University of Kentucky
UKnowledge

Theses and Dissertations--Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation

Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation

2023

The Moral Imperative to Include More Women in Leadership within Institutions of Higher Education

Kathryn Mattingly Flynn
University of Kentucky, katy.mattingly5@gmail.com
Digital Object Identifier: https://doi.org/10.13023/etd.2023.267

Right click to open a feedback form in a new tab to let us know how this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Mattingly Flynn, Kathryn, "The Moral Imperative to Include More Women in Leadership within Institutions of Higher Education" (2023). *Theses and Dissertations--Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation*. 94.
https://uknowledge.uky.edu/epe_etds/94

This Doctoral Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation at UKnowledge. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations--Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation by an authorized administrator of UKnowledge. For more information, please contact UKnowledge@lsv.uky.edu.

STUDENT AGREEMENT:

I represent that my thesis or dissertation and abstract are my original work. Proper attribution has been given to all outside sources. I understand that I am solely responsible for obtaining any needed copyright permissions. I have obtained needed written permission statement(s) from the owner(s) of each third-party copyrighted matter to be included in my work, allowing electronic distribution (if such use is not permitted by the fair use doctrine) which will be submitted to UKnowledge as Additional File.

I hereby grant to The University of Kentucky and its agents the irrevocable, non-exclusive, and royalty-free license to archive and make accessible my work in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known. I agree that the document mentioned above may be made available immediately for worldwide access unless an embargo applies.

I retain all other ownership rights to the copyright of my work. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of my work. I understand that I am free to register the copyright to my work.

REVIEW, APPROVAL AND ACCEPTANCE

The document mentioned above has been reviewed and accepted by the student's advisor, on behalf of the advisory committee, and by the Director of Graduate Studies (DGS), on behalf of the program; we verify that this is the final, approved version of the student's thesis including all changes required by the advisory committee. The undersigned agree to abide by the statements above.

Kathryn Mattingly Flynn, Student

Dr. Eric Thomas Weber, Major Professor

Dr. Jane Jensen, Director of Graduate Studies

THE MORAL IMPERATIVE TO INCLUDE MORE WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP WITHIN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Education
at the University of Kentucky

By

Kathryn Mattingly Flynn

Lexington, Kentucky

Co- Directors: Dr. Eric Thomas Weber, Professor of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation

and Dr. Kayla Johnson, Professor of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation

Lexington, Kentucky

2023

Copyright © Kathryn Mattingly Flynn 2023

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE MORAL IMPERATIVE TO INCLUDE MORE WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP WITHIN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In higher education, women's trajectory into leadership positions is not equitable to men's. The concerns with the scarcity of women in leadership positions, specifically deans, provosts, presidents, and board members, involve varying levels of gender biases, norms, and stereotypes, as well as expectations of representation. Gender biases and stereotypes remain ingrained in American societal structures and result in immoral consequences, injustice for colleges and universities, and diminished happiness of the participants within them. I will use philosophical inquiry to argue that greater representation of women in the leadership of higher education would lead to morally better outcomes for institutions and their stakeholders, in terms of democratic and inclusive values and overall happiness.

KEYWORDS: Leadership, Higher Education, Philosophy, Gender Biases and Stereotypes, Educational Policy

Kathryn Mattingly Flynn
(Name of Student)

05/22/2023
Date

THE MORAL IMPERATIVE TO INCLUDE MORE WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP WITHIN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

By
Kathryn Mattingly Flynn

Dr. Eric Thomas Weber
Co-Director of Dissertation

Dr. Kayla Johnson
Co-Director of Dissertation

Dr. Jane Jensen
Director of Graduate Studies

05/22/2023
Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

Introduction

In higher education, women's trajectory into leadership positions is not equitable to men's. The concerns with the scarcity of women in leadership positions, specifically deans, provosts, presidents, and board members, involve varying levels of gender biases, norms, and stereotypes, as well as expectations of representation. Gender biases and stereotypes remain ingrained in American societal structures and result in immoral consequences, injustice for colleges and universities, and diminished happiness of the participants within them. I will argue that greater representation of women in the leadership of higher education would lead to morally better outcomes for institutions and their stakeholders, in terms of democratic and inclusive values and overall happiness.

In what follows, I will begin with a review of literature noting those circumstances which contribute to the shortage of women leaders within higher education. Following this review of literature, I will examine critiques against encouraging more women in leadership positions within academia, focusing on the Libertarian opposition which defends the status quo. Apologists for the status quo include Harvard University's past-President Lawrence Summers, AEI Fellow Christina Hoff Summers, and political theorist Lauren K. Hall. After a review of defenses of the status quo, I will present my main arguments in favor of change to achieve greater equity for women in higher education leadership. I will argue that Consequentialism gives reason to encourage more women to pursue positions of leadership through nudges. Then, I will describe how democratic ethics and values contribute to the fairness and justice of creating and upholding a democratic society within institutions of higher education,

drawing upon John Dewey, Iris Young, and Jane Roland Martin. Finally, I will present the anticipated outcomes when more leadership positions are held by women within institutions of higher education, some of which include creating a more intelligent, social, and culturally responsive citizen in both practice and policy. To support my claims predicting these positive consequences, I will identify examples of higher education institutions and women already in top leadership positions who have been successful in garnering diverse gender representation. Furthermore, I will propose recommendations of what can be accomplished on a macro, mezzo, and micro level in relation to the hierarchy of reaching gender parity in leadership. To morally create an environment that will develop "a more intelligent citizenship in all ranges of citizenship" (Dewey, 1937, p. 34), women need to stand in positions of leadership for the growth, betterment, and more balanced representation of higher education institutions and the individuals and groups within them.

In composing this dissertation, it is important to first acknowledge my positionality with regard to my chosen subject. I came to identify the problem of the underrepresentation of women in leadership within institutions of higher education because I intend to pursue a tenured faculty position upon graduation and hope to hold a position of leadership within academia in the future. I also chose this topic because of several courses I took throughout obtaining my doctorate. Some of those courses which assisted in shaping my dissertation focus were Ethics and Decision Making, the Philosophy of Education, Diversity in Higher Education, and Education and Gender. Throughout this coursework, I learned about gender norms and stereotypes, the patriarchy, leadership, and justice and morality in American society. I engaged with

literature that discussed the lack of women in leadership in almost all avenues of American society. Then, as I learned about prominent women within academia and notable philosophers, I began to formulate my argument. Here, I advocate for a more balanced representation of women from all backgrounds in leadership within higher education institutions in order to create fairness, justice, happiness for everyone.

To remain trustworthy throughout my justification, I have to consider my own outlook on this subject, this includes my conscious and unconscious biases about the patriarchy. I believe that all women should have equal choice and opportunity to pursue any leadership position they desire. I have to be aware of my own biases of gender norms, stereotypes, and oppression based off my own personal experiences and those related to me. I realize these experiences can impact the types of positions I choose to incorporate. I am writing this dissertation acknowledging the literature I have previously read that shapes my viewpoints about the lack of women in leadership within academia. I make it a priority to read critically by analyzing and formulating questions pertinent to the research. It is imperative that I evaluate and understand all sides of the argument circulating around the underrepresentation of women and why this oppression persists or to others, may not seem like a concern. However, because of the amount of aforementioned literature I have analyzed, I am able to build trust and confidence with readers. Trustworthiness is central in developing authenticity as well as responsibility of inquiry on my own self biases in order to remain ethical in this research.

When choosing the material for my dissertation, I used portions of literature from my coursework, guidance from my professors, and consumed hours of individual research. In order to uncover the best argument for more women representation in higher

education leadership I examined several prominent philosophers' works. For example, I looked to Jane Roland Martin's writings, particularly *Education Reconfigured,* "The contradiction and the challenge of the educated woman", and "Becoming educated: A journey of alienation or integration". I also used information and resources from Carol Hay's *Think Like a Feminist*, John Dewey's *Democracy and Education,* and John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* among others. While reviewing these resources I took tens of pages of notes, annotated in the margins of these writings, made connections to one another, and translated several sections of material into language for a general audience.

Following annotating the above pieces, along with numerous others, I was able to make a connection between consequentialism and democratic ethics and values to best support my argument of including more women in leadership positions within higher education. It was important to incorporate those specific examples mentioned above in my dissertation because they advocated for equal representation of women in all regards. Their writings also directed me to look at other literature from various authors such as Simone de Beauvoir, Plato, and Kimberle Crenshaw. Creating associations between different researchers' and philosophers' articles and books further established support for the consequentialist theory as well as democratic ethics and values.

After I had accumulated ample research to support the framework of my argument for more women representation, I found it essential to identify the strongest argument in opposition of my position. In order to narrow down the chief sponsors in favor of the status quo, I once again leaned on my previous coursework, guidance from my professors, and individual research. I examined countless articles, podcasts, books,

interviews, and speeches to find both men and women who believe that the gender gap is a myth. I wanted to ensure that these were prominent figures in American society and ones who hold merit for a portion of the population. While they are the loudest in their oppositions, they are also people who have held faculty positions, university president positions, and have been given the spaces to amplify their voices on notable social networks. Some of these people encompass Lauren K. Hall, Larry Summers, and Christina Hoff Sommers. I was able to study their interviews, articles, and writings to formulate links of their outlooks of challenging ideas for addressing the problem of the underrepresentation of women in leadership. Furthermore, I was able to take this information and make a correlation back to libertarians. I knew that the examples I had accumulated of individuals in disagreement of my viewpoint would reflect the libertarian perspective and would be the strongest contributors of opposing societal change.

Then, I researched efforts that institutions and people engage in to solve the problem of the underrepresentation of women in positions of leadership within higher education. I investigated various articles, government data, and relevant surveys that demonstrated the positive outcomes when more women hold leadership positions. One data set I used in particular was the 2021 Women's Power Gap survey by the EOS Foundation. This information provided percentages on which universities were excelling in gender parity in regard to women in leadership and which universities were lacking. From there, I researched those institutions that were performing well and gathered additional data to provide for my argument. I also identified specific women who are already in positions of leadership and how their guidance has improved their institution

and students' success. I then chose the best examples that would combat the libertarian opposition of upholding the status quo.

Finally, to complete my dissertation, I synthesized all of the data and literature I had collected to offer recommendations of improving gender parity in leadership. I researched several policies and acts that have already been approved which assist in the opportunity for more women to become leaders. Additionally, I evaluated options at the macro, mezzo, and micro levels that would promote enhancing women's leadership within institutions of higher education. Here, I found examples at the national and institutional level that have been implemented; I also formulated and made suggestions of my own. From this, I was able to finalize my argument for encouraging and including more women in leadership, framing it through the lens of consequentialist theory and democratic ethics and values.

For purposes of this dissertation, leadership will be defined as "the process in which university leaders persuade, inspire and influence the attitudes, behavior, and actions of others and directs their activities in such a manner that they work willingly, cooperatively and enthusiastically towards the accomplishment of goals" (Peretomode, 2020, p. 2) and missions of the university. Further, leadership is outlined as "a process whereby the leader influences others to reach a common goal" (Northouse, 2021, p. 429). This common goal situates leaders to uphold an "ethical responsibility" (Northouse, 2021) and to treat all citizens with dignity and respect (Northouse, 2021). The criterion for leadership is shown through the moral and ethical actions that are in the best interest of the institution as well as the argument of diversity, inclusion, and equity among its leaders. Leaders in this response will be defined as deans, provosts, presidents, and board

members. The evaluation of leaders and leadership within American institutions of higher education will display the lack of women representation in leadership and how the underrepresentation of women is damaging to providing a more well-rounded democratic institution and society.

Gender biases, norms, and stereotypes contribute to the shortage of women leaders in higher education, specifically deans, provosts, presidents, and board members. Women continue to hold the least senior administrator positions and are the least paid among higher education administrators. (Alcalde and Subramaniam, 2020). Alcalde and Subramaniam (2020) note that "Women are not simply denied top leadership opportunities at the culmination of a long career, but rather such opportunities seem to disappear at various points along their trajectories." To reach higher levels of leadership, the pathway of advancement is difficult and layered with stereotypes and biases (Chugh and Sahgal, 2007; Madden, 2011; Bartel 2018; Weyer, 2016; Flaherty, 2016). An ethical leader is "concerned with the common good in the broadest sense…which is the ultimate end to" (Northouse, 2021, p. 439) creating an ethical, just, and fair institution. Women need to be visible within positions of leadership to promote the common good.

Gender-role stereotypes are also bolstered by other women which are detrimental to their collective upward career mobility. When women behave in accordance with the stereotype expectations society holds of them, they reinforce the belief that women do not belong in leadership positions. There is no one way to be a woman, so do not give in to cheering when one woman makes it, make sure every woman can succeed and succeed often. Therefore, intersectionality is essential to incorporate during the conversation about women in leadership positions within American institutions of higher education.

Evaluating women in leadership through the lens of intersectionality helps us to understand the underrepresentation of women of color and LGBTQ+ women, not just cis-gendered white women. By doing so, intersectionality corrects not only for historical sexism and heterosexism but also racism.

There are some oppositions to the declaration of there being more women in leadership positions in society. For example, the Libertarian viewpoint maximizes autonomy and freedom of choice as well as individualism and voluntary association. In this instance, the reason why women are not represented more in leadership positions within institutions of higher education is that they choose not to be, enacting their freedom of choice. Women must be able to make their own choices, free of coercion from outside influences. Coercion is the persuasion of using force or intimidation to create compliance, this could be used through actions or threats. Apologists for the status quo, such as Harvard University's past-President Lawrence Summers, AEI Fellow Christina Hoff Sommers, American author and antifeminist Suzanne Venker, and political theorist Lauren K. Hall, argue that obstacles related to women's advancement are not intentional (Townsend, 2017) and often coercion is involved. Some of these arguments "explain the notion that women are just different from men" and that these perceived notions "are often assumed to be natural consequences of innate differences" (Northouse, 2021, p. 398).

As Carol Hay (2020) discusses, when privileged women refuse to pay attention to the differences in other women's lives, they merely reinforce the existing systems of oppression and the underrepresentation of women in leadership. Sheryl Sandberg (2013) encourages women to 'lean in' to their careers instead of leaning back. However, there

are several critiques of her advice of women 'leaning in' that generates severe problematic messages of empowerment. While Sandberg's (2013) book recognized there was a difference in gender equity within leadership positions, unlike the Libertarian viewpoint in favor of the status quo, and attempted to shift the conversation to gender inequality in the workplace, the advice given was dangerous. Intersectionality theory helps us understand that the 'lean in' advice dismisses the experiences of women who do not experience the same privilege as Sandberg, such as women of color.

On the contrary, an argument in favor of changing the status quo is consequentialist theory. Consequentialism gives reason to encourage more women to pursue positions of leadership through nudges. Consequentialists believe that we should morally make the world better as often as we can creating the utmost happiness for all stakeholders. In the stance of consequentialist theory, leaders must maximize social benefits to represent their followers (Northouse, 2021). I argue that it is significant to frame previous research around the consequentialist theory to evaluate if American institutions of higher education are maximizing morality in their structure of leadership to create the utmost happiness on campus and in society. Unlike the Libertarian opposition which believes coercion is often used, consequentialist theorists would encourage more women to pursue leadership positions through nudges; there is a distinction that needs to be made between the two actions. A nudge is an effective way to influence or guide someone's behavior or decisions without restricting freedom of choice (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008). A nudge is not considered a mandate nor used through intimidation or force, a nudge is a gentle guide that can encourage one's behavior or decision over another. Nudges could better assist and encourage women to make the choice of

advancing their career into leadership positions without causing harm and loss of autonomy in order to represent women in a variety of spaces.

To evaluate change in the representation of women leadership within higher education institutions, we need to understand what and how ethics and values emerge in a democratic education and society. A democratic education needs to serve the needs of a democratic society. Institutions of higher education exist in a democratic society, and because of that, they must be willing to adapt and grow to the needs of their people. Democratic ethics and values stem from justice and fairness. John Rawls (1958) argues that justice can be theorized by two principles. These two principles are summarized as people having the utmost freedom, so long as it does not hinder another's freedom or affects the system in which they are involved, and inequalities in any capacity not hindering a person's fair and equal chance within every opportunity they so choose. John Rawls (1958) also argues that "fundamental to justice is the concept of fairness…" (p. 178). The definition of fairness concludes that all participants must have equal participation in the action. Therefore, the two principles of justice, the right to freedom and the right to unbiased equality, should create fairness in actions and practice.

I will continue to argue that greater representation of women in the leadership of higher education would lead to morally better outcomes for institutions and their stakeholders, in terms of democratic and inclusive values and overall happiness. Here I will present examples of nudges through national programs and policy reforms that encourage women to pursue leadership positions. Then, I will pinpoint specific higher education institutions that are leading the way for women equity in leadership. I will also highlight how those national policies, programs, and networking groups, in addition to

institutional level initiatives discussed earlier, give women more opportunities to advance into leadership. Here, I will draw upon specific women leaders within higher education institutions who have made achievements in moving towards and reaching gender parity and institutional success. Additionally, women presidents in the Big Ten, the oldest Division I collegiate athletic conference in the nation, and women presidents within Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) contribute to creating an enhanced just and equitable institution that can translate into a more rounded and happier democratic society. Women's representation within presidencies demonstrates how decisions, not previously made by men, can lead to growth within institutions of higher education.

There is an epidemic of underrepresentation of women in leadership within American institutions of higher education. My motivation for this dissertation is to provide an accessible, comprehensive philosophical analysis of prior literature and research to frame justice, fairness, and democratic ethics and values within institutions of higher education. I choose to frame the argument through the focus of the Libertarian opposition, the consequentialist theory, and democratic ethics and values. Additionally, leadership theories of transformational, inclusive, and portions of adaptive and authentic theories will evaluate how institutions of higher education are or are not participating in moral and ethical actions of leadership. From this work, I strive to provoke social and cultural change with examples of anticipated outcomes for a more just, fair, and happy democratic society for all stakeholders. Not only is greater representation of women leaders better for higher education institutions, but the effects of such leadership can also

lead to more morally inclusive and diverse spaces, practices, actions, and policies for the betterment of all persons.

Structure

Before examining the critiques against encouraging more women in leadership positions within academia in chapter 3, I will begin with a review of literature that explains the causes and continuation of underrepresentation of women in leadership positions within American institutions of higher education. In chapter 2, "Literature Review of the Shortage of Women Leaders", I will expand upon how women in leadership positions, specifically those of deans, provosts, presidents, and board members are scrutinized under the lens of patriarchy through biases, norms, and stereotypes. The interpretation of women leaders' voices is still stereotyped through “think leader, think male” (Hannum et al., 2015) characteristics. In other words, women cannot be both feminine, warm, masculine, and competent, they must choose, this reinforces the stereotype of men possessing more characteristics of leaders.

I will discuss how women are challenged with additional gender norms and stereotypes. For example, women engage in performativity to negate gender stereotypes of leadership positions within institutions of higher education. Women perform in a variety of ways and in an array of spaces, especially in the unwritten setting of the ‘old boys’ network’, to minimize gender stereotypes. For example, women perform by adopting more masculine traits such as wearing clothing that hides their bodies, talking in stricter tones, taking interest in activities or events they normally would not, and limiting visible emotion. (Chugh and Sahgal, 2007). Furthermore, women are still seen as

caregivers, carrying the brunt of, and contributing to, invisible labor which hinders their upward mobility in the workplace.

To conclude Chapter 2, it is important to discuss how gender-role stereotypes are also bolstered by other women. When women behave in accordance with the stereotype expectations society holds of them, they reinforce the belief that women do not belong in leadership positions. There is no one way to be a woman, so do not give in to cheering when one woman makes it, make sure every woman can succeed and succeed often. Therefore, intersectionality is essential to include during the conversation about women in leadership positions within American institutions of higher education. Evaluating women in leadership through the lens of intersectionality, coined by Dr. Kimberle Crenshaw, helps us to understand the underrepresentation of women of color and LGBTQ+ women, not just cis-gendered white women. Stereotypes and biases among women must be further dissected to show that women of color and underrepresented minorities (URMs) are doubly oppressed in ways that white men and women rarely understand.

In Chapter 3, "Opposition and Critiques", I will examine critiques against encouraging more women in leadership positions within academia, focusing on the Libertarian opposition which defends the status quo. The Libertarian viewpoint maximizes autonomy and freedom of choice as well as individualism and voluntary association. In this instance, the reason why women are not represented more in leadership positions within institutions of higher education is that they choose not to be, enacting their freedom of choice. Here, apologists for the status quo include Harvard University's past-President Lawrence Summers, AEI Fellow Christina Hoff Sommers,

American author and antifeminist Suzanne Venker, and political theorist Lauren K. Hall. Additionally, Sheryl Sandberg's (2013) book *Lean In*, has garnered several criticisms of her advice that all women need to do to succeed in upward career mobility is to 'lean in'. However, this advice generates extremely problematic messages of empowerment for women who are not seen as privileged as white, cis-gendered, upper/middle-class women.

The Libertarian outlook argues that it is the woman's choice not to be in leadership positions and that no other outside forces took part in that decision or representation. In this chapter, Summers, Sommers, Venker, and Hall argue that obstacles related to women's advancement are not intentional (Townsend, 2017). Some of the arguments posed by the opposition "explain the notion that women are just different from men" and that these perceived notions "are often assumed to be natural consequences of innate differences" (Northouse, 2021, p. 398). Additionally, they all agree that gender norms and the gender pay gap is a myth.

Another argument of why there are not more women in leadership positions in higher education is because they have chosen not to take that path, it is their freedom of choice that they decided not to have a career as a leader. To have more women leaders, some say that women have been intimidated to take these positions, often resulting in coercion. Society does not need to force all women to be in leadership positions, that would constitute coercion and a removal of freedom of choice. This action could also enforce the argument of tokenism (Hay, 2020; Northouse, 2021) of women in leadership. In this regard, leaders must pay attention to their values and ethics (Northouse, 2021) to not support coercion.

In Chapter 4, “Consequentialism and Democratic Ethics and Values”, I will argue that Consequentialism gives reason to encourage more women to pursue positions of leadership through nudges. Unlike coercion, which is the persuasion of using force or intimidation to create compliance, which could be used through actions or threats, nudges are an effective way to influence or guide someone’s behavior or decisions without restricting freedom of choice (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008). A nudge could better assist and encourage women to make the choice of advancing their career to leadership positions without causing harm and loss of autonomy to represent women in a variety of spaces. Some examples of nudges are mentorship programs, professional developments, inclusive policy implementation, and scholarships to promote diversity and inclusion. Consequentialists believe that we should morally make the world better as often as we can. “Consequentialism holds that the permissibility of an action is based on how good its consequences are compared with those of its feasible alternatives” (Vallentyne, 2006, p. 2). Here, consequentialists measure every outcome of the action and weigh its consequences to everything that could potentially happen in the present and future.

To maximize consequentialism, agents must do the best they can when making decisions (Vallentyne, 2006). In this respect, it is understood that agents are not aware of all the moral consequences of their decisions, but that they will do the best of their ability. Having diverse leadership within institutions of higher education maximizes consequentialism because women bring diverse moral value to decision in contrast with leadership only made up of men. Of course, men contribute moral values, but those values can remain stagnant and routine compared to the inclusion of different viewpoints brought by women.

In the stance of consequentialist theory, leaders must maximize social benefits to represent their followers (Northouse, 2021). If they make a harmful decision, it is expected that they will make constructive change in the future when evaluating their actions and motives to create positive consequences. It is significant to frame previous research around the consequentialist theory to evaluate if American institutions of higher education are maximizing morality in their structure of leadership to create the utmost happiness on campus and in society. In chapter 5 I will give specific examples of how the encouragement of nudges discussed with consequentialism influences justice and fairness through policymaking, actions, and overall stakeholder happiness.

In chapter 4, I will also describe how democratic ethics and values contribute to the fairness and justice of creating and upholding a democratic society within institutions of higher education, drawing upon John Dewey, Iris Young, and Jane Roland Martin. A democratic education needs to serve the needs of a democratic society. John Dewey (1937) notes that "the very idea of democracy…must be continuously explored afresh…the…institutions in which it embodied have to be remade and reorganized to meet the changes that are going on in the development of new needs on the part of human beings and new resources to satisfy those needs" (p. 32). Institutions of higher education exist in a democratic society, and because of that, they must be willing to adapt and grow to the needs of their people.

Throughout chapter 4, I will expand on the definitions of justice and fairness through John Rawls's (1958) writings and how American institutions of higher education are engaging in unjust and unfair practices because they are participating in systems that reinforce the patriarchy. To evaluate the institutions of higher education, the definitions

of justice and fairness will shape how democratic ethics and values contribute to creating and upholding a democratic society. Jane Roland Martin, Iris Young, and John Dewey all present literature in which readers can identify concepts of how democratic ethics and values should and must be upheld within institutions of higher education, especially in connection to the representation of women leadership.

For example, Martin (1985) argues that for society to not view women as inferior, women need to have "their lives, experiences, works, and attributes…devalued by neither [gender]" (p. 80). This position is necessary to include when discussing who holds leadership positions within higher education. To correctly represent the population of a democratic society, women need to have leadership influence to make change for a just world. To make that change, institutions need to not only educate themselves on the transformation of leadership but take active steps in combating gender stereotypes. Iris Young (2000) notes that to create democratic communication, promoting justice should be the goal. Additionally, Martin and Young's arguments align with John Dewey's research. John Dewey's (1917, 1937) argument of upholding a democratic society through ethics and values creates the framework of how institutions of higher education should be assessed.

In the final chapter, chapter 5, "Examples of Anticipated Outcomes", I will present the anticipated results when more leadership positions are held by women within institutions of higher education, some of which include creating a more intelligent, social, and culturally responsive citizen in both practice and policy. To support claims predicting these positive consequences, examples will be presented from higher education institutions in which women make up the majority of leaders. These examples of

institutions will also incorporate leadership theories of transformational, inclusive, and portions of adaptive and authentic theories to evaluate how institutions of higher education are or are not participating in moral and ethical actions of leadership.

When women obtain leadership positions within institutions of higher education, they express "the advantage of having a voice at the table and being able to represent viewpoints, constituencies, or populations in situations where those perspectives are not always present or considered" (Hannum et al., 2015, p. 70). To create a just society, equal representation of the people is necessary. Situating women within leadership positions in higher education can lead to more diverse viewpoints and perspectives creating an inclusive campus culture and environment that strengthens the institution as a whole. These viewpoints and perspectives can also produce positive change within higher education as well by "influencing higher education policy and starting or changing institutional initiatives" (Hannum et al., 2015, p. 70). These influences impact the trajectory of higher education in formulating a more democratic society and overall happiness.

As discussed earlier, some nudges can be enabled to encourage women to pursue opportunities for leadership within institutions of higher education. For example, there have been countless policies legislated by the federal government to assist in encouraging more women to pursue careers in leadership. Some of those policies include the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009, an amendment to the original Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, and more recently the Fairness for Breastfeeding Mothers Act of 2019. While these policies provide some assistance and

protection to women, it can only be considered the smallest of nudges as 25% of women (Miller, 2020) return to the workplace after two weeks of having a child.

This last chapter will explicitly show how more women representation in leadership will create more just and fair democratic policies, procedures, and positive outcomes. It is the moral responsibility of institutions of higher education to increase women representation in leadership by encouraging nudges through programs, efforts, and policies to instill desired consequences and overall happiness. Not only is greater representation of women leaders better for higher education institutions, but the effects of such leadership can also lead to more morally inclusive and diverse spaces, practices, and actions for the betterment of all persons. It is important to discuss how women in leadership positions, specifically those of deans, provosts, presidents, and board members are scrutinized under the lens of patriarchy through biases, norms, and stereotypes.

It is also fundamental to evaluate the number of women in leadership through the lens of intersectionality to help understand the underrepresentation of women of color and LGBTQ+ women, not just cis-gendered white women. In closing, the opposition of the Libertarian viewpoint, the arguments for consequentialism, and how democratic ethics and values contribute to creating and upholding a happier democratic society will be explored. These aspects contribute to my argument of the need for greater representation of women in leadership within higher education through morally better and happier outcomes for institutions and their stakeholders.

