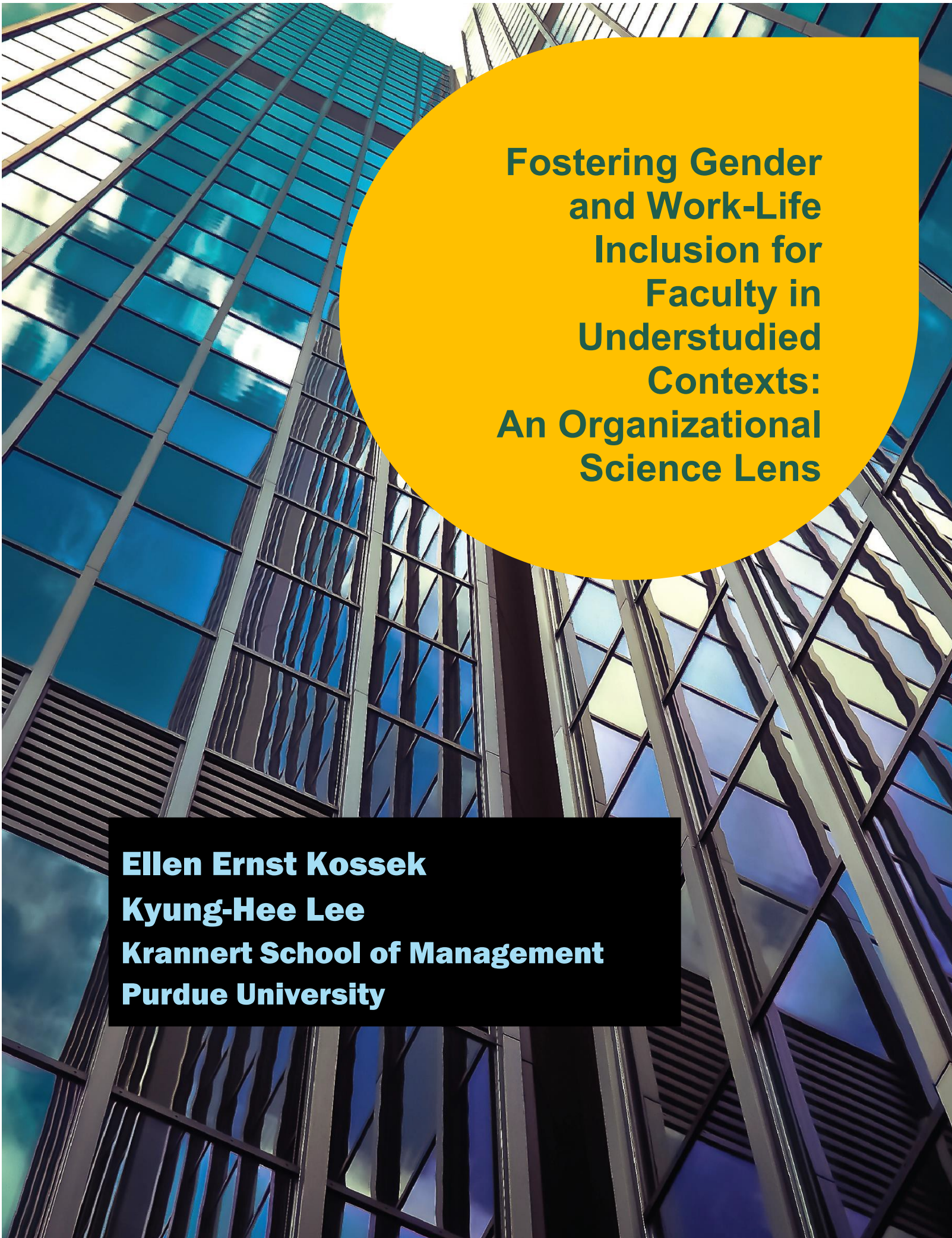

Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens

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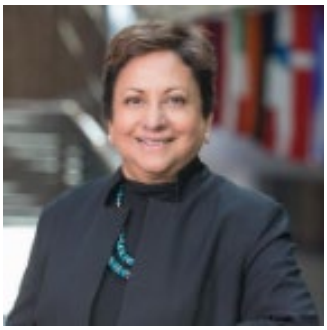

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Introduction: Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion in Understudied Contexts from an Organizational Science Lens[1]

Ellen Ernst Kossek and Kyung-Hee Lee

Gender equality in the workplace and society is receiving heightened media attention at the same time as work-life pressures and job demands are increasing for nearly all demographic groups from singles to those with families (Kossek & Lautsch, 2018). There are several narratives why women are not advancing to the same extent as men; from gender discrimination, to career interests and values, and to work-family views (Kossek, Su & Wu, 2017). While we believe that these disentangling these narratives can be complex as these factors are increasingly intertwined, how work-family-life balance barriers shape women's career equality is particularly important in which to take a deeper scientific view as a diversity and inclusion career barrier that intersects with these stigma and career values perspectives.

Career-life balance remains a challenge for nearly all research scientists (NSF, 2018) and professionals, and those in dual careers and juggling non-work caregiving demands (Khullar, 2017). It has critical implications for faculty gender inclusion, retention, and advancement in universities. Although addressing these issues in traditional STEM departments has received considerable research scrutiny such as through NSF ADVANCE grant funding, business schools have received far less attention even though many business schools offer STEM-relevant degrees (Newton, 2018). Improving faculty gender inclusion and work-life balance issues in business schools and related colleges is of growing societal and economic importance, given the critical linkages of these institutions to STEM labor market opportunities, as well as to the growing fields of "big data" analytical and start-up entrepreneurial jobs.

Serious Under-representation of Women in Leadership Roles in Business Schools

In 2015, women held 41.6% of faculty positions (tenure-track and non-tenure-track) overall in the U.S. (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016), but the percentage was only 31.2% for business schools, less than a 5% increase from 2006 (Brown, 2016). Simply counting overall gender representation may obscure career upward mobility trends. The gender gap

[1] Kossek, E. E. & Lee, K.-H. (2020). Introduction: Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion in Understudied Contexts from an Organizational Science Lens. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 14-18). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317214. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/introduction/1

becomes larger as one goes up the faculty ranks. As shown in Figure 1, women faculty (the majority with doctorates) are increasingly overrepresented in non-tenure track positions. While female faculty occupied 40% of instructor positions, only 20.2% of professor positions were female, suggesting a "leaky pipeline." Mirroring STEM faculty trends, women are also underrepresented in quantitative disciplines (i.e., statistics; operations management) (AASCB, 2015), and higher-level leadership roles in administration such as at the dean level. Educational experiences are important for socializing students by offering faculty role models, mentoring, and a depiction of occupational work-life and career experiences. Yet, in business schools, faculty and leadership diversity simply does not match student diversity (Barnett & Felten, 2016).

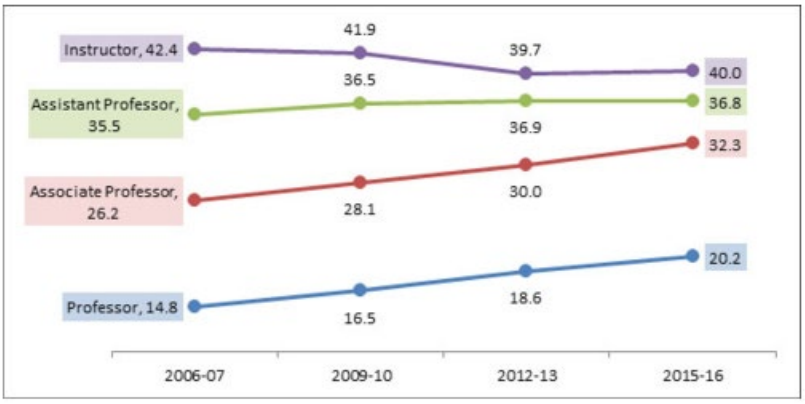

Figure 1. Percentage of Female Full-time Business School Faculty within each rank – U.S Source: Brown (2016)

In sum, despite growing scientific attention to advancing women in universities generally, and in business schools specifically, the gender and related work-life inclusion picture remains bleak. This gap was noticed by the White House and its Council of Economic Advisors in 2015, which convened a meeting that year of business school deans and thought leaders in order to encourage commitment of business schools to adopt best gender equality practices and lead in expanding opportunities for women in business and adapt to the 21st-century workforce (White House Press Office, 2015). Yet, it remains doubtful whether a significant change has occurred beyond this pledge and whether significant impacts are seen on women's career progress at both universities and companies. As noted in a recent introduction to a special issue of the *Strategic Management Journal* (Mitchell, Bettis, Gambardella, Helfact, & Leiponen, 2014), while MBA programs actively admit women and graduate them to enter management positions in the business world, progress at the top remains limited. Ambiguity remains regarding what the structural and cultural barriers are, and how the lack of progress affects organizational performance and processes.

