional environment required having someone who could guide you:

> I would never bring women period and particularly women of color in without
> - I think they need to have mentors assigned when they come in. It's a hard
> place to be when you're here by yourself and nobody is telling you what the
> game rules are that have existed.

This participant refers to the rules that individuals adhere to but are not formally disclosed. Without someone to explain this to them, women of color can get lost in the university system. Literature confirmed mentoring counteracts the difficulty of navigating this terrain by providing networks, and guidance to persevere in academe

(Fries Britt & Kelly, 2005; Gregory, 1995; Huang, in press; Hune, 1998; Murata 2006; Turner & Myers, 2002). Also informal mentoring was helpful in navigating the complexities of higher education (Manuelito-Kerkvliet, 2005; Pember, 2008; Schilling, 2009; Valdata, 2008).

Mentors provided social and cultural capital. Participants were advanced based on mentor's recommendations, allowed to attend senior level meetings, and invited to shadow them in their presidencies. Literature found that obstacles for Latina/o community college presidents included a lack of cultural capital (Mata, 1997). One participant commented that though she wished for a woman of color coach there are too few women of color senior leaders. Consequently, many of their mentors were White males: supervisors, deans, or presidents who advised and prepared them for leadership. Stanley and Lincoln (2005) confirmed that cross race mentoring was helpful. White males, because of privilege that accompanied their race and gender, were able to use their status and social capital to advocate for participants. Some were also influential and powerful behind the scenes. One senior leader described how a White male mentor helped her understand the subtext of statements people made in meetings:

> He would tell me what the intent of the person was. Which I could never have figured out. So what a person says in a meeting is not exactly what is on their mind. That there's something behind the statement and that training I got has served me well.

This participant described how this skill assisted her in her presidency, as she and her staff would often debrief after meetings and discuss the content and intent of what

had been said. If necessary they would inquire from others close to that person about that person's position on the issue. Understanding the subtext of people's statements provided information about their perspectives, whether antagonistic or uncooperative, that could be helpful in a negotiation.

Mentors cautioned WOC-SLs against serving on too many committees while working towards tenure. They pointed out which publications would enhance their portfolios, and negotiated their job placements. Literature on mentors confirmed they helped protégés navigate and maneuver through the system (Huang, in press; Valdata, 2008); told them what the rules were (we will return to the theme of game rules in the politics section); showed them how to develop political skills, provided venues for them to showcase their work and nominated them for senior positions (Benjamin, 1997; Kanter, 1983). Mentors noticed their potential. One women of color president took an interest in an Asian American Pacific Islander leader's career and propelled her into senior leadership positions. This leader acknowledged she would not be in her current role without that sponsorship (Hune, 1998; Murata, 2006; Yamagata-Noji, 2005).

Participants did not mention who their current mentors or sponsors are now that they are senior leaders. Some participants mentioned how lonely it is to be in senior leadership and have few individuals to discuss issues with.

Challenges of Race and Gender: Inviting Partnership with Community

Women in this study experienced racism and sexism throughout their career in higher education, from junior faculty to senior leadership positions. Some reported being asked racist questions about why they would want to be employed at a

predominantly White institution. One participant replied: "the vast majority of jobs in higher educations are at mixed-gendered PWIs and I am really, really set on being gainfully employed." Another participant encountered sexism in hiring decisions:

> And even in 2011 that is still true. It's true when people consider you for a job. I've been told in some instances where I've been a candidate of choice for a position that they really thought that they needed a man.

Women in this study complained that individuals held stereotypes of women of color, thus their race and gender were a negative when they first started working at the institution, and they had to prove themselves every day. Whether it was being hired as the token person and people were suspicious of their appointments because of their race and ethnicity, women of color wanted to be seen for their competency not their race and ethnicity. All WOC-SLs expressed that they experienced racism or sexism, oftentimes both within educational institutions. The pain of these experiences ran very deep and some did not elaborate because it was too painful to talk about. People's inability to recognize their own biases and their racist comments were oftentimes the result of lack of exposure to people of color.

Racism. The majority of participants (seven of the nine) experienced racism at the institutions they served. A participant was told by her institution that because of her race she would not be promoted to Dean and this precipitated her leaving the institution. Others cited racism and sexism as some of the reasons women of color leave and do not ascend to senior leadership. As a junior faculty member, one participant was subjected to racism and male privilege in an all-White department. WOC-SLs at predominantly White institutions operated mainly in majority

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environments. Critical race theory asserts that race and racism are endemic to U.S. society. Because of racism, women of color experienced a lack of meritocracy, color blindness, race neutrality and equal opportunity in hiring decisions (CRT). Power and privilege of dominant groups affected their tenure and promotion in the university.

Specific race and ethnic groups experienced racism differently in their institutions. One Asian American/Pacific Islander (AAPI) participant at a predominantly White institution cited racism as blatant and felt that there was a lack of comparison to White males. Another AAPI acknowledged that initially she did not think she faced barriers and did not focus on victimhood, but realized that race and gender had been a factor. She was questioned for her motives of doing business with Asia. A Latina participant who worked at a predominantly White institution commented that White males dominated on committees and in the board room. She was concerned about being seen as a token or an affirmative action candidate. Another Latina participant who worked at a Hispanic serving institution realized that it was her responsibility to open doors for other Hispanics to serve in board positions and to represent their interests. African American participants had challenges with racism, sexism and homophobia. An African American participant who had worked at a predominantly White institution was told she would not be promoted to a senior level position. At historically Black colleges and universities, African American women encountered sexism and homophobia. American Indian participants experienced discrimination from their own ethnic group and chose not to let cliques get to them. They fought stereotypes that native women were underachieving. One

American Indian participant at a Tribal college and university described the difficulty in navigating matriarchal and patriarchal cultural parameters.

Women of color also commented they wanted to be seen for their abilities, not their race and gender. Some women wondered about search and hiring decisions and whether they had been interviewed merely to show that there were the underrepresented minorities in the pool. Participants explained how they resisted being classified as token or affirmative action hires. A WOC-SL commented that she was hired as only "eye candy" and someone outside of her race/ethnic group wanted her presidency. Literature affirmed that African American women and Latinas' credentials, qualifications, and merit were questioned because they were suspected of being affirmative action hires (Edwards & Camblin, 1998; St. Jean & Feagin, 1998; Aguirre, 2000). Despite these inequities, women of color countered representations of themselves with their own experiential knowledge (CRT). They used spiritual practices, spoke in their home languages, and celebrated ethnicity, diversity, and promoted multiculturalism. As Yosso et al. (2009) aptly articulated, the "social construct of race shapes university structures, practices and discourses from the perspectives of those injured and fighting against institutional racism" (p. 663). Regardless of racism and sexism, within their institutions women of color senior leaders pressed on and worked hard to show their talents and achievements.

In their writings about intersectional analysis, Dill and Zambrana (2009) argued that hegemonic power shapes cultural ideologies, images, and representations of groups and individuals. WOC-SLs were constantly dealing with how others perceived them and how they were represented in society. One senior leader

remarked that she was aware of concerns about the rapid growth of the Latino population in recent years, so she addressed this discomfort head on:

> They see me first as an Hispanic female and that's become clearer to me recently and maybe it's because of the fact that so many people are worried about so many Hispanics in the United States. What are we gonna do with all this population? So I think in speeches recently where I start out with, "What are we gonna do with all these Hispanics?" And the audience kind of like – And I know just with your reaction because that's what they're thinking when they see me and so you might as well get it out on the table. And then we can have a conversation. And then I'll say, 'I know why you're worried. I don't think you're worried because you're worried about me. But you're worried about the Hispanic population that's not productive. They haven't gone to school. They're not paying taxes. So I can tell you what our answer is. We decided to educate them.' And then the pressure is relieved in the audience and they're listening to me again. They're not just shocked.

This president simultaneously addressed her audience's fears and counters false representations, images, and stereotypes of Hispanics that are deeply rooted in American history. These stereotypes are imprinted within larger social and historical narratives that have long been a part of American society (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). However, she provided a counter story, educating the public with positive stories about Hispanics that highlight their accomplishments. Testimonies (testimonials) and autobiographical essays offer powerful contrasts to the stereotypical images of Hispanics (Cuádraz & Pierce, 1994; Rendon, 1992).

The literature confirmed that all women of color experience stereotyping (Hune, 1998; Nieves Squire, 1991; St. Jean & Feagin, 1998). One WOC-SL described a reporter writing chauvinist and racist articles about her that were filled with lies. Her community came to her aid and denounced these articles. Despite living in a multicultural society that has made many social justice gains, women leaders had to contend with attitudes shaped by racist historical narratives and limited experience with women of color:

> And it's still shocking that in this year and time that you still have lots of people who don't understand that what they're saying has been tainted by how they grew up, what they think and in some cases they really haven't see a lot of Black folks. They've never been around them. And so I can't even find a way to describe the things that people will say to you or what they will do when they come in.

Society is filled with individuals who have had little exposure to, and limited experience with, people of color which affects how women of color are treated. This quote conveys a participant's uncertainty about how she will be treated and what people will say. Despite their senior positions, WOC-SLs are not sheltered from racism. This is confirmed by literature showing that racism had a greater effect on African American women than sexism (Myers, 2002). Senior leaders had racist comments leveled at them when speaking in public. One woman was asked: "We want to hear how you got here. Were you a boat person? Are your parents [boat people]?" Comments such as this show that there are people who still believe that women of color are inferior and that stereotyping, class, and race discrimination

prevail despite this woman's senior leadership status (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Collins (2000) described power as a force that groups use to oppress others, and an entity that operates in specific domains. People therefore experience inequalities that are maintained through four interrelated domains: structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and the interpersonal. WOC-SLs spoke of domination and subordination, privilege, and agency within the structural domain of higher education institutions. Within the structural domain, Collins (2000) argued institutions are organized to reproduce subordination over time. One participant observed that in predominantly White institutions, it is easier to conceal racism and sexism because there is more money to cover it up. At a historically Black college and university, an African American senior leader identified sexism, not racism, as a factor in her institutional experience. For another WOC-SL, homophobia was the prevailing concern, not racism or sexism. Thus, for different women of color, in different types of higher education institutions, privilege was embodied in race, gender, or heterosexuality. Different contexts determined how multiple identities played out, so that oppression of one group by another was based on their relative positions. Here, positionality theory is informative because it contends that knowledge is produced by actors who are positioned; and affected by factors such as citizenship, generation, wealth, skin, color, age, ethnicity, experience, education and language (Alcoff, 1988; Brewer & Cunningham, 2009).

Sexism. Sexism was a significant concern among WOC–SLs and was experienced by five of the nine women interviewed for this study. Studies about Black women faculty described sexual harassment, social distancing, and a lack of

collegiality (Lewis, 1977; Moses, 1989). Chicana feminists described the triple oppression of race and ethnicity, class and gender that arises out of their particular social location (Delgado Bernal, 1998). One participant remembers sexist comments that were directed at her:

> When I first got into it, I thought the sexuality was a concern. People call you – and they see you and they're 'Oh, you're pretty. I like the way you' – and mostly, these are by men presidents – 'I like the way you carry yourself.' Those kinds of comments.

Intersectional analysis interprets these comments as inequality experienced by WOC-SLs because of their race and gender – their colleagues focused on their looks instead of their qualifications. This participant's experience reminds us that despite holding the highest office and being on par with male presidents, women are still subjected to these comments. The message to women of color at the senior level was that they have to be cautious about how they present themselves so that they do not attract the wrong kind of attention.

Critical race theory argues that the power and privilege of dominant groups is maintained within the ideology of race neutrality and equal opportunity (Bell, 1987; Calmore, 1992; Delgado, 2003; Solórzano, 1997). One WOC-SL was treated as subordinate to her male colleagues and asked to take notes for meeting. Another participant described being made to feel invisible in meetings:

> I go into one meeting and a guy would say, "Who has a suggestion on so and so?" And I would make my suggestion and he would say, "Who" – he would look around…And call on somebody else.

They also experienced being passed over when less qualified males were asked to represent the university. Women described some men treating them as their daughters or wives. Because women of color were not members of the dominant group, they felt they had to outperform their peers because so few of them had made it to the presidency. One participant believed that men saw them as novelties:

> They understand the role, they are not - they're new to seeing a woman in the role and certainly a woman of color. And you not only have to be good, you have to be better than most other people because the bar has been set very high.

Eagly and Carli (2007) confirmed women leaders were held to a higher standard of performance. Participants argued that, as a member of a minority group, a woman had to prove herself every day or be stereotyped as non-achieving. Because they are not privileged and subject to stereotyping, women of color senior leaders must be careful about how they conduct themselves and how they respond to racist remarks.

Race before gender. Every woman of color president commented that they were seen first as a member of a minority group and secondly as a president (who was also a woman). Though they thought of themselves first as presidents others did not perceive them the same way. Talking about their presidency they offered several observations that illustrate how their identity as president was central for them and not for others:

> But I guess I realize that that's how people view me first. And so that's different than if you were, I think, a male and you looked like them and you

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walked in. They wouldn't think that. They would just automatically think of

you as a president.

I think I found this interesting recently. I guess I just never thought about it

this way. People see me first as a Hispanic female. I never think of myself

just that way, right? I am president of the university.

And the first thing people see is your color. Then they see you are a woman

and – color first, woman next.

Again the dominant narrative and stereotyping of people of color had an influence on

how the general public viewed and accepted women of color as senior leaders. The

participants stated that people often expected that a president, provost, or vice-provost

would be male. The findings of this study indicated that their experiences, and

people's attitudes towards them as presidents, were influenced by gender and race

largely because of the social construction of race and its dominance in American

society.

> **Combating oppressions and finding coping strategies.** In describing how

they managed their lives and coped with racism and sexism or homophobia, WOC-

SLs highlighted the importance of self-care and having balance in their lives. In the

literature, African American presidents identified keeping emotionally healthy,

having balance, and taking care of self as vital (Austin, 2009). Participants were

advised to limit their service and to protect their time, so they could produce the level

and quantity of scholarship required for tenure. This is supported by the literature on

faculty of color (Turner & Myers, 2000). Having emotional, physical, intellectual, and spiritual balance ensured that participants would lead from a place of strength.