CHAPTER II

The future of gender parity in positions of leadership remain uncertain. According to the 2018 Pew Research Center data, 78% of women and 59% of men say that the lives of Americans would improve if there were more women in leadership positions. Additionally, roughly six-in-ten Americans say there are too few women in top leadership positions, yet there seems to be a lack of unanimity between people on why women are underrepresented in those positions (Pew Research Center, 2018). Conversely, 72% of women, compared to 42% of men, believe that women must do more to prove themselves to achieve a top leadership position (Pew Research Center, 2018). Below, I will outline seminal literature on gender stereotypes, biases, and norms that create significant barriers to women representation in top positions of leadership within American institutions of higher education. There will be particular focus placed on the leadership positions of deans, provosts, presidents, and board members. During this framework, I will begin by describing the influential leadership phrases and theories that give way to explaining why more women are not seen within positions of leadership, such as the pipeline theory and the ivory tower. Next, I will highlight the concerning percentages of the underrepresentation of women within the central leadership roles of higher education institutions. Then, I will elaborate on the importance of evaluating the marginalization of women through the lens of intersectionality, clarifying how disparities between gender demographics exist. After, I will examine how patriarchal stereotypes are reinforced by other women, encompassing the Panoptic and basement metaphors. Following, I will detail how feminine norms such as caregiving and performativity negatively impact women's career trajectories. Finally, I will address the

underrepresentation of women in the male-dominated STEM field and conclude with how all previously reviewed gender barriers contribute to the women's power gap.

Leadership Theories and Phrases

Research and literature identify several theories and phrases that attempt to explain why more women are not seen in positions of leadership within institutions of higher education. For example, the 'pipeline theory' was first recognized in the 1970s by Walter R. Mahler to describe the shift in work and values at different stages of a specific organization (Luenendonk, 2020). The pipeline theory is a commonly known term and frequently used when discussing gender diversity representation, or the lack thereof, within leadership positions. "The pipeline theory in higher education implies that the more women students, the more junior faculty, and the more women lower-level administrators, the more women will rise to the top" (Longman & Madsen, 2014, p. 27). Over the past several decades, the pipeline theory, and versions of the original concepts, remain, but other theories and terms have emerged to reflect the growth and continued oppression of gender and diversity more accurately within leadership. The glass ceiling, the glass cliff, and the ivory tower are all used to describe varying barriers to women within leadership. Specifically, the ivory tower focuses on the oppression that women of color face within academia. It is imperative to first delineate and comprehend what each of these terminologies embody before dissecting the various gender stereotypes, norms, and biases. This will assist in establishing the foundation of understanding why disparities remain of the underrepresentation of women in leadership within institutions of higher education.

"The Pipeline" Theory

The pipeline theory presumes that "women and men are more or less the same in qualifications… [there is] an absence of gender bias; no gender stereotypes will impede women's progress…organizational systems and structures work as well for women as they for men…[and] this theory presumes patience, the implication being that women's equal representation at the top is just a matter of time" (Longman & Madsen, 2014, p. 23). However, research over the past several decades indicates that "the pipeline has been a pipedream" (Longman & Madsen, 2014, p. 24). Longman and Madsen (2014) state that "by promising women that their time will come, the pipeline has kept them quiet…. [women] have been socialized to accept the status quo, to believe that progress is inevitable if only [they] are prepared to be relentlessly patient" (p. 27). While the data specifies that there has been a slight increase of women in positions of leadership within institutions of higher education, the promise of an end to the pipeline and a gain in equity is a broken one.

Women comprise only 33% of tenured or on the tenure-track faculty, with women who identify as Hispanic, Latinx, and Black or African American making up only 13% (Flaherty, 2016; American Association of University Professors, 2020). Women cumulatively occupy less than 40% of deans, provosts, presidents, and seats on public institution boards (AAUW, 2022; ACE, 2022; Whitford, 2021); those numbers decrease further when accounting for women of color and women who identify as part of the LGBTQ+ community. Over the past forty years, women have obtained "more bachelor's degrees than men…, more master's degrees for the last 35 years, and more Doctoral [degrees] for the last 15 years..." (Fleck, 2022). Women are earning the degrees required

to advance their career and are primed to enter the pipeline, but it is evident that more women are not rising to the top; some researchers and higher education leaders contribute that loss to leaks in the pipeline. But in reality, it is systemic gender stereotypes and biases that hinder women's career progression.

"The Glass Ceiling"/ Leadership Labyrinth

Once women make their way through the "pipeline" to a leadership position, there are still various factors and stereotypes which hinder the equity of women in these positions and strengthen the concept of the glass ceiling. The phrase glass ceiling was first used in 1984 in an *Adweek* profile and then introduced into the American vernacular in 1986 by two *Wall Street Journal* reporters (Northouse, 2021). This term first originated to describe the corporate ladder in the business world, however, it now applies to all professions. As Boyd (2012) writes, "The word ceiling implies that there is a limit to how far someone can climb before he or she bumps up against a barrier of some kind. To say that the ceiling is glass suggests that, although it is very real, it is transparent and not obvious to the casual observer. It also implies that what is on the other side is both visible yet inaccessible to those facing it." In higher education, even though more women are visible within leadership positions than in the past, underrepresentation remains. There are biases which contribute to fewer women in leadership, some of which include more childrearing and domestic responsibilities, the old boys club, enhanced biased perceptions and hiring practices, and more work duties that do not improve upward career mobility, all of which will be discussed in detail later.

Moreover, Northouse (2021) notes Eagly and Carli (2007) as identifying "limitations with the glass ceiling metaphor… it implies that everyone has equal access to

lower positions until all women hit this single, invincible, and impassable barrier" (p. 395). Therefore, they have created the leadership labyrinth, "conveying the impression of a journey riddled with challenges along the way—not just near the top—that can be and has been successfully navigated by women." (Northouse, 2021, p. 395). One blatant explanation that contributes to the leadership labyrinth is that "women have less human capital investment in education, training, and work experience than men" (Northouse, 2021, p. 395-396) and that this is the result of the scarcity of qualified women in the workplace. While this justification is similar to the pipeline problem, research noted previously (Fleck, 2022; Flaherty, 2021; Flaherty, 2022; Northouse, 2021) refutes the claim that women have less human capital, especially in education and degree obtainment. This discrepancy in literature reveals that institutions of higher education do not value or place significance on women's career investment through education, time, money, and skills. Additionally, the glass ceiling, as well as the leadership labyrinth leads women to self-select in a variety of ways in which men do not. For example, some women choose not to marry or have children in order to advance their career or choose to take time off from their careers to care for their family. Those women who do leave the workforce for an amount of time "often find reentry difficult, returning at a lower level than the level they left" (Northouse, 2021, p. 397). Frequently, women who choose to advance their career into leadership must overcome barriers not only of the glass ceiling, but also to navigate the challenges along the way.

"The Glass Cliff"

There are times when women can be placed on a glass cliff after they have been promoted to top leadership roles. This cliff "suggests that women are more likely to

achieve leadership positions when those are associated with a state of crisis and a higher risk of failure…" often resulting in harsher criticism than men (Bruckmuller & Branscombe, 2009; Northouse, 2021). This phenomenon was first coined in 2005 and demonstrated that women could be set up for failure by being placed in precarious leadership positions, reaffirming preconceived notions that women are not effective leaders (Northouse, 2021). While not all women who are in leadership are set up for failure, this term is geared towards reinforcing the biases and stereotypes that are consistent with the pipeline theory and the glass ceiling when women do obtain top leadership positions.

In a 2008 research study noted by Bruckmuller and Branscombe (2009), "Participants who read about an organization whose performance had been poor were more likely to favor a future female leader than participants who read about a successful organization" (p. 2). While summaries could be made that women are more suited in crisis situations, women who are put in charge in these scenarios is likely to be set up for failure. Further, there is a status-quo bias that persists within the concept of the glass cliff. This bias demonstrates that "As long as a company performs well, there should be no perceived need to change, resulting in a bias towards maintaining the status quo (e.g. Samuelson & Zeckhauser, 1988)" (Bruckmuller & Branscombe, 2009). When the history of leadership has been male dominated, especially in times of success, and when the contrary occurs, "appointing a female leader will appear as one way to achieve the transformation needed to turn things around" (Bruckmuller & Branscombe, 2009), and viewed as a last resort. Dr. Roslyn Clark Artis, the first woman president of Benedict College remarks:

> "We speak in terms of glass shattering—it's a wonderful allegory, but—when we break glass ceilings, the shards come raining down and you're under it. Everyone is watching…there's added pressure for women who ascend if we make a mistake. Those mistakes are amplified. If we're not wildly successful, we're ever cognizant of the facts that we might close the door behind us for women" (Herder, 2022).

The continuous weight women feel when they are put into precarious leadership positions remains heavy, as they know they need to be successful for other women to succeed as well. While the glass cliff does not apply to every woman who advances into a leadership position, some of whom will be discussed in chapter 5, it maintains the need to implore why there should be more equitable representation of women in leadership, specifically within institutions of higher education. This reasoning will also be described further in chapter 4.

"The Ivory Tower"

In relation to higher education specifically, there is an organizational hierarchy that can be referred to as the ivory tower. The ivory tower can also be understood "as a shorthand for academia or the university; an institution… being out of touch with the real world, or real problems or people within an organization" (Peretomode, 2020, p. 4). American four-year public institutions of higher education have an organizational hierarchy that situates women at the lowest level and men at the uppermost level. As mentioned prior, women held only 30% of college presidents across the country (AAUW, 2021; Moody, 2018). While 30% is a jump from 26% in 2011, the progression of women leadership in academia remains unhurried. Additionally, women of color make up a far lower portion of college presidents. The ivory tower encompasses the complexion of higher education's faculty and leaders, the focus predominately being white men and

women. The literature shows that institutions are out of touch with the problems or people within its operation, including gender norms and stereotypes, biases, and policies. This tower embodies whiteness at every level and is vital to acknowledge and understand, specifically in correlation to the underrepresentation of Black, African American, Latinx, and LGBTQ+ women within leadership positions of higher education.

Matias et al. (2019) expands on this concept of the ivory tower with their experiences as women of color within academia. The authors state that "Too often are women of color in the academy expected to placate whiteness…within spaces that claim to be committed to cultural diversity" (Matias et al., 2019, p. 36-37). In this framework, the ivory tower is the structure or institution, and whiteness is the actions that uphold white privilege within that institution. As discussed previously, women of color comprise 13% or less of leaders in higher education. While institutions insist that diversity within colleges and universities is a priority, "the perspectives of women of color are often marginalized, rendered biased, ignored, or minimized as "just your story" when, in truth, such stories are routinely expressed from women of color all over academia" (Matias et al., 2019, p. 38). During these experiences within the ivory tower, Matias et al. (2019) expand on how institutions, whether consciously or subconsciously, embody the "white savior" complex. A white savior is a description of a white person seemingly rescuing or liberating a person of color, when in actuality they center their actions as a white person over the experiences of a person of color. Institutions of higher education can personify the white savior complex by presuming they know what is best for people of color while disregarding the ingrained issues of racism and discrimination. This can lead to institutions ignoring their own biases and reinforcing whiteness.

Moreover, some of the authors' experiences consisted of enhanced sexist and racist stereotypes, as well as various educational traumas with both white men and women professors and leaders. While cluster hiring (Stewart, 2021; Flaherty, 2015) has become a recent tool to bridge the diversity gap within academia, the troubles and challenges women of color face in the ivory tower continue. Thus, it is vital to integrate the lens of intersectionality when evaluating the lack of women within leadership positions in American higher education institutions. As Matias et al. (2019) continue, there are persistent issues of gaslighting, manipulative behaviors, and microaggressions that white women do not experience. The authors state that awareness of the problem of whiteness within the ivory tower is not enough, there must be active accountability, advocacy, and a remodel of the "Band-Aid" mentality (Matias et al., 2019). While one woman cannot and should not stand for all women, the same is true for women of color. More representation of women of all backgrounds is required to dismantle the ivory tower within academia.

Percentages of Pathway to Leadership

It is significant to explore the pathways into leadership, along with the percentages of those who occupy top leadership positions, within institutions of higher education before dissecting the specific stereotypes and biases that lead to the underrepresentation of women in these roles. To advance to higher levels of leadership within academia, a person usually has extensive higher education experience, beginning with a full-time tenured faculty position. Among tenured faculty nationally, there is an overrepresentation of women in non-tenured track faculty positions. Women comprise 54% of non-tenured positions, further presenting only 33% of women faculty being

tenured or on the tenure-track, only an increase of 11% over the previous 75 years. (Flaherty, 2016; Flaherty, 2017; American Association of University Professors, 2020). Furthermore, the demographics of women nationally within these full-time, tenured faculty positions are predominately white or Asian women whereas women who identify as Hispanic, Latinx, and Black or African American make up only 13% (American Association of University of Professors, 2020). Since there is an absence of equity among women with full-time faculty status, the trajectory of leadership in academia for women is limited.

Women's advancement opportunities into a tenured faculty position are impacted by gender roles and stereotypes. An obvious part of obtaining tenured status is the ability to publish books or articles in notable journals, however, "women are disproportionately published less [and] receive less credit than male authors…" (American Association of University of Women (AAUW), 2022; Flaherty, 2022). In one recent data set derived from over 9,700 research teams, "women were 13 percent less likely to be named on articles and 58 percent less likely to be named on patents than their male collaborators..." (Flaherty, 2022). When women receive less credit for their work, it can be the result of implicit bias—which will be expanded upon in the intersectionality section—because there are not a set of standards about the decision-making process (Flaherty, 2022). If women publish less, they are less likely to be considered for tenured promotion, therefore minimizing the opportunity of advancing into higher leadership roles within academia. Northouse (2021) confirms that "while indeed women are in the pipeline…that pipeline is leaking" (p. 396). In this example of women being disadvantaged, the pipeline is tenured faculty status, and the leakage is disproportionally favoring publications and research of

men over women. It should also be noted that a 2021 research study from the EOS Foundation found that out of 130 Rank1 universities, no school has reached gender parity in full tenured professors.

Once a woman obtains tenured faculty status, the next avenue of significant leadership to consider is that of a dean. Women were first seen in deanship positions in the early 1890s as Dean of Women in coeducational institutions (Parker, 2015; Nerad, 1999). Many presidents and college leaders during the late 1800s and into the 1900s were "uncomfortable with women on campuses, so the deans of women were the solution to providing a [segregated] education and assuring that the women would remain separate from [men]" (Parker, 2015, p. 7). "The position was most often filled by a woman who reported directly to the president of the university. This provided an opportunity to sit on policy-making committees and to be a strong voice for female students and faculty" (Parker, 2015, p. 9). After World War II, the position of Dean of Women was changed to the Dean of Students ultimately making the alteration to favor authority of men. With women essentially pushed out of dean positions, the power and influence women held on campus also vanished.

At present, women only occupy 39% of deanships at top American research institutions of higher education (AAUW, 2022). According to the Administrators in Higher Education Survey the top five highest-paid dean positions combined have 20% female representation, whereas the five lowest-paid dean positions combined for 47% female" (Kline, 2019). The lowest five consist of Deans of Instruction, Students, Occupational Studies, Continuing Education, and Divinity. These areas are consistent with typical gender stereotypes of woman and feminine majors. Additionally, "women

[deans] have [had] to navigate more complex paths to administrative positions than their male counterparts…" (Behr & Schneider, 2015). This again demonstrates the diminishing pathway of viewing women in leadership positions within institutions of higher education, specifically that of deans.

If a woman chooses to advance their career after becoming dean, the next step before university president would be the position of provost, or sometimes known as a Chief Academic Officer (CAO). While colleges and universities vary with descriptions and duties of a provost, the position can be summed up as accomplishing tasks designated by the president and assisting with the development of policies, budget regulations, curriculum, and tenured faculty. In a recent study from 2022, 38% of provosts within American institutions of higher education were women (AAUW). The pathway to leadership in higher education is often linear in nature. Therefore, the route to becoming provost is hindered if a person, specifically a woman, has not obtained tenured status and has not previously been a dean of a college. When reflecting on women in these positions of leadership leading up to provost, the probability they will reach this milestone is not encouraging. When 33% of tenured faculty are women (Flaherty, 2016; American Association of University Professors, 2020), with only "5.2% comprising Black women and 6.6% are Latinx women" (AAUW, 2021) and 39% of deans are women (AAUW, 2022), the probability of advancing to provost is not reassuring. Provosts assist in developing and creating policies for the university, it can be argued that with the absence of women provosts comes the absence of equal and just policies which would represent and benefit all students. When the leadership is not equivalent in terms of gender and race, experience, policies, and academia in all regards suffers.

Finally, after achieving tenured faculty status, dean, and provost, a person can advance into a career of university president. Advancement of a woman into the position of president is minimal with women only holding 30% of presidencies across all institutions of higher education (American Council on Education (ACE), 2022); this is only an increase of 8 percentage points over the past decade according to research from ACE in 2011. Roughly 5% of those college presidents are racial or ethnic minority women (AAUW, 2022). While women representation has increased in the role of president over the decades, the bulk of women presidents are not found leading major research institutions but "associate colleges" and "special focus institutions" (Nugent, 2019). According to research from the EOS Foundation (2021), women comprise 10% of system presidents of R1 universities and that 46% of the universities studied had never had a woman leader. Even though "more than half of sitting [male collegiate] presidents have indicated they intend to leave their posts within the next five years (according to the American Council on Education presidential study)" (Nugent, 2019), the linear pathway of advancement for women has yet to be rehabilitated. The statistics relayed earlier, and the concept of the leaky pipeline demonstrates little confidence that those positions will be replaced with more women.

Systemic barriers continue with the underrepresentation of women in positions of presidencies even though women presidents are more likely to have their Ph.D. or Ed.D compared to their male counterparts. Furthermore, the leadership progression seems to consistently apply only to women's career advancement, unlike their male colleagues. For example, "Women presidents are more likely to have served as a CAO/provost or other senior executive in academic affairs. Male presidents are more likely to come from

outside higher education or have had a different senior campus executive role than women presidents" (American Council on Education, 2016; ACE, 2022). Women are forced to conform and navigate their careers to fit the linear trajectory of advancement whereas men have more varied pathways, further limiting women's opportunities and options. Moreover, a report from the EOS Foundation analyzed each of the president's interviewed last three jobs and found that men were more likely to take a nontraditional path — bypassing the usual steppingstone positions of provost or dean. Research also states that merely 7% of women presidents have ascended into leadership following the nontraditional route (Long, 2022).

"The lack of women presidents is… [a] systemic bias…change must start with governing boards…" (Fuesting et al., 2022). While it is not unmanageable for women to reach the level of university president, there are both internal and external factors that impede and influence that leadership pathway, part of that resides with university board members and the Board of Trustees. Who sits on a Board of Trustees can vary between institutions. For example, some universities, specifically R1 universities, have a compilation of appointed and elected persons while other collegiate institutions may have only elected or only appointed persons residing. Board members may consist of faculty members, students, nonteaching personnel, community members, and stakeholders. Board members are tasked with "making decisions about institutional plans, programs, budgets, policies, risk management and certain employment matters as recommended by the administration. They also have the authority to hire and fire the president or chancellor" (Bowles, 2021). Additionally, the Board at various state institutions appoints the "President, professors, assistants, tutors, and other personnel and determine the

compensation, duties, and official relations of each" (University of Kentucky Regulations). Along with the literature presented about systemic gender barriers and restraints, research also demonstrates that institutions are not always upholding the hiring of diverse candidates because the representation of women, women of color, and women within the LGBTQ+ community are not equitable to that of cisgendered white men.

All-white, all-male juries are causes for ire, and in higher education, homogeneous admissions, hiring, and merit committees have lacked diversity of representation and shown gender bias as well. The Board of Trustees, as well as other campus boards, express the desire to diversify their faculty and leaders; however, this desire is not always acted upon. The faculty of the University of California's 10-campus system sought to make amendments to their faculty-review committees to promote more diversity and inclusion (O'Rourke, 2008). But, several faculty members disagreed with these proposed changes citing "the imposition of "political correctness" and limitations on academic freedom" (O'Rourke, 2008). Faculty members at another top research university acknowledged that diversity was evaluated lower on the list when looking at candidates for graduate admissions. Some faculty members voiced that they only wanted to accept more women into their program because they were getting a reputation as being "macho" (Jaschik, 2014). Furthermore, research from these admission committees "demonstrated the tendency for identities and experiences of so-called diversity candidates to be scrutinized at a level that applicants from majority backgrounds were not" (Jaschik, 2014). While the conversation of diversity and inclusion, especially in relation to women in leadership positions is discussed minimally, it is not always put into practice.

When higher education institutions are probed about why there are not more women in leadership, they can no longer point to the pipeline "issue". Colleges and universities are being asked for their diversity data, specifically leadership and board diversity data, which many do not have. Furthermore, fewer than 40% of colleges provided board diversity data, and of that percentage, women of color made up only 8% of board members. Specifically, among R1 universities, women board members consisted of 52%, with only 26% holding board chair positions, and 5% of them were women of color (Long, 2022). It is vital to remember that "respecting diversity does not mean uniformity or sameness" (hooks, 2015, p. 58), diversity embraces innumerable demographics, experiences, and backgrounds. Even though R1 institutions could argue that they are diverse because women comprise 52% of board members, those women do not indicate the variety of all women who should be represented. Andrea Silbert, president of the philanthropic organization the EOS Foundation, comments on the absence of classification of diversity information from university boards when that data is given. Silbert noted "When institutions set goals for gender and race, they often don't disaggregate them… An institution may say we have 25 percent people of color among our deans, but what if all 25 percent are men?" (Long, 2022). Additionally, Silbert says "If the board won't disclose their data, why would anybody expect the president and the rest of the leadership to do the same? To think that our nonprofit institutions of higher education are not even keeping up with corporate America is really discouraging" (Long, 2022). The lack of transparency from institutional governing boards suggests that they are not willing to make improvements toward gender parity and desire to uphold the systemic patriarchy already in place. This not only hinders women's career advancement

and equity within higher education but can contribute to loss of trust for all stakeholders during the decision-making process.

Intersectionality

Elaborating further on the literature of the glass ceiling, glass cliff, and the ivory tower, it is essential to evaluate the underrepresentation of women through the lens of intersectionality. Not only are disparities between gender established, but disparities within gender demographics exist. Intersectionality, a theory coined by Dr. Kimberle Crenshaw, is "The interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class, and gender regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage…" (Oxford English Dictionary). Evaluating the absence of women in leadership within higher education through the lens of intersectionality helps us to understand the underrepresentation of women of color and LGBTQ+ women, not just cisgendered white women. As bell hooks (2015) states, "Racism is fundamentally a feminist issue because it is so interconnected with sexist oppression" (p. 53). Through this, intersectionality corrects not just for historical sexism and heterosexism, but also racism, classism, and ableism. Crenshaw (2017) writes that:

> Intersectionality is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects. It's not simply that there's a race problem here, a gender problem here, and a class or LBGTQ problem there. Many times, that framework erases what happens to people who are subject to all of these things.

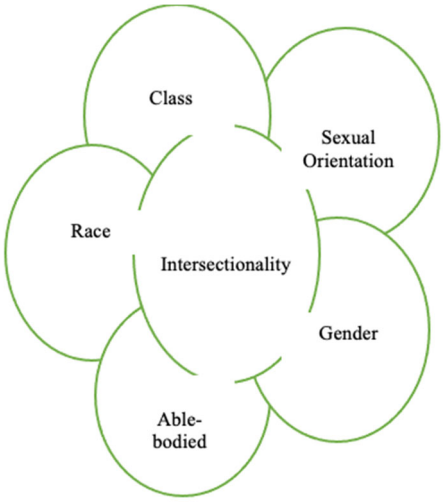

Figure 1

When incorporating intersectionality into the discussion of women in leadership within higher education institutions, a number of women are even further discriminated against. “The number of white women (39%) getting an associate or bachelor’s degree by the age of 29 is nearly twice as high [than] for Black women (21%) and Latinas (20%)” (AAUW, 2022). Furthermore, only “5.4% of doctorates are awarded to Black students, and more than a dozen fields did not have a single Black recipient” (AAUW, 2022). For women of color to be represented in leadership positions, they need to be obtaining more degrees. The data confirms that women of color and underrepresented minorities (URMs) are doubly oppressed in ways that white women rarely understand, these oppressions sit under the umbrella of the ivory tower.

It is vital to understand the experiences, challenges, and biases women of color and LGBTQ+ persons face. In the most recent information from The American College President, less than five percent of presidents were women of color (Lederman, 2022). “Although data show[s] that the number of Black men presidents has doubled, the rate of Black women in the presidency did not see comparable increases” (McNamee, 2022).

Moreover, in 2017, there were "approximately 4,000 colleges and universities in the United States, yet fewer than 75 gay/lesbian persons" held presidencies (American Council on Education, 2017); the data had not been disaggregated by sexual orientation. Davis and Maldonado's (2015) research focuses on "how racial and gendered identities inform the leadership development experiences of African American women in academia [and how it] is needed to challenge the traditional discourse." (p. 49). There is a lack of research explaining the intersectionality of race and gender especially among Black, African American, and Latina women as well as those who identify as LGBTQ+ in relation to leadership within higher education. "Research on socio-cultural issues such as intersectionality is needed to provide a deeper understanding of ways that racism, sexism, classism, ethnicity and other social realities can affect an individual's lived experiences in the workplace." (Davis & Maldonado, 2015, p. 55). Therefore, the stereotypes and biases that persist among women of color must be researched and understood to reach equity within institutional leadership.

Davis and Maldonado (2015) compiled a study where they interviewed Black and African American women who served as senior leaders such as deans, provosts, and presidents. Many of the women in this study described that their race and gender had negatively impacted their careers and "some of the participants reported experiences of being invisible, voiceless, discriminated, isolated, undermined, treated unfairly, oppressed, challenged and demoted" (Davis & Maldonado, 2015, p. 59). As mentioned previously with the discussion of performativity for all women, Black and African American women also "learned to identify how the internal politics operated and developed strategies… by learning how to play the game… to become politically savvy

and navigate around potential organizational landmines." (Davis & Maldonado, 2015, p. 59). The disadvantages and challenges Black and African American women face are amplified within leadership positions in higher education.

Women who identify as LGBTQ+ also iterate similar instances of engaging in performativity and navigating stereotypes and biases. "Today, fewer than 40 college presidents in the U.S. identify as LGBTQ, according to the national organization LGBTQ Presidents in Higher Education." (Stewart, 2022). When incorporating the experiences of Black women who are also part of the LGBTQ+ community, the intersections of race and gender identity in relation to leadership must be studied. Dr. Regina Stanback Stroud, a Black woman who identifies as LGBTQ+, was president of Skyline College in San Bruno, California, from 2011 to 2019. Dr. Stroud remarks:

> "In the intersectionality of my race and my gender identity, my race is prominent. My gender identity and sexual orientation are not. Because of that, I know I have heterosexual privilege bestowed upon me by default. I met and married my wife later in life. Because I was a professional, well-resourced woman with many privileges — though racial privilege was not one of them — I had options and could choose not to put up with bigotry when it came to my LGBTQ identity."

Dr. Stroud also comments on their time as chancellor:

> "When I was at Peralta Community College District as the chancellor, I experienced unrelenting hostility and bigotry, with a particular force of anti-Black racism, particularly from the predominantly White faculty in collusion with faculty members on the board. Could it have been related to my queer status as well?"

This statement can correspondingly resonate with LGBTQ+ people who may present as women but do not identity as such. A person who does not identify as a woman but presents as one could also experience similar degrees of hostility and bigotry; this is

important to remember within academia in order to create inclusion. Finally, Dr. Stroud clarifies on what white, cisgendered men and women in leadership within higher education institutions should remember when it comes to diversity and intersectionality:

> "We navigate heteronormative cultures every day, all day, and it can be exhausting. These positions are political — so often responsibilities involve spouses — [and] institutions need to be prepared to recognize families show up in many forms. They need to know that talent, creativity, and professional expertise come in all forms of identity and intersectionality. They need to make themselves a lot smarter about how to be inclusive and non-judgmental."

The experiences that Dr. Stroud and many other LGBTQ+ people within institutional leadership positions allude to is that of recognizing ingrained biases and stereotypes that continue to occur within the hiring and promotion processes of higher education.

Davis and Maldonado's (2015) article correlates with the interviews and research of Stewart's (2022) work, particularly to that of Dr. Stroud's experiences indicating the use of microaggressions, especially with women of color. A microaggression is "a statement, action, or incident regarded as an instance of indirect, subtle, or unintentional discrimination against members of a marginalized group" (Oxford English Dictionary) For example, in Davis and Maldonado's (2015) interviews, one woman noted that a bias she experienced was "in a meeting…I may be the only one or two women in the room, but when it is asked to take notes, somehow the looks always come to me or the other woman like we are the only ones in the room who are capable of taking notes. Even if you are the leader in the room and happen to be a woman, it is amazing how this type of thing continues to happen" (p. 59). Even though microaggressions, such as the example recounted, may be unintentional, unconscious gender bias remain.