Goals of Monograph and Origins

In the fall of 2018, we invited leading scholars to attend a National Science Foundation workshop at Purdue University Krannert School of Management to present their ideas on how to improve work-life and gender inclusion in business schools. The workshop was designed to advance our understanding of these goals:

(1) To assess work-life and career issues and linkages to faculty gender inclusion and diversity in business schools from an organizational science perspective.
(2) To define the scientific terrain of faculty gender and work-life inclusion and intersectionality linkages using business schools as an organizational lens.
(3) To increase our knowledge of the science of fostering gender, work-life inclusion, career success and organizational change in faculty contexts such as business schools.
(4) To foster interdisciplinary conversation with thought leaders, researchers, and exemplary key decision-makers in order to identify scientific antecedents, outcomes and future research gaps.

This monograph is a collection of short research thought papers that the invited scholars prepared for their presentations. The workshop was organized to examine eight topic areas of critical inquiry: 1) gender and work-life inclusion in business schools & understudied faculty contexts; 2) intersectionality, diversity, gender, and work-life inclusion; 3) technology and boundary control in academic job design; 4) work-life stigmatization and overwork faculty cultures; 5) dual-career couples, singles, and organizational work-family support; 6) leader's roles in fostering work-life inclusion as an organizational strategy to close the gender gap; 7) discrimination, work-life and gender inequality, and closing the gap; and 8) work-life inclusion, organizational strategy, and performance.

Closing

We hope this monograph will help advance gender diversity, and women's and minorities' career success in universities, business, and society by identifying scientific gaps, prioritizing studies; and addressing an under-researched critical area of organizational science. Taken together, the papers provide a research agenda that will encourage future interdisciplinary scholarship on gender equality and work-life inclusion in order to help policymakers to engage in evidence-based practices. The collection offers new insights on the organization science regarding how to foster more gender and work-life inclusive businesses and universities.

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Gender and Work-Life Inclusion in Business Schools & Understudied Faculty Contexts: What are the Issues and the Terrain?

Can Work-Life Inclusion Reshape Gender and Ideal Worker Norms?[2]

Eden King

Rice University

In her exploration of the underrepresentation of women in the upper echelons of organizations, Joan Williams (2004) determined that, “While some women stand nose pressed against a glass ceiling, many working mothers never get near it. What stops them is the maternal wall.” Citing sociological survey data on the gap in pay and promotions between mothers and women without children, as well as psychological experimental data on perceptions of mothers, Williams argued that maternity renders women incompetent, inflexible, and uncommitted to work. Characterizations of mothers who “lean out”, “opt out” or “take the mommy track” that appear in popular culture reinforce these stereotypes.

Although gender scholars have problematized these perspectives and articulate a variety of factors that push and pull women into and out of work and family spheres (e.g., Kossek, Su, & Wu, 2017), the underlying role incongruities persist: the biological and social role of motherhood is inconsistent with the ideal worker role. This state of affairs leaves two primary options for achieving gender equality: change gender roles or change ideal worker roles. Neither course would be simple, easy, or straightforward, but—there’s hope!—work-life inclusion could serve both purposes.

Imagine a business school or psychology department where faculty meetings and events are held during regular work hours. Imagine a dean who refrains from sending (or expecting) emails over weekends. Genuine encouragement of vacations and away messages. Social events that are designed for families. Visible examples of co-parenting. Celebration of non-work accomplishments like winning a bridge tournament or running a marathon. A male department chair who takes a semester off to care for a new baby. Breastfeeding during presentations. These imagined examples of inclusive work-life policies and practices may seem like an ethereal panacea, but what if they were realized? Might assumptions of women’s workplace and men’s caregiving incompetence change?

The normative expectations that underlie gender and work roles and have persisted for at least a century are stubborn; beliefs that women should be homemakers, men should be

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[2] King, E. (2020). Gender and Work-Life Inclusion in Business Schools & Understudied Faculty Contexts: What are the Issues and the Terrain? In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 20-22). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317254. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/gwlibsufc/1/

breadwinners, and workers should work around the clock for their employers are resistant to change. To break through this resistance, the norms about what it means to be a good mom, dad, and/or worker must drastically shift. “Successful” motherhood can’t just be represented by vacuuming, baking cookies, and schlepping children to after school activities, it must also or instead be represented by engaging in meaningful work and supporting families financially. “Successful” fatherhood can’t be equated with depositing a paycheck and taking off the boots or tie when they get home after the kids are asleep. Instead, fathers should be rewarded for engaging fully in their families. And “success” at work can’t depend on being tied to the whims of leaders and smart phones 24-7, but rather on the quality of work one produces.

My own interest and program of research has explored the subtle messages that women receive about their gender and work roles. These messages—which begin before women even become pregnant and infect women’s careers—are generated from and serve to perpetuate social norms. My colleagues and I have found that pregnant women encounter messages that signal a lack of competence (Hebl, King, Glick, & Singletary, 2007), that new moms hear they can’t take the leave or get the promotion they were promised (Botsford Morgan & King, 2012; Jones, King, Gilrane, McCausland, Cortina & Grimm, 2016), that breastfeeding moms learn that “breast is best” for their babies but that kind of thing shouldn’t happen at work (Markell & King, 2018), and that they simply aren’t good enough moms or workers (King, 2008). It is, therefore, not just the formal policies and practices (e.g., parental leave, flexible work practices) but also largely the interpersonal experiences that seep into women’s daily lives and shape their thoughts, feelings, and behavior. These kinds of evidence and logic further complicate the situation because they confirm that it is not enough just to change a policy or start a new program. Work-life inclusion may in fact be less about the policies and more about interpersonal experiences that are shaped by societal and organizational norms.

So perhaps the starting point of change is to change these norms. If a department chair or dean altered seemingly minor decisions (e.g., withholding emails on the weekend) or subtle encounters (e.g., inviting children to social events), faculty may hear and respond to an entirely different set of messages. The ethereal panacea of work-life inclusion may in fact be possible with small, yet significant changes in the daily patterns of academic life. And, ultimately, these changes may indelibly alter gender and work role expectations and enable gender equality.

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Why Gender Inclusive Leaders Matter in Academic Settings[3]

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Recent studies of gender composition of business faculty provide evidence that women continue to be represented much less than men, especially in tenured Professor roles (only 20.1% are women, AACSB DataDirect, Salary Survey, 2018) and in tier 1 universities where 33% of these business schools have fewer than 20% women faculty (Poets and Quants, 2015). While these statistics tell a story of inequality, the question is why does this occur? And, what can be done to increase gender parity?

It has been well established that individuals and groups do not necessarily function in a manner that promotes inclusion (Mor Barak & Daya, 2014; Nishii, 2013; Shore, Randel, Chung, Dean, Ehrhart, & Singh, 2011) and may instead encourage exclusion, or ostracism (Robinson, O'Reilly, & Wang, 2013). The inclusion and ostracism literatures have evolved independently, but each of these literatures are focused on essentially the same thing; the nature of and influence of being an accepted member of a group. Following, I summarize some key points in the inclusion and ostracism literatures, and how both literatures point to a key role for leaders in creating gender inclusive environments.