Critical race theory uses counter story to negate racism and empower people of color and other subordinate groups (Friere, 1970, 1973; Lawson, 1995; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001a). WOC-SLs were willing to challenge racist or sexist utterances and to explain why such talk is unacceptable:

I also realized that I can't sit by and let people who don't know any better, honestly

believe that what they're saying represents the general populous. So I don't

have a problem saying to people that you're entitled to that opinion, but what

you're saying is racist and this is why, or it's sexist.

Participants advised against being bothered by what people say or getting caught up in victimhood, but focusing instead on the positive and being guided by positive energy. One participant expressed her strategy for dealing with difficult situations:

So I remember from very young just kind of clearly knowing that there was

gonna be a problem that we had to just handle, deal with. And it was racism

in some form. And the way to solve it was just to be smarter. Was the way

not to fight it, but just to be smarter. So they gave us a very clear path.

Women of color senior leaders acknowledged that racism is part of the landscape but they chose to resist being entangled by it. Instead, they developed strategies that highlighted their skills, creating their personal counter story to racism. Literature described women of color refuting cultural deficit notions and paradigms (Candelaria,

1980; Cuádraz, 2005; Padilla, 2003); or having a strong cultural identity that empowered and gave them strength from knowing their heritage (Tippeconnic Fox, 2009). Being smarter was the women leaders' strategy: using their intellectual capabilities to demonstrate that they would not be defined by race. Consequently, how participants presented themselves, how they strategized, how they made decisions, and how they moved their universities forward earned the respect of the public and their constituents.

      Inviting partnership with community. Participants spoke about the importance of connecting with the external community: going outside the university in order to serve its neighbors. WOC-SLs invited the public to create a vision with the university. Participants invited community members to give input about the types of programs the university would develop: "You want the community to have a vision with you about future, we need to have more professional programs, we need to have more high level technology or professional programs or native language related, native culture related progress etc." Participants also surveyed the community about what the university could do for them. They enjoyed working with the community. A WOC-SL specifically chose her university because of its commitment to social justice and reputation in social engagement. The website of her university stated they have a women's project that serves homeless women and is their way of contributing to the community. In publications about another participant's university, strengthening the economic foundation, and developing courses and programs that reached out to the community were central. Partnership and town gown relationships were very important and the community was described as the university's greatest champion.

One senior leader invited the community to be a part of her advisory board. Another

participant included members of the community as part of her strategic planning

committee of over 100 people; archival documents revealed committee structure and

reports. Senior leaders stressed the need to treat community members as equals:

reaching out to them and not expecting them to come to the campus. One's

racial/ethnic identity played a role in their connection to the community: "Everything

I identify very strongly [is] with the Hispanic community. They see me as a leader

that cares." The idea of giving back to the community is emphasized in American

Indian literature and is consistent with values of responsibility, respect, cooperation,

and honesty (Swisher, 2005). The community was described as an extension of the

university—a highly valued constituent.

   Institutional and ethnic culture. Institutional culture had an impact on

WOC-SLs because it is the environment that they have to negotiate in their

professional lives. Being confronted by cliques or old boy's clubs can make

individuals either feel like insiders or outsiders (Collins, 1998; Gregory, 1995). Two

participants felt it was important to show that one was knowledgeable about sports in

cabinet meetings. Not being able to use the language of the campus culture, could

make one feel excluded. One WOC-SL surprised male cabinet members:

   And when they started discussing football, then they would turn away from

   me and we had a great football team and I started talking back to them in the

   football language. And they were taken aback.

Being conversant with other male cabinet members, making small talk, was important

for bonding and being seen as a fellow member. Another WOC-SL learned that in

order to feel included, she had to be conversant with sports statistics going into cabinet meetings with her male colleagues.

Participants also had to learn the nuances of language as a distinct culture. One astute leader noticed that individuals spoke differently in the hallways as opposed to meetings, modifying their language in each environment. Other women leaders talked about having two cultures and thinking in two languages. Sometimes misunderstandings arose because idioms were foreign so phrases were interpreted literally and taken personally. One Latina senior leader was comfortable speaking her native language in public arenas. This could be attributed to the privilege attached to being a women of color senior leader, disavowing racial/ethnic subordination, and having a strong sense of her racial/ethnic identity. Language bias is described in the literature as affecting first generation Asian Americans Pacific Islanders and Latinas (Cho, 1996; Nieves Squire, 1991; Hune & Chan, 1997).

The intersectionality of culture and gender played out in American Indian tribes. One American Indian senior leader described the challenges of leading matriarchal versus patriarchal tribes:

> Well, here's the thing about Indians. We're matriarchal or we're patriarchal. So, what happens if you get a situation where I come from a matriarchal tribe and I'm supervising a gentleman who comes from a patriarchal tribe? Well he dismisses me, right? Because women have nothing – very little weight in his world. So, when you mix tribes like that, then you mix the cultures in odd ways that are unintended and you don't even think about on some level and it's difficult to navigate until you understand all the cultural parameters.

One group, subordinated another based on their values and relative position. Intersectional theory (Dill & Zambrana, 2009) described interpersonal power as the way people treat one another on a daily basis; their interactions became so routinized that everyday sexism or racism was unnoticed. Alcoff (1988) described how in positionality theory power relations can shift depending on how social categories are affected by historical and social change.

Inclusive and Persuasive Leadership: Creating Positive Change

Lipman-Blumen's Connective Leadership model (1992) describes female leadership styles in the 21st century workplace. Her achieving styles model combines traditional masculine American ego-ideal with female role behaviors in an increasingly interdependent world. There are three achieving styles: direct, instrumental, and relational. This framework was very useful in understanding and mapping participant's leadership styles. The direct achieving style includes: intrinsic, competitive, or power. Intrinsic achievers confront tasks directly through their own efforts. They seek challenges and are performance driven by an internalized standard of excellence, self-reliant, creative, and passionately devoted to a goal or reward they have identified. One participant fits this description. This leader championed changing the food service hours of operation at her college, raising student fees to provide a revenue stream, and raising the standard for all divisions to align their operations to the university's core values. Here she describes her commitment to the institution's values:

So, everything we did, they should be able to have a conversation with me

about accountability, respect…..I think of it often and it's like – and my

friends – it's like a moral high road. I mean that's just where I stayed.

Despite controversy and resistance she continued to pursue her goal. This can also be

construed as authentic leadership, where the leader subscribes to high moral

standards, honesty, and integrity (Avolio et al., 2004). Direct achievers also draw

constituents or followers to their cause by defining an external enemy, even creating

one when one does not exist. This part of the direct achiever description did not

match this participant.

The second achieving style is the instrumental set which includes personal,

social, and entrusting. Personal achievers use their intelligence, wit, compassion,

humor, family background, previous accomplishments and defeats, courage, physical

appearance, and sexual appeal to connect themselves to those whose commitment and

help they seek to engage. They pursue an emotional connection with their followers,

basing relationships on compassion and inspiration. This participant describes how

she connects to her staff through passion and emotion and her commitment to her

values:

That's my personal philosophy. When I stood up to somebody it's always

been thought through systematically so that when I go public it's easy for me

to defend my position. I don't vacillate, I have thought it through, this is why

and I can articulate it. And I have found that I'm very, very, very, very

convincing because it's rooted in my values, and there's passion and there's

some emotion but there's intellectual thought that has been given to the idea

that I'm holding on to or the philosophy that I'm trying to convey to people.

And so I think it's just personal, I think it's the way I live my life and I have

stood up to people and in one case it did cost me my job.

In this quote, she describes her courage to stand up for what she believes in. She demonstrates compassion to her constituents and inspires them. Social achievers demonstrate system or political savvy. Although I can safely say many of the leaders espoused political savvy I would not describe this as their primary leadership orientation. Entrusting achievers rely on everyone else to complete their tasks. Their confidence in others allows them to relinquish control over execution. They entrust others with their vision, and expect others to implement their goals as well or better than they could. One participant described comfort in giving up her power and authority to allow others the space to speak. She believed in her staff and had a hands-off approach.

Relational achieving styles include contributory, collaborative, and vicarious. This style requires an interdependent environment that is oriented towards others and their special goals. Contributory individuals enjoy helping other people to complete their chosen tasks. Through helping others they derive satisfaction from their role as a person contributing to another's success. They are partners to other individual's tasks, and recognize the major accomplishment that belongs to the other person. The people who use a collaborative style enjoy working with others in teams and on joint projects. The synergy of the group, its ability to generate ideas as well as bonds of friendship and camaraderie strengthen their combined effort. Vicarious individuals encourage and facilitate others' accomplishments. They are the cheerleaders, mentors,

and fans who offer wisdom but are content to stay on the sidelines as spectators and do not take credit for their accomplishments. They are proud in the success of others and this is sufficient reward. Three WOC-SLs demonstrated collaborative styles. They described building networks, empowering others, bringing people together to find common ground and including others in leadership:

> Okay, folks. This may be happening and this is the bottom line from central and the chancellor and the board, but here's what we can do." And I inspire with my executive team, and so with the executive team, I want to say we are not gonna go there, so you need to help model this, because we can say it, we can do it, and it'll come along, and they do.

> I think there's a belief in and commitment to the work, and you knew that if you were not at the table, decisions would be different, outcomes would be different. And that students, in my case I feel like if I can help one student—if I can help whole groups of students, then even better.

Whether through inspiring others and helping them to perform well, or helping students, participants contributed to the success of others through their collaborative leadership style. They have strong relationships with their colleagues that enable them to strengthen the team.

Inviting comments and inclusion. Participants demonstrated inclusive, transparent, and flexible leadership. Many WOC-SLs said the most important thing they do is listen to their constituents. One WOC-SL suggests listening actively to

people in meetings, acknowledging that you have heard them, and ensuring that there is a process to discussion:

> There are other people that never want to meet with me. But if they show up at my door and they want to talk, I know I need to put down whatever I'm doing and talk because they wouldn't show up unless it was something that was critical. So you learn the personalities and you learn to listen to what people are telling you. And not only listen, but acknowledge to them that you've heard them. And once people understand that you know what they were saying to you - you may disagree, but you know what they were saying and you can articulate it back. And part of my style is to say back in a condensed way what I've heard you say to me.

This participant listened to and engaged with individuals, even if she disagreed with them. She connected and assured them that what they had to say was important. Listening is critical to ensuring that one has gathered all the relevant information. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) described connected knowing as based in empathy and trying to understand another's point of view. Literature by Jablonski (1996) stressed women presidents built community by empowering others and considered it important to listen to others. One woman of color senior leader said in the first year of her presidency she sat at her desk and made all her decisions independently and that was unsuccessful. By talking with constituents and listening carefully to them, women in this study made sure that they had the information needed to make the best decision possible.

Using information. Raven (2008) expanded French and Raven's (1959) five bases of power by adding a sixth base, informational power. He described informational influence as the means by which the "influencing agent" can effect change by giving information to the "target." He described this as "socially independent change" because the cognitive change and acceptance by the target occurs without the "influencing agent" being present or remembered as the agent of change.

Many WOC-SLs described using information to empower and influence others. They did this by keeping abreast of all developments and making sure they had the latest information. Women leaders listened to and empowered others, and conceived of leadership as a process similar to Astin and Leland's (1991) "working with people and through people," honoring a passionate commitment to social justice and change.

WOC-SLs also cited being transparent and bringing people along by having good communication with them, and being open and honest. Participants asked for transparency from the executive team, had an open door policy inviting people to drop in to discuss their issues, and expected people to give them good or bad news. This WOC-SL speaks about creating an environment where people are comfortable telling the truth:

> And if you can come from that place of gratitude or respect for your community, your faculty, your administrators, then it's easier to bring them along, along with the transparency, communication, information and say sometimes this just won't happen.

Bringing people along is reminiscent of shared power (Bryson & Crosby, 1992; Fisher, 1998) and shared leadership (Moxley, 2000). Participants in this study were open minded, flexible in their thinking, seeking feedback about the restructuring of programs, and asking for input from others. Participatory leadership models included others in the leadership process and stressed communication through the organization for organizational success (Astin & Leland, 1991; Bensimon & Neumann, 1993; Rosener, 1990; Tierney, 1989).

WOC-SLs described including everyone in the decision-making process from the bottom up. As they included others by talking to and involving stakeholders (faculty, staff, alumni) in planning, they developed a higher quality end product, and enlisted other people to help improve their ideas. In addition, staff felt protected because the process was opened up and they were invited to contribute.

Configuring your team. Configuring the team of individuals who would help WOC-SLs tackle problems and strengthen their analysis of issues was critical to their success as leaders. Senior leaders spoke of configuring a team of individuals whose skills would complement their own. Two presidents hired executive assistants with experience—the union president, and a person who had worked for the previous president. Their expertise, history with the institution, and relationships across campus, and knowledge of the unspoken rules, proved invaluable in navigating the institutional landscape.

Other participants hired individuals who were brilliant at execution and who were detail-oriented. They said one should appoint good people, who were prepared

to follow you or work for you. Hiring smart people to help with a difficult job was key:

> And so one of the things I've learned is that when you've got a difficult job to do you need a lot of good people doing it with you. The more difficult the job, the more people you need. The smarter and the number. And so this was gonna be a very difficult job and so I think we were successful in enlisting the support of the staff senate and the faculty senate to make that happen.

A reliable team was invaluable, especially people who would not be afraid to tell you if you were going the wrong direction. Conversely, having the wrong individuals on the team could lead to problems. One WOC-SL asked a staff member to resign because they were not a good match. Another said that hiring an unqualified administrator led to ethical issues and accusations of nepotism.

Asserting one's voice. The women in this study talked about the importance of asserting their voice particularly in critical environments like negotiating a board room that was predominantly White and male. Though one's personal style might be quiet and observant, sometimes they had to make adjustments, becoming more aggressive in response to the individuals they had to deal with. One WOC-SL observed, "You have to be careful about being too assertive, and yet you have to be able to claim your position." One colleague noticed that a WOC-SL's tendency to say little and only speak at the end of the meeting was respected:

> You don't even have to say anything, but when you say something, it is so right on and it's so powerful, and it just kind of stops the (White) men because

they're doing their thing…. You just have a power about you … you know,

when you speak up, people listen.

Her style contrasted White men who put their credentials on the table and were very

vocal. This participant stated she does not mince words but she was respectful how

she said things to the chancellor or the rest of the team. Others respected her insights

and followed her lead on important decisions.

Other participants noted that some women leaders who were their mentors or

the generation before them were more strident and sometimes aggressive: "They have

to appear to be tough, they have to mean, they have to be sharp edged—all these

qualities that make them appear to be rough." Literature on Asian American Pacific

Islander (AA/PI) senior leaders described AA/PI women having to be more

aggressive and assertive to get the attention of supervisors (Ideta & Cooper, 2000).