Unconscious gender bias, also known as implicit bias, occurs when a person consciously rejects gender "stereotypes but still unconsciously makes evaluations based on stereotypes" (AAUW). Furthermore, unconscious gender bias can be defined as "the powerful yet often invisible barriers to women's advancement that arise from cultural beliefs about gender, as well as workplace structures, practices, and patterns of interaction that inadvertently favor men" (Madsen & Andrade, 2018, p. 62-63). While men may not always be aware that their actions reenforce gender biases because of how ingrained patriarchal attitudes are in society, it remains their responsibility and duty to listen to women's experiences. As Carol Hay (2020) states, "Men can be co-opted by a culture that plays on their insecurities or promises to entrench the tacit benefits they glean from a sexist culture" (p. 164), causing men to fail on numerous levels in supporting women. Therefore, men must be doubly aware of and commit to educating themselves on what and when these microaggressions and unconscious biases occur.

It is important to remember that "multiple oppressions are not additive, but they're multiplicative" these overlapping experiences mix together to create experiences that "are entirely unique" to those of what wealthy, white women experience (Hay, 2020, p. 62). Through this lens, those women who fall into multiple categories experience varying challenges and oppressions which hinder their advancement into leadership positions within academia. Intersectionality evaluates the ways in which "sexism affects all women, not just those who have the social capital to have their complaints heard or taken seriously" (Hay, 2020, p. 68). In the following section, literature explains how gender role stereotypes are sometimes bolstered by other women pursing leadership

positions within institutions of higher education, especially when intersectionality is ignored.

Stereotypes Strengthened by Other Women

Carol Hay (2020) pinpoints attitudes and examples of how gender stereotypes and norms are bolstered by other women. As John Stuart Mill (1869) mentions, it serves the patriarchy to keep women divided. Further, Mill (1869) recognized that "women are taught in a whole host of ways that our primary allegiances should be to the men in our lives." (Hay, 2020, p. 167). Therefore, women are taught to not come together, to not celebrate one another, and to merely accept their position or their successes in leadership in a singular fashion. Hay (2020) also notes the realizations from Simone de Beauvoir, summarizing that "the difficulties between female solidarity…exist because we've been trained to view one another as the enemy…other women are viewed primarily as competition." (p. 169). Further, de Beauvoir exclaims that "[women] have no past, no history, no religion of their own…" (Hay, 2020, p. 168), which makes it virtually impossible for women to band together to create change. In this instance, it is the exertion of patriarchal sexism "that leads women to feel threatened by one another without cause." (hooks, 2015, p. 48). Here, women bargain with patriarchy (Hay, 2020) to achieve upward mobility in any amount, causing women to step on the heads of other women.

Occasionally, more privileged women, such as white women, will strengthen the stereotype of how a woman should carry herself, of how a woman should speak and act. For example, Audre Lorde, a Black feminist theorist, recalls an incident where she spoke "out of direct and particular anger at an academic conference, and a white woman says, 'Tell me how you feel but don't say it too harshly or I cannot hear you', continuing with

"But is it my manner that keeps her from hearing, or the threat of a message that her life may change?" (Hay, 2020, p. 23). The white woman's comment towards Audre Lorde demonstrates the one stereotypical message about women, that a woman is unstable, irate, or filled with hate and rage if they speak out about their position in society. Not only does this reinforce the patriarchy, but it also reinforces the hierarchy of white women exerting power over women of color, just as white men exert authority over white women. White women liberationists do not always "abdicate responsibility for their role in the maintenance and perpetuation of sexism, racism, and classism… they [do] not confront the enemy within" (hooks, 2015, p. 46). White women "must recognize and own up to [their] unearned privilege" (Hay, 2020, p. 44) for women of all backgrounds and demographics to equally advance into leadership positions.

Acknowledging and understanding privilege is a necessity, and it is vital that women be conscious of their privilege for everyone to achieve success and leadership. In order to take action to create equity, women must understand two metaphors, the Panopticon and the basement. First, the Panopticon describes how women can participate in oppressing other women. This metaphor states that society has "come to think of ourselves as permanently visible and we start policing our behavior…surveilling ourselves and…falling in line with the status quo" (Hay, 2020, p. 47); thus, "people can be recruited to act as their own jailors" (Hay, 2020, p. 49). By women policing their own behaviors, thoughts, and actions, they will continuously be monitoring others as well to ensure they uphold the stereotypes and norms created by the patriarchy. This policing is another example of how the leadership labyrinth enforces the maze of challenges women must navigate. The Panopticon metaphor inculcates the social forces that generate doubt

in women's minds, that they cannot create equity in society, especially in advancing women into leadership positions. This creates the mechanism that women can "do much of the work of oppressing themselves" (Hay, 2020, p. 59), leading to privileged women not only further oppressing themselves, but also the women with less privilege.

When women are monitoring, policing, and correcting the thoughts, behaviors, and actions of others, it is fundamental for them to consider how they are participating in bolstering the patriarchy. Carol Hay (2020) elaborates on an additional metaphor, 'the basement'. Kimberle Crenshaw introduced the basement as being a space where:

> People who are disadvantaged on the basis of one or a few identities stand on the shoulders of those are who disadvantaged by a larger number of identities. Rather than focusing on who needs help the most, anti-oppressive movements have historically tended to concentrate on getting people who are closest to the basement's escape hatch out ignoring those who are worse off (Hay, 2020, p. 66).

The women who are the closest to the escape hatch would be identified as white, cisgendered, able-bodied, and wealthy. In these occurrences the oppression of the 'least oppressed' is glorified and set as a measure of how all women experience oppression. When this occurs, the experiences of women through the lens of intersectionality are diluted or ignored reinforcing the patriarchal hierarchy. As bell hooks (2015) writes, rich white women can "conveniently ignore class struggle" (p. 62) as well as racism. This leads to the dangerous and detrimental upholding of white supremacy and the patriarchy.

One well-known woman who is a symbol of privilege and closest to the basement's escape hatch would be Sheryl Sandberg, former Chief Operating Officer for Facebook (Bursztynsky & Rosoff, 2022) and founder of LeanIn.org. She is viewed as a significant model and initiator of influencing women to break gender stereotypes and

norms to pursue their career aspirations. Sheryl Sandberg (2013) encourages women to 'lean in' to their career instead of leaning back. However, there are several critiques to her advice of women 'leaning in' to their career that generates extremely problematic and divisive messages of empowerment. In Sandberg's (2013) book *Lean In,* her message can often be "distilled to its simplified, *can-do* essence: If a woman works hard enough, and asserts herself enough, she can thrive at home *and* at work" (Gibson, 2018). This evokes the cliché of "pulling oneself up by their bootstraps", if someone just tries hard enough, no matter their statuses, then they can accomplish anything. Here, one can surmise that Sandberg is not accounting for all demographics of women in a variety of circumstances but gearing her advice to those with a certain type of privilege, predominately white, cisgendered, and of higher socioeconomic status.

Sandberg's advice has not brought benefits to all women. "Research shows that pervasive issues— such as gender-based pay inequality, the disproportionate burden of domestic responsibilities on women, and the number of U.S. companies offering paid family leave — remain largely unchanged" (Gibson, 2018). While Sandberg's (2013) influence attempted to shift the conversation to gender inequality in the workplace, the advice given was precarious as it dismissed the experiences of women through the lens of intersectionality. bell hooks (2015) articulates that by not accounting for racism, ableism, and socioeconomic status, "bourgeois white women [think] they are necessarily more capable of leading masses of women than other groups of women" (p. 54). Here, white women insist that they want women of color to "join the movement, totally unaware of their perception that they somehow "own" the movement, they are the "hosts" inviting [women of color] as "guests." (hooks, 2015, p. 55). Sheryl Sandberg is an example of

how race and class privilege excludes histories and experiences of other women, not all women are equally oppressed as she suggests. Sandberg's rally cry for women to simply "lean in" to their career counteracts the "Sisterhood" (hooks, 2015; Hay, 2020) that needs to exist to combat the underrepresentation of women of color within leadership roles, not only the underrepresentation of white women leaders. While Sherly Sandberg's intentions and advice of resisting gender stereotypes and biases could have been in good faith, hooks (2015) statement that "Solidarity is not the same as support" (p. 67), validates that transformation of women in leadership needs to be an ongoing commitment for all, not just the privileged.

The reinforcement of ill-intended privileged women also resides with American Enterprise Institute (AEI) scholar Christina Hoff Sommers and professor of political science Lauren K. Hall. These two women continue to uphold the status quo of marginalizing women by valuing the Libertarian Viewpoint. Christina Hoff Sommers argues that gender gaps within society are myths and research that says otherwise is falsified. Lauren K. Hall believes that there is no "glass ceiling" to be shattered when it comes to women in leadership positions. Hall argues that women are less willing to make the sacrifice for grueling careers than men are. She also states that women usually desire to spend more time at home being the primary caregiver which will "trump career ambitions". Even though research indicates that "women show the same level of identification with and commitment to paid employment roles as men do…women expressed a lower sense of power" (Northouse, 2021, p. 401) because there was a lack of gender-balance within leadership committees and roles. Both Sommers and Hall continue to reinforce the patriarchy and the underrepresentation of women in leadership by

denying the research presented within this chapter. Further evaluation of how Sommers and Hall uphold gender norms and stereotypes and the stances of Libertarians will be dissected in chapter 3.

Caregiving Responsibilities

Women desires to spend more hours caring for family is an example of a gendered role that can be disproven. Although there has been an increase in men participating in domestic responsibilities (Northouse, 2021), the labor continues to fall on the shoulders of women. According to recent research, "During the COVID-19 pandemic, women were more likely to lose a job and take on extra domestic responsibilities" (Northouse, 2021, p. 397) over their male counterparts. These domestic responsibilities include cooking, grocery shopping, cleaning, and taking care of children or other family members. Specifically in relation to women faculty in full-time tenure status, they often sacrifice family for career. For example, "Around 70% of male professors with tenure have children compared to 44% of female tenured faculty" (AAUW). This data implies that women faculty members may forgo having a family to advance their career into leadership whereas their male counterparts can have both.

The stereotype of women having a career or children is at the forefront of leadership advancement. Women presidents are less likely to be married, less likely to have children, and more likely to have altered their career path based off a partner compared to that of male presidents (American Council on Education, 2016). Furthermore, the "leanout" phenomenon was established to explain the work-life balance and caregiving responsibilities women face. The "leanout" phenomenon (Chisholm-Burns et al., 2017), contradictory to Sandberg's (2013) "lean in" attitude, demonstrates

how “women [are] opting to slow or stop their highly demanding careers. For example, more than two thirds of high-achieving women, defined as “those with graduate degrees or bachelor’s degrees with honors,” decrease their work hours (possibly to parttime status or a flex-time schedule) at some point during the course of their careers, and approximately one third take extended leave from their jobs” (Chisholm-Burns et al., 2017, p. 316). This data establishes the reality that women are continuing to sacrifice their career to care for others at a higher rate than men. This “leanout” impacts women not only in maintaining their career, but also in career advancement.

Furthermore, women are still seen as caregivers because 32% of university women presidents altered their career progression to care for a dependent, compared to 16% of their male counterparts (Bartel, 2018). These caregiver responsibilities and undertakings contribute to the invisible labor that women carry which hinder their ability to advance in their career. Even when women choose to have a career, family, and “take advantage of workplace leave and flexibility programs, [they] are often marginalized…” (Northouse, 2021, p. 397) upon returning to work, forcing themselves to undertake more duties than before to prove their worth in the workplace. For example, women can be seen as carrying the brunt of “more service work than their male counterparts, including committee involvement; formal and informal advising roles; professional service work; and various events related to student life, admissions, and school organizations” (Bartel, 2018). These additional unrewarded and unnoticed roles do not always contribute to the upward career mobility of women, but further fortify the gender stereotype of women being caretakers.

Femininity, Masculinity, and Performativity

Alcalde and Subramaniam (2020) note that "Women are not simply denied top leadership opportunities at the culmination of a long career, but rather such opportunities seem to disappear at various points along their trajectories." Gender biases persist because women in administrative positions do not always fit into the dominate patriarchy of society. "Women often face different expectations than men in the workplace, as well as increased scrutiny for reasons other than ability (appearance), and are frequently evaluated more severely, particularly women in management and leadership roles… [such as] the dilemma of being perceived as too feminine (too soft) or not feminine enough (too tough)" (Chisholm-Burns, 2017, p. 314). In turn, this causes women to feel more isolated and scrutinized under the lens of patriarchy. There is a need to suspend interpreting women's voices as angry, hysterical, emotional, or ambitious where a man would be labeled as passionate, focused, assertive, or driven. Women are scrutinized and stereotyped with every action they make, every word they speak, and incessantly compared through the unbalanced assessment of femininity and masculinity. These actions resemble more of prescriptive beliefs, leading to less favorable analysis of women leaders, over the agentic beliefs which is more valued in society (Weyer, 2007).

Madden (2011) writes,

> …an individual cannot be both competent and friendly: the choices are to be either competent and cold or incompetent and friendly. In relationship to leadership, people who are more masculine than feminine in appearance are judged as more competent. Furthermore, cold women are perceived as unfeminine, creating another overlay dimension: women can be feminine, warm, and incompetent *or* masculine, cold, and competent (p. 56).

In other words, women cannot simultaneously be feminine, warm, masculine, and competent, they must choose how they carry themselves, this reenforces the stereotype of men consistently possessing more characteristics of leaders. Moreover, understanding how men stereotype women is just as important as how gender stereotypes are perceived. Madden (2011) suggests that "men's stereotypes have the potential to undermine women, even when stereotypes may be seen as positive… [such as] males feel[ing] women were good at supporting others" (p. 60). However, when discussing leadership traits, Madden (2011) argues that even positive stereotypes "may be potentially damaging because supportiveness is not considered an important leadership trait" (p. 60). While this quality of leadership is viewed as positive, it is unremittingly associated with stereotyping women, establishing the deep-seated viewpoint and position of the patriarchy.

Women are also challenged with engaging in performativity to negate gender stereotypes of leadership positions within institutions of higher education. Women have to perform in a variety of ways and in an array of spaces in order to not encourage gender stereotypes. For example, women perform by adopting more masculine traits to minimize stereotyping such as wearing clothes that hide their bodies, talking in strict tones, taking interest in activities or events they normally would not, and limiting visible emotion (Chugh & Sahgal, 2007). Unfortunately, most men do not need to participate in performativity because they are already associated and labeled masculine leadership characteristics (Chugh & Sahgal, 2007; Madden, 2011). This association is also known as the "think manager- think male" model (Madden, 2011). Additionally, women continue to engage in performativity because of the "old boy's network". The "old boy's network" is an informal, historically male-only network where men who have similar backgrounds

and experiences assist one another in advancing their status in professional or personal ways. In the academic network sector, the old boys club "allows most male leaders to be available/accessible to the [leadership] processes, thereby tending to exclude women from top [positions]" (Chugh & Sahgal, 2007, p. 360). Because there are few women in the higher leadership positions within institutions of higher education, the connections and resources available for women are minimal. The stereotype of leadership features being valued as more masculine contribute to women feeling pressured to participate in performativity. Again, performativity enables the structure and norms of the patriarchy and "can significantly alter the perception and evaluation of female leaders and directly affect women in or aspiring to leadership roles" (Northouse, 2021, p. 404). These stereotypes need to be undone to give women equal opportunity of leadership and career advancement within higher education.

Women in STEM

"The constructions of diversity-as-capital discourse suggest that the same common-sense discussions of women's leadership may be taken up very differently depending on the nature of the field and institutional context in which it circulates (Wilkinson & Blackmore, 2008)" (Davis & Maldonado, 2015, p. 50). While the gender stereotypes and norms stated above are integrated within almost every sector of academia, one particular area predominantly remains to be male-driven—Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM). For example, "Women earn 60% of degrees in biology and life sciences, but only 20% of degrees in engineering and 19% of computer and information science bachelor's degrees." (AAUW, 2022). Further, "Black women represent…only 4.2% of biology sciences, 2.6% of computer sciences, 2.8% of

physical sciences, 2.3% of math and statistics and 0.99% of engineering degrees." (AAUW, 2022). These degrees do not always translate into faculty positions within academia due to increased gender biases. The strides women have made over the years to establish a voice for their selves in a male dominated field such as STEM has been commendable; yet discrepancies remain prevalent concerning gender biases, harassment, performativity, and symbolic violence. Symbolic violence refers to a privileged group of people imposing internalized systemic meanings of another group and assuming those connotations are correct and reasonable. These challenges are only heightened when evaluating the experiences of women of color.

Graduate women in STEM fields have continued to report experiences of hostility in academia since 1905 (Welde & Laursen, 2011, pg. 572). The culture of male dominance radiates an environment for women that is uncomfortable, discouraging, and harmful. Several factors contribute to women feeling 'Othered' in graduate STEM fields. Due to the field being dominated by men, there is a culmination of an "old boys club" environment. This 'club' excludes women by denying informal "access to knowledge, mentoring, and opportunity" (Welde & Laursen, 2011, 578) which is gained by forming buddy statuses among men. Without access to mentors or sponsors from top leaders who are women, women experience "a lack of early leadership engagement, in particular, [which] thwarts development of what is referred to as a "leadership mentality" (Chisholm-Burns et al., 2017, p. 315). Women in Welde and Laursen's (2011) study recognized to obtain admission into this informal system, they would need to be ready to "debate and compete, have a tough skin…and present themselves… not in a feminine style" (pg. 578). The action of performativity can cause stress and anxiety on women

which can lead to negative self-concept and doubt about their abilities and desires. This is evident by "women either leave[ing]…science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) degrees because the social climate undermined…their motivation and career aspirations" (Leaper & Starr, 2018, pg. 165).

Additional challenges women must manage within STEM fields encompass gender biases, sexism, and harassment. While several of the following experiences have been seen throughout institutions of higher education, women in the STEM field have more frequent instances of harassment. As one woman voiced in Welde and Laursen's (2011) research, women "better get used to" the culture of the STEM field which exudes "…exclusion, sexism and harassment" (pg. 580). This culture comes in the forms of negative comments about the appearance and actions of women, acts of sexism that include symbolic violence, and unwarranted sexual advancements from male peers and professors. For example, comments by men to women mentioned that a woman's achievement must have only been obtained through dating their professor or knowing intimate details about their professor (Welde & Laursen, 2011). These types of comments negate the work women have accomplished and discourages them from seeking further representation and leadership roles within the STEM field.

Another instance originates from women in physics departments reporting "pictures of nude women on faculty office walls, being asked to substitute for secretaries during their breaks, being called "honey" and hearing snide remarks about women made in front of male faculty…" (NWLC, 2012). Furthermore, Leaper and Starr (2018) "found between one-fifth to one-half of undergraduate and graduate female science students experienced sexual harassment from faculty or staff at universities in the United States"

(pg. 177). This perpetual crisis of harassment against women supports women's feelings of being degraded and undervalued within the STEM field in higher education, contributing to the underrepresentation of women in STEM leadership.

Additionally, sexual harassment on campus in STEM majors was "experienced by an estimated 60% of female college students in the United States" (Dresden et al., 2018, pg. 460). Dresden et al. (2018) interpreted the high percentage of women experiencing sexual harassment within the STEM fields as "occurring from men's fear of losing their power as women enter the workforce…men fear losing their dominance, leading to increased hostility towards women and more risk of sexual harassment" (pg. 462). This data can create a sense of insecurity from men and can often result in victim blaming, when women are held at fault for the harm that is caused to them. "Women of color cite the lack of sense of belonging relating to science as part of their personal identity, gaps in perceived competence by others and themselves and challenging developing interpersonal relationships with peers as reasons for leaving science or math majors" (AAUW, 2022). It can be surmised that it is the woman's fault for coming into the STEM field in the first place, causing harm on themselves by making men feel threatened. The obstacles and discrimination women and women of color continue to face from men in the STEM environment perpetuate the shortage of women representation in the field.

Furthermore, when there is a discipline—life sciences, physical sciences, and health technicians —in the STEM field that appears to be more equally employed by women, it is considered a "soft science" or "pink collar" compared to one that is predominately employed by men—physics, chemistry, biology, engineering, and computer science—a "hard science" (Light, 2022). Light (2022) also notes through their

research that those areas labeled as “soft sciences” were deemed as less valuable, less rigorous, less trustworthy, and less deserving of federal funding. This cataloging of the different STEM areas reinforces gender stereotyping and discrimination leading to an overall devalue of that particular field, furthering increasing the gender representation of leaders within academia and the gender pay gap. An added facet of how stereotyping persists in STEM is that “rather than reducing gender stereotyping” when more women are seen in STEM, “women’s increased participation results in the devaluation of [the] more heavily female fields.” (Light, 2022). The research presents itself as acknowledging that “the presence of women, and not characteristics of the job or field, is what leads to devaluation...” (Light, 2022). In chapter 5 however, I will give examples of how more women in leadership positions does not actually devalue the position but increases justice and overall happiness for society. This research demonstrates how institutionalized the patriarchy is within the STEM fields. While the data presented is specifically focused on women in STEM, the gender biases, stereotypes, and gender pay gap remain persistent across virtually every academic division.

Women’s Power Gap

The above examples of gender stereotypes, norms, and roles contribute to the concept of the woman’s power gap. The women’s power gap was coined by the American Association of University of Women (AAUW, 2022) in partnership with the Eos Foundation. This term, while predominately focusing on the amount of compensation women receive within leadership roles in academia, encompasses many of the concerns that come with gender stereotypes. Women continue to hold the least senior administrator positions and are the least paid among higher education administrators (Alcalde and

Subramaniam, 2020). The ratio of men to women in these positions are also considered within discussion of this power gap. Connecting back to STEM, "A 2017 study found that men dominate 9 of the 10 college majors that lead to the highest-paying jobs, all ten of which are in STEM fields. Women, by contrast, dominate 6 of the 10 lowest-paying majors…" (AAUW, 2022). Even though women professionals outnumber men in higher education as well degree attainment, women are still compensated less than men (AAUW, 2022). Only 24% of higher education's top earners are women with women of color comprising merely 2.5% (AAUW, 2022). "Minority women are entering the labor market at an increasing rate but continue to lack the power and access to leadership positions…[despite] having a college degree and work experience, this segment of the population continues to be passed over for promotions and are paid lower salaries than their counterparts" (Davis & Maldonado, 2015, p. 49), and even lower than white women.

On average, women university administrators earn 80 cents for every dollar a man makes (Flaherty, 2021). Additionally, women presidents are paid 91 cents for every dollar paid to male presidents (Fuesting et al., 2022). In 2019, the United States Census Bureau's data found:

> …that while there are 48% of college and university lecturers who are women, women make approximately $67,000 where men make $80,000. The data continues to confirm the gender-pay bias of men being compensated more for the same amount of work. At the current pace of advancement, it will take until year 2451 for all demographics of women to reach equivalent earnings to that of white, middle-class men (AAUW, 2022).

The gender pay-gap, along with the low number of women advancing into leadership positions, contributes to the women's power gap and the shortage of opportunities women are afforded to progress their upward mobility.

The "leanout" phenomenon as mentioned by Chisholm-Burns et al. (2017) impacts women not only in career advancement, but also with salary and debt. Women hold "almost two-thirds of outstanding student loan debt in the U.S…. [which accounts for] about $929 billion" (AAUW, 2022). When women sacrifice their careers, or take a break from their careers, to care for children or other family members, the harmful consequences do not simply stop at upward career mobility, the domino effect takes hold in connection to income and debt. According to the Institute for Women's Policy research, "43% of women workers had at least one year with no earnings, nearly twice the rate of men" (AAUW, 2022). Moreover, there is a phenomenon known as the "motherhood penalty". The "motherhood penalty" is where a woman's pay decreases once they become mothers resulting in them making 70 cents to every dollar paid to fathers (AAUW, 2022). These penalties make it even more difficult for women to not only ascend the leadership ladder by taking potential career risks, but to climb out of financial debt. However, research from Fuesting et al. (2022) shows that when women hold positions of leadership—deans, provosts, presidents, board members—pay is more equitable through the ranks compared to institutions run with men in those positions. Fuesting's et al. (2022) data reflect a positive outcome which can create gender parity when more women are in leadership positions within higher education.

Conclusion

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the 'pipeline theory' continues to be an outlet that higher education institutions use to account for the underrepresentation of women in leadership. Scholarly research confirms that numerous women of all backgrounds are in the pathway to leadership, yet both conscious and unconscious biases, as well as gender stereotypes and norms, contribute to impeding that advancement. We know that "Women thus face a double burden in their careers if they want to get ahead: not only doing their jobs well but also overcoming stereotypes that may hamper perceptions of their leadership potential" (Chisholm-Burns et al., 2017, p. 314). Explanations such as ignoring intersectionality, stereotypes being bolstered by other women, imbalanced caregiving responsibilities, engagement in performativity, and the women's power gap reveal that women hold only a third of top leadership positions in academia.

It is imperative that both men and women are consciously aware of how the gender stereotypes and biases previously assessed have led to women being underrepresented in leadership positions within American higher education institutions. As Chisholm-Burns et al. (2017) posits, "Why does the presence of women make such an impact? Because increased diversity is needed to combat homogeneity of ideas, as too much sameness stifles critical thinking and breeds complacence and overconfidence" (p. 313). The uniformity of ideas, actions, and policies over the past 200 plus years has already created stagnation within academic institutions. There is not a "one size fits all" remedy that can be geared towards every woman seeking to advance their career into

leadership, which is why it is so critical to have a diverse representation of women leaders.

The literature presented shows that women must navigate a variety of obstacles during their career which can prevent them from reaching higher levels of leadership. However, research also proves that having more women in top leadership positions within higher education institutions is not only just and fair but creates additional positive outcomes. Throughout the next three chapters, I will continue to refer back to the data presented within this chapter to build my argument of why there should be more women representation within institutions of higher education. Next, chapter 3 will elaborate on those who continue to justify and uphold the status quo of maintaining the underrepresentation of women leaders through the Libertarian viewpoint. These views reinforce the literature about the underrepresentation of women. In chapter 4, I will argue how Consequentialism, along with democratic ethics and values give reason to encourage more women to pursue positions of leadership through nudges. Finally, in chapter 5, I will provide supplementary anticipated outcomes which contribute to women's career advancement, pulling again from the research outlined above.

CHAPTER III

Relevant scholarly literature finds that biases and patriarchal societal norms contribute to the underrepresentation of women in positions of leadership within institutions of higher education, as was examined in chapter 2. While spaces are showing growth in the representation of women, leadership in higher education is lacking. Gendered mottos and stereotypes of leaders remain deeply ingrained in American societal values, including institutions of higher education. Various arguments attempt to excuse the scarcity of women in leadership positions in a variety of ways and on a range of levels. In what follows, I will examine how Libertarians use their perspectives to claim that coercion has been enforced to uphold the status quo of patriarchal beliefs. Here, I will detail the key differences between coercion and choice and how the Libertarian argument removes women's freedom of choice. I will also reason that the Libertarian viewpoint of sustaining the underrepresentation of women is a strawman fallacy. Next, I will highlight and critique how apologists for the status quo, including Harvard University's past-President Lawrence Summers, AEI Fellow Christina Hoff Sommers, American author and antifeminist Suzanne Venker, and political theorist Lauren K. Hall, maintain that obstacles related to women's advancement within leadership are not intentional and gendered discrimination is a myth. Finally, I will advocate that the use of nudges encourages more women to pursue leadership positions in higher education and makes freedom of choice more accessible.

The Libertarian Viewpoint, Choice, and Coercion

The Libertarian viewpoint advocates for maximizing autonomy and freedom of choice as well as individualism and voluntary association. Libertarians believe the reason

why women are not represented more in leadership positions within institutions of higher education is that they choose not to be, enacting their freedom of choice. This outlook claims that it is the woman's choice not to be in leadership positions and presumes that no compelling outside force took part in that decision or representation. Pressures are still at work today that lead more women out of the workforce and out of trajectories of leadership. For example, according to the International Labor Organization (ILO), American female employment fell by 17.9% between February and April 2020 compared to a 13.9% decline in male employment due to the COVID-19 pandemic (Barua, 2022). Furthermore, "During the COVID-19 pandemic, women were more likely to lose a job and take on extra domestic responsibilities" (Northouse, 2021, p. 397) than their male counterparts. These examples clash with the Libertarian view of freedom of choice because more women were involuntarily losing their careers than men and facing additional gendered responsibilities.

To understand the Libertarian perspective, the distinctions between choice and coercion must be defined. Choice is having the power and opportunity to make a decision for oneself. Coercion is the forceful nature in which freedom of choice is removed. Joel Feinberg (1973), an American political and legal philosopher, states that "whatever the harmful consequences of freedom in a given case, there is always a direct effect on the person of its possessor…" (p. 21). He further discusses coercion and how there is a confidence of great gain, but nearly always a loss, such that there is "always a presumption in favor of freedom" (Feinberg, 1973, p. 21). Feinberg (1978) cites John Stuart Mill's famous "harm principle" for "determining the moral limits of state coercion that is virtually beyond controversy" (p. 30). He adds that there needs to be a certain

amount of autonomy for an individual that is free from coercion. Coercion is "a technique for forcing people to act as the coercer wants them to act, and presumably contrary to their own preferences. It usually employs a threat of some dire consequence…" (Feinberg, 1998). Further, coercion is a harmful practice that interferes with and eradicates a person's freedom of choice and autonomy. If one entity forces another entity to participate in a manner they normally would not, then coercion has been imposed.