Inclusion

Shore et al. (2011) built on Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (ODT; Brewer, 1991) to synthesize the inclusion literature and to provide a basis for defining inclusion in the work group. They argued that, consistent with ODT, that the inclusion literature contains themes of belongingness (reflecting the need to form and maintain durable, steady interpersonal relationships; Baumeister & Leary, 1995) and uniqueness (reflecting the need to maintain a distinctive and differentiated sense of self; Snyder & Fromkin, 1980). Shore et al. (2011) proposed in their conceptual model that experiencing belongingness and uniqueness are both key elements of perceiving inclusion in work groups.

Belonging in a group is more likely when there is similarity between the individual and the group (e.g. similarity-attraction paradigm, Byrne, 1971), or between the individual and the position. Since men are in the majority in business professor roles, women may be viewed as

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[3] Shore, L. M. (2020). Why Gender Inclusive Leaders Matter in Academic Settings. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 23-27). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317256. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/gwlibsufc/2/

not a good fit or as challenging social norms. Another possibility is that the role of professor in the business school is seen as requiring agentic qualities that are ascribed to men such as behavior that demonstrates dominance, competitiveness, and achievement orientation (Heilman & Okomoto, 2007). In either case, women faculty may be handicapped by being viewed as not fitting the faculty role as well as their male colleagues.

Uniqueness, or being different than the group, as is the case of women in a male-dominated setting, may make women more vulnerable to social exclusion or ostracism (feeling ignored, excluded, or invisible). Ostracism is a form of social control that may be used purposefully for the sake of the group's well-being, such as punishing a group member who is defying social norms (Wesselmann, Wirth, Pryor, Reeder, & Williams, 2012). Likewise, non-purposeful ostracism occurs when ostracizers are not aware that they are socially excluding a target (Robinson, O'Reilly, & Wang, 2013; Sommer, Williams, Ciarocco, & Baumeister, 2001). As pointed out by Robinson et al. (2013: 208) ostracism "is defined by acts of omission rather than commission; that is, it results from the purposeful or inadvertent failure to act in ways that socially engage another. In other words, ostracism is the omission of positive attention from others rather than the commission of negative attention." As such, ostracism challenges a basic human need of belongingness (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Even though ostracism may be subtle, it has been found to have a very strong impact on targets. Ostracism threatens fulfillment of belongingness needs, self-esteem, a sense of control, and the belief that one's existence matters (Robinson et al., 2013; Williams, 1997). It also undermines emotions and mood (Robinson et al., 2013) and workplace exclusion (rejection by coworkers and the supervisor) is detrimental to work attitudes and psychological health (Hitlan, Clifton, & DeSoto, 2006). Women in academic environments may experience more subtle discrimination through acts of ostracism and "microinequities" (Rowe, 1990) and "microaggressions" (Sue, 2010). These can be verbal, behavioral, or environmental treatment that communicate a devaluing of a woman's contributions and can be intentional or unintentional. Such treatment thwarts a sense of belongingness and may harm women's ability to succeed. This raises a very important issue; what can be done to address the exclusion that undermines women's success?

Policies that support the success of women academics is only one necessary step. It is, however, not adequate for addressing the important issue of creating equal opportunities for women faculty. I argue that inclusive leadership is critical to supporting women and protecting them from subtle unfair treatment that affects their ability to succeed.

Although women faculty are not experiencing inclusion at work to the same extent as their male colleagues, what is less clear is the nature of the responsibility of those who are in leadership roles. There is still limited research and theory focusing on leadership approaches that can address these difficulties by facilitating employee experiences of work group inclusion (Nishii & Mayer, 2009). Leaders who promote the inclusion of women faculty not only offer value to the women themselves, but to the department and university where they work and to the profession more broadly. Who are these leaders then? First and foremost, senior faculty in the woman's department and secondarily, the department chair, need to be aware of the subtle and not-so-subtle ways in which women faculty are disadvantaged and work actively to address these disadvantages. Senior colleagues can do this through treatment of women that promotes belongingness and valuing uniqueness. As proposed by Randel, Galvin, Shore, Ehrhart, Chung, Dean, and Kedharnath (2018), some leader behaviors that promote belongingness are supporting individuals as group members, ensuring justice and equity, and involving employees in decision making. So in the academic setting, this could involve inviting female colleagues to lunch or coffee, providing mentoring, introducing them to key colleagues in the senior faculty member's network, asking for opinions on key issues, and addressing salary or other resource inequities that support junior colleagues' careers. For leader behaviors that promote uniqueness, Randel et al. suggest encouraging diverse contributions and helpings group members fully contribute. These types of leader behaviors make clear that the ways in which group members differ add value to the group. In the academic setting this could involve senior faculty encouraging the perspectives and research of their women colleagues and reviewing manuscripts and giving feedback to help with successful publication efforts. These forms of social support by senior colleagues suggest that women faculty are valued members of the department and profession.

To understand the science of work-life inclusion, we need to study leader inclusion and how it affects the inclusion experiences of junior faculty. Key antecedents would be gender attitudes of department leaders, ostracism experiences, and leader behaviors of belongingness and uniqueness. Perceived inclusion of faculty would be a mediator with gender composition as a moderator. Outcomes would be perceived promotability, organizational commitment, and turnover intentions. This would be a field study in various departments of business across many universities to examine the inclusion experiences of women and men faculty.

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Exploring an Organizational Science View on Faculty Gender and Work-Life Inclusion: Conceptualization, Perspectives, and Interventions[4]

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Although women faculty are increasingly hired into historically male-dominated organizational contexts (STEM disciplines), career equality progress is stalled in terms of recruitment, promotion (advancement to leadership roles such as tenured, full, chaired professorships, senior leadership) (Aguinis, Ji, & Joo, 2018); retention, and equality in nonwork and well-being metrics related to family life and personal recovery & social activities (Kossek & Buzzanell, 2018; Kossek, Su & Wu, 2017). Much of the research to date has focused on documenting individual trends of the under-representation of women in fields such as STEM and a "leaky pipeline" to the top, where women hold 13% of full professors positions, despite holding 25% of assistant professor positions (Carr, 2013). Women are also under-represented in business schools where only 20% of full professors are women, and men hold the majority of prestigious endowed chairs (Brown, 2016).

In order to move beyond merely documenting the under-presentation of women in varying disciplines, I argue that there is a need to dig deeper and examine these trends' underpinnings -namely their relation to gender and work life inclusion from an organizational science lens. In doing so it is helpful to also consider moving toward solutions by examining the intersectionality of several perspectives, and interventions.

Work-Life Inclusion

I argue that work-life inclusion as a form of diversity inclusion that intersects with social identities involving gender, caregiving ambition, and multi-culturalism. Yet the work-life and diversity and inclusion fields are not well-integrated. In inclusive organizations, all members are valued irrespective of group membership or status (AOM, 2018). Inclusion: "the degree to which an employee perceives that he or she is an esteemed member of the work group through experiencing treatment that satisfies his or her needs for belongingness and uniqueness" (Shore et al., 2011, p. 1265). Inclusive cultures have been linked to intentions to remain in organizations (Avery, McKay, & Wilson, 2008). Business schools and related disciplines have

[4] Kossek, E. E. (2020). Exploring an Organizational Science View on Faculty Gender and Work-Life Inclusion: Conceptualization, Perspectives, and Interventions. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 28-32). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317255. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/gwlibsufc/3/

generally lagged in making major organizational changes to address key inclusion issues related to the intersectionality of gender and work-life issues such as the work-life needs and values of women (as well as fathers who want to be involved in caregiving while advancing in a career).Increasing work-life and gender inclusion in business schools likely involves targeting both women and men's work-life behaviors and views, and organizational and occupational structures and cultures. In the diversity and inclusion literature, intersectionality has received much attention in regards to how individuals' multiple identities such as race, gender, and class intersect in ways that shape individuals' life and career experiences (Collins & Bilge, 2016). An important understudied area in the intersectionality and organizations literatures relevant to advancing gender inclusion of faculty in professional schools relates to family and non-work life roles such as wife, mother, and domestic life partner & caregiving son/daughter. Such identities related to family and life roles also often intersect with racioethnicity, class, culture, immigrant status, and religion. Moreover, family/life roles have tremendous impact on faculty careers, especially on women's careers due to the overlap between the tenure clock and the biological clock; fertility issues; dual career challenges, working parents' gendered norms for the domestic division of labor; and the high demands of "overwork" professional cultures. Work-life issues affect occupational choice for anticipated w-l conflict desire for a more balanced working life and career ambition.