Other studies argued that faculty expect presidents to exhibit a more participatory

style and to be strong and aggressive (Jablonski, 1996). Also, women who were

assertive, directive, or dominant could be disliked or penalized if people believed that

she was behaving like a man, which undermined her ability to wield influence (Eagly

& Carli, 2007).

How one presented oneself and in what tone of voice was commented on by a

few participants. In particular, two African American women senior leaders spoke of

learning from other women mentors that they should modulate their voices in senior

level meetings:

If I think something, I tell people what I think. Not in an angry way because

I've learned to generally modulate my tone because one of the lessons I

learned along the way is try to keep it within a certain range so people don't

take the tone of your voice as threatening.

I think that women still have to fight for positions, but they have to do it so

unobtrusively that they're not considered hysterical or the b-word. You

cannot raise your voice in a meeting. You cannot – you see, men – and I've

seen them – can say bad words and holler and hoop, but we are not allowed to

do that….I learned it, really, from watching what others did.

It is striking that African American women were the only participants that raised this

issue of needing to modulate their voice. One possible reason might be they were

trying to avoid being stereotyped as "the angry Black woman." Tannen's (1990)

research in linguistics showed that meta-messages give information about the

relations among people regarding attitudes towards what they are saying or doing and

their recipients. The way in which comments are worded and the tone of voice,

accompanied by facial expression and gestures, affect the impression that is made and

the meta-messages conveyed. Her research showed that men and women are judged

differently even when they speak the same way (Tannen, 1990). In addition, Eagly

and Wood (2011) asserted that gender role beliefs promoted social norms and

socialization that encouraged adults to conform to these beliefs because people

generally accept and support individuals who act in accordance with these roles.

Further, gender roles become internalized as personal standards for individual's

behaviors. Therefore, it is possible that these women recognized that when speaking

in an angry tone of voice, the meta-message that is sent is perceived as hostile and

threatening and incongruent with the social norms and gender role beliefs that women should be supportive, connected and consensus oriented.

Positive and negative role models. Participants were influenced by positive and negative role models. Many chose not to emulate senior women leaders that were seen as aggressive. One woman leader observed her supervisor's manner of treating her and this informed how she would lead:

> I think there's always a set of negative role models that people run into. Like I had a principal that worked – that was my boss … and my mother called and said your dad's had a heart attack and he's in _____ in intensive care. And I called my boss and said I need to take leave. I need to go to _____ and I can fly out at such and such a time. And he said I'm not going to approve your leave. And I'm thinking who would do that to another human being. So, this was on a Thursday. On Friday, I worked Friday till I was off work at five o'clock, took my two kids, got in the car and we drove to _____, which is like 12 hours. I got to see my dad sometime Saturday for a little bit, got in the car and drove home just so I knew he was okay. But it's people who treated me like that and then I'm like, you know, that's not the way to treat people. That's not how you act.

Negative role models could be as impactful as positive role models. Participants spoke of learning firsthand how not to treat others by supervisors who were disrespectful, mean, and unfeeling. On the other hand, trying to find positive role models who were women of color was not easy. For some participants, finding role models of one's race/ethnicity proved challenging because of the small numbers:

Some of our models of successful leaders don't often look like us, and so what's difficult is I think initially I was looking at how I should be as a leader and tried to model my behavior from other successful women, other successful Asians, you know, Asian-Americans or people of color, and sort of saying, I need to try and be like them to be successful. But what happens is there aren't a lot of people that look like us that are in these positions, so it never quite worked.

Instead their role models /mentors were White men, women of color, and Black men. Women spoke positively of how these White men helped negotiate their placement, gave them access to senior level meetings and helped develop them into senior leaders. Others spoke of a White woman president and a Black male president that believed in their potential and prepared them for senior leadership.

Getting to yes. Women in this study described how they were able to convince other parties to agree to new directions. They galvanized their constituents by telling people that a particular course of action was in their best interest. They were able to enlist support by slowing down processes so that everyone would be 'on the same page.' One participant successfully implemented changes by providing incentive packages. French and Raven (1959) in their social power theory described the use of reward power. Other strategies participants used to influence their constituents included setting expectations, and respecting the culture. Participants stressed it was important to know the players in a given situation and to understand contrary views. They emphasized listening carefully to understand hidden agendas and other people's needs.

Value and ethics. Women of color senior leaders were guided in their

leadership by an internal moral compass. They were committed to a set of values,

ethics, and principles that directed their behaviors. They were always improving

themselves and committed to personal improvement. In the literature, African

American women learned at a young age that credibility is built by honesty and trust

(Austin 2009; Hughes 2009). They believed that they could do anything. Several

participants emphasized the importance of telling the truth:

> And I also learned if you make a mistake, acknowledge, say you did it, correct
>
> it and go on. You don't ever lie about what it is that you did or didn't do. It's
>
> hard to remember lies, so it's easier to tell the truth always.

They found it enhanced their credibility to tell the truth because people would not

trust them if they were caught in a lie.

Responsibilities of leadership. Like their male counterparts, WOC-SLs had

significant responsibilities for their institutions including budget, fundraising, hiring

and firing of faculty and staff. Several participants cited responsibility for trimming

the deficit. In a time when many institutions were in economic turmoil, senior leaders

had to think of creative ways to preserve the optimism and commitment of their

employees while cutting the budget of their institutions. Articles in the local

newspapers praised one president's endeavor to merge departments, and restructure

saving money without laying anyone off. Another president mentioned being hired

not knowing there was a $5 million deficit. She managed to cut the deficit by making

strategic choices, and asked the faculty and staff to support her. Others raised money,

citing a vision for the college, speaking to benefactors about the promise of their

students. Talking about her experiences with budget cuts and raising money one of the women shared that her style of interacting with the community as an important factor in people being committed to the school and having faith in her.

> So, when I go to speak, I may have a few notes, but I speak from the heart. I'm conscious of time, but I speak from the heart because they have to get to know me in order to decide whether they're gonna help this school.

Speaking from her heart connects this participant to her audience. She did not want to focus on the poverty of her institution in public; she wanted them to see the potential of her students and support them.

> Leadership was also about defending principles. For example, one WOC-SL described her role in teaching students to defend democracy: "If I do that really well, then they will nurture it. They will defend it, and they will sustain it." Participants also had to make judgment calls about individuals and their actions inside the organization. A president who had a responsibility to the board had to discipline someone for employment fraud.

> I know for a fact I have a guy who committed unemployment fraud, okay? So while we're trying to discipline him he's raising all these other issues and filing grievances like crazy. I know it's because he knows I'm sitting here moving the stuff through to
>
> fire him.

Women leaders faced difficult choices regarding personnel and had to make unpopular decisions. Firing faculty or staff was one of the most difficult things to do. They tried to make the process transparent, inviting people to give input to the

decision-making. Studies showed African American presidents brought people along, seeking their input (Austin, 2009), and using a collaborative leadership style to build a sense of ownership with their constituents through consensus building (Tatum, 2009). One woman of color president demonstrated an ethic of caring by ensuring that those in need of funds had it available to them. She created an emergency bank, donated her speaking engagement honorariums, and encouraged the university community to give money so that funds would be available when needed.

　　　　Skills and courage. Participants discussed a wide range of skills that helped them prepare for their senior leadership positions. Being perceptive, debating in college in the men's division, knowing statistics and sociology, and having strong academic skills were cited. In the literature, presidents endorsed having strong speaking skills, finance, accounting, and economics and investments (Darden, 2006; Harter, 2009; Siegel, 2009).

　　　　As noted earlier, participants' positive sense of self and confidence enhanced their leadership. Despite adversity, confidence helped this participant persevere and prove her abilities:

　　　　　　And it's a win-win. And so I learned from that and then I was dean. I learned

　　　　　　how to work - like, I was always (the) underdog…... I was the underdog but I

　　　　　　have confidence. And so I have confidence that says, well, if we work harder

　　　　　　we can prove that we could do better or better for the student, so who can say

　　　　　　no.

Having a sense of confidence enabled participants to take risks and conquer challenges. Participants spoke of taking on the government or constituents that did

not agree with them. One participant was undeterred when she received a "no" answer; she believed one could get a "yes" answer by asking the right question. Literature noted that women of color leaders demonstrated their expertise at the table, said something substantive, and trusted themselves (Thornton, 2009).

Participants were highly talented, smart and resourceful in the way they tackled problems, dealt with their constituents, fundraised and developed their strategic plans. Therefore it was surprising that two WOC-SLs from the same racial/ethnic group, mentioned that they were not the smartest people. They described their talent in hiring smart people or asking them to serve on their team so they could learn from them.

> I'm not a brilliant person. I am not – I cannot do physics. I have limitations
> in lots of areas. But I know how to hire physicists and how to hire
> mathematicians and how to hire honest people.

Their acknowledgement of a perceived deficit suggests humility and honesty about strengths and weaknesses. And though they were not skilled in all areas, they were savvy to hire the best people to support them and give them expert knowledge. Women of color had gifts and talents that were strengths in their senior leadership roles. Another participant spoke of having confidence in her talent of having a vision or dream which gave her the best ideas. She trusted her intuition and had confidence in this talent which led to fundraising prospects and donor gifts that were substantial.

Institutional type. Some WOC-SLs preferred to lead in predominantly White institutions while one participant turned down an offer from a predominantly White institution to serve at a historically Black college and university. This president chose

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to serve at a historically Black college and university where students needed her more:

> The majority of them (students) were first-generation and had no heroes, they had no role models. And so I felt that for me, I needed to stay there, to be that Black woman who would stand up and say – just like I said today to a group of students – college students who came to visit –they're from various colleges – that I am the president of ____. You can be the president of ___. Your gender will not be the difference in that. Just go
>
> get prepared.

She was committed to improving her institution as well as be a role model and inspiration to her student body. The institution she chose to serve had accreditation issues and a significant budget deficit, yet as her quote illustrates, her desire to help Black students envision that they could attain the presidency outweighed these concerns. As Moses (2009) articulated, values motivated presidents to make the institution better, to be inclusive, to problem solve, and to give something back. Leaders also cited the importance for caring about people, and caring about students.

Creating positive change. Participants used advocacy to create positive change for their students, faculty and community. From advocating a name change for the department, increasing faculty lines, to requesting general education courses WOC-SLs pushed their agendas forward, trying whenever possible to make it a positive experience for all involved:

> So you listen, you do a great deal of listening, and behind the scenes you're knowing what are our issues, what are our needs. So you always have your

little wish list here, your needs list, to go to bat with, and you also want to

know what's on the table for them so you can make it a win-win.

This participant emphasized listening carefully, knowing the other party's wish list

prior to going in for negotiation, and preparing for these meetings with careful study.

She emphasized creating a win-win situation. Similarly, Astin and Leland (1991)

noted how women leaders advocated doing one's homework in advance as well as

identifying problems and accepting complexity as a challenge and opportunity.

Another method of creating positive change was to use one's connections to

get things done. Having broad support helped this senior leader accomplish her goals:

The mayor helped me sell a lot. This mayor and the chamber president. The

chambers - when I invite the press, I invite them. And they said, of course we

want it. What can we do to help?

In this illustration she had key stakeholders – the mayor, the chamber president, and

the press— all aligned to help her. Building a strong base of support (Darden, 2006),

having an external network (Kezar, 2008) was cited in the literature as helping senior

leaders negotiate politics.

Women of color leaders moved their visions forward with positive energy.

This included using technology to improve facilities by installing SMART

classrooms, utilizing iPods for learning, putting classes on line— all for growing their

programs. A significant aspect of moving forward involved getting feedback from

key constituents about a new policy:

So prior, to presenting a proposed policy to the faculty, I would start by asking

the Faculty Senate to identify the key academic issues at the university from

their positions as faculty leaders. From there I would solicit their ideas of how

to address the various issues, before floating a new policy and asking for their

feedback. If the policy doesn't have support, I would ask them to tell me why

and to offer suggestions for how to tweak the proposed policy, or let me know

if you think the whole policy should be scrapped. But from the "get go" or

beginning, I would come from a place of soliciting input and checking in with

folks.

This participant used collaborative, inclusive, involvement to ensure that her policy

had support before she issued policy decisions that might not be well received. She

was conscious of gathering additional opinions before implementing a policy. She

describes this as checking in, while scholars would label this using power tools of

endorsement, backing, approval, and legitimacy (Kanter, 1983; Morgan, 2006;

Pettigrew, 1972) to influence other individuals when creating change.

Feedback could be informative and helpful in making changes. Participants

noted reports from the newspaper, chancellor and Board of Regents could be

supportive of change. In other situations, WOC-SLs based decisions on data showing

limited enrollment or graduation in certain majors announced they were eliminating

programs to use resources to run one program, but the elimination would be phased in

gradually. They used feedback to find weaknesses and fix mistakes in program.

WOC-SLs, across race, spoke of including others whether through having

multiple meetings to sell one's vision, getting people involved, or asking people to

voice their opinion. This could involve asking the faculty task force or chair of

Faculty Senate to say what they thought and building consensus with people of

different viewpoints:

> If it takes three meetings, four meetings, until they're satisfied that all their questions have been answered. But we explain up front where the vision is and where we see us going. And then we try to get buy in from then and we get them involved as well. And we try to listen in a colloquial way, in a cooperative way to the responses that they give and make changes where appropriate.

Her description of getting others to "buy in" is echoed by many senior leaders. Scholars described this as empowering others in creating consensus (Brunner & Schumaker, 1988; Cheung & Halpern, 2010). In the literature, the act of sharing power and information such that employees and coworkers reach conclusions was described as a shared collaborative approach to leadership (Crosby, 2010; Rosener, 1990).

In addition, WOC-SLs used persuasion to convince others to follow their agenda. Bringing to the board other key individuals and stakeholders— people with stature and respect— involved winning them over by the use of persuasive language. To do so, participants identified the site of the resistance, which assisted them in influencing decisions:

> If there was a policy out there that for some reason I hadn't done that, I would immediately call a meeting and say, "Okay, so tell me about the resistance to the policy - what am I not seeing? Does the policy do any harm? Is it too restrictive? Is it micromanaging?" The point I'm making here is that I would try to get a sense of what the policy is communicating, because maybe it's

communicating something that I didn't intend. Sometimes there's an

unintended consequence to a policy. For instance, the policy could be

conveying a message of not trusting faculty by trying to overly regulate

faculty decision-making.