From this, we can surmise that instead of insisting women occupy positions of leadership within higher education, society and institutions should empower them to exclusively decide on their own if they want to be in leadership at all. Nevertheless, there are some instances in which women would be dissuaded from pursing leadership positions. For example, I have previously discussed how caregiving responsibilities, the gender pay gap, and performativity avert women from seeking leadership in higher education. However, other additional circumstances in the workplace such as a hostile work environment, harassment, bigotry, and microaggressions and macroaggressions discourage women from having true freedom of choice. While a woman still has the capability to make a choice in these circumstances, the power to make a good, fair, and just decision is hindered. As formerly stated, choice is having the power and opportunity to make a decision, when outside influences impact that choice, then coercion has been exercised.

Feinberg (1973) addresses that numerous social pressures exist that could stunt one's decision-making if all of the options are not always presented. Feinberg (1973) also notes that "whenever we are faced with an option between forcing a person to do something and letting him decide on his own whether or not to do it, other things being

equal, we should always opt for the latter" (p. 22). In connection with women in leadership in academia, coercion would include mandating that women make choices to obtain more positions of leadership than they normally would not in order to reach the equal representation of men. In this instance, coercion would not be accepted by Libertarians because the lives of women would be altered too greatly, specifically concerning social and moral pressures (Feinberg, 1973), as well as ostracizing. Further, women cannot "be coerced to serve the overall good of society" (van der Vossen, 2019) even if constructive transformations would occur.

Another issue with coercion is that it is morally wrong; it removes the aspects of the individual and treats the person as a pawn, to be exchanged without freedom of choice. Van der Vossen (2019) notes Robert Nozick's (1974) opinions about theories of justice. Here, Nozick (1974) states that "people must also be free to work, and not work, as they choose... This means working for whomever they want, on the terms they want…". When people do not freely choose their pathway in life, whether personal or professional, then the notion of freedom of self and free will is abolished. Libertarians would agree that a woman should not be intimidated into accepting a position of leadership simply because institutions deem that there is an underrepresentation of women, this would be morally wrong. However, when we evaluate the conditions and environments women are given to make their choices, their situations are not always free and on the terms they decide. For Libertarians, while concerned about coercion, they also want to deny the problems occurring with individual freedom of choice already noted. As demonstrated in chapter 2, there is reason to challenge Nozick's (1974) and the Libertarian attitude that all interactions and choices have been made under free will.

Contrary to Nozick's (1974) opinions, "we cannot ask some people to accept gross injustices for the privileging and benefit of others" (Weber, 2022, p. 213). Moreover, Nozick (1974) claims that if people were free from coercion and behaved as they choose, there would not be unjust patterns emerging from freedom of choice. However, "individuals acting freely can actively engage in prejudicial behavior that can threaten other people's sense that they have a fair chance at pursuing meaningful life plans" (Weber, 2022, p. 213). Additionally, "The fact that problems can emerge as a result of people's free choices means that, even if we do not punish or blame anyone at first, we can nevertheless call for changes for the future" (Weber, 2022, p. 213). Based on prior illustrations, Libertarians defending the status quo and the myth that gender oppression is false, especially in leadership, demonstrates that the interactions of women's choices have not been fair or just. If the patterns of individual free will and freedom of choice actually existed, then more women would be represented in top leadership positions within institutions of higher education. Therefore, it would be fair and just to ensure that more women hold top leadership positions in academia in the future.

The primary concern with the Libertarian emphasis of coercion is that it is one large and repetitive strawman fallacy. A strawman fallacy is where someone argues against an issue without truly addressing the problem. In this instance, Libertarians are ignoring the actual subject, the underrepresentation of women in leadership in higher education and their absence of freedom of choice. For example, Libertarians will reason that intimidation should not be used to coerce a woman's choices. However, they disregard the likelihood that some circumstances dissuade and prevent women from even

having the power and opportunity to make a decision about their career. In what follows, I will provide specific examples of how scholars maintain and uphold the strawman fallacy by circumventing the argument of encouraging more women in leadership. These Libertarian attitudes lean on myths of discrimination and traditional patriarchal norms to defend their argument of coercion.

Apologists for the Status Quo, Myths of Discrimination, and Critiques

Apologists for the status quo, such as Harvard University's past-President Lawrence Summers, AEI Fellow Christina Hoff Sommers, American author and antifeminist Suzanne Venker, and political theorist Lauren K. Hall argue that obstacles related to women's advancement are not intentional. To begin, Harvard University's past-President Lawrence (Larry) Summers made comments on why there are relatively few women in top positions in science. In 2007, Summers stated the reason may be due to "issues of intrinsic aptitude" (Jaschik, 2005). During these remarks, Summers also noted that women "are less likely than men to work the long hours expected for advancement in these careers…[and] that the women who are in senior positions are "disproportionately either unmarried or without children" (Jaschik, 2005). The comment about women being unmarried or without children implies that women cannot hold senior positions while having a spouse or children. Summers' remarks reinforce the research discussed previously by Chugh and Sahgal (2007), Madden (2011), Bartel (2018), and Weyer (2007) that stereotypes continue of women and men being viewed as innately different and that women do not want to work outside of the home, it is not in their nature.

The Former Harvard University President also noted that "it does appear on many, many different human attributes -- height, weight, propensity for criminality,

overall IQ, mathematical ability, scientific ability... there is a difference in the standard deviation, and variability of a male and a female population" (Jaschik, 2005). Summers tried to justify his remarks by citing his evidence of raising children, "there is reasonably strong evidence of taste differences between little girls and little boys that are not easy to attribute to socialization." (Jaschik, 2005). Here, Summers agrees that it is basic biology why women are not seen within leadership positions. One male professor at Harvard exclaimed, "I hope people don't conclude from this episode that university presidents must be cautious souls with muted voices" (Finder et al., 2006). This declaration not only generates acceptance of the discriminatory statements from Summers but also that the outlooks of women being viewed as less than men because of biology are accepted and encouraged. These statements from Summers, a man in one of the senior-most leadership positions within institutions of higher education, reestablishes that gender biases and norms exist and are widespread, even at the most prestigious institutions. While these statements were made several years ago, the stronghold of stereotypical presumptions of women in leadership remains, as revealed distinctly in chapter 2. The claims of being caregivers, less likely to work long hours, default gender interests, and biological makeup are all arguments regenerated by the patriarchy to defend why there are fewer women in leadership positions.

American Enterprise Institute (AEI) scholar Christina Hoff Sommers' stance on women and equality is the quintessence of upholding the status quo of gender inequality, especially in leadership positions. Sommers has been defending her outlook that women are not oppressed for decades. Beginning in 2000, Sommers most recognized book, *The War Against Boys,* features the "myth of girls in crisis in education" and society's war

against boys, particularly in education. In reviewing her book during an interview, Sommers (2000) writes that girls outnumber boys in all aspects of education; the only avenue in which boys are ahead is sports, and "women's groups are targeting the sports gap with a vengeance." She references psychologist Carol Gilligan in the 2000 interview by saying "women's moral style had been insufficiently studied by professional psychologists. [Gilligan] complained that the entire fields of psychology and moral philosophy had been built on studies that excluded women." Sommers (2000) outwardly rejects Gilligan's claims by saying her research was an "extravagant piece of speculation of the kind that would not be taken seriously in most professional departments of psychology." However, Sommers' (2000) denial that women are underrepresented in particular academic fields has been discredited for years by numerous peer-reviewed, academic sources and studies. Previously highlighted in chapter 2, research indicates that women are underrepresented in the STEM fields (Leaper & Starr, 2018; Dresden et al., 2017; Barber, 2019) and philosophy (Women in Philosophy, 2022; Conklin et al., 2020).

Sommers (2000) concludes the annotations of her book by remarking that there are insignificant benefits that "outweigh the disservice done by promulgating the myth of the incredible shrinking girl or presenting boys as the unfairly favored sex…[which] we can no longer allow the partisans of girls to write the rules." It is unjust and a disservice to girls and women to conclude that the patriarchy is a myth. The patriarchy is continuing to limit the types of choices in which women are free to make. With the attitude of antifeminists, Sommers' conclusions indicate that women are merely acting or portraying as victims of oppression when in reality they are surpassing men in all avenues. While today it is true that women are graduating with more degrees than men, those degrees are

not collectively even across all subjects and careers and do not equivalently contribute to upward career mobility or equal representation (Marcus, 2019; Hannum et al., 2015). Sommers' (2000, 2016) fictitious argument that women are not oppressed and underrepresented in leadership creates the false narrative that women have already reached gender parity. This chronicle continuously defends the status quo and upholds that the underrepresentation of women in leadership is not an issue.

Sommers claims that gender gaps within society are myths. For example, Sommers (2016) states that the gender wage gap is "a sheer fabrication." In Sommers' Time article in 2016, she cites that the gender wage gap was "made up by someone working at the [United Nations] UN because it seemed to her to represent the scale of gender-based inequality at the time." She goes on to say that the information produced in those years was false and the data presented today is also inaccurate. Sommers (2016) also notes that people who believe in the wage gap fail to consider critical variables in the research studies presented. However, at no point during Sommers' (2016) article did she provide substantiated evidence to refute the wage gap claims. Recalling from chapter 2, according to the American Association of University Women (2022), it will take until the year 2451 for women of all demographics to have the same earnings as white, middle-class men.

The Times article concluded with a final myth: men are the privileged sex. Sommers (2016) says that "neither sex has the better deal. Modern life is a complicated mix of burdens and advantages—for each sex." The AEI scholar attempts to rationalize the claim that there is no privileged gender due to the dangerous jobs' men withstand. Sommers (2016) cites that the most lethal jobs are done by men which results in more

male deaths. She argues that society is constantly aware that only "24 women are CEOS of the Fortune 500. But what about the Unfortunate 4,400?" (Sommers, 2016). The 'Unfortunate 4,400' refer to the men who die each year in the workforce. Here, she justifies that male privilege does not exist because more men die working each year than women. Libertarians would argue that it is a man's freedom of choice to pursue these dangerous careers. Conversely, Sommers (2016) does not take into account that women are not chosen or hired for these types of positions based on gender stereotypes and biases. Sommers (2016) concludes by writing "if Mars needs to check his privilege, so does Venus." This article, written and argued by a woman, further perpetuates the reoccurring damage to women's equality by reinforcing gender norms. When women emphasize stereotypes and patriarchal customs, their advancement into leadership positions is collectively hindered.

Additionally, Christina Hoff Sommers continues with her attack on feminism by evaluating women within the collegial environment. Here, Sommers insists that "equality feminism has been eclipsed by fainting couch feminism" (Illing, 2016). When coining the term "fainting couch feminism", Sommers explains that she views these women as being fragile and "overcome with emotion" (Illing, 2016), needing sensitive warnings in all conversations, and constantly requiring safe spaces after uncomfortable discussions. She recounted an experience she had with so-called "fainting couch feminists" in 2015 at Oberlin College. As a reminder, Oberlin College was the first American college to admit women and had the first Black and African American women to graduate with a bachelor's degree. Oberlin College has a lengthy history of promoting equal opportunity for women. During this trip, Sommers says she came in contact with countless sensitive

feminists which demonstrated “an embarrassment to women and a setback for feminism” (Illing, 2016). She resumes her recount by proclaiming how intersectionality is filled with schemes and biases that contribute to the paranoia of the oppression of women. Sommers states that intersectionality has “taken over feminism…and [is] focused almost entirely on victim politics [and] conspiracy theories…about how women are held back in the United States” (Illing, 2016). As previously discussed in chapter 2, applying intersectionality as a lens through which society evaluates the underrepresentation of women is beneficial in understanding the structures in which women are discriminated against, not merely a ruse as Sommers reasons.

During Sommers’ 2016 interview with Vox writer Sean Illing, she continues her justifications of upholding the status quo by aligning with the views mentioned prior by Larry Summers. Here, Illing (2016) asks Sommers if she believes that men and women are indeed fundamentally different. Sommers responds that,

> Overall, I think we have enough studies to show that men tend to be, on average, more risk-taking and rule-breaking, and women, on average, tend to be more nurturing — and this manifests across cultures. Therefore, I don’t automatically think it’s sexism if you find more women going into education and psychology, and social work than computer programming. I don’t think we're ever going to have a 50/50 split in the workplace because people have different dispositions and interests.

She validates her own outlook on the biological differences between men and women based on patriarchal attitudes she has internalized and practiced, similar to that of Larry Summers. She states that there are harmless explanations for unequal outcomes, that it is simply how society works. Sommers’ outlook coincides with Nozick’s (1974) opinions about patterns of justice and free will. While Sommers briefly acknowledges that

stereotypes and discrimination can exist, it is clear that she believes no other outside forces impede a woman's choice or progress of career advancement. Sommers also demonstrates how women can oppress other women by engaging in patriarchal norms already granted by the patriarchy. When remembering the discussion on intersectionality, it is vital that we acknowledge the various experiences and identities that intersect to repress women's freedom of choice.

Sommers' stances on gender discrimination in society have not waivered over the past two decades. In 2020, Sommers reiterated her viewpoint on the continual standing of gender equality. She resumes her argument that women are not oppressed, and America is not a patriarchy. Sommers (2020) maintains that the statistics and research presented by the United Nations, the National Organization for Women, and others are "painting an inaccurate picture of the social world…that the abolition of gender roles were foolish at best, irresponsible at worst". She agrees with her points in the Times article from 2000, that the gender wage gap remains a myth, feminists cannot be right about discrimination because America does not "systemically batter women and deny them equal pay for equal work" (Sommers, 2020), instead, the viewpoints of gender inequality are radical and false.

The AEI scholar returns to her 2016 judgments four years later when she reaffirms that more women are not seen within leadership positions because of their biological nature. Sommers (2020) notes that women need to lean into their feminine characteristics such as nurturing, caring, and organizing to improve society, not to create chaos in the form of qualities that are already controlled by men. To accomplish this, Sommers (2020) imagines "armies of intelligent, informed, and well-trained 'domestic

heroines' working in hospitals, orphanages, and schools". As compiled in chapter 2, when women participate in actions or careers already granted by the patriarchy, they continue to reinforce the stereotypes that women can only participate in feminine ways. Sommers further amplifies this notion of the status quo by encouraging participation through acceptable patriarchal avenues instead of challenging the hierarchy already in place.

After evaluating the countless ways in which the gender gap is a myth and the current voice of feminism is inaccurate, Christina Hoff Sommers (2020) drives her viewpoints home by speaking of the "freedom feminists". Sommers' definition of this type of feminism correlates directly to the Libertarian viewpoint. A "freedom feminist" stands for the "freedom of women to employ their equal status, to pursue happiness in their own distinctive ways" (Sommers, 2020), and one who is not consistently combatting men. In chapter 4, I will highlight how notable philosophers deem combativeness as necessary in particular circumstances to create freedom and happiness for society. "Freedom feminism" does not kneel to the theories of gender inequality and does not feel compelled to conform to engaging in any action simply because they are told to. By defying the statistics and data on gender inequality, "freedom feminists" enact their freedom of choice above all, they will not submit to the force of coercion. The theories of the controlling patriarchal society are avidly dismissed within "freedom feminism". Additionally, Sommers (2020) comments, "What good can come of telling women that they are horribly oppressed by a patriarchal society that seeks to degrade them, that they are helpless victims?". Sommers' stance can conjure the phrase "let sleeping dogs lie", why change the system or disrupt society when scare tactics are implemented to get

women worked up over the façade of inequality? Sommers' arguments are detrimental to the advancement of women's equality in leadership within institutions of higher education and continue to uphold existing oppressions.

Another voice that emphasizes the myths of gender discrimination is Suzanne Venker. Venker is an American author who focuses on antifeminism and rages about feminism's assault on men, women, and families. She has been featured on national and prime-time television shows, news articles, and podcasts throughout her career. Venker reinforces the outlooks of Larry Summers and Christina Hoff Sommers, that women have been conditioned to believe that the feminist notion of equality is inaccurate. Further, this belief has been most damaging to women in all aspects of their lives, not biases, stereotypes, or discrimination. She places extreme value on the intrinsic differences between genders and deems service to home and family should always be placed before career. Venker (2021) states that "A woman does not respond to being the primary breadwinner in a marriage the way a man does" and "When the wife is the primary earner, she becomes stressed out…she becomes resentful…". This archaic mentality reinforces the stereotype of women being caretakers and the obligatory emphasis on home and family. Venker (2021) believes that feminism is the most damaging concept to women and that each gender has primary functions that they should adhere to, all because men and women are biologically unique.

Venker (2021) continues with her outlook on upholding patriarchal traditions by condemning today's cultural influence on gender roles. She expresses that women are unjustifiably condemning men for not being active participants in the household, even though she claims men are taking on tremendous loads in and out of the home. Venker

(2021) follows up this statement by saying women have been conditioned to think they want gender equality and an elevated career when in reality that is false. In this instance, Suzanne Venker is alluding to the undesirable implementation of coercion. She argues that when women place too much value on their careers and not enough value on their families, their identity is fragmented. Additionally, having another woman uphold stereotypes and roles allowed by the patriarchy continues to hinder women's equity in all spaces.

Venker (2021) also sides with Christina Hoff Sommers (2016, 2020) in agreeing that gender oppression among women is a myth and that those who reject feminism will succeed in life. The success Venker (2021) emphasizes is that of marriage and children, if a woman maintains those two constructs, she is successful. The anti-feminist author writes about the excuses' society has created to undermine women, "that marriage and motherhood hold women back; women can't get ahead in the marketplace due to rampant discrimination; men and employers are to blame for why women can't 'have it all'; that men have it better in every area of life" (Venker, 2021). While Venker is adamant that feminist philosophy is deceptive, it is her words that are disadvantageous to women's equality not only in society but especially in upward career mobility. Suzanne Venker is another illustration of how a woman's voice has been amplified through media to reach thousands of audiences, all to uphold the patriarchy and the status quo.

The all-inclusive rejection of patriarchy continues with political theorist Lauren K. Hall. Hall is a professor of political science and also believes that there is no "glass ceiling" to be shattered when it comes to women's leadership positions. Hall argues that women are less willing to make the sacrifice for grueling careers whereas men will. This

idea, once again, circles back to women being stereotyped as the caregiver of the family and requiring their careers to be put on hold. Hall also says that women usually desire to spend more time at home which will "trump career ambitions". The argument that the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions is due to women making that choice on their own continues to neglect the stereotypes and discrimination that exist. Hall agrees with Sommers (2000, 2016, 2020) that it is unintentional that women are not seen more in positions of power, it is the woman's choice that they are not intentionally holding leadership positions.

Hall continues her argument, claiming that society is trying too hard to create gender parity by indirectly countering a classic philosopher, Plato. Disputes about women's role in the academy and in leadership date back to Plato's *Republic*, in which the Greek philosopher argued that women should be educated in common with men and share in leadership. In Books V and IV of Plato's *Republic,* Plato states that women must be taught and educated equally to men and that men and women should both be guardians. Plato indicates undoing the gender stereotypes of women and implies they should not be the sole caretakers; if women are in leadership positions, they need assistance with children and family (Bloom, 1968). Lauren K. Hall believes caregiving, especially in the capacity of family, is a choice women should and always make in favor. She directly considers the guidance set forth by Plato by arguing the advice came from an era where the "family center was off in a number of ways" (Hall, 2020). Hall (2020) states that family is the foundation of society and that "family moderates extreme political views and slows social change", which she views as positive. She is disregarding

the values of gender equality formerly delineated by Plato and is continuing to ignore the caretaking role women characteristically are forced to assume.

The political science professor can also align with Feinberg's (1973) notes and outlook on coercion. Hall (2014) concurs that freedom of choice is above all and that women should be able to make their own decisions revolving around their career, in this case, choices about leadership. Further, she states that the diversity gap should not hold an influence on a woman's decisions. Hall (2014) notes that the reason why there are not more women in leadership positions is that they made the choice not to be. According to Hall (2014), women are less likely to make sacrifices for their careers concerning family, time away from the home, and moral principles. She concurs, similar to Fienberg's (1973) summaries, that "Supporting human freedom means supporting the freedom of diverse individuals to choose the lives they believe to be the most fulfilling" (Hall, 2014). Hall (2014) worries that if society continues to push to fill the diversity and gender gap in leadership positions then there will be an overrepresentation of women in positions they never wanted to choose in the beginning. Hall (2014) agrees that it is freedom of choice that is held in the utmost regard, and it is women who have decided not to be in leadership positions, that no other outside factors have influenced that. As cited previously, discrimination and biases persist towards women not adequately having the ultimate freedom of choice to make those decisions. Hall (2014) resolves that coercion should not be involved to influence the decisions of others' choices and that freedom of choice exists so women are not coerced into commitments they would otherwise not create.

While Joel Fienberg (1973) assesses viewpoints about overrepresentation in his book *Social Philosophy*, Hall also worries about the overrepresentation of women in leadership and the coercion of choices that lead women into those roles. She argues that "When you treat people as chess pieces then it creates societal disorder, creating a fundamental moral error because individuals are pieces of their own" (Hall, 2020). When people are mandated by another person or institution to pursue an avenue that they did not freely choose, coercion is at the forefront, and chaos within the structure of society will ensue. Hall's (2020) claim, that with change comes disarray, similarly aligns with Suzanne Venker's viewpoint of coercion, that any alteration of existing conditions will produce negative societal impacts. Hall perpetuates the trajectory of the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions by being too concerned with how the weight of coercion impacts women's choices. Hall disregards the research on gender oppression and the lack of women's equality within leadership.

Nudges

The above argument about coercion is one of the reasons oppositions say there are not more women in leadership positions in higher education. Because they have chosen not to take that path, it is their freedom of choice that they have decided not to have a career as a leader. To achieve more women representation in academic leadership, some scholars and authors, such as Summers, Sommers, Venker, and Hall, say that women need to be convinced to take these positions, oftentimes resulting in harmful coercion. However, there is a distinction that needs to be made between coercion and nudges. Women must be able to make their own choices, free of coercion from outside influences, this is where the concept of a nudge resides. Coercion, as defined previously, is the

persuasion of using force or intimidation to create compliance, this could be used through actions or threats. On the other hand, a nudge is an effective way to encourage, influence, or guide someone's behavior or decisions without restricting freedom of choice (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008). A nudge is not considered a mandate or used through intimidation or force, a nudge is a gentle guide that can encourage one's behavior or decision over another.

Proportionate to women occupying positions of leadership within higher education, society does not need to pressure all women to be in leadership positions and does not need to force one woman to stand for all women, that would constitute coercion and removal of a woman's freedom of choice. Instead, a nudge could better assist and encourage women to decide between advancing their careers into leadership positions without causing harm and loss of autonomy. I advocate for more women in leadership in higher education through initiatives that make choices more accessible, these initiatives are seen as nudges. A nudge would magnify the opportunities available for women to be represented in a variety of spaces, including those within academic institutions. Some examples of nudges are mentorship programs, legislative acts, professional development, and scholarships to promote diversity and inclusion. These examples, which will be examined in additional detail in the upcoming chapters, can be viewed as incentives that can create ethical justifications to offer women pursuing leadership in academia. Using these reassurances can help offset the negative properties of coercion summarized by Fienberg (1973) and outlined by Hall (2014, 2020) and Sommers (2000, 2016, 2020). Reinforcement through nudges would increase women's representation as leaders at all levels within institutions of higher education.

Hall (2020) poses the question, “How do we get society and the individuals to go in the same direction without force” and enabling conditions. She believes that the coercion of women’s voices and choices in today’s society, including feminist theory and legislative authority is forcing a separation between citizens that could be difficult to repair. One way to suppress coercion, she declares, is to minimize the number of laws and goals required by the government; in other words, limiting or erasing nudges. From her recommendation, this would include restricting Acts, programs and policies, and discrimination laws that assist and encourage all types of women to pursue higher-level positions within their careers. Hall’s outlook on the influence of government laws and objectives geared toward discrimination remains inaccurate. She says that “it is not true that mandating [maternity] leave saves women from making career sacrifices” and that “mandates and top-down policies will not fix the problem” (Hall 2014, 2020). While these policies and guidelines— such as the Breastfeeding Mother’s Act and the Family Medical Leave Act—are not an exclusive resolution for equal representation, it is proven that they provide a working foundation that creates a progressive impact (International Labor Union, 2019; Dunn et al., 2014). Hall’s stance on laws and guidelines is skewed. Libertarians believe that coercion is usually endorsed, and voluntary association is separated, when actions to increase gender equality in leadership within institutions of higher education arise. Government regulations are not forcing or commanding women to act in any particular manner. I contend that these regulations are aiding and protecting women in the workplace through the encouragement of nudges. I also believe that there are protections from threats of freedom of choice through institutional administration policies against discrimination such as in the hiring processes. Once again, these

protections and polices are nudges that give women the power and opportunity to make the choices they desire. Additional examples of nudges will be discussed further in chapter 4 and chapter 5.

Conclusion

The arguments and excuses made by leaders, scholars, and so-called feminist activists to defend why there are not more women in leadership positions within institutions of higher education are disconcerting. Larry Summers, Christina Hoff Sommers, Suzanne Venker, and Lauren K. Hall, continue to contribute to the underrepresentation of women in positions of leadership by denying women are oppressed in leadership. The collective themes established within these positions surround the myths and false narratives that have been created when speaking about gender inequality, one of those being the gender wage gap. All of the oppositions cited stand firm that women should and are expected to be the caregiver and supporters of the home and family rather than having a demanding and grueling career. The arguers of upholding the stagnant nature of gender equality consider that individuals have freedom of choice and autonomy in their decisions and that no other external influence is responsible for any type of marginalization. They believe that the biological differences between men and women are what keep women from pursuing and obtaining leadership positions. There is also the theme that feminism is the "boogeyman" or "boogeywoman" within society, terrifying women into believing they are oppressed when in actuality feminist theory is fabricated. While I will defend in later chapters that more women in leadership could contribute to greater awareness about important norms and perspectives

in leadership, their viewpoints continue to maintain and disguise the oppression of women and uphold the status quo of underrepresentation.

The research discussed in chapter 2 confirms that gender stereotypes, norms, and biases limit women's opportunities for leadership advancement. While Summers, Sommers, Venker, and Hall can surmise a broad rejection of gender discrimination because it is a woman's choice what they do with their career, resulting in no glass ceiling to break, an array of influential philosophers disagree, one formerly mentioned, Plato. In this chapter, I have outlined the Libertarian viewpoint and their belief in upholding freedom of choice and autonomy of self above all. I have also explained how the Libertarian viewpoint represents a strawman fallacy. I have identified several apologists for upholding the status quo and how their arguments are associated with the removal of freedom of choice and the influence of coercion. These apologists also supported myths of gender discrimination and ignored the influences of a hostile work environment which could dissuade women's free will. In chapter 4, I will discuss how institutions of higher education can be more just, successful, and happy. Here, I argue that consequentialism gives reason to encourage more women to pursue positions of leadership through the use of added nudges. I will also describe how democratic ethics and values contribute to the fairness and justice of creating and upholding a democratic society within institutions of higher education, drawing upon philosophers John Dewey, Iris Young, and Jane Roland Martin.

CHAPTER IV

In Chapter 3, "Opposition and Critiques" I discussed how opposition against including more women in leadership positions within higher education continues to uphold the status quo of underrepresentation. Apologists argue for the Libertarian viewpoint of maximizing autonomy and freedom of choice, claiming that coercion must be enforced through efforts that are made to garner more women in the ranks of higher education leadership. In this chapter, I will argue that consequentialism and democratic ethics and values give reason to encourage more women to choose leadership positions. Encouraging more women to pursue leadership positions in academia through the use of nudges assists in guiding their decisions without restricting freedom of choice. After a review of consequentialism and its support for my thesis, I will present examples of how nudges motivate and provide an opportunity for women in leadership within higher education. I will then describe how democratic ethics and values contribute to the fairness and justice of creating and upholding a democratic society within institutions of higher education. I will identify specific types of leadership that reinforce democratic ethics and values before drawing upon philosophers such as John Dewey, Jane Roland Martin, and Iris Young. From the literature of Dewey, Young, and Martin I will demonstrate how institutions of higher education should exude justice and fairness to uphold a democratic society for the happiness and betterment of all citizens.