A work-life inclusive climate is defined as one where a member would not feel s/he would have to sacrifice their family and non-work identities in order to succeed in their job role (Kossek, Noe & Colquitt, 2001). All members across genders and other forms of difference would be able share work-life cross-domain concerns & receive strong workplace social support for work-family and personal life role synthesis needs (Kossek, Pichler, Bodner & Hammer, 2011). Individuals with higher identification with the family role and greater involvement with nonwork demands would not be marginalized due to implicit/explicit bias and would thrive in *both* work and nonwork roles.

Yet many universities struggle with addressing work-life issues for faculty and try to implement across the board solutions such as automatically extending the tenure clock for all faculty. Such simplistic solutions that do not consider diversity and inclusion barriers ended up in some fields such as economics as resulting in increasing the probability that new fathers got tenure and reducing new mothers prospects. The policies resulted in adverse impact on women's careers as women largely used more of the tenure clock time for child care, nursing and personal health recovery from maternity, while men were able to use more of the time

extension to focus on research (Jaschick, 2016). Another example of a common under-address work-life inclusion challenge that many women seeking to advance to tenure in up or out "tournament" cultures, relates to deciding whether to try to have a baby before tenure (Maurice, 2016). Yet for some women who feel pressures to wait starting a family until tenured and end up doing so sometimes face the unintended consequences of infertility issues or being an older mother for the first child than desired. These are just several examples of organizational tensions in implementing and supporting faculty work-life inclusion practices and the unintended consequences of not attending to differences in faculty work-life inclusion needs.

I provide several explanations regarding why integrative work-life inclusion initiatives are critical to advancing faculty gender equality to close the workforce-workplace mismatch gap. These include: 1) multiple role synthesis tensions involving the "dual-centricity" of social and professional Identities; 2) gender discrimination from adverse impact of standardized career policies in "work as a masculinity contest" cultures; and 3) the faculty work-life job demands–resources overload perspective. Unfortunately, most work-life interventions target the individual employee level, and over-emphasis the work-life perspective without taking into account cultural conflicts with discrimination, inclusion and professional identity pressures. Work-life policies are also often implemented in a manner where individuals' have to make a "choice" over whether to request accommodation to take-up customized arrangements that are not strongly integrated into professional career success norms. I suggest three target areas for organizational work-life interventions involving leader and peer socialization, and job and career redesign (Kossek, 2016a). These include: 1) increasing support to facilitate work-life inclusion and performance; 2) job redesign to increase control over boundaries, schedules, workload, or location (Kossek, 2016b); and 3) career flexibility policy changes to reduce system rigidities creating role overload at key times in the adult and career development life cycles to support a sustainable workforce (Kossek, Valcour & Lirio, 2014) .

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Intersectionality, Diversity, Gender, and Work-Life Inclusion

Blind Spots in Work-Life Research through a Global Lens: Toward a Model of Intersectionality, Diversity and Inclusion[5]

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> A faculty member woman immigrant from an Asian country, requests a meeting with the Dean regarding a personal matter. She is a productive researcher and a stellar faculty member. During the meeting, she shares that her mother-in-law was diagnosed with stage 4 cancer. She is requesting family leave to fly to her home country and care for her mother-in-law. The Dean asks if there are other family members living near by. The faculty member notes that her husband has two younger sisters who live in the same city as the mother. The Dean lifts an eyebrow and says "so why do *you* need to be there?"

Work-life research in the past several decades has contributed a great deal to our knowledge base (e.g., Kinman, G., & Jones, F. ,2008, Shek, et al 2018). Yet this research has suffered limitations due to its focus on certain forms of labor – primarily employees in work organizations – and on certain aspects of family and life -- mostly traditional western. In their thorough review of the research at the juncture of work life, diversity and inclusion, Ozbilgin et al., 2011 highlight the importance of examining areas that previous research has overlooked. The authors advocate for research that would utilize broader definitions of the terms 'work' and 'life' and open up this body of research to more diverse and inclusive human life experiences. Academic life is a case in point that demonstrates this complexity. Research findings from several countries suggest that academic employment has become more stressful with serious consequences for the workforce and the quality of higher education (Kinman & Jones, 2008). Expanding our understanding of what 'work' and 'life' mean to non-traditional groups, while finding new ways to address those differences, will help to reconcile the work-life conundrum in an increasingly diverse and global workforce, and to foster a climate of inclusion in organizations (Mor Barak, 2017). This paper identifies blind spots in work-life research and

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[5] Mor Barak, M. E. (2020). Blind Spots in Work-Life Research through a Global Lens: Toward a Model of Intersectionality, Diversity and Inclusion. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 34-40). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317258. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/idgwli/1/

offers a conceptual model for future research by using intersectionality theory to examine diversity of work and life experiences, adding a global lens for further depth of analysis.

Background and Theoretical Framework

One of the most significant problems facing today's diverse workforce is that of exclusion -- the reality experienced by many and the perception of even greater numbers of employees that they are *not* viewed by top management as an integral part of the organization (Mor Barak, 2017). The inclusion-exclusion continuum is central to the discussion in this paper and is defined as: "… the individual's sense of being a part of the organizational system in both the formal processes, such as access to information and decision-making channels, and the informal processes. (Mor Barak, 2000b, 2006). Shore et al., (2011) refined the definition by highlighting the two axis that comprise inclusion: belongingness and uniqueness. Simply put, people want a sense of belonging to the organization while, at the same time, they wish to be recognized for who they really are as individuals. They do not want to give up their unique characteristics for the sense of belonging (assimilation), nor do they want to give us their sense of belongingness in holding on to their unique characteristics (exclusion).

Intersectionality theory provides a useful framework for understanding the relationship between work-life, diversity and inclusion in organizations. The theory highlights the importance of viewing the overlap between different forms of social inequality, oppression, discrimination and exclusion to create a multidimensional picture diversity (Crenshaw, 1989; Lutz, Herrera Vivar, & Supik, 2011; Mor Barak, 2017, Ch. 7; Icaza Garza, R. A., & Vázquez, R. 2017). Furthermore, it addresses the combined inequalities associated with characteristics such as class, gender and race and their association with access to power in the organizational and societal structure (Acker, 2006; Mahalingam ,2007). Intersectionality challenges the notion that social problems can be broken down into separate issues that only affect specific identity groups, such as focusing only on race or gender and ignoring the overlap of these two identities. Accordingly, the "single axis framework" in which discrimination and oppression are framed in terms of discrete categories creates artificial boundaries, encourages mutually exclusive interests, and promotes inter-group conflict (Crenshaw, 1989; Cho et al., 2013; Wells et al., 2015; Macias, & Stephens, 2017).

Intersectionality theory, therefore, promotes the idea that each person experiences bias in a unique way because each simultaneously carries multiple and complex identities and these identities interact with each other (Crenshaw, 1989; McBride et al., 2015). The notion that singular characteristics, such as gender or marital status, cannot adequately capture the human

experience with respect to power, central to intersectionality theory, is the very characteristic that makes this theory particularly suitable to understanding the connection between work-life, diversity and inclusion. For that reason, Ozbilgin et al. (2011) have argued that the intersectional approach is useful in addressing areas that have previously been overlooked by work-life research.