Oftentimes, being in a position to influence enabled WOC-SLs to convince others.

They could change a vote with a short presentation or validate a decision with key

people. Persuading others included winning their trust, and many WOC-SLs across

race spoke of this importance. Some believed that faculty would be more likely to

trust them if they saw their senior leaders working hard for them or working with the

faculty union. Others achieved positive results by not ordering people but giving them

an incentive:

You have to say it's good for them, its incentive. It's an incentive but not in a

bad way. I'm not manipulating but its common - as a leader of a group you

have to make the group feel the same way as you do or you change your way

for the group, that's fine too.

This participant described using incentives to influence others to view things similar

to the leader. This was slightly different than how incentives were described by

French and Raven's (1959) social influence typology. In their typology, reward

power offered positive incentives to influence someone to comply. This participant

used incentives to encourage individuals to feel the same way or to change what she

wanted to match the group's interests. Another participant used incentives to create a

new program which would reduce enrollments in other majors and at the same time

increase resources.

Decisions. As senior leaders, these women of color faced many tough decisions that were unpopular with their faculty, staff and the wider public. These included firing faculty, budget layoffs, refusing to promote a male to provost, and fighting a battle with the government. Firing decisions or grievance suits were highly sensitive, time consuming, and required a great deal of documentation. One woman leader had to make a difficult decision but with the support of key leaders she was able to move the decision along:

> So we….closed five departments and cancelled many staff positions. That was probably one of the hardest things. But it turned out pretty good because…..I work with [the]_____ head of my senate and the two presidents and the five union leaders and everybody agreed with the processes and that said they're not going to contest
>
> the meeting.

She knew she would have broad support from presidents, union leaders, key individuals, and campus staff prior to going into the meeting. This support could only be the result of her developing strong relationships with key stakeholders across campus. As Foucault (1982) elucidated, power is in relationship with others and is exercised between individuals regardless of status. Through relationships, individuals are themselves vehicles of power (Foucault, 1982). Using her relationships she exerted power by convincing others to agree with her and go along with her agenda. Another participant was strategic in developing relationships with individuals in the registrar's office, financial aid and the mail room, who could assist her students at a moment's notice. These network connections proved helpful.

Many WOC-SLs spoke of making decisions by using data. Data was used to measure student enrollment needs through the number of full time equivalent (FTE), full time majors, number of students, or for a salary equity study which compared salaries of private schools to public schools. As one participant explained, "I do the analysis. I use data to make informed decision." Using criteria could help justify why certain decisions were made:

> Looking at the facts, listening to people, looking at the facts, and really sort of looking at alternatives. So if you didn't make this decision, what else could you do? And as long as you look through each of those and you feel confident that this is either the only option or the only workable option. Then you have to—and then after that, it's explaining it and explaining the process that you used to the various constituent groups and saying, 'I know you may not have come to the same conclusion, but here's what I did. Here's my thought processes and here's why I support—why I went in this direction.'

As one participant shared, leaders are held accountable and questioned by various constituencies; therefore using data is necessary to explain their decision-making process. As decisions may be controversial, having a rubric of quantitative or qualitative criteria sets the standard for measurement. A slightly different perspective was offered by another woman leader who noted that data is important but not everything: "You have to base (decisions) on data. I'm pretty data driven. But the data itself is not the only thing. You have to have quality programs, you know, not numbers only." As this participant indicated quality programs should be the benchmark of decision-making not data.

Using Power and Politics to Achieve Goals

Power has been described by various social theorists as a relation of power between those who occupy a particular position (Marx, 1944), or a power of coercion that controls individual behaviors (Durkheim, 1982.) These definitions describe "power over," having dominance over others, a top down approach. Therefore, people who are well situated in hierarchies of prestige and status have more influence and effectiveness in directing others to accomplish tasks (Kanter, 1977, 1983). Yukl and Falbe (1981) found that even in lateral relations, legitimate power makes it easier to obtain information, cooperation, and assistance to do one's work.

These definitions of "power over" are incongruent with American Indian senior leader's definitions of power. In the examples below, power had a spiritual essence not seen in the literature but central to American Indian culture and values. Describing her notions of power, an American Indian senior leader observed:

> I think that it's a physical energy that moves from things to and away from other things. So, you know, like what I characterize as evil people – You know, they want it to come to them so they're trying to attract this power. Anybody. And I think that – I think, you know, maybe this is a basic human belief but – or a basic Christian, I don't know, but I think that power wants to do good things. And so, when you have someone that really tries to be good and tries to think about other people and tries to think about, you know, the relationship to a Mother Earth then there's a generation of power, you know, it will flow there. You know, so almost a physical thing.

No other senior leaders described power as a force for good nor generated from Mother Earth. It is the physical property of power that is unique in this definition. Power wants to do good. It is a universal energy and law that is directed by and guided by people's actions; it flows to them and works in collaboration with this higher source. For another American Indian senior leader, power came from an internal strength:

> Physically, emotionally, spiritually balanced and intellectually balanced, and that's – by having that foundation for me, I can stand solid in hearing, what has to be – the decisions I have to make or the data I have to work with, that I'm gonna bring this ability to lead just because I want the institution or the community to define that same balance with me. So by leading in that – that's, like, a really powerful and silent power that one can have, when you stand solid in who you are and that you're really committed to doing the best work you can do for the time you're gonna be there.

Her definition of power resonates with the literature on native leadership which described nurturing one's inner spirit, sustaining the soul, maintaining a sense of balance in their lives, and ensuring one's work and life has meaning and balance (Johnson, 1997). In contrast to a Western system where individuals compete for power and control, leadership by natives is "interconnected," where cooperation, relationships, humility, patience, and sharing is central (Coyhis, 1993).

Influence. Lipman-Blumen (1992) explicated that the art of influence at the interpersonal level through relationships offer keys to success that strengthen individual, group, and institutional commitments. Women of color senior leaders

spoke of power and influence being interconnected. One could acquire influence by becoming an expert in an area. In the literature, some women preferred the term "influence" instead of "power" (Brunner & Schumaker, 1998; Isaac, Behar-Horenstein, & Koro-Ljungberg, 2009). Lipman-Blumen (1992) contended that relationships connect one to group and institutional commitments. Similarly, participants saw power as the ability to bring people together and to use a strategy to achieve one's objectives. Senior leaders emphasize their ability to persuade and give information to staff to answer questions. Persuasiveness and information power (Yukl & Falbe, 1981) were recommended to be added to French and Raven's social power theory (1959). The findings of this study would support this addition.

Privilege and identity. Dill and Zambrana (2009) in their intersectional analysis presumed inequalities are derived from relationships among sexuality, gender, and class with some groups experiencing privilege and others not based on group membership. Intersectional analysis examined relations of domination and subordination, privilege and agency, and the means through which various services, resources, and social rewards were delivered. As a platform to be influential, power was used to educate and advocate constituents.

Describing this platform one participant remarked: "I think there's also power that comes from positions of privilege of which can be attached to (one's) identity in terms of social identity." This description of privilege from social identity is not identified by any other women of color senior leaders. Most senior leaders have privilege based on their positions; however, as women of color senior leaders indicate being single, divorced, or LGBTQ posed unique challenges. One participant noted

the challenges that come with her social identity of being unmarried and ascending to senior level positions:

> I mean whether or not you're in a partnered relationship and you're in some senior positions, your partner's station in life is a…role that they're willing to play….. [it] makes a difference to some positions.

This WOC-SL rose to senior level positions but was a single parent throughout that experience. Her quote exemplifies the privilege afforded to those in partnered relationships.

Acquired power. Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making measures the power of social actors by its determinants, consequences, and its symbols. The determinant or source of power possessed by the social actor in a given situation could be the result of particular knowledge or possessed competence.

In contrast to extant literature, some WOC-SLs spoke of borrowing power, not possessing it, but having it loaned to them. Power is transferred from someone with social status and social capital. For one participant, she borrowed power because she was in conflict with an entity that had far more positional power and resources; therefore she utilized the power of someone who had greater social capital and could persuade others on her behalf: "I don't know if the term is important borrowing it our using it. You never own it. I know that....she didn't give it to me. She just loaned it to me for a while on this issue." To her, power is never owned, it is utilized by individuals and loaned. Traditional literature does not describe power in this manner. Another way to examine her use of power is by surveying the literature on power

tools. Power tools of endorsement, backing, approval, and legitimacy (Kanter, 1983; Morgan, 2006; Pettigrew, 1972) assisted this participant when another person endorsed and backed her cause. Not all were comfortable with sharing power. One participant commented that oftentimes people will not share knowledge because it is giving away power.

Pfeffer's (1981) model recognizes without interdependence there would cease to be a basis for conflict or interaction as it creates interest in what the other is doing. To lead, WOC-SLs recognized they did not operate in a vacuum; they acknowledged and built support from their constituents and key stakeholders. A participant described how to build one's power base: "if you have a relationship build through the group, through the different constituents, then you have power." Having good working relationships (Kotter, 1985), interdependence (Pettigrew, 1972; Pfeffer, 1992) contributed to one's power bases and power sources. According to this participant's definition, it was possible to gain power regardless of one's position but through relationships, as described by Foucault (1982). Power was derived from previous jobs and from conquering a challenge. Some women of color spoke of gaining power by being a team player and being flexible.

Intersectional analysis (Dill & Zambrana, 2009) guides our understanding of positional power and giving away privilege. One participant spoke of choosing to relinquish her power through intentionally creating space and opportunity for others to speak:

> I think about it (power) in terms of not just the power to use my voice, but the power to silence myself and to make space for others. I also feel that some of my power is in asking questions instead of telling things.

Her quote is reminiscent of situated knowledge described by Haraway (2010) which enabled the individual to define what is being seen and to develop their own knowledge to determine who speaks, when, and how. She empowered others by sharing power and information that allows employees and coworkers the opportunity to reach conclusions; solving problems through a shared collaborative approach to leadership as described by Crosby (2010) and Rosener (1990). Sharing power with others was similar to servant leadership where the servant leader used less institutional power and control while shifting authority to those who are being led (Greenleaf, 1970, 1977).

Institutional and External Politics

Pfeffer (1981) contended mastering organizational politics requires acquiring, developing, and using power to bring about preferred outcomes in situations where groups do not agree. Recognizing that colleges were political systems (Cyert & March, 1963), participants discussed having a political sense of the institution and the political structure. Some advocated understanding where institutional boundaries lay and pushing until there were ramifications.

One participant learned as a young faculty member about the institution and its political structure and her education of politics continued through administrative appointments.

Defining and using politics. Participants defined politics as a set of conditions that were influenced by people who have political influence and authority. It was also a stewardship of trust. One woman leader explained how she arrived at this belief: "So I did Plato and Socrates and learned about the very roots of the democratic system from those readings and so what I think politics ends up being is the stewardship of trust." To this senior leader, stewardship of trust meant keeping the public good always at the forefront of her decisions.

Pfeffer (1981) argued politics involves resolving conflicts over preferences through allocating scarce resources. Also, politics were activities and behaviors where power was used in organizational settings (Pfeffer, 1981). Using Pfeffer's definition, the institutional environment is the stage on which political activities or behaviors are played out. One participant discerned politics through understanding people's motivation, keen interests, and behavior. Understanding motivation and interests was a way of navigating the institutional environment, similar to Pichaut's (1993) description of mapping the political terrain (Bolman & Deal, 1997; Kezar, 2008). One participant described having deep scars from institutional politics; perhaps this stemmed from having difficulty navigating the political terrain; she described this as the primary reason women of color leave the institution without advancing. For another participant, politics was neither dirty nor bad:

> But everything is politics. I don't think politics is all bad. If you don't know politics it can be - I mean depending on how - it's not a dirty politics. It's how to work with people. I think politics is how to get things done through working with people.

Working with people was a different interpretation of politics than Pfeffer (1981) or other theorists suggested, but it was similar to Astin and Leland's (1991) description of women leaders' "working with people and through people." All WOC-SLs were affected by scarce resources on campus yet their use of politics involved understanding what motivated people, what their interests were and how to work with people. In the literature, forming coalitions and alliances to influence others (Birnbaum, 1988), and exert political pressure was different from how participants used information. Across race, women leaders were focused on getting things done, not fixated on politics. They worked on strategies with a team of insiders. One participant stated that power and politics had the same goal.

Participants described using politics for the community, to reap benefits, not for oneself but to achieve a broader goal. Bolman and Deal (2003) explained when resources are not available, or in short supply, the contest can heighten as individuals or groups engage in politics in pursuit of their particular ends. Women of color senior leaders seemed to be more concerned about community than personal interests. This aligned with their personal, entrusting, and collaborative achiever leadership styles (Lipman-Blumen, 1992).

Maneuvering through politics. Women in this study felt differently about maneuvering through politics in academe. For one participant, the term maneuver had negative connotations. She did not like playing politics, because of its stigma, yet realized everything is political. Instead of thinking about politics, this senior leader set an "agenda for change":

I really don't think about it. I think about what are things need to be done to be better. I have. And as long as my conscience says, that's better for the university, that's better for the community, that's better for the students, that's better whatever. And if after analysis, the study, I find those are the things I need to do, I just get it done.

Rather than thinking about politics, this leader emphasized bringing about positive change for the university and community. Other WOC-SLs described maneuvering through the system by finding allies, working with people with positive energy, and enlisting people to intervene on their behalf. The literature asserts that, if one has positional power, stakeholders can use other resources, such as information and expertise, control of rewards, alliances and networks to win the game (Bolman & Deal, 1997).

To maneuver through university politics, participants stressed one must understand who the players are and be quiet and listen. Knowing who to trust was paramount. One senior leader remarked how critical it was to scrutinize who could be helpful: "It's easy to think that you're out there on your own and you don't know who you can trust or not. So you have to be able to size people up." Discerning who to trust required seeking information from insiders about who to avoid and who to enlist for support. For the most part, participants were guided by assistants of their predecessors or individuals who had been in the institution for some time (Birnbaum, 1988; Bolman & Deal, 1997). One women of color trusted an individual that was untrustworthy and who ended up undermining her initiatives. Participants advocated learning the political process of individuals who influence decision-making in

institutions. Kezar (2008) described enlisting support from influential individuals who were highly regarded by others because they were trusted opinion leaders. The literature described universities as fragmented, and therefore a decision is rarely made by one official, but is dependent on input from numerous people (Baldridge, 1970).