Noncoercive Consequentialism

Consequentialists believe that we should morally make the world better as often as we can. According to Peter Valletyne, "Consequentialism holds that the permissibility of an action is based on how good its consequences are compared with those of its

feasible alternatives" (Vallentyne, 2006, p. 2). Here, consequentialists measure every outcome of the action and weigh its consequences to everything that could potentially happen in the present and future. To amplify consequentialism, agents must do the best they can when making decisions (Vallentyne, 2006). In this respect, it is understood that agents are not aware of all the moral consequences of their decisions, but that they will do the best to their ability to make society better than it is currently. Consequentialism stimulates the creation of the utmost happiness and wellbeing of citizens. Happiness, while considered relative, can be summarized on an individual level as feeling sublime contentment within one's decisions, values, morals, and goals. Overall happiness for society looks like cultivating an environment where individuals have equal opportunity to obtain personal satisfaction. Maximizing consequentialism focuses on how morality creates the most desirable consequences for the betterment and happiness of all persons, not just a mediocre improvement to a portion of the status quo.

When focusing on higher education and evaluating who leads these institutions, can colleges and universities declare that they are morally making the world a better place by not including more women in leadership positions? While higher education institutions could argue that the inclusion of women leaders is improving, they cannot be identified as maximizing consequentialism because they continue to afford men more opportunities for leadership. Excluding women from positions of leadership minimizes their experiences, knowledge, and the potential for optimal societal growth. Having diverse leadership within institutions of higher education maximizes consequentialism because women would add diverse moral values to decision making in contrast with leadership only made up of men. Of course, men contribute moral values, but those

values can remain stagnant and routine compared to the addition of different viewpoints brought by women. The consequences of favoring men in leadership positions within higher education can lead to continuous masculine norms, gender biases, and stereotypes which would have a negative and detrimental moral value on society.

John Stuart Mill

One of the most well-known consequentialists and one of the earliest arguers for women's equality is John Stuart Mill. In *The Subjection of Women*, Mill (1869) formulates a collection of arguments to make women's issues, specifically in relation to marriage, higher education, and career choices, more prominent. Mill (1869) states that "the rule of men over women… is accepted voluntarily…" (p. 22) and that whomever the language of power oppresses "always tends to do so for their own good" (p. 73). This summarizes that the longstanding patriarchy attempts to convince women that it is in their best interest to be oppressed, that men are doing them a favor and society should simply accept it. However, Mill (1869) argues against this complacency by stating that society and those in power need to readjust their thinking of traditional gender stereotypes in order to make change for the betterment of all.

Even in the nineteenth century, Mill (1869) pinpoints the issue with theenforcement of gender norms, many of which I covered in chapter 2. For example, those who uphold the status quo, similar to those discussed in chapter 3, contend that women and men are biologically and emotionally unique, therefore women are not capable of obtaining any other position outside of the household. Mill (1869) challenges these qualms by casting doubt on the stance that men are more qualified for particular positions because they have a larger brain. He also questions the fallacy that women

cannot control their emotional state or wellbeing. In his writing, Mill (1869) asks why society should believe the misconceptions about women if "it is still to be proved that women are oftener misled by their personal feelings than men by their personal interests" (p. 111). If women have never been given the opportunity to hold a position outside of the home, then how would men know whether or not they would fail? On the contrary, Mill (1869) notes that "women are comparatively unlikely to fall into the common error of men" (p. 86) and may even excel in the positions in which they are denied, whether academically or professionally. Women bring different experiences and perspectives than that of men, allowing them to reject the traditional rules usually adopted and in turn, contribute to societal growth.

Mill (1869) argues that women's equality creates the uppermost virtue for all of society. By allowing women to participate in higher education and have equal access to all professions, then there would be "doubling the mass of mental faculties available for the higher service of humanity" (Mill, 1869, p. 119). When both men and women are able to obtain higher education and hold various positions of power, then there will be an increase of virtue for a wider range of citizens. As stated in chapter 2, one woman cannot possibly represent every woman, just as one man cannot represent all men. Mill (1869) agrees with this sentiment that society needs more women representation in leadership. He indicates that "When we further consider that to understand one woman is not necessarily to understand any other woman…", and assuming so "is wretchedly imperfect and superficial, and always will be so, until women themselves have told all that they have to tell" (Mill, 1869, p. 38). He also doubts that "women, compared with men, are at

any disadvantage" (Mill, 1869, p. 86) if only they were given the equal opportunity to pursue any avenue chosen.

Mill (1869) gives advice of how to promote women's equality. He encourages the patriarchy to be dismantled and for men to become allies to women. He exclaims that "the abuse of the power cannot be very much checked while the power remains", and that "women cannot be expected to devote themselves to the emancipation of women, until men in considerable number are prepared to join with them in the undertaking" (Mill, 1869, p. 114). For women to take a stand against the patriarchy and fight for equity, they need to also have some support from men. Mill (1869) also writes that "the moral regeneration of mankind will only really commence, when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice, and when human beings learn to cultivate their strongest sympathy with an equal in rights and in cultivation" (p.137). Equal rights and representation for women can be elevated through male allyship. Equity of representation is also promoted through noncoercive nudges available to women, which will be reviewed more below, and something Mill references. Mill (1869) exemplifies noncoercive consequentialism because he believes in the morality of creating the most desirable consequences for the betterment of all persons. He also concurs that if society primarily draws upon the experiences of only men, then there is less of a chance of fulfilling the needs of everyone. Advocating for women equality in education, profession, and leadership would create overall happiness, value, and a morally just society for all citizens.

Noncoercive and Coercive Consequentialism and Nudges

While I argue for noncoercive consequentialism, it is important to distinguish those efforts that would be considered coercive. Some philosophers tend to oppose consequentialism because of the potential for coercive directives. Coercive consequentialism expresses that nudges can be viewed as being more forceful than encouraging. Noncoercive consequentialism still champions for the opportunity of resources and choices whereas coercive consequentialism appears to be intrusive. Coercion, as mentioned in chapter 3, is "a technique for forcing people to act as the coercer wants them to act, and presumably contrary to their own preferences. It usually employs a threat of some dire consequence…" (Feinberg, 1998). Mason (2015) argues that coercion through consequentialism "involves one person setting up the reasons so that it is overwhelmingly reasonable for the coercee to do what the coercer wants to get them to do" (p. 12). Coercive nudges can imply that a person would be overwhelmed with the amount of influence available and that the offer would seem unreasonable if not selected (Mason, 2015). An example of a coercive nudge includes mandating someone to participate in a particular program in order to be selected for a higher-level position, leaving the individual no choice other than to participate. Another example of a coercive nudge is bribing and threatening an individual to take on additional responsibilities in the workplace in order to advance in their career. Noncoercive consequentialism promotes nudges that make choices more accessible without intimidation. Coercive consequentialism alludes to an opportunity that is portrayed as a choice but in actuality is a mandate.

Noncoercive consequentialism also reasons that "moral rightness depends on foreseen, foreseeable, intended, or likely consequences…" (Sinnott-Armstrong, 2019). In this instance, noncoercive consequentialists would encourage choices and nudges in which society would be morally enriched. A nudge is an effective way to influence or guide someone's behavior or decisions without restricting freedom of choice (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008). A nudge is not considered a mandate nor used through intimidation or force, it is a gentle guide that can encourage one's behavior or decision over another without removing supplementary options. Additionally, a nudge can increase a person's opportunity of making unbiased choices by overcoming obstacles and constraints. Noncoercive consequentialism supports nudges by allowing someone to choose their pathway through reasoning and possibility. Nudges can also assist in providing clarity to a decision when it may not have been clear before (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008). A nudge can contribute to improving a person's internal values and external opportunities.

Mill (1869) also agrees with noncoercive nudges in his conclusion of *The Subjection of Women*. He states that women should be able to have free will and make choices that are their own, free from coercion. Mill (1869) says "by leaving [women] the free choice of their employments, and opening to them the same field of occupation and the same prizes and encouragements as to other human beings" (p. 119) that society will flourish. Women should have the opportunity to "choose her pursuits, urged or invited by the same inducements as anyone else to interest herself in whatever is interesting to human beings, entitled to exert the share of influence on all human concerns which belongs to an individual opinion…this alone would effect an immense expansion of the faculties of women" (Mill, 1869, p. 121) as well as increase the morality and fairness of

society. Further, Mill (1869) states that the experiences and guidance from women would be beneficial to the justice of life. There will be a "great loss of society" (Mill, 1869, p. 142) if women's equality is not achieved. Therefore, implementing noncoercive nudges would encourage and assist women in the opportunity of pursuing leadership within higher education.

There is a distinction that needs to be made between nudges and financial incentives. Financial incentives are identified as a type of monetary benefit. These can include signing bonuses, increased pay after working an outlined amount of time, or additional pay for participating in specified programs or events. These financial incentives are different from nudges because they provide an almost immediate increase in financial assistance which can sometimes shift a person's decision more dramatically, regardless of the individual's values or desires. Financial incentives are also more costly to the specific institution or organization enforcing them compared to a nudge (Griffith et al., 2014). While not all nudges are inexpensive, they can be seen as more cost-effective. A nudge on the other hand does not alter or guarantee a person's specific outcome but creates additional options and opinions to form on their own. Nudges do not necessarily guarantee that someone's pathway will change, they only allow for the opportunity of choice through encouragement. However, with more nudges available, then the possibility that someone will be influenced in a noncoercive way to pursue any avenue they desire increases. While incentives could be incorporated with nudges, they are more costly and could affect the outcome the individual sought after implementation.

Some examples of noncoercive nudges include programs and policies that capture anticipated consequences, which can improve the representation of women leaders in

academia. The following examples of nudges can give women more opportunity of choice in reaching leadership equity. For example, there have been countless policies legislated by the federal government for gender equality that give way to more women in leadership. In 2009, the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act, an amendment to the original Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, "helps to ensure that individuals subjected to unlawful pay discrimination are able to effectively assert their rights under the federal anti-discrimination laws" (International Labor Union, 2019). This act will be further expanded upon in chapter 5.

Another policy that has been passed on the federal level is the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. This Act "entitles eligible employees of covered employers to take unpaid, job protected leave for specified family and medical reasons" (International Labor Union, 2019). FMLA allows for 12 weeks of unpaid leave for 12 months. This act not only impacts women, but it also provides protection for men and people with disabilities. FMLA covers paternity leave, which allows the burden of the caregiving responsibilities predominately left to women to be slightly lifted. In a survey released on FMLA in 2022, ninety percent of businesses reported that profitability, growth, and employee retention increased since this act had been implemented (Women's Congressional Policy Institute, 2022). When accessibility is available to everyone, then society can thrive and advance.

There are also examples of nudges through numerous programs to encourage women to pursue leadership positions. The Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative helps "build relationships and connections to strengthen economic empowerment opportunities to women in markets globally" (International Labor Union, 2019). This

program's goals include creating cross-sector partnerships, engaging women strategically in governance structures, and advocating for women's rights and opportunities through evidence-based corporate research, communications, and policy platforms. As Dunn et al. (2014) mentions, a major influence of successful women's leadership was building networks amongst women on other campuses and environments. Studies have shown that women are often excluded from male networks which makes their advancement and success that much more challenging (Dunn et al. 2014). Having access to nudges such as the Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative can give women the resources, tools, and networks to encourage and successfully obtain leadership positions. While the FMLA and Fair Labor Standards Act, as well as the Women's Economic Empowerment Initiative, provide some assistance and protection to women, it can only be considered the smallest of nudges. In chapter 5, "Examples of Anticipated Outcomes" I will go in-depth discussing additional programs, policies, efforts, and examples of recommended noncoercive nudges that increase the representation of women leadership within institutions of higher education. Noncoercive consequentialism encourages nudges to gently encourage and provide opportunities and choices for women to succeed in their careers.

Democratic Ethics and Values

Democracy at its core can be summarized as a way of life. Dewey (1939) argues that government policies are nothing without core values such as “freedom of communication, the give and take of ideas, facts, experiences…and controlled by a working faith in the possibilities of human nature” (Weber, 2021, p. 60-62). Ethics is the moral principles that guide a person's behaviors that are deemed desirable by society, and

values are the importance or worth of an action, attitude, or belief. Therefore, from those three definitions, democratic ethics and values can be outlined as the significant moral principles that guide the laws, policies, and leaders which govern society. John Dewey believes that democracy is a way of life with a set of values and it "takes a set of attitudes that include respect for one's fellows across differences of race, creed, gender, and beliefs" (Weber, 2021, p. 60). Democratic ethics and values also imply that fairness and justice will be upheld in a democratic society to create the utmost happiness. This connects to consequentialism because consequentialists also add the intrinsic value of justice, fairness, virtue, and life (Sinnott-Armstrong, 2019).

In his *Nichomacheon Ethics*, Aristotle (1889) notes that true happiness can be achieved when the cultivation of virtues that make up everyday life is complete. These virtues are in response to actions and behaviors set forth by decisions and reactions to those decisions. In order to achieve a life of virtue and morality, Aristotle (1889) calls for avoiding extremes of any sort and to seek moderation. Institutions of higher education are not following a life of virtue according to Aristotle (1889) because they are placing too much emphasis and power on male perspectives of leadership, at minimum, equally with women. There is a specific process in which academic institutions are deliberately making choices that favor men, some of those choices, including gender biases, limited resources for women to advance, and reinforcing the 'ole boys' club', have been discussed in chapter 2. In these instances, Aristotle (1889) would note that even when someone knows there is a right choice to make but does not act upon that choice, they are failing to participate in what is virtuous and participating in carrying out the actions of conformity. Within institutions of higher education, not only is it morally ethical to have women in

leadership positions according to great philosophers, but it is positively virtuous with respect to moderation for women to be in positions of leadership so that institutions can achieve overall happiness.

In what follows, I will provide an outline of the complexities of understanding representation. Then, John Dewey, John Rawls, Jane Roland Martin, and Iris Marion Young will provide literature on how democratic ethics and values should be upheld with gender and representation leadership within institutions and society. All of these notable philosophers create an understanding of how to uphold and enhance a democratic society, drawing upon justice and fairness. These philosophers refer to democratic ethics to demonstrate how fairness and justice argue for diversity, inclusion, and a moral democratic society. After, I will give examples of various leadership theories that reflect the literature about democratic ethics. Democratic ethics and values demonstrate what is appropriate and good for the betterment of higher education institutions, their leaders, and all of society's citizens, not just a select few.

What is Representation?

Democratic ethics cannot be discussed further without understanding and acknowledging the importance of representation. To fully grasp what representation exemplifies, specifically for women leaders in academia, we must first comprehend the meaning of representation. Hanna Pitkin (1967) provides many theories and examples of the connotation of representation. Pitkin (1967) summarizes the authorization view by describing representation as occurring "whenever one person is authorized to act in place of other…to represent means to act with binding authority in the name of others…which means authority to deliberate and decide for others" (p. 42-43). Similarly, Pitkin (1987)

also notes that representation can be viewed in a range of casual comments and short delineations, such as seeing representation as "acting with the consent of someone else" (p. 43). These definitions of representation can be seen not only in government elections, but also during the hiring process within institutions of higher education. When someone is appointed as a president, dean, board member, or to another leadership position, that person represents the people who work in conjunction to and underneath them. This person is seen as being able to make the best decisions for others because they were hired in that position to do so.

However, with the position and representation of the authorization view, there is also the accountability theorists. The accountability theorists denote representation as "someone who is to be held to account, who will have to answer to another for what he does…the representative must be responsible to the represented" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 54). It is important to identify how representatives need to behave, what action actually reflects representation, and if that person has represented the group or area well or poorly. The act of representing can be expressed by two notions, to "stand for" another and to "act for" another (Pitkin, 1967). Both of these acts of representation can help us understand the symbolic and definitional concepts of representation as a whole in order to express the phenomena in which women are underrepresented in leadership positions within institutions of higher education.

Pitkin (1967) describes "standing for" another as descriptive representation in which representing "depends on the representative's characteristics, on what he [sic] *is* or is *like*, on being something rather than doing something…the representative does not act for others; he [sic] "stands for them"; by virtue of correspondence or connection…" (p.

61). In this case, someone who is hired as a leader within institutions of higher education stands for the collective of the group they are representing. It is not so much about their authority to lead that resembles "standing for" representation, it is more so focused on the characteristics of who the person is in order to represent on another's behalf. Someone who represents another in a "standing for" manner does not always represent all who favor that person, but as someone who is responsible and qualified to represent a collective group in a particular action. A person's representation is seen as a guide of their characteristics and in their actions of how they will lead (Pitkin, 1967). In "standing for" representation, representing means "being like you, not acting for you" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 89). However, "standing for" someone does not always lend itself for the person to be held accountable in their actions, here you can understand it as "resembling" (Pitkin, 1967) those they are representing.

The idea of "standing for" someone is also seen as symbolic representation. The person who is "standing for" another in a symbolic way embodies the other in all avenues of the action. Moreover, symbolizing representation as "standing for" is "an exact reference to something indefinite" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 97). When Pitkin (1967) discusses an individual as representing or "standing for" another, she is saying that the person assimilates to a conventional symbol, "to the kind of symbol that can only represent" (p. 97). Furthermore, we must understand that when someone is identified as a symbol to represent or "stand for" another, we need to know that some figures "stand for whatever they are currently taken or defined to stand for…[this] suggests or expresses something beyond itself to some people…or has at some time in the historic past" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 100). Symbolic representation of "standing for" another consists of "the importance of

pleasing one's constitutes" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 111). For example, Ruth Bader Ginsburg enacts symbolic representation as "standing for" gender equality. When we think of Ruth Bade Ginsburg, we can think of her symbolically in a positive manner, representing her commitment and championing of gender equality, especially for women. Ruth Bader Ginsburg then stands for the importance of representing women in the gender equality fight, resembling them in a type of way, but not in the sense of "acting for" every woman in the country.

"Standing for" representation can also invoke problematic connotations. For example, Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, the second out of only three Black and African American Supreme Court judges to ever serve, is no stranger to controversy. His conservative ideology on abortion and desegregation received backlash from numerous protestors. Throughout Thomas's career, he has worked against many of the policies that his predecessor Thurgood Marshall, the first African American Supreme Court judge, advocated for. Thomas can be seen as a symbol in "standing for" representation because he is the only Black man represented on the highest governing board in the United States. However, some citizens argue that he does not represent all Black and African American people in a productive way, for example his opinion piece, *Missouri vs. Jenkins (1995),* on desegregation. Since Thomas is viewed as "standing for" representation, he is not always being held accountable for his actions.

An additional example of problematic "standing for" representation is the Governor of South Dakota, Kristi Noem. She acts in ways that are detrimental to the overall outlook of reasons why women should be in leadership positions. Her nickname, "the Snow Queen", was coined in 2016 and continued throughout the COVID-19

pandemic (Roderick, 2021). During this time, she spent $5 million on ads promoting tourism in South Dakota when the nation was in lockdown (Roderick, 2021). Governor Noem also allowed a clinical trial for hydroxychloroquine to take place in her state resulting in millions of local dollars spent while also turning down federal employment assistance. Noem cost thousands of North Dakotans lives during the global pandemic. Additionally, Noem praises her own leadership while criticizing other women in power, even though there are several scandals revolving her and bribery and intimidation. She is an example of "standing for" representation because she does not represent all women in leadership. Iris Young (2000) writes that "…*de facto* representation is arbitrary; in fact direct democracies often cede political power to arrogant loudmouths whom no once chose to represent them" (p. 125). In the 2018 election, Noem only won with 51% of the votes cast, the lowest margin of a Republican in a red state (Roderick, 2021). This type of behavior presented by Noem further exacerbates the underrepresentation of women and demonstrates that one woman does not represent all women.

The representation of "acting for" positions the viewpoint of how the substance or content of acting for others is the nature of that activity itself (Pitkin, 1967). The activity of "acting for" compiles speaking for, acting for, and looking after "the interest of their respective groups" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 116) in all capacities to ensure the betterment of that groups well-being. Though "acting for" representation, as noted previously, examines and holds the person accountable if they have represented the group or area well or poorly. When "acting for" another, "one represents whatever guides one's actions" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 117), which can encompass particular behaviors, obligations, and accountability. When "acting for" someone, you are the "agent, for whom he [sic]

acts…the action being his…" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 122) to do what they will for the best interest of the party they are representing. Another example of "acting for" could mean that they are performing in a manner of best interest for the other, such as "on behalf of" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 126), to represent and act on whatever is best for the collective of the group. To summarize, the action of representing as "acting for" others is defined "in terms of what the representative does and how he does it, or in some combination of these two considerations…" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 143). "Acting for" is the activity that takes place in representation while "standing for" is seen as more descriptive or symbolic representation.

The concept of representation, while appearing to be broad can really be deduced down to the way in which "structure and [function] work out in practice" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 240), specifically within society. Representation should "construct institutions and train individuals in such a way that they engage in the pursuit of the public interest, the genuine representation of the public; and, at the same time, to remain critical of those institutions and that training" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 240) so that there can be improvements and developments in the future. What representation looks like and the definition from Pitkin (1967) falls in accordance with democratic ethics and values.

When delineating what representation resembles and how that concept reflects that of leaders, women are consistently undervalued and underrepresented. According to Pitkin (1967), institutions should perform and represent the public interest of those they are serving, this encompasses the leaders within these institutions. If women are not accurately represented within institutions of higher education, these institutions are not

aligning with democratic values. In what follows, I will highlight the works of Dewey, Rawls, Martin, and Young to explain how and why the representation of women matter.

John Dewey

John Dewey (1916) remarks that education is equivalent to growth and that development is the growth of life. To grow, you must continuously establish active habits through thought, involvement, and creativity to reach new goals, which in hindsight are against the normal routines that have been established. Dewey (1916) notes that actions become rigid when there is a lack of diversity and challenges of thought. He also comments that without diversity of ideas, then isolation sets in to make "for rigidity and formal institutionalizing of life, for static and selfish ideals within the group" (Dewey, 1916, p.90). This rigidity and stagnant way of acting prevents society from making progress. If women are endlessly left behind and not included in leadership within higher education, there is little growth within institutions or society. Institutions of higher education are established for advanced growth outside of primary and secondary education. They largely encourage students to acknowledge their own biases and correct them, expand on their subject knowledge, and uncover their identity and place in society. If one group of people is continuously leading those efforts and leaving others out, the growth of that institution can only be minimal. If academia is truly there to further the education and growth of self, then women need to also be seen and valued in those leadership positions.

A democratic education needs to serve the needs of a democratic society. John Dewey (1937) notes that "the very idea of democracy…must be continuously explored afresh…the…institutions in which it embodies to be remade and reorganized to meet the

changes that are going on in the development of new needs on the part of human beings and new resources to satisfy those needs" (p. 32). He also observes that "just as democracy in order to live must move and move forward, so schools in a democracy cannot stand still, cannot be satisfied and complacent with what has been accomplished, but must be willing to undertake whatever reorganization…of administration…[it] needs to continue to [exist]" (Dewey, 1937, p. 33). American institutions of higher education exist in a democratic society, and because of that, they must be willing to adapt and grow with the needs of their people. As more diverse students attend collegiate colleges and universities, those institutions have a moral position to reflect that of their population. When 30% of the United States college and university presidents are women, the growth at which the diversity of education is occurring is lackluster and detrimental to a democratic society.

We can learn about leadership in a democratic society from John Dewey. Dewey argues that "it can be the best thing for democracy to be challenged, for in such cases belief in it must be considered and remembered, and not merely be a matter of habitual thinking or belief" (Weber, 2013, p. 177). Becoming complacent with the trajectory of patriarchal actions and norms does not align with upholding democratic ethics and values. Dewey also notes that "democracy calls for consideration of all individuals as best we can achieve it…" and that democratic leadership calls for "modern appreciation for the liberty and equality of each person into a single term, respect" (Weber, 2013, p. 181). Higher education institutions must demonstrate respect for all women in their career advancement into leadership through equal access to choices, this encompasses institutions respecting every individual as well as being challenged in the ways they have

performed thus far. Additionally, institutions and their leaders need to have respect for every individual equally. Weber argues in *Democracy and Leadership* that"…equality does not mean sameness…Rather, different things to be treated as equals are in fact incommensurable…therefore unique and valuable in themselves. The fact that they are incommensurable is part of the reason to treat them as equals" (Weber, 2013, p. 181). Therefore, Dewey's outlook on leadership supports democratic virtue for what is best for society by respecting each individual's uniqueness as his approach to the ideal of democratic equality.

As mentioned, Dewey agrees that for society to thrive, then the traditional route of hierarchy needs to be altered. Weber (2013) states that outdated ways of thinking and acting sometimes diminish, but "others linger on because they may have been at one time greatly helpful and thus assumed to be permanently so" (p. 63). The creation and purpose of higher education reflect centuries of change, but to grow, higher education must adapt to the present and future needs of a democratic society. In Chapter 2 I discussed gender biases, norms, and stereotypes that continue to persist. These gendered ways of thinking demonstrate what was once reflected as appropriate in the 19th century, but certainly are not acceptable now, yet they continue to linger. Weber (2013) states that "The real world appears desperate for more and better leadership" (p. 59); this notion cannot ring truer.

Dewey also outlines how democratic ideals of leadership comprise collective research about a problem, plan, or solution. Therefore, the data must be "collected and reported to…[uphold] the demands of leadership and public inquiry" (Weber, 2013, p. 73). Furthermore, "If research and reporting are done poorly or falsified, the strongest of authorities might fail in the demands of leadership" (Weber, 2013, p. 73). In chapter 2, I

confirmed how higher education institutions lacked transparency when evaluating and providing diversity data; this leads to a lack of trust in those in leadership positions. Weber (2013) builds on Dewey by acknowledging that "Transparency in government is important for the avoidance of unwatched tyranny, for the people to be able to learn and to decide whether or not to consent to a commander's proposals" (p. 61). This can also be said about institutions not being forthcoming with their data on diversity leadership. If transparency is not visible, then we can assume representation is all the more important to ensure everyone's interests are advanced. Therefore, there is a need to challenge and check the transparency and the democratic values of that institution.

Evaluating democratic values through the literature of Dewey provides guidance on how leaders should represent their people and institution. Building his theory on Dewey's explanation, Weber (2013) argues that "leadership is not restricted to a class of persons, even if we can learn from role models or archetypes. Leadership itself is not a stratified notion focused on elites. Instead, leadership is a process to which all can contribute, participating in judicious yet courageous guidance" (p 70). Leadership in higher education should not be restricted or limited to cisgendered, wealthy, white men. Further, when women are seen in leadership, those positions should not be restricted to cisgendered, wealthy, white women. When this pattern continues to occur, leaders "treat policy proposals as their own, rather than as ideas for all to consider and weigh, focusing on egotism…rather than virtues" (Weber, 2013, p. 73). An institution should demonstrate democratic ethics and values by revising and modifying the types of leaders in power. In doing so, institutions can draw "most effectively and ideally from the vast intelligence of many interest and intelligent minds, working together to solve common problems"

(Weber, 2013, p. 61). This heightens the overall culture and happiness of stakeholders within institutions of higher education.

For society to become a better place to live, and for institutions to generate the level of growth appropriate to the changing development of people, women must be seen in those leadership positions within higher education. If women are not advancing into leadership positions within institutions of higher education and are not involved in decision-making, then institutions create an "undesirable society" (Dewey, 1916) and education. The institution therefore would not be acting on a measure of worth consistent with "a society…for participation in its good of all members in equal terms" (Dewey, 1916, p. 115), but instead an exclusion of members within that democratic society. To accurately, justly, and morally create an environment that will develop "a more intelligent citizenship in all ranges of citizenship" (Dewey, 1937, p. 34), women, just as much as men, need to stand in positions of leadership for the growth, betterment, and representation of the institution and society.

We can summarize Dewey as agreeing that repetition and "rigidness" creates oppression and restriction of developing intelligent and well-rounded citizens. This is also in agreeance with the constant lack of diverse representation of leaders within institutions of higher education. It is important to show that "…variation is valuable, and that diversity leads to greater strength… It enriches the potential sources of solutions for the public's problems" (Weber, 2013, p. 73). Higher education would create utmost success and benefits if there were more equal representation of leaders. Weber (2013) draws on Dewey's inspiration that "Respect is a vital democratic virtue that suggests that

all people can be sources of insight, value, and human dignity" (p. 182), therefore, women's representation must be valued.

John Dewey offers a call to action when questioning whether leaders are upholding democratic ethics and values. Weber (2013) writes that "The vital lesson Dewey highlights is the need to challenge officials for the sake of shared leadership" (p. 76). His critiques of American governance correlate directly to leadership within institutions of higher education. Dewey writes that "we in this country are too submissive to what are termed authorities in different fields, and too little given to questioning their right to speak with authority. It is a common complaint that we are too credulous a people and are only too ready to swallow any bunk if it is offered with the prestige of apparent authority" (Weber, 2013, p. 74). Women cannot continue to wait for the hierarchy of leadership to change, we know from previous literature that the change is moving at a snail's pace. When institutions make their leadership, policies, and practices more equitable, then "various perspectives and inclinations…can become more varied, rich, and experimentally fruitful" (Weber, 2013, p. 66). Women must use their voices to challenge the status quo of leadership to make higher education institutions more culturally diverse, happier, and ethical.