Identifying Overlooked Research Areas

Upon reviewing the work-life literature, it is clear that there is need to expand the definitions of the 'work' and 'life' domain, using intersectionality theory and applying a global lens, to understand the experience of inclusion or exclusion in work organizations. To illustrate the issues, I highlight below specific areas that work-life research has overlooked or sparsely examined.

Emerging as a distinct domain in the 1990's, work-life research has focused primarily on women's issues in more traditional, white middle class concerns. Though the research domain has evolved into work-life with expanded focus, it has not yet been able to capture the full spectrum of the life experiences, nor the variety of work experiences, of today's diverse and global workforce. For example, research still mostly focuses on traditional models of white middle-class families with attention to the needs and expectations of married women who are mothers and caregivers (Ollier-Malaterre, & Foucreault, 2017; Ozbilgin, 2011). Expanded emphasis needs to be placed on the needs of men, single people, non-traditional families, and families of immigrants (e.g., Wilkinson, Tomlinson, & Gardiner, 2017). The latter is particularly important for life in academia as scholars sometimes emigrate from one country to another following career opportunity and partners may resort to living apart long distance to accommodate independent careers.

A second neglected area is that of defining life outside of family demands and expectations. This expansion needs to include such areas as leisure/self-care, religious affiliations, community involvement, volunteer commitments, life responsibilities of single persons, unpaid domestic work and other personal activities and needs (Ollier-Malaterre, & Foucreault, 2017; Ozbligin et al, 2011). Some aspects that are specifically relevant to academics are the "spillover" and lack of boundaries between work and life (Bell, Rajendran & Theiler, 2012). This flexibility, typically considered an advantage for work-life balance, also means that with work always pressing and available, academics are sometimes not available to family members, to civic engagement, religious activities, or to enjoy leisure time. It is not

unusual for an academic to send an email to a group of colleagues after midnight on a weekend and to receive responses at the same time.

Toward a Model of Intersectionality, Work-Life and Inclusion in the Workplace

To address gaps in the work-life research, I am proposing a conceptual model based on intersectionality that connects work-life and inclusion as depicted in Figure 1.

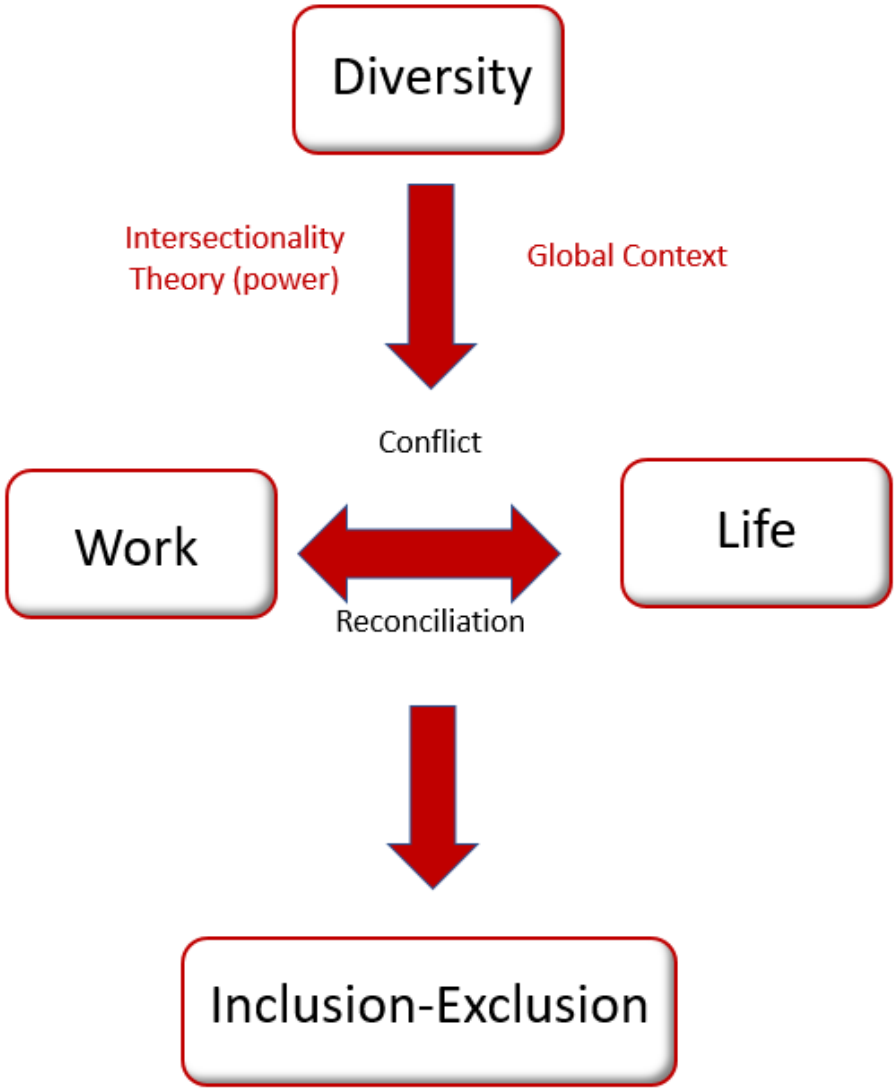

Figure 1: Theoretical Perspectives on Diversity, Intersectionality, Work-Life and Inclusion

This model is particularly relevant to academia in which job flexibility is typically available but does not necessarily promote work-life balance. For example, a study on stress and work-life

among Australian academics found that taking work home to complete unfinished tasks was common among the study participants leading them to have less time to dedicate to home life and led to increased work-life conflict (Bell, Rajendran & Theiler 2012). Future research should focus on expanding the domains of work and life to explore issues of intersectionality and power structures and their relationship to exclusion. These are abundantly evident in academia in which the stratified power structure is often tied to intersectionality because academics who are members of one or more underrepresented groups are typically less likely to be among the more privileged academic groups and to experience exclusion (Zimmerman, Carter-Sowell, & Xu, 2016). Future research should focus on expanding the domains of both work and life. It should be informed by intersectionality theory to examine the relationship between diversity, work-life experiences and individual perceptions of inclusion or exclusion in the workplace.

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A Case for Investigating Gender and Work-Life Inclusion Among Black Women Faculty in Business Schools[6]

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There is a dearth of African American, Hispanic, and Native American faculty in US business schools, however, black women may be among the most prevalent, yet still underrepresented, minority faculty group. Taken together, insights from the PhD Project, a variety of nonprofit public policy organizations and think tanks, and other academic fields suggest that as compared to their white women counterparts, black women faculty may be more likely to be unmarried, already mothers or actively contemplating motherhood, and are more likely to desire employment in Universities that embrace intersectional conversations on gender and work-life inclusion. This paper posits and explores two related hypotheses and proposes ideas for future research and policy development that are intended to increase the recruitment and retention not only of black women faculty but underrepresented minority faculty as a whole in US business schools.

I would like to begin by offering two untested hypotheses that I believe warrant further research investigation as we begin to understand intersectional differences and desires among women faculty in business schools, specifically, and fostering gender and work-life inclusion. My first hypothesis is that *underrepresented minority faculty in US business schools are more likely to be black women relative to any other underrepresented minority group of women or men.* My second hypothesis is that *as compared to white women faculty in business schools, black women faculty in business schools are more likely to be unmarried, already mothers or are actively contemplating motherhood, and are more likely to seek employment in Universities that embrace intersectional conversations on race and work-life inclusion*. While it would be wonderful to test these hypotheses, it is clear that we know very little about black women business school faculty as a whole, which makes it difficult to paint even deeper intersectional insights within this already intersectional group. I believe that it is troubling that we (a) lack adequate research on black women business school faculty given their representation within the larger group of underrepresented minority faculty and (b) lack adequate research on differences among black women faculty given the intensive and extensive efforts that are being made to

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[6] Creary, S. J. (2020). A Case for Investigating Gender and Work-Life Inclusion Among Black Women Faculty in Business Schools. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 41-45). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317257. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/idgwli/2/

increase and retain faculty diversity in business schools. As evidence, I draw on insights from the PhD Project, research from a variety of nonprofit public policy organizations and think tanks, and research from other academic fields to support my assertions.