      Playing the game. Most women in this study said that they disliked politics, perhaps because of the win-lose aspect, and viewed it as playing the game. As described earlier in the chapter, through the connective leadership model, the majority of WOC-SLs can be described as personal, collaborative, social achievers not competitive direct achievers who were keen on winning (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). Another way to analyze this is similar to a chess game, wherein the political system moves people like chess pieces, and people bargain with one another, with separate and unequal power (Allison & Zelikow, 1999). One participant warned that information is distorted in political game playing. Behind the scenes, some individuals were working against women of color senior leaders, and enlisting the support of those that agreed with them. Some WOC-SLs described the "game" similar to the good 'ol boy system, which has elements of racist and sexist practices. Critical race theorists aspired to eliminate this type of racism and sexism by empowering people of color and other subordinate groups (Freire, 1970; Lawson, 1995; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). Understanding the "game" enabled women of color to be considered an "insider": "You just have to play along with their game. You have to learn to golf. I mean, really? And…. buy into the good ol' boy system." Knowledge of sports seemed to be a recurring theme for some women of color who interacted with mostly men in the boardroom.

There was only one WOC-SL who did not see politics as a negative, but as a way of viewing the world; politics could be enjoyable, an entertaining game. She learned about politics and dynamics from her family:

> From my mother, she did not work in a university setting, but she was a school teacher and a church pianist for many years and understood work dynamics very well. So I look at university politics as, okay, it's more information and some of it is just a game. You cannot let it get you tied up in a knot to a place where it's unhealthy.

She looked at politics as a way of gaining information and educating others about the institution. While other WOC-SLs saw politics as a necessary, this WOC-SL called it a game that she did not take seriously or personally. She described politics as finding out what motivates another person and how to influence that individual.

Politics was not always game playing, it also included valuing one's intuition when making decisions:

> So my point is I think that much of what is power and political astuteness is also intuitive and I think some people intuit it better or have been taught to do that better. I don't know. And you just gotta kind of go with it sometimes. And it may not make sense. It may not be completely rational. You may have to hold your tongue to pick the right moment later on to speak, but I think you have to go with that more. And often that is drummed out of us academics. We're so used to data based decision-making and research based decision-making. Of course, you have to do it that way but you also have to involve what your intuition is telling you and so that works with politics for me.

Basing decisions on data was paramount for women of color senior leaders. But as these quotes illustrated, participants also used intuition to inform decisions. Literature on intuition and decision-making argued intuition is a mental map or schema, a recognition and retrieval process that is based on years of experience (Burke & Miller, 1999; Simon, 1987). Alternative models of decision-making valued intuition, emotion, subjectivity and interdependence (Phillips, 1997) and valued the circumstances (environment and context) that encircle the decision-making process (Hartung & Blustein, 2002).

Coalitions and interests. Women in this study recognized that despite their positional power, forming coalitions with other entities, the union, faculty, and alumni who could be strategic partners was critical. As the literature explicated, the advantages of forming coalitions involved finding individuals and groups that carried more power and influence than could be achieved by one individual (Birnbaum, 1988; Bolman & Deal, 1997; Kezar, 2008).

From Malen and Knapp (1997), the political perspective informs us that groups have different interests and based on these interests, individuals compete or cooperate with one another to influence the outcome. For one participant, politics was about doing the best for society, community, and students, not getting what one wanted:

> I don't believe I play politics to win certain specific things. I'm broader. I'm a bigger - I'm not a micro person. I always see the goal as very broad. The goal is better for the students, better for the community, better for the world in certain ways. Everything we do, if we think that's the general goal, students,

world, especially [the] underserved…. You know adding programs, adding ideas and you know streamline things. Everything [is] based on the same principle which is called [our] mission or strategic plan.…..better university, academic better, quality and better research. … we just get resources. So I don't play politics….You have to learn how to get resource(s). And getting resource is not politics. It's more selling, marketing.

Consistent with the literature (Garcia, 2009; Hughes, 2009; Manuelito-Kerkvliet; Tseng, 2005), she spoke of using politics to serve the broader goal of helping the underserved, students and the community. All of these were tied to a strategic plan that emphasizes a better university, higher quality academics, and research. Rather than using power to advocate for scarce resources (Pfeffer, 1981), she described using marketing and selling to bring about more resources.

External politics. Participants defined politics as local and national government. Several participants did not want to be a politician nor were they interested in running for office. Elected officials such as governors or mayors were powerful, because they could make political appointments or decisions that affected their state campuses. Therefore, taking on a governor was risky, however one woman of color leader said that opposing the governor in public, would put her job on the line, but she would do it if she believed in her values and could articulate that to the public.

Having individuals who were close to government officials provided beneficial insider information and helped them influence other's opinions. One participant said how individuals viewed her political party affiliation (Democrat,

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Republican, Independent) affected how she was viewed as a leader. Thus politics at

the local and national level could affect their leadership role and position.

Chapter VI

This final chapter provides an overview of the research design, participants, and summary of the major key findings for individual cases and cross case analysis. I then critique the frameworks, answer the research questions, and conclude with discussion, implications, and future research.

This study focused on how women of color who are at the senior level of academe continue to advance while navigating and maneuvering through power and politics encountered in the organizational system. The major research question guiding this study was:

How do women of color navigate power and politics to arrive at the senior level in academe? This study also sought to answer the following sub-questions:

1. How do they define and see power and politics?

2. How do they make meaning of power and politics?

3. What factors do they perceive as contributing to their advancement to senior positions?

Research Design

The research design for this study framed an investigation into nine individual case studies of women of color at nine institutions. The "unit of analysis" (Merriam, 2009) was each individual woman of color, while the institution is the context of the bounded system (Smith, 1978). Using case study as the methodology I examined the unique experience of each woman of color and conducted cross-case analyses to identify intra-group (e.g., African American, American Indian) or intergroup

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similarities and differences between women of color's navigation of power and politics in academe.

Nine women participated in this study: three African Americans, two Asian American Pacific Islanders, two Latinas, and two American Indian women at baccalaureate granting or doctoral granting universities. Five women were senior leaders at minority serving institutions; seven were presidents, one was a provost, and one was a vice-provost. Three participants came from historically Black colleges and universities, one woman held a position at a Tribal college, and one worked at a Hispanic serving institution. Other participants served at a private four-year university, a liberal arts institution, and two doctoral institutions, respectively.

Each woman sat for a semi-structured interview lasting 60-90 minutes at either her office or an offsite location. To establish credibility, I conducted member check and triangulated the data. Member check adds to the validity of the study by seeking feedback on the emerging findings from each participant (Maxwell, 2005). All women of color senior leaders reviewed and corrected the transcripts of their interviews. Denzin (1978) defined triangulation as using multiple methods, sources of data, investigators, or theories to confirm emerging findings. For this study, triangulation entailed the consideration of multiple theories and several sources of data. Primary data consisted of written observations of the administrator's office (e.g., its location on the campus, proximity to other offices, as well as the layout of the work space), photographs of the office and waiting areas, presidential documents from the archives, tours of the campus, and conversations with admission directors. Other documents reviewed for triangulation included university organizational charts,

strategic planning documents, newspaper articles, website information about

participants, as well as university facts and figures. Leaving an audit trail

authenticates the findings of the study because the researcher describes in detail how

the data were gathered and categorized and explains how decisions were made as the

inquiry proceeded (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). My audit trail included charts

detailing the locations and dates of interviews with participants, memos generated

after each meeting, the initial coding process, and category maps explaining how I

sorted and categorized codes. Another researcher evaluated my data for an intercoder

reliability check (Berg, 2007) and he confirmed that the coding and category maps I

developed were defensible and comprehensive.

Theoretical Frameworks

In this section, I provide an overview of the theoretical frameworks, discuss

whether they were useful, and suggest other frameworks that may have been

beneficial to my investigation. My research question is based upon four domains:

race, gender, power, and politics. Consequently, it was important to draw on

theoretical frameworks (Table 3 provides a graphic display of all the frameworks)

that have furthered our understanding of critical issues in each of these areas. The five

theoretical frameworks selected were: critical race theory (CRT), Pfeffer's (1981)

model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational

decision-making, French and Raven's (1959) bases of social power, connective

leadership (Lipman-Blumen, 1992), and intersectionality (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Critical race theory's (CRT) central tenet that racism is endemic to society

(Bell, 1992; Russell, 1992) emerged in the experiences of my participants. Seven of

the nine participants stated that they had experienced racism in their professional lives and as they ascended to senior leadership positions. Women of color senior leaders explained how their parents prepared them for the challenges they would face due to the prevalence of racism in the broader society. Parents taught them that dominant groups are privileged and that meritocracy, color blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity are subjective (Bell, 1987; Calmore, 1992; Delgado, 2003; Solórzano, 1997). Participants spoke of their need to modulate their tone of voice in board meetings in order to be heard by White males who dominated. Women of color also learned that

Table 3
Comparison of Theoretical Frames

	Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Bell, Yosso, Crenshaw)	Pfeffer (1981) model	French and Raven (1959) theory of social power	Connective Leadership (Lipman-Blumen, 1992)	Intersectionality (Dill and Zambrana, 2009)
Description	Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Bell, Yosso, Crenshaw) Racism is endemic to American life Racism contributes to group advantage/disadvan. Recognizes experiential knowledge of POC Skepticism of neutrality, objectivity, colorblindness and meritocracy Interdisciplinary (Sociology, History, Literary theory Philosophy, Critical feminist and queer studies Challenges ahistoricism Supports indigenous ways of knowing and understanding of the world	Pfeffer (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in org. decisionmaking Politics and power are the processes, the actions, the behaviors through which potential power is utilized and realized Power is the property of the system at rest and politics as the study of power and action (p.7) Environment of org. imposes demands and "means" and "ends", how org gets job done, goals it pursues. Heterogeneous or incompatible goals sought by members and ways to accomplish goals. Differentiation - creates subgroups produces	French and Raven (1959) theory of social power basis of power is designed as relationship betw. social agent (O) & person (P) originator of that power a) what determines the behavior of the agent who exerts power? b) what determines the reactions of the recipients of this behavior? (p. 150) Raven (2008) Power/Interactional model - motivation to influence, assessment of power bases, preparing for influence attempts, choice of power bases and effects	Connective Leadership (Lipman-Blumen, 1992) Achieving Styles Model Connecting individuals not only to their own tasks and egos and drives, but also to those of the group and community that depend upon the accomplishment of mutual goals Achieving styles are defined as the characteristic behaviors individuals use to achieve their goals. Includes three sets of achieving styles: direct, instrumental and relational	Intersectionality (Dill and Zambrana, 2009) Asks questions how racism and sexism are co-constituted Challenges the traditional ways that knowledge has been produced in the US and how this theory provides an alternative model that is foundational to this interdisciplinary intellectual exercise.
Major assumptions And contributions	Highlights experiences of people of color Challenges status quo (counter story) Moves field of Education forward Ladson Billings, Tate (1995) adapted this for education Commitment to social justice, "Interest convergence" of civil rights gains. Interdisciplinary perspective incorporates multiple disciplines to analyze race and racism within historical and contemporary contexts.	Primary conditions of scarcity, interdependence and heterogenous goals will give rise to conflict. Managing power requires 1) recognizing org. have interests groups 2) find out what assumptions are 3) understand where power comes from and how to develop it 4) examine strategies and tactics through which power is developed and used in org.	1) **Reward** - ability of powerholder to reward another to give something valued by another 2) **Coercive** - person will be punished by the social agent if he "fails to conform to the influence attempt" p. 157 3) **Legitimate** - social agent has a "legitimate right to influence P and P (person) has an obligation to accept this influence. 4) **Referent** - attraction of the person to the social agent or desire to join with that person 5) **Expert** - belief that expert has special knowledge or belief 6) **Informational:** power holder explains to target how to do the job using a more effective procedure.	**Direct** - intrinsic, competitive, and power, confront tasks to their own efforts, realize their own visions **Instrumental:** personal, social and entrusting use gifts of persuasion and negotiation to accomplish goals; understand relationships and networks as vital entrust other with their vision, expect others to implement their goals. **Relational:** Indv. Enjoy working on group tasks helping others attain goals; working behind the scenes, collaborating with others; mentors who offer guidance and support.	Inequalities derived from race, ethnicity, class, gender, and their intersections place specific groups of the population in a privileged position w/ respect to other groups; offer indiv. unearned benefits on group membership Historical and systemic patters of disinvestment in nonprivileged groups are major contributors to the low social and economic position of those groups. Representations of groups/individuals in media art, music & cultural forms create and sustain ideologies support the use of these factors to explain both individual inferiority/superiority Individual identity exists within and draws from a web of socially defined statuses some more salient than others in specific situations or at specific historical moments
Key Insights	"Focuses on how the social construct of race shapes university structures, practices, and discourses from the perspective of those injured by and fighting for institutional racism" (Yosso, 2009, p. 663)	Assesses power by determinants (knowledge), consequences (recognizing decisions) or symbols (position title, special parking spaces, office size etc.) Reputational and representational indicators indicate social power.	Expounds on psychological change, social influence and social power; defines how change in behavior has to do with changing "opinions, attitudes, goals, needs, values and all other aspects of a person's psychological field" p. 151	Women excel in collaborative, contributory and mentoring behavior, all important aspects of connective leadership. Connective leadership reaches beyond traditional constituencies to presumed adversaries, using mutual goals, rather than mutual enemies to create group cohesion and community membership (Gardner 1990)	Intersectional analysis explores/unpacks relations of domination & subordination, privilege & agency structural arrangements through various services, resources, and other social rewards are delivered in interpersonal exp. of individuals & groups
Criticisms and Limitations	Critical Race Theorists want to replace racism with 'white supremacy' - homogenizes whites misuse of statistics showing 'race trumps 'class'	Research only on university or public sector; weak connection between indicators and power; not as theoretically grounded	Scholars contend French and Raven's power bases contain distorted relationships with dependent variable. Interpret power bases with caution, research needed.	Little evidence of behavioral differences between male and female managers when context controlled (Skaggs, 2000). Few connective leaders in corporations, most are in entrepreneurial or nonprofit organizations	Analytic philosophers argue intersectionality puts "purity" of philosophical methods at risk maintains "feminism" and "multicultural feminism" one side, and "global feminism" on the other
Link to Research Question	How do WOC navigate power and politics to arrive at the senior levels of academe? What factors do they perceive as contributing to advancement to senior level positions?	How do women of color navigate power and politics to arrive at senior levels of academe? How do they define and see power and politics?	How do WOC navigate power and politics to arrive at the senior levels of academe? How do they define and see power and politics?	How do WOC navigate power and politics to arrive at the senior levels of academe? How do they make meaning of power and politics? How do they define and see power and politics?	How do WOC navigate power and politics to arrive at the senior levels of academe? What factors do they perceive as contributing to advancement to senior level positions?