John Rawls

John Dewey discussed how democratic leadership encompasses respect and appreciation of the diversity of all individuals, not merely a select few. Additionally, Dewey notes that having maximal respect for an individual constitutes justice (Weber, 2013, p. 184). John Rawls explains that for a democratic society to function morally, justice and fairness must be evaluated. Rawls (1958) argues that justice can be theorized

by two principles. These two principles are summarized as people having the utmost freedom, so long as it does not hinder another's freedom or affects the system in which they are involved, and inequalities in any capacity not hindering a person's fair and equal chance within every opportunity they so choose. John Rawls (1958) also reasons that "fundamental to justice is the concept of fairness…" (p. 178). The definition of fairness concludes that all participants must have equal participation in the action. Therefore, the two principles of justice, the right to freedom and the right to unbiased equality, should create fairness in actions and practice.

In *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement,* Rawls (2001) posits what can make citizens of a democratic society free. He states that "One can try to deal with this question by viewing political society in a certain way, namely, as a fair system of cooperation over time from one generation to the next, where those engaged in cooperation are viewed as free and equal citizens and normal cooperating members of society over a complete life" (Rawls, 2001, p. 4). This fair system of cooperation is broken down into three features. The first being that social cooperation is "is guided by publicly recognized rules and procedures which those cooperating accept as appropriate to regulate their conduct" (Rawls, 2001, p. 6). Second, there are fair terms listed under social cooperation where "all who do their part as the recognized rules require are to benefit as specified by a public and agreed-upon standard" (Rawls, 2001, p. 6). Feature three incorporates the wants of those who are engaged in social cooperation, the participants "seeking to advance from the standpoint of their own good" (Rawls, 2001, p. 6). These three features set forth what can be identified as fair or equal in terms of a system of cooperation. Therefore, drawing upon the principles of justice mentioned above, "the principles of a

democratic conception of justice may be viewed as specifying the fair terms of cooperation between citizens so conceived" (Rawls, 2001, p.6). This means that publicly recognized rules and procedures, fair terms, and citizens wanting to advance their personal virtue produce just democratic society.

John Rawls (1958) states that inequalities are "differences in the resulting distribution established by a practice, or made possible by it, of the things men [sic] strive to attain or avoid" (p. 167). He also determines that "A man [sic] whose moral judgments always coincided with his interests could be suspected of having no morality at all" (p. 173). Previously, I provided literature about how the patriarchy continues to uphold positions of power within institutions of higher education and limit women's choices and opportunities for leadership advancement. In doing so, these institutions maintain inequalities in how practices and policies are conducted and implemented. Further, the morality of leaders, predominately male leaders, within academia is unjust because they continue to maintain their leadership dominance, increasing their objective of authority. Rawls (1958) indicates that a practice is just and fair when all parties have mutual respect and freedom to engage within that practice and everyone who participates can openly have their positions equally understood and appraised. The unwritten rules and practices which higher education leaders are following are unjust because women do not always have the opportunity to obtain leadership positions. This undermines the aspects of a democratic society and democratic values when all persons are not given a fair chance to progress. As outlined in chapter 2, gender norms, biases, and stereotypes prevent women the equal opportunity to advance their leadership careers.

Additionally, John Rawls (1958) continues to note how someone can be unjust by not being transparent with their actions. For example:

> "acting unfairly is not so much the breaking of any particular rule, even if the infraction is difficult to detect, but taking advantage of loop-holes or ambiguities in rules, availing oneself of unexpected or special circumstances which make it impossible to enforce them, insisting that rules be enforced to one's advantage when they should be suspended, and more generally, acting contrary to the intention of a practice."

Summarizing the theories of fairness, American institutions of higher education are engaging in unjust practices because they are taking advantage of systems that are not transparently written or applied, some of those being biased hiring practices. If institutions of higher education were upholding justice and fairness, then the balance of men and women in leadership would be more equitable. In order for academia to be moral, then sacrifices need to be made in which institutions "…will be required to forego particular advantages…" (Rawls, 1958, p. 181). While the duty of justice and fairness does not always require a higher education institution to sacrifice its interests, it is clear that the preservation of abundant personal interests is hindering women's contribution to democratic equity.

Jane Roland Martin

Jane Roland Martin, a profound philosopher, feminist, and educator argues for equity through representation through the framework of democratic ethics and values. Martin questions why women are not seen more in leadership roles in academia, even though men and women are now equally educated. Martin (1991) elaborates on the injustice in the lack of women in leadership within institutions of higher education by

questioning "why does there seem to be marked difference in male and female achievement…given the fact of equal access to higher education?" (p. 10). Martin (1991) agrees with the earlier statements on virtues and ethics outlined by Aristotle (1889). Furthermore, Martin (1985) argues that "it is unjust to limit active cultural citizenship to a chosen few as it is to restrict active political citizenship" (p. 109). Here, Martin (1985) aligns with Rawls' (1958) principles of justice and fairness in which limiting equitable participation in all institutions leads to unjust citizenship, especially in a democratic society.

An educated person, as Martin (1985) defines, is "one who has had and has profited from a liberal education…[this is]…our ideal of the educated person" (p. 72). Martin (1985) also states that "if the concepts of education…" are tied to the historical ideal of an educated person as mentioned previously, then "the educated person will coincide with the cultural stereotypes of a male human being, and our definitions of excellence in education will embody 'masculine' traits" (p. 78). The definitions of excellence will "be appraised differently when they are possessed by males than females" (Martin, 1985, p. 78). When we reflect upon what is specifically valued, projected, and taught within schools, the tasks and characteristics of women are traditionally omitted. By excluding the experiences and impacts of women throughout history, young girls, adolescents, and women do not have representation of leaders to revere.

Martin (1985) articulates that "students of both sexes will come to believe, or else will have their existing belief reinforced, that males are superior, and females are inferior human beings…that the ways in which women have lived and the things which women have done throughout history have no value…" (p. 80). Furthermore, what is labeled

liberal education "…distort[s] [women] by projecting the cultural stereotype of a female…" and "gives pride of place to male experience and achievements and to the societal processes thought to belong to men" (Martin, 1985, p. 79). The value placed on men leads to the gendered mottos previously indicated of "think leader, think male." When heightened worth is historically placed with men's experiences and traits, then society will continue to be unjust. However, if change can originate at the lowest level of education by eliminating the hidden curriculum and including more women's achievements and leaders, then institutions can begin to become more just. When men and women see more representation of influential women in curriculum, media, and leadership, then progressive change occurs, which leads to upholding democratic ethics and values of equity for institutions of higher education as well as society.

Martin (1991) states that society needs to detach women from our cultural construct of masculinity, which is assembled from what society deems men's responsibilities or masculine qualities. Even today, men are perceived as ambitious and assertive in leadership positions whereas women are viewed as angry, hysterical, or emotional when making those same decisions. Additionally, Martin (1991) mentions that "the subjects in which females predominate are the very ones in which job opportunities have been severely curtailed in recent years and these fields are presently at risk of being downgraded in academic standing and resources" (p. 10). This can only lead to the decline of morality within institutions of higher education by not supporting diversity and morally just consequences to create a greater sense of inclusive values. Martin (1991) quotes Virginia Wolfe (1938) as describing women needing to invest their power to "disarrange the existing constitution of things with positive value" (p. 15). In a

democratic society, that value is consistent with education. To cultivate justice and democracy within higher education, women need to have leadership influence to make changes for a morally just world.

Martin uses democratic virtue and ethics to describe the habits, conditions, and prejudices in which women were raised to demonstrate that women are as deserving of education as men. Martin (1991) states that the process of socialization, which enforces different expectations between masculine and feminine roles in society, begins in infancy and continues into adulthood, which is a major violation of virtue ethics. How can true overall happiness be achieved if there is a different definition of happiness based on gender? Harmful consequences develop and persist due to genderization that has been embedded in our culture. Martin (1991) quotes Wolfe (1938) as stating that virtue can be reached only by "disturbing the existing constitution of things" (p. 7). The existing condition of leadership within higher education needs to disturb the process of incessant patriarchal leadership. Education is used to produce intelligence, growth, and evolution in a society that is always changing. The concept of education needs to be representative of its population to create the greatest consequences and happiness. For this to occur, the existing conditions of leadership within institutions of higher education need to transform.

As stated elsewhere by Chugh and Sahgal (2007), women can act or perform in ways stereotypically considered more masculine ways where they would not otherwise to conform to the acceptance of what a leader is, historically associated with predominately masculine traits. Martin (1985) argues that "if [women] become analytic, objective thinkers and autonomous agents, they are judged less feminine than they should be…thus

educated [women] are penalized for… and alienated from their own identity as females" (p. 78). This outlook on an educated person tends to harm women more than men, which is especially shown within the notion of performativity. Martin (1985) notes that "the functions, tasks, and traits associated with females are deemed less valuable than those associated with males" (p. 79) in society. These stereotypical values do not uphold what a just and fair democratic society encompasses. To correctly represent the population of a democratic society, women need to have leadership influence to make changes for a just world. To make that change, institutions need not only to educate themselves on different forms of leadership but to take active steps in combating gender stereotypes on their campus. The different theories of leadership will be expanded upon later to assist in understanding how various methods can garner more women representation in leadership.

Similar to Dewey and Rawls, Martin also concurs that changes to the status quo must be made for institutions of higher education to be just and moral. Martin (2011) insists that "If the education of a democratic citizenry is to be the joint venture it needs to be, many of the cooperating partners will themselves have to undergo change" (p. 161). Institutions of higher education have demonstrated that they have the capability to improve the lives not only of those in their immediate communities, but of people in the broader society as well. Yet, the pace of progress in creating culturally responsive citizens is unhurried.

When academia upholds presumptively masculine norms of leadership, then they "deprive women of the opportunity to do some of the world's most important work and deprive the world of the opportunity to benefit from the missing women's ‘brain power’" (Martin, 2011, p. 163). As detailed previously, women bring an array of knowledge,

experiences, values, and viewpoints that can enhance the morality of an institution. When there are additional opportunities for more women to make decisions relative to program, policy, and overall institutional transformation, then democratic citizenry has been sustained within higher education. However, to make substantial positive change, institutions of higher education must recognize and understand their own beliefs, biases, and practices. Martin (2011) states that academia must "acknowledge its own miseducative sins of omission and commission, as well as those of others; which is to say that it will need to identify the aspects of its culture that perpetuate the very problem of the missing women it is trying to solve" (p. 181). To uphold democratic ethics and values, institutions of higher education must place significant importance on all demographics of women in having equal opportunity for the betterment of all citizens.

Iris Marion Young

Echoing Dewey and Martin, Iris Marion Young also argues for democratic justice with a special focus on the underrepresentation of women. Young (2000) gives an account of Susan Okin, maintaining that "gender roles and expectations structure men's and women's lives in thoroughgoing ways that result in disadvantaged and vulnerability for many women and their children…that good jobs…assume workers are available forty hours per week year-round" (p. 93). Almost every aspect of society mirrors “the expectation that domestic work is done primarily by women, which [assumes] in turn help reproduce those unequal structures" (Young, 2000, p. 93) at play. Young's (2000) literature on gendered biases and stereotypes continues to be proven true two decades later. These social and cultural forces and structures exist in the actions of every person.

While maintaining these structures, society limits the freedoms of women by dismissing their possibilities of choice. As Young (2000) exclaims, "individual subjects make their own identities, but not under conditions they choose" (p. 99). John Dewey agrees that "nature favors diversity and adaptability" (Weber, 2013, p. 64), and from this adaptability comes growth and a positively changing society. As society changes, the cultural norms and forces need to also change to produce a morally just world for all. Society should not just live and let live. The reoccurrence of the underrepresentation of women leaders needs to be transformed.

To create a democratic society, Young (2000) notes that promoting justice should be the ultimate purpose. Greater inclusion of underrepresented and diverse groups encourages more democratic governing and processes. In order to maximize consequentialism, all life histories and experiences of various groups must be represented to produce a just society, in this specific case, the experiences of women. Drawing on Kimberle Crenshaw's concept, "intersectionality", coined in 1989, Young (2000) also recognizes that a "person's social location in structures" (p. 95) is not only differentiated by all aspects of intersectionality but that each of those structures or identities are impacted by patriarchy. Martin (2011) agrees with Young (2000) that it should not be thought that the "higher education's woman question concerns only white, middle class, heterosexual women" (Martin, 2011, p.162). To have the morals and ethics of all represented within academia, every woman should have the opportunity through the encouragement of noncoercive nudges to choose to pursue leadership.

All women do not have the same lived experiences; therefore, the value of diverse representation is critical to upholding justice. These identities further enforce how higher

education institutions value, or devalue, women with intersecting characteristics, exuding immorality. When varying viewpoints are considered and implemented, academic institutions can gain new information and flourish in an inclusive democratic society. Young (2000) describes that in a democratic process, specifically within leadership, when a problem or issue arises, then a large collective must gather and discuss to solve it in a way that does not undervalue the rights or interests of others. When reflecting on the processes of democracy within the leadership of higher education, institutions are not upholding democratic ethics and values because the rights and interests of women are undervalued. Young (2000) writes, "If all significantly affected by problems and their solutions are included in the discussion and decision-making based on equality and non-domination, and if they interact reasonably and constitute a public where people are accountable to one another, then the results of their discussion is likely to be the most wise and just" (p. 30). Within institutions of higher education, if white, straight men are consistently expected to represent a diverse population of faculty, staff, and students on campus, they cannot in good faith properly represent any other demographic (Young, 2000). Valuing diverse representation of women leadership is central to unifying university campuses, achieving justice, and upholding a democratic society.

Iris Marion Young (2000) reflects that "Just social institutions provide conditions for all persons to learn and use satisfying and expansive skills in socially recognized settings, and enable them to communicate with others or express their feelings and perspectives in contexts where others can listen" (p. 31-32). When all persons have the power to expand, communicate, and express their positions, experiences, and values then the institution is considered fair and just. Institutions of higher education perpetuate

inequality because structural inequalities related to gender and leadership remain. Young (2000) can be summarized as arguing in favor of reaching gender parity within higher education leadership. For this to occur in a democratic institution, all stakeholders must fight to ensure that policies, regulations, and programs, are enacted and enforced. When the status quo of leadership can "put aside their particular interests and [seek] the good of the whole" (Young, 2000, p. 42) then democratic ethics and values are enhanced.

Leadership that Reinforces Democratic Ethics and Values

From the literature of Dewey, Martin, and Young on justice and fairness, it is important to identify specific types of leadership that reinforce democratic ethics and values. First, there are six stages that demonstrate how individuals think about morality, this is known as Kohlberg's stages of moral development. In level 3, the principled level of morality, stage 5 includes supporting "fair procedures and recognizing that groups have different opinions and values" (Northouse, 2021, p. 424); stage 6 encompasses "decisions that are made to respect the viewpoints of all parties involved" (Northouse, 2021, p. 424). These stages of morals can be acquired and taught by continuous practice, exposure, and reinforcement creating a more virtuous and ethical person and institution. Ethics is fundamental to leadership because "leaders can help to establish and reinforce organizational values and goals" (Northouse, 2021, p. 427). From these leaders and the stages of moral development emerge varying types of leadership that uphold democratic ethics and values; transformational, portions of adaptive, and inclusive leadership are all rooted in virtue.

First, transformational leadership clearly states that leadership holds an attention to morality (Northouse, 2021). Transformational leadership is concerned with "emotions,

values, ethics, standards, and long-term goals" (Northouse, 2021, p. 185). Contrary to transformational leadership, pseudotransformational leadership emerges. Here, this type of leader is "unwilling to encourage independent thought within others, exhibits little general care for others…[and] ignores the common good" (Northouse, 2021, p. 187). This type of leadership is important in understanding the types of leaders some institutions of higher education employ. When there is an underrepresentation of women in leadership, institutions are not projecting a sense of a moral and ethical environment because they are ignoring the common good of the institution.

Additionally, transformational leadership embodies leaders who will "most likely have a positive impact on when followers identify with or find meaning in their work" (Northouse, 2021, p. 194). Followers in academia include faculty, staff, and students. Most leaders within higher education are male, if the population of the institution is not accurately represented in leadership, then how can there be a positive impact and environment to promote a greater sense of self and society? Transformational leadership also encompasses a culture full of moral and ethical values as well as encouraging unique selves to contribute positively to the greater good. Within transformational leadership, the leaders need to emphasize the "needs, values, and moral" (Northouse, 2021, p. 204) of the institution. Looking at literature through the theory of transformational leadership can uncover if institutions are being pseudotransformational or motivating to create an ethical and moral community and society.

Adaptive leadership "encourages people to change and learn new behaviors so that they may effectively meet their challenges and grow in the process" (Northouse, 2021, p. 286). This type of leadership indicates four archetypes. However, the most

influential to institutions of higher education is the first archetype, the gap between espoused values and behaviors. Here, this archetype presents itself as one thing but does not fully abide by those behaviors or beliefs. For example, the University of Kentucky "nurtures a diverse community characterized by fairness and equal opportunity" and pledges to be "an environment of acceptance—a campus that celebrates individuals of all backgrounds, identities, and perspectives" (University of Kentucky, Office of the President). However, these values are not displayed because only 30% of leadership positions (deans, provosts, presidents, and board members) are women at the University of Kentucky. Even more troubling, URM women at the University of Kentucky consist of 3% of campus leaders. These statistics are not limited to the University of Kentucky but are seen among national data as well. Institutions of higher education need to be scrutinized through adaptive leadership to make certain all diverse voices are heard and represented in leadership to uphold a democratic society.

Finally, inclusive leadership focuses on "inclusion not only promot[ing] the reduction of negative and problematic processes grounded in discrimination and oppression, but…" (Northouse, 2021, p. 323) creating strategies of how institutions' behaviors, policies, and systems can cultivate an inclusive and ethical culture. Inclusive leaders facilitate an environment where all individuals and identities are involved in the planning process at every stage "without [followers or individuals] assimilating to established norms or relinquishing any part of their identity" (Northouse, 2021, p. 325). Northouse (2021) cites a chart showing on the x-axis, low uniqueness and high uniqueness, and on the y-axis, low belongingness and high belongingness. Institutions of higher education are displaying exclusion, low belongingness and low uniqueness, as

well as assimilation, low uniqueness and high belongingness. Individuals are either excluded altogether in academia concerning leadership or can assimilate only by conforming to stereotypical and cultural norms. Evaluating how institutions of higher education do or do not create an inclusive environment on campus can demonstrate the lack of well-being and virtue in a democratic society.

Conclusion

Institutions of higher education are unjust when they are unequal. Weber (2013) mentions that "Democratic values are so far the greatest guides yet devised for yielding protest in conditions of injustice, demanding dignity and respect for all people when appreciation of these values is lacking. It is in this sense that democratic states are not stable when they are unjust." (p. 183). Throughout this chapter, I have discussed how noncoercive consequentialism and democratic ethics and values create and uphold a just and fair democratic society for all. The growth of morality within institutions of higher education remains stagnant by the large amount of male representation in positions of leadership. Unbalanced male representation does not support diverse and morally just outcomes which are needed to sustain a greater sense of moral values. Consequentialism clarifies that society should do the most good, for the most people, to increase morality and overall happiness. Democratic ethics and values focus on how fairness and justice will be upheld in a democratic society. Institutions of higher education should be assessed through the same scales presented by Dewey's (1916, 1937) argument of upholding a democratic society, John Rawls' (1958) definitions and principles of justice and fairness, Jane Roland Martin's (1985, 1991, 2011) stance on the injustice of limiting a person's participation in the education system, and Iris Marion Young's (2000) promotion of

justice being the ultimate goal. From these philosophers' writings, academic institutions can evaluate their leadership methods based on the theories outlined formerly to determine if they are indeed upholding democratic values.

Drawing from Plato, Weber (2013) notes that "we should connect the public's call for better leadership to the task of understanding leadership better…" (p. 60) and not ignore the need for more women leaders in higher education. Weber (2013) also proposes an unstated lesson that we can also learn from Dewey, that democratic "leadership must be open to revising conceptions when better ways of conceiving of problems arise" (p 73). When more women leaders are present in the decision-making process, then the number of stakeholders, faculty, staff, and students, represented within higher education increases. Some citizens are drawn to leaders who stand up and support injustices. When institutions of higher education uphold the status quo of leadership, neither justice nor fairness has been achieved. As I have argued, women cannot continue to wait for leadership equality to emerge within institutions of higher education. They need to use their voices and act. Young (2000) resonates with this sentiment when she declares, "disadvantaged sectors cannot wait for the process to become fair." They must be "prepared to challenge others through criticism…" (p. 50-51) and assertion.

In our democratic society, we must uphold fairness and justice and the opportunity for everyone to be able to make any choice they aspire. When women obtain leadership positions within institutions of higher education, they express "the advantage of having a voice at the table and being able to represent viewpoints, constituencies, or populations in situations where those perspectives are not always present or considered" (Hannum et al., 2015, p. 70). To create a just society, equal representation of the people is

necessary. Situating women within leadership positions in higher education can lead to more diverse viewpoints and perspectives creating an inclusive campus culture and environment that strengthens the institution as a whole. These viewpoints and perspectives can also produce positive change within higher education as well as by "influencing higher education policy and starting or changing institutional initiatives" (Hannum et al., 2015, p. 70). These influences impact the trajectory of higher education in formulating a more democratic society and overall happiness. When more leadership positions are held by women, we create a more intelligent and culturally responsive citizenry and overall happiness and success for everyone. In Chapter 5, "Examples of Anticipated Outcomes" I will go into further detail about how noncoercive nudges positively influence women's power and opportunity to choose leadership pathways. I will provide examples of where women leaders are dominant and how those instances correlate to increased progressive outcomes, justice, fairness, and happiness for higher education institutions and society.

CHAPTER V

In chapter 2, “Literature Review”, I discussed the gendered biases and stereotypes that contribute to the underrepresentation of women in leadership, examining the trajectory women follow to advance their careers. Throughout chapter 2, I described how women comprise 33% of tenured or on the tenured-track faculty positions and women who identify as Hispanic, Latinx, and Black or African American make up only 13% of tenured faculty (American Association of University Professors, 2020). While research acknowledges that drastic changes need to be made in academia for women to reach gender parity in leadership, a new study shows it is not impossible to accomplish within our lifetime. “College and universities will need to diversify their faculties at about 3.5 times the current pace if they want the professoriate to reflect the U.S. population in terms of race by 2050” (Flaherty, 2022). According to the study, there has been an increase in underrepresented applicants for tenured faculty positions, but they have still not been selected. If colleges and universities collectively increase their diversity of faculty by one percentage point a year (Flaherty, 2022), then academia, specifically tenured professors, can reflect parity, both gender and race, by the year 2050. In turn, colleges and universities can then expand women representation in top leadership positions. %

When more women hold top-level leadership positions within institutions of higher education, there are a variety of positive consequences that are produced. For example, colleges and universities with women presidents tend to have higher percentages of women leaders, 45% compared to 42% at male-led institutions, in the roles of senior institutional officers, institutional administrators, and division heads

(Whitford, 2022). Moreover, when women occupy the positions of presidents and/or provosts within universities, women senior faculty and administrators earn more than at universities where men hold these positions (Whitford, 2022). The gender pay gap within these universities decreases with women presidents, "for every dollar a male division head earns, female division heads at male-led colleges earn $0.94, while female division heads at female-led colleges earn $1.06" (Whitford, 2022). Finally, at institutions with women provosts, gender diversity increases through the ranks of leadership with 48% of deans being women, compared to 43% (Whitford, 2022) at institutions with male leaders.

In this final chapter, I will specify examples of national and local policies, programs, and networks that assist in nudging women into leadership positions. Here, I will discuss in detail which policies and acts have the most influence in supporting a woman's career trajectory and which programs and networks is beneficial but underutilized. Next, I will identify higher education institutions and women already in top leadership positions who have been successful in garnering diverse gender representation. I will draw upon institutions that have been listed as top universities from the 2022 Women's Power Gap survey, The Big Ten Conference, and women from Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Ivy League Schools which yields happier citizens. Then, I will propose recommendations of what can be accomplished on a macro, mezzo, and micro level in relation to the hierarchy of reaching gender parity in leadership. Finally, I will indicate how each recommendation can provide positive anticipated outcomes for a more just, fair, and happier democratic society when more women are seen within leadership positions in higher education.

National Policies Assisting Women

As discussed previously in chapter 4, "Consequentialism and Democratic Ethics and Values", there are nudges that can be ratified to encourage women to pursue opportunities of leadership within institutions of higher education. Some of those nudges include federal policies and acts such as the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act, an amendment to the original Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, and the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. The Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act directly challenges discriminatory compensation practices based on gender, race, ethnicity, religion, age, or disability. Since this act was passed, 21 states have implemented measures prohibiting employers to ask about the salary history of employees. In turn, this has resulted in higher pay for women and Black job candidates who were hired by 8-9% and 13-14% (Bessen et al., 2020). This implementation is seen as a benefit in those 21 states in relation to gender pay equality, but it needs to be enacted in all 50 of the United States. As stated in chapter 2, it will take until year 2451 for all demographics of women to reach the same amount of pay as cisgendered, middle-class white men. The Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act assists with a more approachable legal process for underpaid women, but it is not aiding enough to bridge the gender pay gap.

The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993 allows for twelve weeks of unpaid leave with a guarantee of the same or equivalent position that the person held previously upon return. The Family and Medical Leave Act, though providing some job protection to take care of oneself or family, does not allow for any type of compensation while on leave. This disproportionally effects women as they are still stereotypically seen as the primary caregivers and the ones who leave their careers more frequently than men,

as cited in chapter 2. This act also disproportionality effects single-caregiver households because they are not receiving pay while caring for a family member which could contribute negatively to their financial wellbeing. Although, FMLA does assist with employee retention and morale (Women's Congressional Policy Institute, 2022). While the FMLA and Fair Labor Standards Act provide some support and protection to women, it can only be considered the smallest of nudges.

Other federal laws that assist with increasing women access and leadership in the workforce include Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII makes it unlawful for an employer with 15 or more employees to discriminate against someone based on race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, or national origin. This law also forbids creating a hostile work environment, especially on the basis of sexual harassment (The United States Department of Justice). Additionally, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, an amendment to Title VII, prohibits sex discrimination on the basis of pregnancy. In the *Academic Kitchen,* by Nerad (1999), women were not considered for academic positions within institutions of higher education if they were pregnant. Furthermore, women who were employed as faculty members were expected to be unmarried and without children. If women professors became pregnant, they were expected to resign their positions, whether married or unmarried. The Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 changed the hiring practices for women who were pregnant or with children, eliminating discrimination on the basis of pregnancy.

More recently, the Fairness for Breastfeeding Mother's Act passed by Congress in July of 2021. This act "requires certain public buildings to provide a shielded, hygienic space other than a bathroom, that contains a chair, working surface and an electrical

outlet for use by members of the public to express milk" (National Conference of State Legislatures). While this act is an addition to the Fair Labor Standards Act, it does not mandate an employer to compensate an hourly employee needing to take time to pump breast milk. Overall, national policies have been, and continue to be, created, and implemented in assisting and protecting women in the workplace. However, these regulations only serve on a macro level of growing women representation within career advancement. More intentional practices and policies need to be implemented at the mezzo and micro level in order to provide women with increased practical nudges and opportunity of choice [see Figure 2]. In the following section, I will examine specific programs and initiatives that can be implemented at the national, state, and university level to aid in more women leader representation.