Since 1994, the PhD Project has taken on the task of helping to increase the number of underrepresented minority faculty in business schools. As of today, more than 200 US business schools work with the PhD Project in some capacity to increase faculty diversity. Doctoral student members of the PhD Project outperform their peers on doctoral program completion rates with a 90% doctoral program completion rate for PhD Project members as compared to a 70% completion rate for US doctoral students overall. Doctoral student graduates of the PhD Project also outperform their peers on faculty retention rates with a 97% retention rate for PhD Project professors as compared to a 60% retention rate for US professors overall. Through their efforts, the PhD Project has helped to quadruple the number of minority business professors (including African American, Hispanic American, and Native American faculty) to more than 1,000 total in 25 years (PhD Project, 2018).

Despite these successes, I would be remiss if I did not suggest that black women business school faculty, in particular, may face tough choices, challenges, and a stark reality when it comes to marriage and motherhood and balancing those life choices with a professional career in academia especially in environments that are not forward-thinking when it comes to intersectional differences and experiences. Here, I will offer an array of statistics that I have pieced together from nonprofit public policy organizations and think tank sources on four-year college completion rates, marriage rates, and motherhood rates among white and black women. Let me start with **college completion and marriage rates.** According to the Brookings Institute, women are **completing four years of college** at faster rates than men and the marriage gap among college educated and non-college educated women is widening such that non-college educated women are more likely to be married (Brookings, 2017). In 2015, the Brookings Institute revealed that 45 percent of white women in the US ages 25-35 had four-plus years of college education as compared to 35 percent of white men, 20 percent of black women, and 17 percent of black men in this same age group. However, marriage rates are actually declining for black women with an undergraduate degree. While black college graduates as a whole are less likely to be married (Brookings, 2017), “a black woman with an undergraduate degree aged between 35 and 45 is 15 percentage points less likely to be married than a white woman *without* [an] undergraduate degree.”

In addition to college completion and marriage rates, **motherhood rates** differ among black and white women in the US though mothers as a whole are increasingly unmarried. We

know that women as a whole are waiting longer to have children than a decade ago (Livingston, 2018). Yet, there has been an uptick in the number of unmarried mothers ages 40 to 44 in the last 20 years. In fact, since 1994, motherhood rates among never-married white women in their early 40s has risen from 13% to 37%. Among never-married black women in their early 40s, motherhood rates have risen from 69% in 1994 to 75% in 2014.

So, let me now return to my original two hypotheses and propose some future research directions and considerations for gender and work-life inclusion of black women faculty in business schools. Hypothesis 1: *Underrepresented minority faculty in US business schools are more likely to be black women relative to any other underrepresented minority group of women or men.* While US business schools are increasing their representation of black women faculty, they have been less successful in increasing their representation of black men faculty, Hispanic faculty, and Native American faculty at the same rates. Currently, we lack clear, empirical insights into these discrepancies. An overly simplistic conclusion would be to suggest that these groups are less interested in pursuing careers as business school faculty. As a deeper thought, I offer the insights of our peers who are focused on increasing faculty diversity in STEM disciplines. Their research and insights suggest that participating in research during the undergraduate college years (Carpi, Ronan, Falconer, and Lents, 2016) and exposure to demographically similar role models who are faculty are vital aspects of building awareness of and increasing self-efficacy and interest in academic careers among minority students. That is, black male college students alongside Hispanic- and Native-American college students may be participating less in research during the undergraduate years as compared to their white and black female peers and may be less exposed to demographically similar role models suggesting a pipeline issue. Yet, there may be other reasons for these discrepancies including that those who are participating in research and finding demographically similar roles models may also be garnering greater access to supports and resources at different stages of the process that reinforce their career goals and decisions. My point being, additional research and insights are needed to explain the dearth of black male faculty and Hispanic- and Native American faculty as a whole in US business schools as compared to their black female peers and, of course, their white male and female counterparts.

At the same time, further research is needed to understand the lived experiences of black women faculty as a seemingly more prevalent though still underrepresented group of minority business school faculty. Of note, much of the conversation around increasing faculty diversity in business schools today either focuses on recruiting more women (AACSB, 2018) or recruiting more underrepresented minority faculty (PhD Project, 2018; AACSB, 2018) without

similar attention to the intersection of gender and race. Attending to this intersection is important given insights from other academic fields suggesting that black women faculty face unique and often additional challenges that may affect their experiences in academia (Reid, 2012). For example, in a commentary for the American Council on Education, Reid (2012) suggested that black women faculty are performing in roles that are considered contrary to both their gender and race, which may subject them to additional or more intense stereotypes. Thus, future research that examines faculty experiences at the intersection of gender and race is vital to understanding faculty recruitment and retention opportunities and challenges.

Hypothesis 2: My second hypothesis is that *as compared to white women faculty in business schools, black women faculty are more likely to be unmarried and already mothers or are actively contemplating motherhood and are more likely to seek employment in Universities that embrace intersectional conversations on race and work-life inclusion*. Many of the current work-life policies offered to help recruit and retain faculty as a whole tend to focus on the circumstances of married faculty and faculty with children. For instance, the AAUP (2010) found that concern over the issue of accommodating the partners of job candidates, often labeled as "dual career couples," has increased since the 1990s. In some cases, domestic partnerships and civil unions have been included in related policies. As another example, some Universities have established dependent care funds for faculty who would like to travel to a professional event but also have child care obligations (Harvard University, 2018). In some cases, these policies also extend to faculty who have adult dependent care obligations (Harvard University, 2018).

Yet, the work-life considerations of black women faculty who are unmarried are often under addressed and simplistic insights by their race or their gender are often provided to narrate their experiences. As a result, our understanding of their work-life needs is limited. For example, a recent report on faculty diversity and campus climate at one university revealed that the turnover rate among underrepresented minority faculty has been increasing, which they related to the fact that the university is situated in a rural location (Cornell University, 2018). Yet, an independent investigation revealed that some underrepresented minority faculty attributed their departure in part to what they perceived as an overemphasis on gender diversity relative to racial diversity and other forms of difference (Liu, 2018). My final point here is that our struggles as an academic field and perhaps as a profession to openly discuss the intersections of gender and race in our conversations about work-life inclusion may threaten our ability to recruit and retain underrepresented minority faculty including black women faculty. I hope my insights and commentary motivate future thinking and policy development in this regard.

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Embracing our Multiple Identities to Transform our Organizations and Societies[7]

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It is a pleasure and privilege to be here to share my work with you. My research is on identity, how people in answer the question who am I? and specifically, how people's professional and work identities, which are important sources of meaning for people, alongside other important identities, such as their race, class and gender nationality, shape how they engage in their work and other aspects of their lives.

So first, what do I mean by identity and identities – I think of identity at the individual level as self-definitions, and at the collective level as shared cultural beliefs. These are negotiated in contexts, such as interpersonal relationships, groups, roles and categories.

For gender scholars, for instance, drawing on Ridgeway and others, gender is a set of shared beliefs for instance about appropriate behaviors for men and women, that are dynamic, constructed and vary by context. And gender manifests in identities at the individual level, but also in interactions and institutions.

The notion of multiple identities is both a constant, something we've discussed for a long period of time – in modern Western psychology for instance, since William James in 1890 – but it is also something that feels novel, current and is highly contested, both practically and theoretically. What do I mean by this?