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neither color blindness, race neutrality, nor equal opportunity existed when it came to hiring. Despite these obstacles, women of color demonstrated another tenet of CRT by working for the empowerment of people of color (Freire, 1970, 1973; Lawson, 1995; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001, Solórzano & Yosso, 2001a) by helping students of color and including the local community (oftentimes people of color) in their visioning and strategic planning process. As a framework, CRT was excellent for examining issues of race and gender, but it fell short in examining other dimensions of social identity, religion, sexual orientation, and nation of origin.

Pfeffer's (1981) model of the conditions producing the use of power and politics in organizational decision-making, asserted that, without interdependence, there would cease to be a basis for conflict or interaction between individuals. This assertion explains why women of color, recognizing that they did not operate in a vacuum, acknowledged and built support among their constituents and key stakeholders. His model also helps illuminate that mastering organizational politics requires the acquisition, development, and use of power to bring about preferred outcomes in situations where groups are in conflict. Women of color emphasized the importance of having a political sense of the institution and its political structure. This understanding prompted individuals to advocate and push against institutional boundaries until there were ramifications. One woman explained how she came to understand the institution and its political structure as a junior faculty member when she advanced through administrative appointments. Contrary to Pfeffer's model, WOC-SL did not report using power and politics to resolve conflicts over scarce resources. His theory does not account for how women of color discerned politics

through understanding people's motivation, keen interests, and behavior; or how women of color achieved their needs by working with people who were a team of insiders to get things done.

Lipman-Blumen's connective leadership model (1992) fit well with women of color's leadership styles. One participant fit the intrinsic achiever style in that she sought challenges, was performance driven by an internalized standard of excellence, self-reliant, creative, and passionately devoted to her goals. Two women fit the personal achiever style, connecting to staff through passion, intelligence, wit, humor, family background, and previous accomplishments. Three participants demonstrated collaborative styles. They built networks, empowered others, brought people together to find common ground, and included others in leadership. Three women of color utilized the social achieving style through using relationships, networks and selecting specific individuals for specific tasks to accomplish their goals. Though this framework was not centered on power and politics, it proved beneficial in understanding women's ways of navigating power and politics in academe. Lipman-Blumen's model (1992) identified women's leadership styles but failed to explain women who did not fit into one style or matched only part of the achieving style.

Intersectionality (Dill & Zambrana, 2009), the fifth framework, recognized the connectedness and interrelationship of identity domains, whereas other frameworks were more limited in examining specific aspects of individual's experience. Intersectionality proved helpful in analyzing the data in regard to privilege, stereotypes, racism, sexism, and homophobia. Because dominant cultural ideologies inform how language minorities are viewed, WOC-SLs spoke about the imprinted

stereotypes of women of color within the larger social historical narrative. For example, women of color who were unmarried or LGBTQ experienced a lack of privilege because of their marital status or sexual identity. Participants in predominantly White institutions experienced racism and sexism whereas women in historically Black colleges and universities, encountered sexism and homophobia. Class privilege was mitigated by a Ford Foundation fellowship that gave one woman of color from a working class background the opportunity to go to graduate school and enter the pipeline to senior level positions. Through intersectionality we understand how mentoring, through providing information about how to navigate, benefited women of colors' traversing structures of power and privilege. Intersectionality was stronger in understanding power domains but less so in illuminating politics in academe and how it manifested and contributed to inequality and oppression.

The findings of this study also confirmed Foucault's (1982) concept of power based in relationships and not in positional authority. In addition, social capital enabled participants to access networks and resources previously unavailable to them. Therefore, I include other frameworks that may have been useful in analyzing the findings.

Foucault and Power

Many of the WOC-SLs spoke of the importance of relationships and networks to accomplishing goals, therefore using Foucault's (1982) concept of power might have been valuable. He argued that power designates relationships between partners and is an ensemble of actions that lead others to follow one another. He stated power

exists only when it is put into action. Foucault argued for a dispersed, fragmented, decentralized, and invisible power, which may be more aligned with WOC-SLs understanding of power that is not based upon their position, but in their relationships with others. In fact, one participant argued that one could build one's power through relationships not positional authority.

Social Capital

Since many of the WOC-SLs spoke about their mentors or colleagues promoting them to senior positions or advocating on their behalf, utilizing social capital theory might have been advantageous. According to Lin (1999), social capital facilitates the flow of information. Social ties may exert influence on the agent, or individuals who play a critical role in decisions. Therefore, social tie resources and the relationships to the individual can certify an individual's social credentials that may encourage accessibility to resources through social networks and relations. This could explain how WOC-SLs were able to access resources and networks through their mentor's credentials.

Summary of Individual Cases

"Jacqueline" served as president of "Tyler" University, a residential masters university with an enrollment of 6,000 students. Jacqueline advanced to the presidency because she had strong mentors who would take her to meetings with senior staff and afterwards debrief the meaning behind people's comments; she described this as "connecting the dots." She credited her White male mentor as instrumental in catapulting her to becoming dean of the faculty. Her leadership style invited people to participate in the discussion and help refine her ideas. She described

power as a platform that enables one to be powerful and influential. One gains power by being a team player and flexible. Early on as a faculty member, she learned about the nuances of institutions and political structures. She believed one must learn about political processes and who influences decision-making.

"Rebecca" served as president of "Solaris," a doctoral institution that is part of a five-part campus system. She described leadership as bringing your team along through landmines. What is most important is to develop trust with individuals and empower one's team. Rebecca was able to advance to senior leadership because her family sacrificed for her to receive an education, mentors encouraged her, and presidents helped her grow into her position. She described power as the ability to lead with a sense of balance, standing solid in oneself and doing one's best work. Rebecca articulated politics is exposing hidden words, rules, and agendas; one influences people by using listening skills, reading reports, and doing one's homework to find hidden agendas.

"Caroline" served "Diamond" University, a baccalaureate arts and science university with an enrollment of 4,000 students. To create change, Caroline advocated winning people's trust and using core people, especially visionaries to help sell the program. She relied upon the community for their opinion and developed a vision with them about the future. Caroline's leadership style emphasized getting enough people to support what you think is better for the university and students in the community. She was not comfortable with the term power because it required forcing someone to do something. In contrast, Caroline defined power as getting things done by conquering a challenge, and bringing people together using a strategy to get things

done. She believed one does not need to have positional power, but one can build up power by building relationships with different constituencies. She did not like the term "maneuver" through politics, but instead preferred to think of politics as getting things done by working with people with positive energy. Caroline described politics as having a broader goal of accomplishing a common mission, a strategic plan for the university, and getting resources.

"Crystal" served "Diamo," a private independent liberal arts college for women with a student body of more than 2,100 students, for two years as provost and vice president for academic affairs. Crystal acknowledged the importance of mentoring and professional development opportunities as contributing to her advancement. Her White male department chair supported her publications, offered to review her writing, and protected her from being over-committed to committees. She described learning leadership through experiences in Girl Scouts and working at camps. To be a senior leader, Crystal stressed developing one's self-esteem, having confidence, and a good sense of self. On the subject of power, Crystal believed one must use persuasive argumentation to leverage influence. Power can come from positions of privilege that can be attached to one's social identity of race, class, gender, class, and sexual orientation. Crystal defined politics as understanding people's motivation, what their interests are, what drives them, and their behavior. She noted politics is not necessarily bad, though oftentimes construed as negative, it is actually a way of navigating environments.

"Alicia" served as the president of "Tigris" University, a baccalaureate institution of over 1,000 students, for three years. Alicia was known for trying to

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improve the lives of Tigris students and faculty but her efforts were criticized by her Board of Regents and threatened some faculty. She was determined to change the fee structure and develop a new revenue streams. However, this was perceived as a threat by staff who were afraid of losing their jobs. Alicia defined leadership as being honest and logical; she also believed that, as a leader, you must recognize that you are wrong and that there are others with better ideas. Alicia believed power has a metaphysical quality that can generate positive results. She described politics as involving conflict, information, posturing, and distortion. As president, she used incentives to incentivize people. She believed that one should align oneself to truth and values that have integrity. Finally, regardless of the situation, one should always stay on the moral high road.

"Anna" served as vice provost of "Evans" University, a public land grant institution of 32,000 students. Anna advanced because she was mentored and taught how to maneuver through events and to think about how to manage in various situations. Having a woman president take an interest in her career path made a huge difference for her and without that colleague's guidance she would not have risen to vice provost. She described leadership as the confluence of cultural upbringing, background, and personality. Anna believed that power and influence are intertwined therefore individuals have different amounts of influence over others, which is acquired by earning trust and being coming an expert in one's area. Anna asserted women of color are not naturally schooled in political savvy, but this can be learned from trial and error and from mentors who explain how to maneuver in certain situations.

"Pearl" served as president to "Taille" University, a public, land grant, urban doctoral research institution of 9,000 students. Her major task as president was to cut $7 million out of the budget, through eliminating six programs. Through merging schools, she used the resources to run one program. Pearl described leadership as working hard for the institution, students, and the community but keeping one's balance. She held monthly meetings with the entire university explaining to them where they are in the process of reorganization. She learned about power from previous jobs and described it as doing what is best is for the institution and for your constituents. Pearl described politics as knowing what people want, meeting their needs, and at the same time getting one's needs met and keeping one's integrity.

"Lauren" served "Erie" University, a liberal arts land grant university that has 2,300 students. Lauren was mentored by an African-American male president who allowed her to attend cabinet meetings and encouraged her to apply for a presidency. Lauren recommended getting involved in the community and broadening one's network to influence more people. She believed that people see your color first and then that you are woman. When configuring her team, she was proactive and strategic and found people that will complement her abilities. Her leadership style was to have an open door policy, listen to people who want to talk, ask them for feedback, and incorporate their ideas to bring innovation to campus. Lauren believed that power involves influencing others, whereas politics refers to a belief system about how to get your vision and your work done. She asserted that to maneuver through politics, one must first understand who the players are; then by listening quietly, find out what people's agendas are (Kanter, 1983; Kotter , 1988) and find common ground.

Summary of Cross Cases

In a multiple case study, a within case analysis is followed by a cross case analysis (Merriam, 2009). After coding and synthesizing the codes into major categories, four themes emerged which were grounded in the data: 1) Advancing Women Through Opportunity and Experience 2) Challenges of Race and Gender: Inviting Partnership with Community 3) Inclusive and Persuasive Leaders: Creating Positive Change and 4) Using Power and Politics to Achieve Goals. In this section, I summarize the key findings in each theme.

Under the first theme, Advancing Women through Opportunity and Experience, participants described several important influences that helped them advance. Parents prepared them for the challenges they would face due to race and racism in the outside world. Several women described their marital status and partner influence as instrumental to their success. Women in this study cited the importance of mentors providing social capital that enabled them to advance, attend senior level meetings, and shadow them in their presidencies.

The second theme, Challenges of Race and Gender: Inviting Partnership with Community recognized that most women of color experienced racism and sexism at some point in their career. Participants spoke about the importance of connecting with the external community and going outside the university in order to serve its neighbors. Institutional culture had an impact on WOC-SLs because it is the environment that they negotiate in their professional lives. WOC-SLs also had to learn the nuances of language as a distinct culture.

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The third theme, Inclusive and Persuasive Leadership: Creating Positive Change describes WOC-SL's inclusive, transparent, and flexible leadership. Women of color senior leaders fit Lipman-Blumen's connective leadership's (1992) intrinsic, personal, social, and collaborative achieving styles. Many WOC-SLs described using information to empower and influence others. Participants were transparent, open, and honest, and brought people along by having good communication. WOC-SLs described the challenges of negotiating a boardroom that was predominantly White and male. Two African American women described modulating their voices in executive board meetings. Women of color senior leaders were guided in their leadership by an internal moral compass. They were committed to a set of values, ethics, and principles that directed their behaviors. Women of color leaders ensured that key stakeholders – the mayor, the chamber president, faculty, alumni, and the press— were aligned to support their vision for change.

The fourth theme, Using Power and Politics to Achieve Goals examined WOC-SLs definition of power and use of it. Unlike other racial/ethnic groups, American Indian women leaders described power as wanting to do good and as a universal energy; it was also having physical, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual balance that gives one a silent power because the leader stands solid in who she is and is committed to doing her best work. Most WOC-SLs saw power as the ability to bring people together and to use a strategy to achieve one's objectives. Participants also defined power as the privilege one has because of social identity or as something that was borrowed or loaned. WOC-SLs described using politics for the community, to reap benefits, not for oneself but to achieve a broader goal. Participants

maneuvered through the system by finding allies, working with people with positive

energy, and enlisting people to intervene on their behalf. Participants advocated

understanding who were the players, and being careful about who to trust. WOC-SLs

saw politics as a means to get things done and to emerge with a win-win situation.

Research Questions

In this section, I return to, and answer, the research questions posed at the

beginning of the study. I start with the central research question and then follow with

the sub questions:

How do women of color senior leaders navigate power and politics to arrive at senior

levels of academe?

Women of color senior leaders navigated power in their institution by

knowing who the players were, and the risks of going up against people who had

positional power such as mayors and governors. One participant spoke of the

importance of knowing the other side's position as well as your own. WOC-SLs used

their positional power to influence other individuals to go along with them.

Participants described acquiring influence by becoming an expert in an area. One

participant who faced a challenge by a powerful entity described borrowing power

from an individual with greater social status and social capital who endorsed her and

could persuade key decision makers on her behalf. She believed one never owned

power; it is borrowed credibility. In addition to borrowing credibility, scholars

described using power tools for innovation and creating change in the organization

(Morgan, 2006; Kanter, 1983; Pettigrew, 1972). Participants used data and

information to support their initiatives that enabled them to influence other

individuals. This is supported in the literature where information is one power tool and information gathering is highly related to influencing the decision (Kotter, 1985; Salancik, Pfeffer & Kelly, 1978). However, this differed from Morgan's (2006) description of using information systems to define what is perceived as important in the organization and to control others.