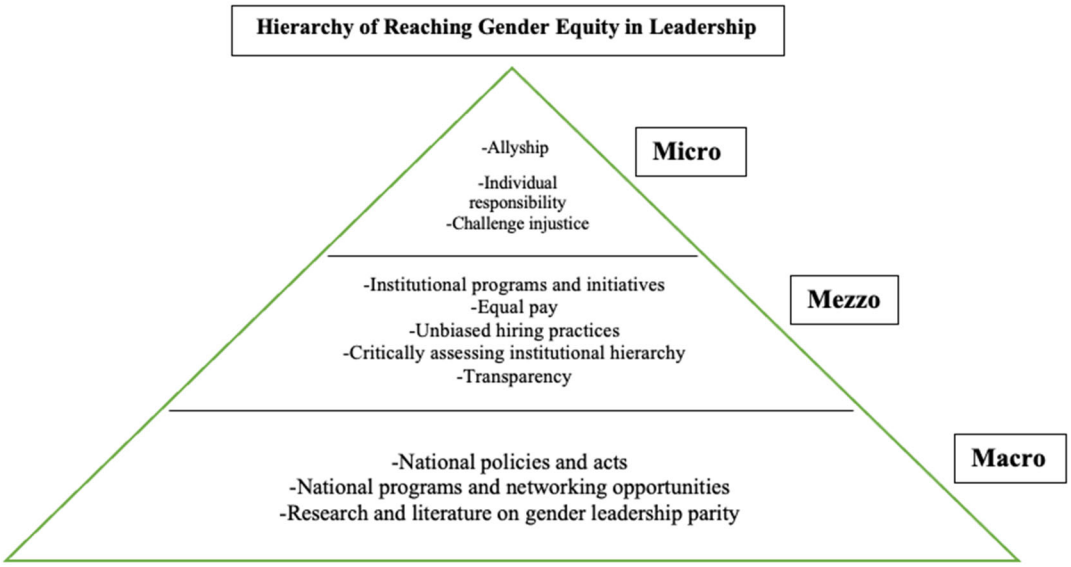

Figure 2

Programs and Initiatives Supporting Women in Leadership

National Programs and Networks

Not only do national policies nudge women into leadership, but specialized national and institutional programs and initiatives focusing on women in leadership are available to heighten women's opportunity of choice. For example, HERS (Higher Education Resource Services), founded in 1972, is "a leadership development and research organization that is dedicated to creating and sustaining a diverse network of women-identified leaders in higher education" (HersNetwork, 2022). There are four ways in which women seeking to advance their leadership career and success of their institution can benefit and participate. First, there is a nine-day leadership development program hosted by HERS alumna, focusing on filling the leadership pipelines across the United States. Second, there is a workshop that assists women in advancing their career into leadership. To date, this workshop has been successful in advancing 60% of participants into higher education senior leadership roles (HersNetwork, 2022). Third, there is an opportunity to meet on-on-one for individualized support to reach goals that has been set by both the participant and the institution. During these sessions, the participant has multiple coaches that meet 8 times a year, focusing on those who are or want to become vice-president, vice-provost, vice-dean or above. Finally, HERS offers a series of intensive leadership workshops designed to translate goals into actions, specifically focused on closing equity gaps of underrepresented groups. This network allows for in-person and virtual collaboration and guidance that can provide women with tools to be successful in their leadership goals.

An additional network that encourages women in leadership is the American Council on Education (ACE) Women's Network. The ACE Women's Network focuses on promoting women in leadership through state chapters, to connect women to mentorships, advisors, and advice from university leaders. The goals specifically of the Kentucky chapter are to "create a network for women who are interested in advancing higher education faculties or administration in Kentucky, provide information, support, and encouragement to those who share an interest in advancement of women in higher education, and develop strategies to improve institutional climates for women in higher education" (KYACEWomensNetwork, 2023). Not only does this program encourage women who are aspiring leaders, but this network also provides recourses for women currently in higher leadership roles. The ACE Women's Network meets collectively each year at a conference. Women are encouraged to not only attend their state-wide meetings, but also engage nationally. ACE also provides travel grants to women who wish to attend the annual conference, making attendance more accessible. This program not only assists in reaching women locally but makes meaningful connections to women in higher education at a national level. Increasing support through nudges at all levels contributes to encouraging and promoting more women into leadership within institutions of higher education, creating a more fair and just institution.

Mentoring

Each higher education institution has various programs, networks, and initiatives that are implemented to assist students, staff, and faculty at their specific college or university. These initiatives can differ based on that particular institution's needs, goals,

and values for success. However, the commonality of mentoring is consistent across higher education, whether through formal or informal programs. In a survey by the Academic Council on Education (ACE) in 2018, "participants emphasized the value of mentorship, not only in persisting and succeeding in the position…, but in some cases, in helping them see themselves take the step into the position". According to Meschitti and Smith (2017), mentoring "implies an exclusive relationship in which a more experienced person provides strategic advice to facilitate the professional and personal development of another, less experienced one. When applied to organizations, mentoring should help the mentee to better understand the organizational context and career opportunities, avoid isolation, and access relevant networks" (p. 167). Mentoring is an essential tool for assisting women in advancing their careers because women can experience greater stress and isolation, as noted in chapter 2.

Meschitti and Smith (2017) state that mentoring leads to "increased retention and more success in promotion and research grants… and contributes to increased self-confidence and work engagement" (p. 174). However, while many institutions encourage mentoring among their faculty and leaders, specific programs designated to building mentors and mentees are scarce. It is often left to the person wanting a mentor to be the first to search and reach out. Furthermore, "mentoring systems tend to reproduce the narratives of the elite group…" (Meschitti and Smith, 2017, p. 176), excluding those from underrepresented groups. Often, this can limit a person's mentor options because there are few in leadership positions in which a person from a minority could relate to. Even when someone agrees to be a mentor, other commitments can stand in the way of them facilitating the best relationship with their mentee.

To gather additional evidence about mentoring I had three informal conversations with women in leadership at the University of Kentucky. These conversations were useful and insightful in generating immediate understanding in relation to being a mentor or a mentee. I chose these women because they have either created or participated in programs specifically designed to increase women in leadership or because they already hold some type of leadership position within higher education. Additionally, I chose to focus on women in leadership within the University of Kentucky because the institution's initiatives and programs to increase women in leadership are relatively new, less than seven years old. According to the 2021 Women's Power Gap Survey, the University of Kentucky ranks in the bottom 20% of employing women in leadership out of all Research I universities. By having these conversations, I was able to understand if these women in leadership believed that statistic was an accurate representation of the university. I valued these conversations, reflections, and experiences of how programs and mentoring are or are not advocating for more women in leadership at the University of Kentucky. I also chose these women, some relatively new to leadership at the University of Kentucky, to hear more about how the university can improve their plans to increase women representation in leadership through the use of mentorships.

As research shows, informal or formal programs of mentorship have shown to be effective, yet time-consuming. Dr. Jennifer Greer, Dean of the College of Communication and Information at the University of Kentucky was a part of the Journalism Leadership Institute for Diversity as a mentee in 2002. As a faculty member at the University of Nevada, Dean Greer was mentored by the acting dean in the College of Journalism, Here, she "got very exposed very quickly to the whole University

environment" (personal communication, December 15, 2022) by being on multiple university committees such as the curriculum and graduate committee and by leading workshops. Now, she is a mentor to three other women who have been a part of the same network. Dean Greer also acknowledged that she has peer mentors as well, "Some folks that are pretty much at my level, they're Deans, at other major programs, like ours. But we've come up together and we kind of mentor, each other in that way… I think it's a lot of different interactions and being open to learning from people at all levels" (personal communication, December 15, 2022). Dean Greer agreed that most of her mentor/mentee relationships have been beneficial and influential but have also been informal and not through a specific, university driven program.

I was also able to have a brief conversation with Dr. Hollie Swanson who serves as a member of U.K.'s Board of Trustees and is the Director of the Biomedical Science Graduate Program for the College of Medicine. Similar to Dean Greer, Dr. Swanson participated in informal mentorship networks both for herself and others. She explained that "there's a lot of issues to set up mentor programs… [and] frankly, I didn't have the bandwidth…how can we make mentorship more accessible" (person communication, December 8, 2022). Dr. Swanson recognized that mentorships are positive, especially for women pursuing any type of leadership position, but it can also be cumbersome. Parallel to chapter 2 and the literature of women and invisible labor, mentorship unfortunately falls into this category. Dr. Swanson noted "So then the time I would spend mentoring would be the same as if I went and gardened…how much time do people have to give…how do we put value" on mentorship? (person communication, December 8, 2022). She also suggested, especially for the University of Kentucky, to lift the load of

active faculty and leaders, to encourage emeritus faculty who have retired to be mentors. Dr. Swanson continued by saying these emeritus faculty would still "place value, but also, making it practical, and not adding, more, work to someone else but making sure, that There's still some communication, there some type of openness, available". Dr. Swanson and Dean Greer agree that mentorships in all capacities are beneficial to women pursuing leadership. The problem lies with not pressuring women within top leadership positions to become mentors which could generate more work for themselves, there needs to be some type of value placed for all stakeholders.

Literature from Meschitti and Smith (2017) found that Black men "were more likely to act as a mentor, instead of Black women, this potentially having implications for the advancement of women themselves, but also being a possible sign of the overload that Black women might experience. In fact, women from ethnic minority groups, once they access senior or high-visibility roles, are expected to act as champions of more causes and might be overloaded by service and pastoral care activities" (p. 176). Due to the underrepresentation of women of color in roles of leadership in higher education, mentors are difficult to pinpoint. Meschitti and Smith's (2017) research is also accurate for Dr. Mia Farrell. Dr. Farrell is a Black woman and the Assistant Dean and Director for Diversity for the College of Agriculture, Food and Environment at the University of Kentucky. In a conversation with Dr. Farrell, she noted that she first met her mentor freshman year at the University of Kentucky, a Black male professor, who encouraged and assisted her on her career trajectory. Dr. Farrell noted that she has not had a Black woman as a mentor; she did ask someone "to be my mentor and she respectfully declined, because she's so busy and just didn't have the time to dedicate, and I respect her for that

because I don't want a mentor that says okay, well yes I'll do X, Y and Z and then it kind of just falls through" (personal communication). I asked Dr. Farrell how do her mentorship opportunities combine with her leadership position? She responded:

> "I think it's important for us to see mentors that look like us and to see people that are successful because a lot of them, they see people that are not successful and think "that's how life works" and it really doesn't. I think it's important that we start to really as women, empower each other because I know that it's challenging to empower other women, but it's needed. And so, we have to be more intentional, to really help each other out because it's things that my male mentor cannot teach me and its things that women can, and vice versa and so it's really important to really share those moments of vulnerability and those stories."

Experiences like the one from Dr. Farrell is not unusual when it comes to mentorship, especially mentorship for women of color pursuing leadership positions in higher education. While all three women during these conversations stated they have had a mentor and mentees, they have been through informal involvement. However, when universities create more formal mentoring networks, "for women (or even to ground it in formal career development initiatives), they are more likely to transform themselves into better workplaces" (Meschitti and Smith, 2017, p. 182). This also means that when institutions implement mentoring programs, then additional organizational transformation can occur. While mentorships are proven to enhance and guide a woman's career trajectory in terms of leadership and create institutional change, they can reinforce additional invisible labors typically shouldered by women. Higher education institutions need to create incentive programs, allocate time for mentoring into job duties, and prioritize funding. Therefore, in order to nudge and encourage women into leadership

positions, institutions need to generate value in mentorship, diversity of leaders, and create a more formal mentor program for women to thrive.

University Led Programs and Initiatives

While each institution is different in regard to programs, policies, and networks, for the purpose of the following section, I will be primarily focusing on the programs available to women pursuing leadership positions at the University of Kentucky. As stated earlier, the University of Kentucky falls within the lowest 20% of RI institutions for women in leadership (Silbert et al., 2022). I chose to focus on and highlight what the university is implementing to showcase that while some of these are newer programs and initiatives that have not reached their full potential, they do have value and are important to increasing women representation in leadership. Currently out of the sixteen colleges at the University of Kentucky, eight of them are led by women deans. In my conversations mentioned previously with women in leadership at the University of Kentucky, the actions that the university continues to do, and implement will only increase women representation in leadership. It is vital to implement a combination of national laws, policies, programs, and networks as well as initiatives at a local institutional level to increase the representation of women in leadership. When women have the option and opportunity to participate in programs, mentorships, and networking events geared towards their success, then universities establish a fairer and more just environment for all to flourish, not just the privileged. By establishing practical and valuable guidance through campus initiatives, institutions of higher education can gently nudge women into leadership through concrete action and support.

The University of Kentucky offers particular programs focused on encouraging women to pursue leadership and develop their leadership goals. One in particular is the Women's Executive Leadership Development Program (WELD), focusing on topics such as leadership development, crisis management, strategic planning, and other aspects of leadership. WELD was first established in 2016 by Dr. Hollie Swanson. In a recent conversation with Dr. Swanson, she stated:

> "When President Capiluoto came on board and he sort of got his cabinet in place, many of us noticed that he had surrounded himself with people that looked about like him… I think I said something fairly critical…and then I was invited to join a group that our first ever woman provost was putting together to look at the issue of Women in Leadership… That committee came up with 11 recommendations, and this was one that the president chose to move forward…"

WELD was created for women to network with other women outside of their departments or specialized fields who share the same leadership ambitions in a safe environment. One important aspect of WELD that Dr. Swanson noted was to assist women in "figuring out how to navigate passwords and what's best for them…how to be a better facilitator and negotiator for yourself". As the literature proved in chapter 2, there is an "old boys club", a historically male-only network where men who have similar backgrounds and experiences assist one another in advancing their status in professional or personal ways. WELD is a program that assists women in creating their own "club" by navigating those professional pathways to leadership where other avenues of guidance may not be available.

Additionally, Professor Jennifer Bird-Pollan, Associate Dean of Academic Affairs, Chair of the University Senate Council at U.K., and now director of the WELD program agreed with Dr. Swanson's remarks about the intentions of the program

(personal communication December 8, 2022). The eight-month-long program assists with leadership networking on the University of Kentucky's campus and advocating for oneself. Professor Bird-Pollan stated that through WELD, women are breaking:

> "the stereotype of women aren't really great advocates for themselves… they're often good advocates for others, but not on their own behalf. Practicing or perfecting [negotiating] rekindled my interest in focusing on that. Also, trying to get people, sort of senior leaders, from all across campus to come and meet with us was another huge benefit of the program…that you really got a chance to get to talk."

The WELD program focuses on increasing participant diversity not only at the department and academic level with staff and faculty, but also demographically. WELD offers mentored, team-based projects focusing on areas of improvement, specifically at the University of Kentucky, while creating a safe space for women to increase their options and opportunities of leadership advancement through conversations, guidance, and a cultivated environment.

Another university led program is the University of Kentucky Women's Forum (UKWF). The Women's Forum was established in 1991 as a place for problem solving, open communication, and to give voices to issues and concerns of women. UKWF is available to all employees, staff and faculty, at the university regardless of gender identity. This forum enhances leadership skills, allows for professional development opportunities, and strengthens U.K.'s campus community. There is an annual conference and luncheon where participants can learn about pay negotiations, socialization, self-care, and how to navigate workplace biases. UKWF also works directly with the Staff Senate to advocate for issues impacting women on campus. The U.K. Women's Forum is an example of a program advocating for further institutional change and increasing

representation of women in leadership through initiatives making choices more accessible, overall increasing the morality of the University of Kentucky.

Other programs and networking opportunities at the University of Kentucky include Building Interdisciplinary Research Careers in Women's Health (BIRCWH) and Women in Medicine and Science (WiMS). BIRCWH was created 22 years ago, focusing on advancing research in women's health and sex differences. Furthermore, BIRCWH offers mentorship resources, networking, professional and career development, and manuscript and grant writing assistance (uky.edu, 2023). WiMS is housed in the College of Medicine at the University of Kentucky and promotes facilitating opportunities for women's career advancement. This program also works in conjunction with the WELD program mentioned earlier. WiMS consists of ten sub-committees that work to create networking, mentorship, and leadership training, particularly in medicine and science. Both BIRCWH and WiMS provides spaces for women to excel in parts of the STEM field where women are traditionally underrepresented. Having these two programs on a university campus demonstrates the motivation to aid and increase women participation in STEM. While more needs to be completed, especially on U.K.'s campus to increase women representation and leadership in STEM, having programs readily implemented and available is a positive beginning.

Successful Institutions and Women in Leadership

National policies, programs, and networking groups in addition to institutional level initiatives give women more opportunities to gain leadership experience and skills in order to advance their career. The programs and policies discussed above provide protection and support for women in the work environment and can be implemented at

the macro and mezzo levels. These initiatives can assist in the advancement and success of top tier universities as well as many successful women in leadership. In this section, I will provide examples of how institutions and women in top positions thrive in relation to inclusive gender parity and effective leadership. In a recent study by the Women's Power Gap and the EOS Foundation, 130 Research I universities were surveyed about their institutional leadership, specifically focusing on the gender and race of their deans, provosts, presidents, and board members. "These universities collectively educate nearly 4 million students each year (or one out of every five), employ 1.2 million individuals, and receive billions of dollars in government research monies, making them major drivers of our state and national economies" (Silbert et al., 2022, p. 6).

The survey was broken down into race/ethnicity categories and the four major classifications of leaders listed above. 60% of the 130 Research 1 institutions responded to the survey and 50% of those responses gave race/ethnicity data (Silbert et al., 2022). Points were allocated per category and rank of leadership. A current woman president is assigned twenty points, each past woman president is ten points, a current women provost is assigned ten points, women academic deans and tenured faculty is half a point for every one percent, and a woman in a president's cabinet is half a point for every one percent. If institutions did not respond to the survey, the researchers gathered the leadership information from the university website. From that information, the points were assigned ranking categories: Leader, Almost There, Work to Do, and Needs Urgent Action. Throughout this chapter, I will be referencing the Women's Power Gap Survey as well as the points and ranking categories to showcase the institutions that are creating positive change in relation to gender parity in leadership.

It is important to acknowledge that six schools out of the 130 have had three women presidents and sixty schools have had zero women presidents (Silbert et al., 2022). Furthermore, there are no East Asian or Indigenous women presidents, and Hispanic women are the most underrepresented, holding only "1.6% of the presidents in the dataset, while representing 9% of the US population" (Silbert et al., 2022). The state of California is leading the way for women collegiate presidents with three currently being led by women and at least eight of their eleven R1 institutions having had a woman president at some point. In Kentucky, according to the 2021 survey, the University of Louisville ranks 19th in leadership diversity with 68.6 points whereas the University of Kentucky, just 75 miles away, ranked in the bottom 20% of the 130 R1 institutions at 104th with 37.7 points. The University of Kentucky is labeled with 'urgent action' recommended for gender diversity in top leadership positions. Previously, I described the networks, programs, and initiatives that the University of Kentucky has implemented over the past decade to continue to combat homogeneity of those in leadership. Most of these programs are relatively new and have yet to reach the full outcome for more women in leadership. However, it was important for me to highlight ways in which institutions at the bottom tier continue to work to increase women leadership representation. Evaluating the success, or lack thereof, of universities can assist in paving a pathway to change and gender parity, especially in leadership.

When women obtain leadership positions within institutions of higher education, they express "the advantage of having a voice at the table and being able to represent viewpoints, constituencies, or populations in situations where those perspectives are not always present or considered" (Hannum et al., 2015, p. 70). To create a just society, equal

representation of the people is necessary. Situating women within leadership positions in higher education can lead to more diverse viewpoints and perspectives, creating an inclusive campus culture and environment that strengthens the institution as a whole. These viewpoints and perspectives can also yield positive change by "influencing higher education policy and starting or changing institutional initiatives" (Hannum et al., 2015, p. 70). These influences impact the trajectory of higher education in formulating a more democratic society and overall happiness for all stakeholders.

As previously noted, The Women's Power Gap survey (2022) has collected valuable information, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of Research 1 institutions in relation to women in top leadership positions. While an abundance of R1 institutions need to make drastic changes to their leadership diversity, there are some who are paving the way for increased representation of women in leadership. It is vital to evaluate what these inclusive and equity-driven higher education institutions are accomplishing in order to provide recommendations for other universities struggling to reassess or modify those leading. From the summary of the top R1 institutions, as well as those in positions of leadership from other colleges and universities, I can then formulate recommendations for institutional assessment and consider programs and policies that should be implemented.

University of California Santa Cruz

The University of California (UC) Santa Cruz is a public Research 1 institution founded in 1965. According to the Women's Power Gap survey (2022), UC Santa Cruz ranks first in the nation for racial and gender diversity leadership with 92.5 points. In the fifty-seven years they have been established, UC Santa Cruz presently has a sitting

woman president as well as two past women presidents; only five other R1 institutions can say comparably. Besides currently having a woman president, UC Santa Cruz has a woman provost, 60% of the president's cabinet are women, and 38% of deans and 36% of tenured faculty are women (Silbert et al., 2022). Additionally, the university has excelled in inclusive hiring practices in tenured faculty positions. For example, "Over the past ten years, the Senate faculty has gone from 12.6% to 17% under-represented minority (Latinx, Indigenous, or Black)" (Messick, 2022). When more diverse representation of leadership is seen, then a more inclusive campus environment is cultivated, leading to increased success.

Cynthia K. Larive, president of UC Santa Cruz since 2019, focuses on student retention and success, especially those students who are first-generation, low-income, and/or those from underrepresented groups. As a Hispanic-serving institution, Larive has supported and elevated the role of the campus chief diversity officer and restructured the Office of Student Affairs and Success. In doing so, her leadership has led to UC Santa Cruz being awarded numerous grants to increase faculty diversity, such as the "Faculty Community Networking program, which provides support groups for Black faculty, AAPI faculty, Indigenous scholars, Latinx faculty, women faculty in STEM, and faculty with disabilities and chronic illness. [As well as] the Faculty of Color and Leadership project, describing what leadership looks like to faculty of color and what barriers exist for getting more faculty of color into campus leadership" (Messick, 2022). Larive's leadership has proven to increase student access, support, and success on campus. Furthermore, the history of women in leadership at UC Santa Cruz verifies the

importance of equity to foster a campus community that not only leads at a national level but creates a more just and fair society for all of its members.

The Big Ten Conference Universities

The Big Ten, the oldest Division I collegiate athletic conference in the nation, is leading the way for women representation in top leadership positions in higher education in 2022. The Big Ten contained the most women presidencies, occupying five out of the fourteen universities. This outpaces the national women presidency average by six percentage points. Equally, out of the fourteen provosts, nine are women and two are women of color. The Big Ten outperforms the national average in the position of provost, by nearly doubling the percentage of women and women of color in this role. The Universities of Iowa, Indiana, Minnesota, and The Ohio State University have women presidents, with the University of Wisconsin's Chancellor being a woman. Furthermore, the Universities of Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Michigan State, Minnesota, Nebraska, Northwestern, and Rutgers have women provosts with Rutgers and University of Michigan having women of color provosts. The intentionality of leadership equity demonstrated by the Big Ten is commendable in the last two decades. As recently as the year 2000, "the only female president of a Big Ten university was Mary Sue Coleman at the University of Iowa" with an increase in 2010 increase to five presidents/chancellors (Nietzel, 2021). However, two Big Ten schools, Purdue and Penn State, still have neither a woman president nor provost.

Included in the Big Ten's accolades is the University of Iowa (UI). The University of Iowa ranked number four in the Women's Power Gap Study (2022) with 84.8 points and categorized as 'Leader'. In June 2021, Barbara Wilson became UI's third

woman president and “President Wilson’s cabinet includes five/twelve women, also the most in UI history” (Rossi, 2022). As noted previously, women presidents tend to have higher percentages of women leaders (Whitford, 2022) throughout the institution, this continues to be true at the University of Iowa. Here, not only does the president’s cabinet consist of 42% women, but 58% or seven out of the twelve deans are women. Additionally, UI hired its first women’s athletic director in 1968, “Christine Grant, who became a national leader in the gender equity movement in sports” (Rossi, 2022). Wilson states that “having a more diverse and inclusive decision-making body enables the university to provide the best experience possible for our students, faculty, and staff” (Rossi, 2022). The University of Iowa and the Big Ten conference demonstrates the value it places on gender diversity and equity within their institutions. Not only does more women representation within top leadership positions exhibit commitment to gender parity, but an overall commitment to increasing a morally just society. %

Women Within Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

Women can also predominately be seen in positions of leadership within Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). While men continue to hold most presidencies, there has recently been an increase in the number of women presidents within HBCUs. There are now twenty-five Black women presidents out of the nation’s 100 HBCUs, many of whom are their institutions’ first woman president, and “are praised for creating new partnerships or wrangling financially troubled institutions” (UNCF, 2022), pushing them to success. While 25% is still below the national average, 30% of women presidencies, it is above the national scope of 5% (AAUW, 2022) for women of color presidents.

Dr. Roslyn Clark Artis became the first woman president of Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina in 2017. In one of her first introductions as the new president, Dr. Artis faced gender discrimination by the chair of the board. During this introduction, Dr. Artis made the decision to set the tone of her presidency by stating she was not in this position because of her gender, but because of her accomplishments and goals for the college. Even though 62% of students at HBCUs are women (UNCF, 2022), the representation of women leadership fairs far behind that percentage. Dr. Artis has been recognized nationally for her leadership. For example, in 2018, she was named "Female HBCU President of the Year" and in 2020 was named "President of the Year" by *Higher Ed Dive* (Benedict College, 2022). Her 2020 award recognized and praised her leadership during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Furthermore, Dr. Artis' leadership has led Benedict College to utmost success. Under her leadership, "Benedict then eliminated long-standing open enrollment, strengthened career development opportunities, lowered tuition, revised the curriculum to align with the industry and focus on innovation, created a strategic and dedicated enrollment management division, increased first-year student support, and reduced debt" (Benedict College, 2019). In chapter 2 I discussed how women in positions of leadership, especially in the role of president, will face the "glass cliff". The glass cliff phenomenon presents women securing positions of authority when the institution is in a state of crisis or when the woman is at high risk of failure due to the institutional neglect. While women face the glass cliff barrier, Dr Artis is an example of shattering that cliff. However, having more women in leadership, especially women of color, would eliminate the gendered mottos and stereotypes of men being leaders. Positioning more women of

color with opportunities to succeed in leadership would also relieve some of the weight they carry of one woman needing to represent all women.

Two additional women presidents at HBCUs who have transformed their institutions are Dr. Colette Pierce Burnette and Dr. Cynthia Warrick. From 2015-2022, Dr. Colette Pierce Burnette became the first woman president of Huston-Tillotson University in Austin, Texas, also the oldest institution of higher education in Austin. Throughout her time as president, Dr. Burnette gained national attention for Huston-Tillotson University with an "awarded a $1 million grant from United Negro College Fund (UNCF) in partnership with the Lilly Endowment as part of the UNCF® Career Pathways Initiative. With the grant, Huston-Tillotson [was] able to provide better resources for students, from internships and mentorships to development of better curriculum" (UNCF, 2022). Most recently, Dr. Warrick retired from Huston-Tillotson after several years of commendable service, most notably increasing the school's endowment by 55%, initiating new degree programs, and a university collaboration with Tesla (Eubank, 2021). Huston-Tillotson University, as of June 2022, remains headed by a woman of color, Melva K. Williams.

Dr. Cynthia Warrick is president of Stillman College in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Prior to her being named president, Dr. Warrick served as interim for four months in 2017. She "has been able to overcome accreditation issues and improve enrollment" by raising roughly $2 million through alumni outreach" (UNCF, 2022). Additionally, Dr. Warrick has added multi programs to reshape several programs to match the workforce trends in Alabama. Since 2019, Stillman College has been recognized each year as a "College of Distinction" (Stillman College, 2022), in main part credited to Dr. Warrick's

leadership. She also increased student enrollment by 27% from 2017-2019 (Stillman College, 2022). Furthermore, Dr. Warrick worked "tirelessly to address the college's debt, rallying presidents at more than 40" (Stillman College, 2022) HBCU institutions to work with policymakers on loan forgiveness, eventually eliminating $40 million, allowing the college to become debt free. These three women mentioned are examples of how women in leadership creates success and happiness, both for the citizens who attend these schools, but for society overall. Women representation within presidencies demonstrates how decisions, not previously made by men, can lead to growth within institutions of higher education. This growth is a primary example of justice and fairness which enhances a more intelligent, social, culturally responsive, and happier citizen.

Ivy League Schools

Similar to the Big Ten Conference, Ivy League schools also bolster higher numbers of women in leadership. In December 2022, Harvard University announced the appointment of Claudine Gay as the 30th president. Gay became the first Black woman and the second woman to lead Harvard, and "the only Black president currently in the Ivy League and the second Black woman ever" (Casey, 2022). With Gay as president of Harvard, decisions can be shaped that focus on racial issues on campus, including affirmative action and Harvard's history with slavery (Casey, 2022). During Gay's acceptance speech, Gay mentioned the concept of the 'ivory tower', which was previously discussed in chapter 2. Gay stated, "The idea of the 'ivory tower'—that is the past not the future of academia. We don't exist outside of society, but as part of it" (Casey, 2022). With more diverse leadership heading institutions that have predominately been founded for and led by wealthy, cisgendered white men, the 'ivory tower' will

optimistically be a term of the past. The other five of the eight institutions being led by women are Dartmouth, University of Pennsylvania, Brown, and Cornell. Ivy league schools boast higher graduation rates than other universities, offer name recognition for graduating students, a close-knit network of alumni, and ample opportunities for research grants. When more women of all backgrounds are leading historic and prestigious institutions, then the future of higher education will become fairer and just in terms of diversity, inclusivity, and gender equity.