The practical novelty of multiplicity (and contestation over its importance) comes from the fact that many societies and organizations have traditionally rewarded a single strong identity in the past. If we think of the notion of the organization man, being a "professional", the idea of belonging to a guild, or an occupational community like longshore fisherman, to a given caste – e.g., being Brahmin, or a given country – e.g., American, knowing that you belong exclusively to a single, strong and often given identity group or role, was seen as a positive thing. In the work domain, if you came to work, you were only a worker and nothing else. Multiplicity was considered to be "two faced" or disloyal or confusing, a conflict of interest, uncertain, ambiguous. This is still somewhat the case today when we see identity politics and nationalism playing out in movements such as Make America Great Again or Brexit, where the

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notion that members of a state also have other identities that derive from their racial, cultural or religious backgrounds is seen as problematic.

However, because of our focus today on gender, intersectionality, work-life and inclusion, I want to foreground how we have now practically and experientially moved to a very different situation in the world. In today's world the traditional moorings and anchorings in single roles and organizations that had separate audiences and separate spheres, if it was ever true, are less true. Important trends changes in work and society are blurring the boundaries between personal, work and societal spheres and hence our identities. These include: globalization, for instance, which is making workplaces and societies more diverse (e.g., immigration), and work more temporary (e.g., contract work); technology, which is making work more flexible (e.g., work from home or all the time) and ostensibly less instrumental (e.g., friending your boss on facebook); and legal (e.g., making women more likely to be employed and increasing diversity in the workplace) and political changes (e.g., rising inequality, social movements and political polarization, environmental awareness). As a result, more and more people resonate with and are willing to say that their multiple identities are salient and related in various situations at work and in society and that they are important to them. And in fact, some say the presence of "single identity" type movements are a reaction to the shifts in power dynamics that come with these changes.

The theoretical novelty and doubt about multiple identities is also interesting to consider. Despite harking back to James, much of modern social psychology on identity has focused on the ideas of social identity theory. A key tenet of social identity theory that is highly relevant and important today, is that people not only define themselves on the basis of a group identity, they act in ways that support that group identity, often to the detriment of other identities and aspects of who they are, and to the detriment of those they construct as outgroup members. Another key tenet that social identity theory (along with other theories) made popular was that identity was dynamic, situational and malleable, not the immutable possession of an individual. Indeed, even minimal changes in the situation and superficial cues about one's group could heighten group identity based behavior. However, a third key tenet was that identities were proposed to be functionally antagonistic, and due to a psychological aversion to uncertainty and the dynamic influence of situations, the assumption was that most of us, most of time, consciously or unconsciously are guided by a single strong identity at a time. From this standpoint, the notion that multiple identities are salient for people and they consciously or unconsciously act in ways that manage the "relationships" among those identities is challenging. While identity theory in

sociology has provided a more complex view, with concepts such as multiple roles, role conflict, role integration, etc. being much more central in the literature, a multiple identities perspective is still not a dominant theoretical viewpoint. A multiple identities perspective suggests that whether one or more identities are salient and how those identities relate to one another are variables or states to be examined, not fundamental assumptions.

Returning to our focus today on gender, intersectionality, work-life and inclusion, I want to spend a minute foregrounding how this more traditional single, salient identity view in theory has also been challenged – and in particular, challenged by feminist thought. Feminist scholars have been at the forefront of insisting on multiplicity in several ways. Just thinking organizationally, if one goes to Kanter, 1977, one sees how she challenges essentialist notions of gender identity, gender was constructed in particular ways in particular contexts and not a possession of women. And she challenges the notion of separate spheres, that work and personal life were separate for men or women – the organizational environment was implicitly masculine – cultural expectations and beliefs about work and personal life – masculine and feminine – overlapped and reinforced one another. And these were carried by both men and women and it was baked into the structure and practices of work, marriage, society at large. Crenshaw (1989) offered us the term intersectionality – by examining the multidimensional experience of race and gender for Black women in the American context she showed that race and gender could not be separated and their intersection offered insight into unique aspects of oppression and discrimination when one belonged to multiple subordinate categories. Here are some interesting headlines and data that show how these may come together and also hard it is for us to consider multiplicity even when the data are staring us in the face. Mohanty (1988) put forth the idea that how men and women come to be constructed as different is intertwined with neo-liberal, capitalist and colonial power processes – in transnational feminist approaches cultural beliefs about gender can't be extricated from market and state formation. Here are some headlines and studies that help highlight such a view. An interesting set of recent more social psychological examinations of this show that for instance, that how middle eastern men act and are perceived in global organizations is as feminine while in local organizations they are the epitome of masculinity (Hannah Riley Bowles, Thomason and al Dabbagh). Likewise, Cuddy and colleagues show how the traits that are culturally valued by high status men are seen as masculine, so a collective orientation in collectivist cultures is higher status and hence masculine.

While obviously a scattered sampling, a central theme of such feminist scholarship has been to show that gender is constructed and situated, and that the way it is "done" is the outcome of societal power processes and contributes to the reinforcement of power relations and inequalities in society. And that it does so in conjunction with other identities. Some work also shows that because gender is dynamic and constructed, there are contexts in which gender operates with more vs. less variation, and these contexts offer possibilities for hope and transformation of power relations, not just evidence of reproduction.

I am informed by and grounded in these views. But I also come to the question of multiple identities with my own particular view. Because I specifically look at identity and the individual in such contexts, I focus on how people make sense of themselves and the relationships between the meanings and categories they see themselves belonging to, consciously or unconsciously. While this occurs in context and in light of culturally assigned categories and roles, I examine how the individual experiences, constructs, acts on the basis of being embedded in multiple groups and roles. I also have some work on the collective level and how we can create change collectively, but given our time constraints, I won't be focusing on that, today.

In my work, I have tried to examine both antecedents, what contexts and situations in people's professional, personal and social lives make multiple identities salient and negotiated. And second, what do those internal negotiations look like and what are the consequences of such negotiations for our work, relationships and society. I look at a range of identities, contexts and consequences. Today, I'll highlight several points specifically with an eye to my own research, make some observations about current trends in organizations and societies today that relate to multiple identities and close with some ideas for what we can do at the individual and collective levels to transform our organizations and societies.

The first study I want to share examines who claims more than one identity? I took the intersectional view, that we all have various race and gender social locations and the idea that we don't always claim our identities, especially high-status identities tend to be invisible, and I looked at how our social positions predicted our identification with our multiple social groups. Two datasets, the first looks at students, the second at the general population from the GSS. Free listed answers to their most important identities. We coded whether they named race or gender. We see that first, privileged identities tend to be invisible to us. Second, in general claiming race and gender is rare, even among minority women, it is only 35%. Given that identities are often bases for self-esteem, we figured, not claiming was better for white men and

claiming was better for minority women. And in fact, third, in the second data set we see that patterns of dual identity claiming of race and gender are related to their overall sense of self. So first of all, great degree of variability in how people see themselves, whether they embrace or reject their potential multiplicity based on societal status.

Second, I was also interested in particular relationships among identities and their effects. James not only said we had them, but that our selves could be discordant or harmonious and so I wanted to move from whether a particular type/content/level of identity mattered to whether relationships among them mattered. I am investigating these relationship in two ways, first just at a basic level I found that lower conflict was better and higher enhancement was better for self, relationship variables, such as perspective taking, and performance outcomes. So rejecting aspects of yourself is not good for you or others. Second, I am investigating them using the metaphor of an identity network, so how the structure of relationships and how these identities conflict or coexist in dense or sparse ways, matters for outcomes. I find that the idea of the strength of weak ties that applies in social networks, can also be used as a metaphor here, if enhancement is too strong and holistic, one package, we don't really benefit from multiple identities, either. What seems to work best is a light or loose sense of positive ties between ones identities, it offer maximum flexibility in behavior and specifically prosocial behavior that helps others.