Navigating politics included building support and understanding the university environment. Participants described politics as ensuring external support (alumni, community, board, mayor) for one's cause and sometimes politics required negotiating with faculty or staff to cut the budget and arrive at a strategic decision. Literature described organizations as interactive political areas that existed within a complex web of individual and group interests (Bowen, 1987; Stagner, 1969). One participant saw politics as neither good nor bad, only a game that one should be wary of becoming entangled in. She described politics as gathering information to understanding people's motivation, interests, and behavior. In the literature, mapping the political terrain to understand channels of informal communication and persons of political influence is important to launching one's initiatives successfully (Bolman & Deal, 2003; Kezar, 2008; Pichaut, 1993). WOC-SLs found ways of navigating the political terrain by understanding what motivates people and how to work with people. Unlike the political perspective where actors compete against each other and influence each other by bargaining, negotiating, and compromises (Baldridge, 1980; Kanter, 1983; Malen & Knapp, 1997), participants used politics to help the community—partnering in building programs with them, developing their strategic plan— to get resources to reach a broader goal. They were not centered on "winning"

the game as described by Allison and Zelikow (1999); one participant defined it as producing a "win win" situation. Maneuvering through politics included finding allies in faculty, administrative staff, board members, and the mayor. Another participant stressed the importance of working with people with positive energy and not letting naysayers stop one's plans. All participants maneuvered through politics by figuring out whom to trust and asking insiders for information that enabled them to be successful. Two of them hired former executive assistants to provide insider information that helped them navigate the environment, while others used veteran staff to explain the unspoken rules of the university. One participant who did not heed the advice of an insider about whom to trust was derailed by a colleague.

1) How do they define power and politics?

In contrast to traditional views of power, American Indian senior leaders saw power in a spiritual context. One American Indian senior leader described power as a living entity noting that power wants to do good and has a universal energy and law that is directed and guided by people's actions and power flows to them. Another American Indian senior leader described silent power arising from having physical, intellectual, and spiritual balance, and standing firm in her identity. Her power was rooted in knowing where she came from, where she had gone and that she did not have all the answers. Her sense of humility in leadership and knowledge of self attests to her internal power, or her own standpoint. Having a sense of balance in one's work and life was consistent with native leadership literature (Johnson, 1997).

Many of the participants described power as the ability to influence other individuals. They did not see power as coercive (Etzioni, 1961) or power within a

hierarchy or a top down approach (Marx, 1844), but more similar to Dahl's (1957) description of persuading others to do things they would not ordinarily do by influence. Most participants defined power as the ability to bring people together to use a strategy to achieve one's objectives, not from status or control, but through persuading, influencing, and giving information to others. One participant defined power as derived from a position of privilege that is attached to one's social identity—race, class, gender, and sexuality. This is consistent with intersectionality (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Another participant maintained power was shaped by personality, culture, and mentoring.

Participants defined politics as a set of conditions that are influenced by people who have political influence and authority. One participant expressed people engage in politics to accomplish their ends; and politics is not always fair. Another participant linked power with privilege and responsibility. Individuals instill trust by granting you power over their assets. Several WOC-SLs defined politics as getting things done, working through people, without losing one's integrity.

2) How do they make meaning of power and politics?

Participants described building one's power by having a vision, developing a flexible plan, and fostering relationships. Participants were masterful at developing relationships among key stakeholders, faculty, staff, students, executive assistants, alumni and external entities. As described by Foucault (1982) power is in relationships with others and people are themselves vehicles of power. Some WOC-SLs spoke of gaining power by being a team player and being flexible with their decisions. One participant chose to give up her power by creating space and giving

her staff the opportunity to speak. Some participants were more comfortable with the term power than others. One participant did not like the term power because it construed forcing someone to do something. Contrary to power based upon one's formal authority (Marx, 1944), participants did not focus on their positional power based on senior leader titles, instead they focused on using power to get things done.

Participants were aware that politics was game playing, or gaining information and educating others about one's institution. Allison and Zelikow (1999) described players bargaining with one another similar to a chess game. WOC-SLs viewed politics as necessary, and used it to find out what motivates other people and how to influence individuals. Similar to Birnbaum (1988), Baldridge (1980) and Kezar (2008), they recognized the importance of forming coalitions with the union, faculty, and alumni and having a political sense of the institution and political structure. Participants described politics as working on a strategy with a team of insiders.

WOC-SLs used politics to enact change and to spearhead their initiatives. Participants used politics to gain resources for the institution, community, and students and sometimes this required using marketing and selling. One participant expressed doing the right thing for students, community, and society; in doing so, energy is generated which is more powerful than getting what one wants.

WOC-SLs discussed having informants in strategic locations to provide information. As they would debrief a staff meeting one senior leader might ask the true meaning behind someone's comments. If there were uncertainty, they would ask someone close to that individual what the issue might be. Participants also gathered

information from key stakeholders by having a visible and active presence. In the literature, having good data (information) neutralized politics and rationalized the process of change (Kezar, 2008). Senior leaders cited data as extremely important in decision-making. Gathering data and listening to the university community was critical. One participant had a weekly time for anyone to spend 15 minutes with the president; in addition, she also held monthly meetings with members of the university to apprise them of the university restructuring status and visited department meetings to listen and learn from constituents. Women in this study saw politics as necessary, not good or bad. One participant expressed that influencing others and advancing to senior leadership required politically savvy, and without it one cannot move up in the organization.

3) What factors do they perceive as contributing to their advancement to senior positions?

Women of color senior leaders attributed their advancement to family and spousal influences. One participant was told by her mother she would need to be better in two languages and must be better than others because she was a woman of color. Participants said they were stereotyped as non-achieving therefore they strove to be excellent in what they did. This is corroborated in the literature by Eagly and Carli (2007) who asserted women are held to a higher standard of performance. Participants spoke of developing a strong sense of self taught by their parents about how to buffer against racism in the outside world. Another finding indicated that their partners and spouses supported their pursuit of senior positions even when they lacked confidence to apply. Literature on African American presidents revealed they

had husbands that were supportive of their careers (Moses, 2009; Tatum, 2009). WOC-SLs attributed their success to faculty mentors who encouraged them to pursue their Ph.D. and publish, and strong mentoring from senior leaders or presidents who saw their potential. One participated credited her success to her mentor who negotiated her stay at his university and catapulted her to be dean of the faculty. Mentors who were mostly White male sponsors, who had social capital (Lin, 1999), positioned participants for senior level positions, and helped them access senior level meetings. Other mentors included a White female president and a Black male president. Three participants attributed their success to fellowship opportunities: ACE fellows and the Ford fellowship programs. Participants cited leadership programs such as the AASCU new president training, Harvard IEM, American Council on Education New Chair's Workshop, and the Council of Independent Colleges New Chief Academic Officers Seminar as helpful in giving them skills and providing networks that helped them advance. Literature confirms leadership development programs are helpful in preparing women of color for the presidency (Garcia, 2009; Hughes, 2009; León, 2003; 2005; León & Nevarez, 2006; Moses, 2009). A few presidents spoke of the connections they made at these leadership and fellowship programs and how they led to their being nominated for presidencies. Other presidents mentioned they advanced because search firms nominated them. On the whole, presidents and senior leaders did not seek their positions; they were nominated and asked to apply.

Discussion

As half of the presidents and chancellors of U.S. college and universities are quickly approaching retirement (age 60 or older) according to *Broadening the Leadership Spectrum: Advancing Diversity in the American College Presidency* (Bridges et al., 2008), a sea change in leadership, unprecedented in size will soon occur. If only one fourth of presidents turn over in the next five years, there will be 1,000 vacancies. Who will fill these presidencies? In light of these senior leadership opportunities, it is critically important to cultivate and develop the diversity of available talent. Leaders in the 21st century in American higher education will need to come from diverse paths, have unique skill sets, understand interdependence, networks, and the global environment.

Universities need to be broader and inclusive in their search for talent for presidents, drawing from chief diversity officers or chief student affairs officer positions (King & Gomez, 2008). Although almost all of the women of color senior leaders in this study came from academic ranks, nationally only 3% women of color have these credentials (King & Gomez, 2008). Especially at doctorate granting institutions, very few African Americans, American Indians, and Latinas serve as chief academic officers thus the prospects for presidential diversity are small unless institutions are willing to hire from other sectors or consider others than chief academic officers. In this study, there were only two women of color that served at doctoral granting institutions who previously held vice-presidencies. Other participants serving at minority serving institutions held previous positions of dean and provost. Only one participant, who led a non-profit institution for twenty years,

came from outside academia. Her administrative and entrepreneurially skills were an asset to her institution.

In this study, five of the nine women of color senior leaders served in minority serving institutions. Literature confirms that women of color are drawn to institutions that reflect their own cultural background, and which minimize cultural duality or dissonance as described in literature on women of color in leadership (Aleman, 1995; Cross & Shortman, 1995; Hansen, 1997; Hune, 1998; Turner, 2007; Warner, 1995). As described by Turner (2007), having congruency with one's institution and being comfortable with the institutional match is important. Participants spoke of the importance of matching their values and the institution's mission. One participant remarked she was drawn to serving at her institution because of its commitment to social justice and its values of serving people of color. Another WOC-SL said she was successful in her presidency because it was the right institutional match for her. Senior leaders also selected their institutions because of the opportunity to influence students. One president said she selected the historically Black college and university because she wanted her students to see that they could also become a president one day.

Despite finding the right institutional match, Bridges et al. (2008) argued women of color leaders continue to be underestimated for their potential to lead. This study showed there is a conscious or unconscious reliance on existing group stereotypes that makes it challenging for women of color to be taken seriously as senior leaders. Participants were seen first for their race and second as presidents (or

gender). They encountered negative stereotypes of their race, ethnicity, and immigration status.

This study also showed variation in how women of color negotiated the boardroom and their communication styles. Women of color senior leaders learned how to negotiate majority environments such as the boardroom by being able to speak about sports with male counterparts. Learning from earlier women predecessors, they did not act like men, but learned how to be assertive without being considered overly aggressive. Some spoke of modulating their voices making certain not to sound too angry or inflammatory which might be construed as hostile or threatening. Two women of color who did not fit the connective, compliant stereotype, had a difficult time politically, and were seen as aggressive and chastised by their superiors for their actions. One woman of color leader's personal preference was to be quiet and listen to what everyone said and then give her opinion; she learned to survey the boardroom and its players before deciding how she would address her colleagues at the meeting. Another participant found being quiet and presenting her opinion at the end of the meeting worked effectively with her board meeting of White men.

In addition to interviewing WOC-SLs, this study also reviewed the public record which consisted of: photographs, newspapers, strategic plans, organizational charts, website articles, and archive resources. There were significant differences related to institutional type. Larger predominantly White institutions tended to have more resources and their websites and strategic plan articles focused on rankings, and fundraising; archives were well catalogued. Minority serving institutions were challenged with resource constraints. Given the economic downturn, women senior

leaders at minority serving institutions were challenged with cutting the budget, mobilizing staff, and finding resources. Participants at minority serving institutions issued vision statements that included empowering students, including others in decision-making from the bottom up, and cutting low producing programs.

Regardless of institutional type, multicultural or ethnic art (African American school children, Spanish women in elaborate gowns, an American Indian chief, and an African American woman) was displayed in the waiting rooms and offices of presidents and senior leaders. Some waiting rooms and boardrooms showcased contemporary American art. A woman of color senior leader from a working-class background made the decision to display a series of paintings of homeless people in her executive boardroom. Another American Indian senior leader emphasized her connection to her ethnic heritage, displayed ethnic symbols in her office and utilized spiritual traditions in her leadership. She described blessing and praying over documents prior to sending them out. In several of the participant's offices, furnishings conveyed a sense of warmth. Sofas and armchairs, plants, and soft lighting from a lamp on a table or a chessboard on the table gave an ambience of a living room rather than a senior leader's office. Even though some offices had conference tables in them, wall to ceiling bookshelves full of books reminded one of being in a library. Many offices displayed items of ethnic heritage, art pieces or symbols.

Women of color senior leaders exhibited leadership styles consistent with path goal theory (Evans, 1970; House, 1971). This theory explained how leaders can help subordinates find the path to their goals by using an appropriate style that motivates

subordinates and increases their expectations for success and satisfaction (e.g. directive, supportive, participative, and achievement). Leaders motivate subordinates by increasing the number and kinds of payoffs that subordinates receive from their work (House & Mitchell, 1974). Leaders who exhibit directive leadership, give subordinates instructions about their task, what is expected of them, how it should be done and the timeline for when it should be completed. One woman of color senior leader directed staff to change the times the cafeteria would be open and tried to raise student fees that would support upgrading technology and fund resources. Other women of color leaders demonstrated supportive leadership, by being friendly and approachable as a leader, inviting people to drop in during office hours, or encouraging them to speak up and give opposing viewpoints. Several participants displayed participative leadership through inviting constituents to share in decision-making in developing a strategic plan, opening up decision-making to all, and making decisions as a team. By making the path to the goal clear and easy through coaching and direction, leaders remove obstacles and roadblocks to attaining the goal, and make the work itself more personally satisfying.

This study contributes to the existing literature by analyzing how women of color define and use power and politics in academe. Women of color senior leaders described using relationships to build power and borrowing power and credibility. Some described power as an actor, connected to Mother Earth, and rooted in intellectual, spiritual, and physical balance. Women of color navigated politics by having strong ties to constituents and stakeholders, recognizing politics as a way to

understand people's motivations and interests; they were savvy about who to trust and where to get information.

Another contribution of this study is the resilience of these women of color leaders in combatting oppressions by using their intellect, strategizing and earning respect from their stakeholders. These leaders were resilient and had an ethic of care for students, their university, and community. They served as senior leaders to make their institutions better and to be a role model for students of color.

Finally, women of color senior leaders were inclusive, transparent, and flexible leaders. They were successful in advancing to the senior level through working hard and volunteering for committees to be prepared for their next promotion. As they navigated majority environments (e.g. board meetings) they made their perspectives known and influenced others on key decisions. They used feminine styles of leadership (ACE, 2005; Madsen, 2008; Wolverton, Bower & Hyle, 2009), collaboration, inclusion, and cooperation to bring people together to focus on broader goals of improving the institution for the students. Women of color senior leaders also demonstrated a similar commitment to principles of integrity, diversity, equity, community, and intuition in cooperative decision-making (Astin & Leland, 1991; Howard-Golladay, 2009). Based upon these findings, I turn now to implications and future research.