LGBTQ+ Leaders

% In chapter 2, I reviewed that "Today, fewer than 40 college presidents in the U.S. identify as LGBTQ, according to the national organization LGBTQ Presidents in Higher Education" (Stewart, 2022). However, the leadership accomplishments of those who identify as part of the LGBTQ+ community should not be overlooked. For example, Dr. Julie Chen, a member of the LGBTQ+ community, was recently appointed Chancellor of UMass Lowell in July 2022. Chen is only the second woman to lead the university. Previously, Chen served as vice chancellor for research and economic development for six years, with a focus in STEM. In that role, Chen facilitated numerous partnerships and initiatives that propelled UMass Lowell to success. Chen's leadership brought together industry, government, and academic (UMass Lowell, 2023) research and programs which extended the university's STEM research, enhancement of the protection of U.S. soldiers, and technology transfer startups. Chen's appointment to Chancellor allows for increased diversity and representation not only on UMass Lowell's campus, but as a model for other LGBTQ+ leaders nationally. However, greater inclusion needs to be a primary focus for all institutions of higher education.

Recommendations and Anticipated Outcomes

In this chapter, I have provided detailed examples of how national, state, and institutional level policies, programs, and networks can provide women with more accessible choices and guidance to pursue leadership in higher education. I have also identified top universities and women in leadership positions who have made achievements in moving towards and reaching gender parity and institutional success. In these final pages, I will propose recommendations of how institutions of higher education can increase women representation within leadership positions. I will also justify how anticipated outcomes from these recommendations establish a more intelligent, social, and culturally responsive citizen for institutions and society.

Institutional Change Through Intersectionality

As previously discussed throughout my dissertation, institutions of higher education "often prove ineffective because college and university leaders typically engage in single-axis identity politics to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion" (Patton and Haynes, 2018, p. 2). This single axis focus consistently does not incorporate critical analysis through the lens of intersectionality. Predominately, "the majority of institutional change models are concerned with determining people's capacity to manage or shape change" (Patton and Haynes, 2018, p. 3), habitually excluding perspectives of women of color, the LGBTQ+ community, and other underrepresented identities. Institutions of higher education tend to be reactive instead of proactive when it comes to concerns of equity and justice on campus. However, when universities center the experiences of "minoritized groups…in institutional decision-making…, "radically different" ideas can be generated than those from the top alone. Specifically, looking to the bottom ensures

greater likelihood that persistent educational norms and traditions that maintain oppression and systemic inequity in higher education will be redressed" (Patton and Haynes, 2018, p. 5). Incorporating intersectional experiences, outlooks, and guidance of all women into the decision-making processes eliminates stereotypes and tropes reinforced by the patriarchal hierarchy.

Analyzing the practices, policies, and leadership of higher education institutions through the lens of intersectionality increases diversity and inclusion on campuses and creates a morally just society for all stakeholders. Listening and including voices of all women, not only cisgendered white women, will cultivate a safe campus environment where every student, staff, and faculty member can flourish. Patton and Haynes (2018) write that "when the needs of the most vulnerable populations on campus are met, all constituents' needs can be met" (p.13). Research (Flaherty, 2022) states that when institutions increase leadership diversity then student success and retention rates increase, especially for Black and Latinx students. This can be accomplished by universities being aware of unconscious biases, eliminating biased hiring practices through defined guidelines, adopting clear goals for access and retention, and through cluster-hiring. Cluster-hiring can particularly assist in eliminating the concept of tokensim for women of color and increase retention of faculty, staff, and leaders.

Employing, promoting, and retaining more diverse women in leadership also expands a person's cultural capital. Cultural capital, coined by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, is the accumulation of knowledge, behaviors, and skills that a person can tap into to demonstrate one's cultural competence and social status. Cultural capital can be accumulated when a person is exposed to and interacts with experiences, environments,

people, and information different from their own to increase social mobility. The more social capital a person has, the more successful they will be in varying avenues of life. When participants within institutional settings are frequently exposed to diverse perspectives, then their ability to think critically, be more accepting of differences, and create societal change increases. Evaluating and changing institutional norms through the lens of intersectionality is not only just but generates utmost happiness for all citizens.

Recommendations and Outcomes for Transformation

The diversity of students should be reflected in the governing bodies of an institution to promote a more inclusive campus culture. Providing women with the resources, tools, and networks to successfully obtain leadership positions is a positive step, but supplementary actions should be implemented to increase women leadership. In each step of reform, transparency is key both nationally and locally. Governing boards, hiring committees, and those in positions of leadership within institutions of higher education must commit to disclosing their diversity data in all facets in order to make tangible and long-lasting change.

First, on a macro level, I recommend that a national policy be applied for free pre-kindergarten education. Some states such as Florida, Georgia, and Oklahoma offer free pre-kindergarten to all four-year-old children regardless of family income or disability. In Kentucky for example, "state-funded preschool education programs are available for all four-year-old children whose family income is no more than 160% of poverty; all three and four-year-old children with identified disabilities, regardless of income" (ky.gov, 2023). In chapter 2 I established that women are often burdened with additional caregiving responsibilities which can impact their careers, one of those responsibilities is

childcare. Education ought not be determined on a state-by-state basis, it should be available and accessible to every child. Enforcing free pre-kindergarten allows women the opportunity to return to work quicker, puts more money in the pockets of families, and creates a more successful society. This national policy not only assists in a child's learning but increases opportunity of career choice for women.

Another recommendation on a macro level would be for the governors of states who select those to serve as board and regent members to be held accountable for their choices. Governors should choose people who emulate inclusion and support equity and diversity to serve on these boards. At the University of Kentucky, the governor appoints 16 members every six years. Depending on who leads the Commonwealth during that time will dictate the types of board members that will serve for those six years. I recommend an evaluation of the appointees before they are assigned to see if they are consistent with promoting change at the systemic level. I also recommend that constituents, both at the state and institutional level, share their thoughts on the proposed Board of Trustees members and ensure the governor participates in full transparency in the explaining the decision-making process. Holding people within top positions of power accountable and apply pressure when there is underrepresentation of women in these roles can create a ripple effect at every other level of leadership. This recommendation also facilitates a more democratic and well-rounded citizenry.

On a mezzo level, university hiring practices need to be evaluated to remove unconscious biases. Regular audits of the hiring process should be conducted in order to recognize where patterns of inequalities occur, especially when narrowing down candidate applications and during the interview procedure. Hiring committees should

question whether the pool of candidates is just diverse or if the actual candidates chosen are. Furthermore, hiring boards should also be held accountable for creating and establishing equitable outcomes for women and women of color, not simply going through the motions. The term "cloning bias" (Flaherty, 2020) can be applied in the replications of hiring committees. Cloning bias is when a committee unconsciously hires the same type of leaders, faculty, and staff members repeatedly. Institutions can correct this behavior by creating rubrics and trainings for hiring boards that go beyond simple bias content. These trainings should dive into the structural hierarchy of how women and women of color have been systemically oppressed and how that can contribute to irregularities in experience, research, and resumes, which was discussed in chapter 2.

Clear and concise goals need to be established and executed about how an institution will hire and retain more diverse faculty members, specifically what would be a good 'fit' for their institution. If hiring committees say that the candidate "fit[s] with people like us… that approach too often becomes an obstacle to diversity" (Flaherty, 2020). Instead, members should use "fit[s] with the needs and aspirations of the program…then fit can actually encourage diversity," (Flaherty, 2020). Setting explicit goals and having a specific plan to dismantle unconscious biases in hiring can increase more women leaders and create a more diverse and balanced leadership. Evaluating the hiring process and attaining diverse leaders is the first step in establishing equitable representation.

After equitable hiring resolutions have begun, the gender pay gap should be addressed. This issue is something that should occur at the mezzo level of reaching gender equity. I have reviewed in chapter 2 how women are paid less than their male

counterparts in all positions of leadership. To remedy this, institutions, especially affluent ones, should increase the average pay of women. The Women's Power Gay Survey states that "pay reflects societal values, and instead of reinforcing these values, elite universities should lead society, not hide behind the notion that they must blindly follow the market compensation rates" (Silbert et al., 2022). On average, women presidents are paid 91 cents for every dollar paid to male presidents (Fuesting et al., 2022). Paying women more can resemble removing blind salary negotiations and re-balancing salaries every couple of years (Elsessor, 2016). Higher education institutions need to make a commitment and set a timeline to reduce and eradicate the gender pay gap. Increasing women leader's pay demonstrates the importance and value universities place on representation and equity. Equal pay will facilitate women having more power and opportunity to succeed both within their personal and professional lives. Eliminating the gender pay gap demonstrates fairness and justice in a democratic society.

Finally, on a micro level, every individual should educate themselves on how to be an ally to women. The philosophy explored in correlation to feminism and equality by Carol Hay (2020) extends a clear image and connection as to why women are not in more positions of leadership within institutions of higher education. Hay (2020) notes that men in general are not the enemy but "rather the interconnected systems of sexist norms, habits, expectations, and institutions." Hay (2020) also exclaims that women have been conditioned into their stereotypes and are socialized into roles that are subordinate ones, that women in our culture are inherently inferior (p. 95). She explains that gender is not simply an imposed social class, it's a lived social identity; it's not something done to us, it's something we do. (Hay, 2020). There is no one way to be a woman, so don't give in

to cheering when one woman makes it, make sure every woman can succeed and succeed often. Every person must work to education themselves on the oppressions women have had and continue to face. Audre Lorde (1984) writes that "Without community there is no liberation…But community must not mean a shedding of our differences, nor the pathetic pretense that these differences do not exist" (p. 2). Therefore, leadership at all levels should acknowledge that differences of experiences between one another is not negative, but can bring updated outlooks, policies, and change for the betterment of everyone.

Most importantly, the most privileged of the patriarchy need to be the loudest of allies. Straight, wealthy white men need to read literature, sign petitions, participate in marches and strikes, and hear women's experiences, not to respond but to listen and take practical action. They should advocate for a variety of women at all levels and validate the oppression women have historically faced. Privileged white women need to reject the norms granted by the patriarchy and not evade the responsibility of action for other marginalized women. Lorde (1984) pronounces that "For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change. And this fact is only threatening to those women who still define the master's house as their only source of support" (p. 2). Being an ally means being an associate to every woman at every level. In order to dismantle the patriarchy, men and women cannot continue to lean on traditional gender norms and stereotypes but be participatory citizens in creating more morally inclusive and diverse environments for higher education institutions and society as a whole.

Conclusion

This dissertation has argued for the need of greater representation of women in leadership positions within American institutions of higher education. Chapter 2 outlined seminal literature on gender stereotypes, biases, and norms that create significant barriers to women representation in top positions of leadership in academia, specifically leadership positions of deans, provosts, presidents, and board members. Here, I focused on influential leadership phrases and theories that give way to explaining why more women are not seen within positions of leadership, importance of evaluating the marginalization of women through the lens of intersectionality, and how feminine norms such as caregiving and performativity negatively impact women's career trajectories. In Chapter 3 I examined how Libertarians use their perspectives to claim that coercion has been enforced to uphold the status quo of patriarchal beliefs. I also detailed the key differences between coercion and choice and how the Libertarian argument removes women's freedom of choice, drawing on apologists for the status quo.

Throughout Chapter 4 I argued that consequentialism and democratic ethics and values give reason to encourage more women to choose leadership positions. Encouraging more women to pursue leadership positions in academia through the use of nudges assists in guiding their decisions without restricting freedom of choice. I advocated that the use of nudges encourages more women to pursue leadership positions in higher education and makes freedom of choice more accessible. Chapter 4 also described how democratic ethics and values contribute to the fairness and justice of creating and upholding a democratic society within institutions of higher education. Finally in Chapter 5, I provided examples of policies, programs, networks, institutions,

and women leaders that give women more power and opportunity to excel in their careers, specifically when pursuing leadership. In this final chapter I also recommended additional actions that need to be taken to reach gender equity within higher education leadership.

It is imperative that there is more representation of women in leadership positions within institutions of higher education because it can lead to the collective society being happier and more well-rounded. Audre Lorde (1984) states that "in our world, divide and conquer must become define and empower" (p. 2). This means women need to unite in the commonality of equity, not fight one another so just one person succeeds. When women can empower one another, then life-long change and dismantling of the patriarchy will commence, therefore increasing the representation of women in positions of power. "Meaningful parity will only be achieved when it is sustained and sustainable—when more women not only reach [top leadership positions], but are established in the position in a way that sets them up to succeed and endure" (ACE, 2018, p. 4). Evaluating women in leadership through the consequentialist theory and critiquing the libertarian opposition can produce tangible recommendations for increased positive outcomes for women in leadership within institutions of higher education. Having more women in leadership decreases the gender pay gap, increases student retention and success, and cultivates a more intelligent, social, culturally responsive citizen. More women representation within positions of leadership creates overall success and happiness for everyone in our democratic society.

REFERENCES

Alcalde, M.C., Subramaniam, M. (2020, July 17). *Women in leadership: challenges and recommendations.* https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2020/07/17/women-leadership-academe-still-face-challenges-structures-systems-and-mind-sets

American Council on Education (ACE). (2018). Retrieved from: https://www.acenet.edu.

Aristotle. (1889). *The nicomachean ethics of aristotle*. William Clowes & Sons, Limited.

Bartel, S. (2018, December 19). *Leadership barriers for women in higher education.* https://bized.aacsb.edu/articles/2018/12/leadership-barriers-for-women-in-higher-education

Barua, A. (20220). Gender equality dealt a blow by covid-19… Retrieved from https://www2.deloitte.com

Behr, M., Schneider, J. (2015). Gender and the ladder to deanship. *Diversity and Democracy Journal 18* (2).

Benedict College. (2022). Retrieved from: https://www.benedict.edu/about-benedict/office-of-the-president/

Benedict College. (2021). Retrieved from: https://www.benedict.edu/the-benedict-college-receives-the-2019-ace-fidelity-investments-awards-for-institutional-transformation/

Bessen, J., Denk, E., Mang, C., (2020). Perpetuating inequality: What salary history bans reveal about wages. Retrieved from: https://sites.bu.edu/

Bloom, A. (1968). *The republic of Plato.* Basic Books.

Bruckmuller, S., Branscombe, N. (2009). The glass cliff: When and why women are selected as leaders in crisis contexts. *The British Psychological Society.*

Bowles, K. (2021). Boards: who's really in charge? Retrieved from: www.insidehighered.com

Boyd, K. (2012). Glass ceiling. *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society*, 549-552.

Burt, C. (2022). What progress? Women still far behind men in elite university power positions. Retrieved from: www.universitybusiness.com

Bursztynsky, J., Rosoff, M. (2022). Facebook parent meta coo sheryl sandberg is stepping down. Retrieved from: www.cnbc.com

Casey, M. (2022). Claudine gay to be harvard's 1st black president, 2nd woman. Retrieved from: https://apnews.com/.

Chisholm-Burns, M., Spivey, C., Hagemann, T., Josephson, M. (2017). Women in leadership and the bewildering glass ceiling. *AM J Health-Syst Pharm, 74* (5), 312-324.

Chugh, S., Sahgal, P. (2007). Why do few women advance to leadership positions? *Global Business Review, 8* (2), 351-365.

Conklin, S., Artamonova, I., Hassoun, N. (2020). The state of the discipline: New data on women faculty in philosophy. *Ergo 6 (30),* p. 841-868.

Crenshaw, K. (2017). Kimberle crenshaw on intersectionality, more than two decades later. Retrieved from: www.law.columbia.edu/news

Davis, D., Maldonado, C. (2015). Shattering the glass ceiling: the leadership development of african american women in higher education. *Advancing Women in Leadership, 5*, 48-64

Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and education.* The Free Press.

Dewey, J. (1937). *American's public philosopher: Essays on social justice, economics, education, and the future.* Columbia University Press.

Dresden, B., Dresden, A., Ridge, R., Yamawaki, N. (2018). No girls allowed: women in male-dominated majors experience increased gender harassment and bias. *Psychological Reports, 121* (3) 459–474.

Dunn, D., Gerlach, G., Hyle, A. (2014). Gender and leadership: Reflections of women in higher education administration. *International Journal of Leadership and Change 2* (1), p. 9-18.

Education Doesn't Open Every Door. (2022). Retrieved from: www.aauw.org

Elsesser, K. (2016). University implements creative solution to the gender pay gap: Paying women more. Retrieved from: https://www.forbes.com.

Eubank, E. (2021). Revered first female president of historic Austin university to retire in 2022. Retrieved from: https://austin.culturemap.com/news/city-life/12-08-21-revered-first-female-president-of-huston-tillotson-university-to-retire-in-2022/

Feinberg, J. (1998). *Coercion and compulsion. In Coercion*. Taylor and Francis.

Feinberg, J. (1978). The interest in liberty on the scales. In *Rights, Justice, and the Bounds of Liberty: Essays in Social Philosophy.* Princeton University Press.

Fienberg, J. (1973). *Social philosophy*. Prentice Hall.

Flaherty, C. (2022). Science's women ghostwriters. Retrieved from: https://www.insidehighered.com

Flaherty, C. (2022). Faculty diversification must accelerate, study shows. Retrieved from: https://www.insidehighered.com.

Flaherty, C. (2022). Faculties so white. Retrieved from: https://www.insidehighered.com.

Flaherty, C. (2021). *Academe's sticky pay parity problem.* Retrieved from: https://www.insidehighered.com

Flaherty, C. (2020). A bad fit? Retrieved from: https://www.insidehighered.com.

Flaherty, C. (2016). Study finds gains in faculty diversity, but not on the tenure track. Retrieved from: https://www.insidehighered.com/

Flaherty, C. (2015). Cluster hiring and diversity. Retrieved from: https://www.insidehighered.com/

Fleck, A. (2022). Gender gap persists at all levels of leadership in us universities, report finds. Retrieved from: www.weforum.org

Fuesting, M., Bichsel, J. Schmidt, A. (2022). Women in leadership pipeline in higher education have better representation and pay in institutions with female presidents and provosts. Retrieved from: www.cupahr.org

Full-Time Women Faculty and Faculty of Color. (2020). Retrieved from https://www.aaup.org/

Gender Tracking in Higher Education. (2022). Retrieved from: www.aauw.org

Griffith, R., von Hinke Kessler Scholder, S., Smith, S., (2014). Getting a healthy start? Nudge vs. economic incentives. *The Center for Market and Public Organisation 14*, p. 1-42.

Hall, L. (2020). Family, freedom, and civil society. YouTube.

Hall, Lauren. (2014, August 21). *Choice and change: how to change the gender gap*. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MRTgW8VAOBU&feature=emb_logo

Hannum, K., Muhly, S., Shockley-Zalabak, P., White, J. (2015). Women leaders within higher education in the united states: Supports, barriers, and experiences of being a senior leader. *Advancing Women in Leadership 35*, p. 65- 75.

Hay, C. (2020). *Think like a feminist: The philosophy behind the revolution.* W.W. Norton & Co.

Herder, L. (2022). The broke ladder—where are the women presidents at r1 institutions? Retrieved from: www.diverseeducation.com

HersNetwork (2023). Retreieved from https://www.hersnetwork.org/who-we-are/mission-and-values/.

hooks, bell. (2015). *Feminist theory from margin to center.* Routledge.

Illing, S. (2016). "Amoral masculinity": a theory for understanding trump from feminist contrarian christina hoff sommers. Retrieved from https://www.vox.com/

International Labor Organization. (2019). *Policies, initiatives and tools to promote women's economic empowerment in the world of work in the United States*. Retrieved from www.ilo.org.

Jaschik, S. (2005, February 18). *What larry summers said.* Retrieved from: https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2005/02/18/what-larry-summers-said

Jaschik, S. (2014, July 14). *Merit, diversity and grad admissions.* Retrieved from: https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/07/14/scholar-explores-how-graduate-admissions-committees-view-measures-merit-and

Kline, M. (2019). Women and minorities lack representation among highest-paid higher ed deans. Retrieved from https://www.cupahr.org/

KY.gov (2023). Retrieved from: https://kyecac.ky.gov/community/Pages/Public-Preschool.aspx

KYWomen'sNetwork (2023). Retrieved from: https://kyacewomensnetworksite.wordpress.com.

Leaper, C., Starr, C. (2018). Helping and hindering undergraduate women's STEM motivation: experiences with STEM encouragement, STEM-related gender bias, and sexual harassment. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 43* (2), 165-183.

Light, A. (2022). More women in STEM fields lead people to label it 'soft sciences', according to new research. Retrieved from: www.theconversation.com

Long, C. (2022). Who's missing in leadership at elite colleges? Women of color, a new report finds. Retrieved from: https://www.chronicle.com/

Lorde, A. (1984). The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches,* p. 110-114.

Luenendonk, M. (2020). The leadership pipeline model: building then next-generation leaders. Retrieved from: www.cleverism.com

Madden, M. (2011). Gender stereotypes of leaders: do they influence leadership in higher education? *Wagadu, 9*, 55-88.

Madsen, S., Andrade, M. (2018). Unconscious gender bias: implications for women's leadership development. *Journal of Leadership Studies, 12* (1), 62-67.

Martin, J. (2011). *Education reconfigured. Culture, encounter, and change*. Taylor and Francis.

Martin, J. (1991). The contradiction and the challenge of the educated woman. *Women's Studies Quarterly 19* (1/2), p. 16-27.

Martin, J. (1985). Becoming educated: A journey of alienation or integration. *The Journal of Education 167* (3), p. 71-84.

Mason, E. (2015). Consequentialism and moral responsibility. Retrieved from: www.law.upenn.edu

Matias, C., Walker, D., del Hierro, M. (2019). Tales from the ivory tower: women of color's resistance to whiteness in academia. *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education, 18* (1), 35-58.

Meschitti, V., Smith, H. (2017). Does mentoring make a difference for women in academics: Evidence from the literature and a guide for suture research. *Journal of Research in Gender Studies 7* (1), p. 166-199.

Messick, S. (2022). UC santa cruz tops ranking of women in leadership at r1 universities. Retrieved from: https://news.ucsc.edu/.

Mill, J. (1869). *The subjection of women.* Savill, Edwards, and CO.

Miller, S. (2020, January 15). *Paid family leave, on the rise, helps women stay in the workforce.* Retrieved from: https://www.shrm.org/resourcesandtools/hr-topics/benefits/pages/paid-family-leave-helps-women-stay-in-the-workforce.aspx

Mirzaei, A. (2019). Where woke came from… Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/

Moody, J. (2018). *Where are all the college presidents?* Retrieved from https://www.forbes.com

More women presidents leading member HBCUs. (2022). Retrieved from: https://uncf.org/annual-report-2019/an-increasing-number-of-female-uncf-presidents-makes-an-impact

National Conference of State Legislatures. (2022). Retrieved from: https://www.ncsl.org/research/health/breastfeeding-state-laws.aspx

Nerad, M. (1999). *The academic kitchen: A social history of gender stratification at the University of California, Berkeley*. State University of New York Press.

Nietzel, M. (2021). New leadership for the big ten universities: The glass ceiling is cracking. Retrieved from: https://www.forbes.com/

Nozick, R. (1974). *Anarchy, state, and utopia*. Basic Books.

Northouse, P. (2021). *Leadership theory and practice*. Sage Publications Inc.

Nugent, S. (2019). Advancing to the presidency. Retrieved from https://www.insidehighered.com

O'Rourke, S. (2008, September 26). *Diversity and merit: how one university rewards faculty work that promotes equity.* https://www.chronicle.com/article/diversity-and-merit-how-one-university-rewards-faculty-work-that-promotes-equity/

Oxford English Dictionary. Retrieved from: https://www.oed.com/

Parker, P. (2015). The historical role of women in higher education. *Administrative Issues Journal 5* (1), 3-14.

Patton, L., Haynes, C. (2018). Hidden in plain sight: The black women's blueprint for institutional transformation in higher education. *Teachers College Record 120*, p. 1-18.

Peretomode, V. (2021). Demystifying the ivory tower syndrome in universities through the use of transformational leadership. *International Journal of Education Administration and Policy Studies 13* (1), 1-9.

Pew Research Center. (2018). Retrieved from: www.pewresearch.org/social-trends

Pipelines, Pathways, and Institutional Leadership. (2017). Retrieved from American Council on Education.

Pitkin, H. (1967). *The concept of representation*. University of California Press.

Rawls, J. (2001). *Justice as fairness: A restatement.* The Belknap Press of Harvard University.

Rawls, J. (1958). Justice as fairness. *The Philosophical Review 67* (2), p. 164-194.

Representation of women in higher education faculty and executive positions is skewed. (2022). Retrieved from: www.aauw.org

Roderick, S. (2021). *The covid queen of south dakota*. Retrieved from www.rollingstone.com

Rossi, J. (2022). Iowa named national leader in women's leadership representation. Retrieved from: https://now.uiowa.edu/.

Sandberg, S. (2013). *Lean in: Women, work, and the will to lead.* Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

Silbert, A., Punty, M., Ghoniem, E. (2022). The women's power gap at elite universities. Retrieved from: https://www.womenspowergap.org/.

Sinnott-Armstrong, W. (2019). Consequentialism. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*

Sommers, C. (2000, May). *The war against boys.* https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2000/05/the-war-against-boys/304659/

Stewart, M. (2021). Cluster hiring grows in popularity as institutions act to increase faculty diversity. Retrieved from: www.insightintodiversity.com

Stewart, M. (2022). 'There is solidarity here': a q&a with lgbtq college presidents. Retrieved from: www.insightintodiversity.com

Stillman College. (2022). Retrieved from: https://stillman.edu/2022/09/stillman-president-cynthiawarrick-retires/

Thaler, R., Sunstein, C. (2008). *Nudge, improving decisions about health, wealth, and happiness*. Yale University Press.

The Motherhood Penalty. (2022). Retrieved from: www.aauw.org

The Next Generation of Title IX: STEM—science, technology, engineering, and math. (2012). Retrieved from (NWLC): https://equity.siu.edu/_common/documents/resources/next-_generation-title-ix-stem.pdf.

The Truth About The Pay Gap. (2020). Retrieved from https://www.aauw.org/.

The United States Department of Justice. (2023). Retrieved from: https://www.justice.gov/crt/laws-we-enforce

The Women's Power Gap at Elite Universities: Scaling the Ivory Tower. (2022). Retrieved from: www.womenspowergap.org

UMass Lowell. (2023). Retrieved from: https://www.uml.edu/chancellor/biography.aspx

University of Kentucky Office of the President. (2021). Retrieved from https://pres.uky.edu/

University of Kentucky Regulations. Retrieved from: www.uky.edu/regs

U.S. Department of Labor. (2019).

Vallentyne, P. (2006) *Consequentialism*. Blackwell Publishers.

Van der Vossen, B. (2019)._Libertarianism. Retrieved from https://plato.stanford.edu/

Venker, S. (2021). Are you a feminist without knowing it? Retrieved from: https://www.suzannevenker.com/

Weber, E. (2022). *A Cultured Justice.* Publication forthcoming.

Weber, E. (2021). *America's public philosopher. Essays on social justice, economics, education, and the future of democracy.* Columbia University Press.

Weber, E. (2013). *Democracy and Leadership*. Lexington Books.

Welde, K., Laursen, S. (2011). The glass obstacle course: informal and formal barriers for women ph.d. students in STEM fields. *International Journal of Gender, Science and Technology 3* (3), 571-595.

Weyer, B. (2007). Twenty years later: explaining the persistence of the glass ceiling for women leaders. *Women in Management Review, 22*(6), 482-496.

Whitford, E. (2022). Women earn more under female presidents, study shows. Retrieved from: https://www.insidehighered.com.

Whitford, E. (2021). College boards are still white and male, report shows. Retrieved from: www.insidehighered.com

Women's Congressional Policy Institute. (2022). Retrieved from: https://www.wcpinst.org/.

Women in philosophy (2022). Retrieved from: https://women-in-philosophy.org/data

Young, I. (2000). *Inclusion and democracy*. Oxford University Press.

VITA

Education

Master of Arts, Curriculum and Instruction
University of Kentucky, Lexington

Bachelor of Arts, Secondary English Education
University of Kentucky, Lexington

Professional Positions

Primary Instructor, University of Kentucky – Lexington, Kentucky

Teaching Assistant, Course Design, University of Kentucky—Lexington, Kentucky

Academic Coordinator and Faculty Secretariat, College of Charleston – Charleston, South Carolina

Curriculum and Programs Coordinator**,** Kentucky Community and Technical College System – Versailles, Kentucky

Financial Aid Specialist, Kentucky Community and Technical College System – Versailles, Kentucky

Teacher, Winburn Middle School – Lexington, Kentucky

Teacher, Garrett Academy of Technology High School – Charleston, South Carolina

Scholastic and Professional Honors

3-Minute Thesis Competition, Second place
Rookie Teacher of the Year, 2015
Teacher of the Month, January 2015
Rookie Teacher of the Year, 2014

Professional Publications

Flynn, Kathryn Mattingly. (2023, February 8). *The "pipeline theory": A false justification for the underrepresentation of women in top leadership positions within institutions of higher education.* [Online forum post]. The forum of the American Journal of Education.

Flynn, Kathryn Mattingly. (2022, June). Think Like a Feminist [Review of the book by C. Hay]. *Essays in Philosophy,* 23 (1/2), 125-127.