Implications for Theory

As this study illustrated, there was no one theory that encompassed the four domains of race, gender, power, and politics. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks of critical race theory, connective leadership, and intersectionality were

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the most helpful to this study. Perhaps a grounded theory is needed to encompass intersections of race, gender, class, and sexual orientation and overlay this with power and politics in the university system. Since women of color defined power and politics differently from the traditional literature, a gendered framework of power and politics that considers dimensions of race, class, gender, and sexuality experiences would be beneficial.

Implications for Practice

Develop the talent. Given the small pool of women of color in senior administrative ranks or tenured faculty ranks (King & Gomez, 2009), institutions must take steps to increase the pipeline for women of color senior leaders. College students and graduate students need to be encouraged to pursue their doctorates to enter the pipeline for senior leadership. Only one woman of color in this study was from a lower socio-economic background. Therefore, to ensure greater socio-economic class diversity among women of color senior leaders, institutions and leadership programs should provide scholarships for low-income first generation women of color to attend fellowship and leadership programs. Participants primarily rose to senior leadership through tenured faculty positions. Because 85% of presidents served as faculty or academic administrators before becoming chief academic officers (King & Gomez, 2009), institutions must reduce disparities in retention rates of tenure-track faculty women of color.

Provide mentors/sponsors to offer guidance. Because participants spoke of the benefits of informal and formal mentoring programs as critical to their success, institutions should offer mentoring programs that will prepare women of color tenure

track faculty to assume campus and professional leadership positions (Transforming Maryland Expectations for Excellence in Diversity and Inclusion, 2010). Deans and department chairs should evaluate campus service assignments and mentoring activities of junior faculty. Formal mentors who have gone through mentor training should be assigned to women of color junior faculty. Senior level administrators can create opportunities for junior women of color faculty and administrators to develop their skills by selective service assignments. This would increase their visibility and could lead to further opportunities.

Commit to leadership development. Women of color senior leaders attributed knowledge, skill development, and networking from leadership development programs to their nominations as presidents or senior leaders. Higher education has the responsibility to identify and encourage women and minorities. Although leadership development programs such as ACE fellows, HERS, Harvard IEM, AASCU Millennium Institute, LEAP Leadership Development Program for Higher Education have been successful, their reach is limited (Bridges et al., 2008). One participant recommended that leadership programs should fund women of color directly, rather than having institutions sponsor WOC-SLs because the few selected to attend is a small share of the population. If institutions want to commit to expand the numbers of women of color senior leaders, they should create grow your own campus-based or regional leadership programs for women and encourage junior faculty/staff to attend (Kezar, 2009; personal communication, E. Scholnick, September 24, 2009). These leadership programs would increase their visibility, skills, and help women of color develop networks across campus.

Navigate power and politics. To navigate power in their doctoral or baccalaureate institution, women of color need to know who the major players are, and what risks are involved in going up against someone who has more positional power, such as a mayor or a governor. Sometimes individuals who do not have a positional title can have considerable influence and can endorse your cause. Women of color can wield power by developing expertise in a particular area. In addition to expertise, one may need to borrow power and credibility from a source who has greater social capital and who can influence key decision-makers. To influence one's constituents it is imperative to have reliable data and information. Women of color leaders stressed they do not make decisions without good data.

Having external support (alumni, community, board members, and governmental) as allies, is pivotal to helping negotiate one's position to arrive at a strategic decision. Women of color should recognize that navigating the political terrain involves understanding what motivates people and how to work with people. Being aware of who to trust, finding insiders to provide information, and asking questions, is critical for navigating the environment.

Advance women to senior levels. Women of color who aspire to senior levels in doctoral granting and baccalaureate granting institutions should develop their skills in all areas of academe, on the academic and student affairs side. They should attend university, community, association meetings and seminars so they can learn about current issues, and volunteer for assignments to develop their competencies. Women of color should seek strong mentors/sponsors who are senior faculty or senior administrators who can explain how to maneuver through campus

politics and help position them for advancement. By attending fellowship and

leadership development programs, women of color enhance their connections and

networks that can lead to nominations for senior positions, as well as develop their

skills for senior level positions. However, women of color leaders who are

navigating power and politics in community colleges may experience differences

relative to institutional context and governance structures. Because the Board of

Trustees is elected by local citizens to govern community colleges, women of color

senior leaders at community colleges may encounter power and politics that

encompass internal campus policies, community issues and concerns. Also local

politics may impact the selection of the college presidents, and board members may

base their decisions on faculty unions who impact their ability to be re-elected (A.

Yamagata-Noji, personal communication, April 17, 2012).

Promote institutional change and transformation. A more difficult and

longer-term task for institutions is determining how to create cultural change that will

lead to a climate where women of color leaders can be developed, retained, and

promoted. Using Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen's (1999) model,

institutional change should not simply be structural, but requires a paradigm shift in

recognizing women of color senior leaders as change agents in higher education.

President, cabinet leaders, deans and chairs must promote cultural change, which will

be long term, requiring psychological and behavioral changes to overcome past

historical inequities. Participants who experienced racist or sexist stereotypes about

race, ethnicity, and immigration status illustrate the public perceptions of them not as

leaders but as racial/ethnic minorities. Senior leaders at institutions must commit to

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regularly assessing the campus climate and taking steps to educate the university community about race, ethnic, class, gender, and sexual orientation.

Future Research

Based upon the findings of this study, future research should examine more women of color senior leaders in different institutional contexts. We know very little about tribal colleges and the organizational challenges women leaders face leading in patriarchal and matriarchal cultures. How do American Indian women leaders enact change in resource constrained, traditional cultures? Since the majority of Asian American Pacific Islanders and Latina presidents serve in community colleges, what are the leadership challenges they face? The factors that have enabled them to advance to the community college presidency should be studied. Future research should investigate the barriers in selection and promotion for African American women. Currently, only eight lead predominantly White institutions while 26 lead historically Black colleges and universities.

A broader issue for future research is why women of color who are tenured do not pursue senior level positions. Is there a lack of desire to serve at that level or do women of color lack role models, opportunity structure, and advancement? Understanding why tenured women of color faculty and junior administrators are not advancing could provide policymakers, boards, and search firms with information to increase the pool of women of color senior leaders.

Strengths of the Study

The research design for this study included nine individual case studies of women of color at nine institutions. The unit of analysis was each woman of color

and her institution, the context of the bounded system (Smith, 1978). A strength of the study was each woman of color senior leader presented unique experiences of her racial/ethnic group. In addition, the variety of institutions surveyed (predominantly White institutions, historically Black colleges and universities, tribal colleges and Hispanic serving institutions) added to the diversity of contexts.

The identity of the researcher was also a strength and contributed to the rapport with women of color senior leaders. A few women of color leaders stressed that they do not always accept requests for interviews but they were committed to helping junior women of color achieve their doctorates to increase the pipeline. Across race, women of color senior leaders felt comfortable talking about racist and sexist experiences with the researcher, perhaps because I was a woman of color.

Another strength was the triangulation of multiple theories and multiple sources of data. Not only were individual interviews conducted, but primary document and secondary documents including letters from the presidential archives, strategic plan reports, photographs of art and campus tours were used to corroborate evidence.

Limitations of the Study

This was a study with a small sample of nine women of color senior leaders. Given that there were only two to three participants in each group, it would be difficult to make generalizations about any of the four racial/ethnic groups. Because this study included only interviews with women of color senior leaders, self-reports of their leadership style may differ from the views of their staff, a missing perspective. Literature asserts presidents and senior leaders have more power at their

disposal than other individuals on campus (Kezar, 2008). Another limitation was the length of time spent with senior leaders. Since senior leaders were very busy it was not possible to interview them beyond 60-90 minutes. And because of the highly sensitive nature of the information discussed with participants, and the small pool of women of color senior leaders, it was necessary to conceal their racial/ethnic identities and the institutions they served.

Conclusion

This study investigated how women of color senior leaders navigated power and politics in their institutions to become senior leaders of academe. Findings suggest that having a strong sense of self developed from parental and spousal/partner influence helped them buffer the challenges of racism, sexism, and homophobia in the academy. Their strategy of being smarter, well prepared and assertive in the boardroom enabled them to be heard and respected by their peers. Women of color senior leaders were successful in using argumentation in their negotiations and seeking a win-win solution. They valued their community and saw it as an extension of the university. Women leaders invited community members to participate on advisory boards and strategic planning committees. Utilizing their race, ethnic heritage, and traditions, these women of color senior leaders demonstrated diverse, collaborative, entrepreneurial, and inclusive leadership styles that are a model for future leaders in academe.

Appendix A

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

Department of Education Leadership, Higher Education,
And International Education
Benjamin Building
College Park, Maryland 20742-1165
Tel. 301-405-3589

Date

Dear *Senior Administrator*,
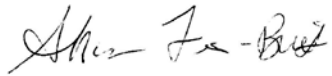
I am the advisor of a doctoral candidate at the University of Maryland-College Park who is doing a study on how women of color senior leaders navigate power and politics in academe. You have been recommended by colleagues in the higher education community as an individual that would contribute to the findings and recommendations of this study. I would like to invite you to participate in my student's dissertation study.

In the last 20-25 years few women of color have attained the presidency level in U.S. higher education institutions. Given the dearth of women of color presidents, this qualitative study may provide information about the challenges and obstacles women of color senior level administrators face at a micro and macro-level in a doctoral granting or baccalaureate granting university. Identifying factors that help women of color senior administrators navigate power and politics to persist and advance in academe will benefit other rising women of color leaders.

Your participation is appreciated and important to the success of this research study. If you have any questions about this study, please contact myself, Dr. Sharon Fries-Britt (sfries@umd.edu) or my student, Belinda J. Huang at bhuang1@umd.edu. Ms. Huang will follow up with your assistant.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Sharon Fries-Britt
Associate Professor

Appendix B: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Introduction

Hello, my name is Belinda Huang and I am studying how women of color navigate power and politics to arrive at senior leader positions in academe. I became interested in this topic when I worked for a university and saw few women of color in senior leadership roles.

I am interested in learning about your experiences navigating power and politics as a senior leader in academe. Please ask me any questions if you need clarification. This interview will last approximately 60-90 minutes and will be recorded to ensure I accurately document your responses. I will also take a few notes while you are talking so I can remember what you said.

There are very few women of color presidents, especially leading four year institutions. Did you ever expect that you would be a president someday? Was it something that you planned for?

Thank you for agreeing to be a part of my research study

1. What was it about working at _____ University that captivated your interest?
    a. How did you come to this university?
    b. Where were you before?
    c. How did you get your current position?

2. Think about a difficult decision you had to make at your university, perhaps one that has wide ranging implications.
    a. What things did you think about?
    b. How did you carry out that decision?

3. I'd like to pose a scenario for you:

    Scenario 1: You have recently arrived as president of a public land grant institution. The institution has low retention rates and is in jeopardy of losing its accreditation. Through reviewing reports and meeting with your cabinet, deans and students, you have come to the conclusion that a number of departments need to be restructured and certain majors discontinued. Faculty have contested this decision in a meeting with you; students are picketing and holding sits. Important alumni donors also oppose this decision. How are you able to work with these different stakeholders and manage the firestorm of opinions while leading the institution to solvency.

    What issues would you consider?
    How will you go about addressing the concerns of your stakeholders?
    How will you lead your institution in this scenario?

4. The next question is about power, but first I would like to ask how would you define power?
5. Can you describe another situation that illustrates other ways in which you use power?
    a. Can you be more specific of how you used your power in that scenario?

6. How do your past experiences (work or otherwise) shape the way you use power now?

7. What do you find are your greatest challenges of being a senior level woman of color at the university?

    a. Has your race and gender been a factor?

8. Would it surprise you to learn that in the literature it says women of color experience racism and sexism?

9. Before I ask the next question I would like you to define politics.

10. In your current (or past) organizational environment, how did you learn to maneuver through politics in the university?
    a. Can you tell me if there are individuals that have helped you?
    b. What individuals or situations have been the most difficult for you?

11. How did you learn about the unspoken rules at your university?
    a. Who helped inform you?

12. If there are key events/factors that have played a role in your advancing to your current level what would those be?
    a. What individuals played a key role?
    b. Were there critical incidents that occurred?

13. What are your thoughts on how women of color can be advanced in the university?
    a. What policies need to be implemented?
    b. How can we effect change?

14. Finally, is there anything else about navigating power and politics that I have not asked you, that you would like to elaborate on?

Appendix C: Women of Color Senior Leader Participant Profile

1. Your name:

    _____

               Last   First   Middle/Maiden

2. Date of Birth: ____/_____/_____

              Mos.   Day   Year

3. Race_____

4. Ethnic Background (i.e. Mexican, Chinese, Navajo etc.)

    _____

5. Birthplace_____

6. Age at Immigration_____

7. Please answer the question that best corresponds to you.

    a) I was born in another country (not born in the United States) please

        specify_____

    b) I was born in the U.S., and both parents were born in another

        country_____

    c) I was born in the U.S., both parents were born in the U.S. and all

        grandparents were born in another

        country_____

    d) other please specify_____

8. What is your first language? _____

9. What is your primary language? _____

10. What is your religious affiliation? _____

11. Marital/Partner Status (circle all that apply?

      a) Single (never married)………………….…1

      b) Married/Partnered/Civil Union...…..…..…..2

      c) Remarried…………………………….…3

      d) Separated …………………………….…4

      e) Divorced……………………………....…5

      f) Widowed…………………………………..6

12. What type of high school did you attend (circle one)?

      Public………………………….……1

      Private………………………….……2

13. Information about educational attainment.

	Year Awarded	Major Field	College /University
Bachelor's	_____	_____	_____
Master's	_____	_____	_____
Doctorate	_____	_____	_____
Honorary Degree (s)	_____	_____	_____

14. List the three positions you held prior to your current position. (Attach a resume if desired)

Title/Rank	Name of Institution/Organization	Date From-To
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

15. List the professional, volunteer, campus, women's organizations in which you
    have served or are serving (e.g. corporate or institutional boards, community
    agencies etc.)

16. Professional Organizational Name   Years   Role/Title

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

17. Name of Community Organization   Years   Role/Title

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

18. Women's Organizations   Years   Role/Title

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

_____   _____   _____

19. What awards or recognitions have your received?

_____

Thank you for taking the time to fill out this survey.

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