Third, I wanted to look at how various identities come together to get enacted in ways that may help create organizational and perhaps even societal change. So I went to a couple of key understudied but important contexts where social change was part of the mission – social entrepreneurs and charter schools. These are organizations that care about equality, society and justice – but are also connected to and shaped by trends in the business sector to create more sustainable and more commercial/ efficiency-oriented /managerialist organizations. I was curious to understand how they may enable us to deviate from race and gender expectations and enact them in different ways for organizational and societal change. Very quickly, let me tell you about these studies.

In one study with colleague Erin Reid, we examined employees with higher-status race and class identities – whites and upper class – in a charter school setting. These are roles with prosocial intentions. We asked how do high status agents experience socializing members of marginalized groups? Organizations on one hand have expectations of teaching/socializing minorities into middle class norms through assimilation and compliance based practices, and students on the other have expectations that their race and class identities and backgrounds

should be recognized and respected. We find that socialization agents deviate from what is expected, in response to students' recognition demands. They first experience identity threat, suddenly seeing that their high status identities are embedded in their work roles and have negative stereotypes associated with them. They engage with that social identity threat, and marshal different aspects of themselves, e.g., their own multifacetedness, to maintain a sense of themselves as connected to and distant from the students. In essence, they maintain/create a dialogue between the ways in which their role and social identities together tear them away or bring them together with their students. This internal awareness of their multiplicity enables them to personalize and tailor their socialization. Our findings suggest that more inclusive socialization can be done by high status agents at the interpersonal level, even in organizations that don't have particularly open multicultural policies and cultures. Practically, for all of us, it suggests that socialization agents in diverse contexts need to look at themselves, we all say we learn from our students. Well, for me, this work suggests that what we need to learn from our students is who they see us as, who we are to them, not just learn about who the students are and where they come from, but how that relates to who we are. I think of this very practically as study of what it means to wrestle and be aware of one's own privileged identities in order to engage in intergroup relations. It also suggests that organizations need to bring these more inclusive practices into the open.

In another study, with colleagues, we examined gender in social enterprises. Traditionally, scholars of social enterprise have examined how founders adopt commercial practices. Here we examined how female social venture founders engage in commercial practices, particularly given that the social sector is associated with feminine stereotypes and the commercial practices are associated with masculine stereotypes. We found that consistent with gender stereotypes women engaged in less commercialization than men, we also found that in communities with a greater percentage of local businesswomen, they were more able to deviate from gendered sectoral stereotypes and adopt more commercialization. There are several points to raise here, first, on a clear normative standpoint, by looking at how women in operate in an ecosystem we can say that women that deviate from gender stereotypes in one part (e.g., in the local community and in business) shape the lenience and agency women have in another part. So practically speaking, broaden your frame, look beyond gender in a given organization or occupation, and look for how you can advance women to positions of power anywhere in the ecosystem to help other women gain more latitude. Second, more normatively, it raises a question – is this women leading the charge to transform capitalism to make it both

commercial and social, is women resisting commercialization of their own sector, or is it women adopting masculine practices? We need to be aware of the limits of what women can do given broader societal forces that intertwine market driven approaches and patriarchy.

In sum, what all these studies together show is that our social positions and contexts affect how we negotiate and maintain all the different aspects of who we are; how we handle these multiple identities affects how we feel about ourselves, which then affects how we engage with others in more prosocial, positive relational ways, and also how we can deviate from organizational and societal constraints and expectations to create less stereotypical and more integrative and inclusive ways of doing our work.

Together, what I hope this leaves us with is that embracing our multiple identities can help us transform our organizations and societies. To the extent that we feel miniaturized and reduced to a single thin slice of who we are, we need to find ways and contexts that enable us to push back – not against any other group or organization necessarily, but against our own tendency to be trapped by our own internal identity conflicts and feel we have to choose.

I realize I've gone super fast over a lot of ground, but I wanted to share these nuggets because I think collectively at a high level these highlight several practical implications for us as individuals and as leaders.

Turn Inward: Reflect on and acknowledge your own multiplicity. Identify the conflict and reflect on it, make privileged identities salient. Re-frame identities in ways that feel complementary : Which aspects of yourself are resources you can bring from one role to another? When feeling caught between identity groups, consider yourself as the connector of many different groups that are disconnected themselves …Obama example.

Turn outward and build resilient relationships. People and interactions → Approach others when feeling identity conflict or "reduced". Act as the bridge that brings understanding and ideas from all of your different groups together. Decrease acting only on the basis of a single dimension of yourself at a time. Engage in disclosure and inquiry, openness, perspective-taking, empathy – even if it backfires. Be committed to an ongoing process. If you're the higher-status person, act first. I think the high level point here is that we often think of working across differences as creating a common identity, but I think it is more important to think of oneself as multiple and encourage others to think of themselves as multiple, because it is only then that the collective identity can be expanded and enriched. You can use difference to connect to the other party, that is fine, you have to embrace and integrate it though with the role and why you need to engage with the other person.

Last, at the collective level - be committed to collective reflection and identify and incorporate resistance. To do that, scan broadly for pockets where identity stereotypes are less rigid (community, occupation, job roles) and bring those actions into the open, discuss and legitimize them, help others embrace them.

I want to end on a note that is even perhaps broader about the potential for embracing our own multiple identities as a way to help maintain and renew our democracy. Democracy is a process that requires work – it is about deliberation and dialogue. People keep observing that we are living in a time of heightened identity politics, power inequalities and polarization, and in such times the pressure on all of us to be a single thing is great, and to valorize ourselves and demonize the other, in fact, going back to social identity theory, we are living in a world of single identities. However, the solution to these dynamics I would argue is not trying to engage with the other, the outgroup, to break down their identity, or even to find a common identity with them. Rather, I think it is each of us trying to examine where and why we are willing to suppress our own internal dialogue and voice when we are in our own groups. Whether it is being a member of the educated elite who desires to create more equality, or an environmentally friendly republican or, a female faculty member at business school, the way forward is less about toeing the party line and more about embracing our own multiplicity.

Seeing More Clearly with an Intersectionality Lens[8]

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Intersectionality involves moving from a focus on only the experiences of majority members of social groups to better consider within social category diversity and more specifically the unique and specific experiences associated with the intersection of social categories (e.g., African-American women, older LGBT workers) (Crenshaw, 1993). In this talk I will briefly note existing research that approaches work-life conflict, balance, and engagement issues from an intersectionality lens, followed by a discussion of the benefits gained from bringing such a perspective to our work and practice. I will include specific examples of staff and faculty in academic settings to fit with the context of this conference. Before concluding, I will discuss how intersectionality relates to invisibility, authenticity, stereotyping and ambiguity.

Work-Life Research with an Intersectionality Lens

While there has been ample criticism directed at the fact that much work-life research has focused on the experiences of middle and upper middle class, younger, White, Western, heterosexual women, there are papers emerging that adopt an intersectional lens (e.g., Hamidullah, & Ruccucci, 2017; Ozbilgin, Beauregard, Tatli, & Bell, 2011; Ray & Jackson, 2013). We see scholars examining specific questions regarding work-life conflict and coping considering the intersection of: gender and religion (e.g., similarities between Australian Muslim men and women; Sav & Harris, 2013; denominational differences in work-family trade- offs across genders, Ammons & Edgell, 2007; May & Reynolds, 2018); minorities and religion (the role of religion in buffering WFC for African Americans (Henderson, 2016) and for Muslim men (Sav, Harris & Sebar, 2014); gender and life-stage (e.g., older women having greater eldercare responsibilities but generally less work-life conflict than younger women; Hill et al., 2008; Hill, Erickson, Fellows, Martinengo & Allen, 2014) as well as gender and generational cohort differences (e.g., valuing of leisure time, gender role egalitarianism; Rothrauff-Laschober & Eby, 2014); disability and life-stage intersections (e.g., earlier experiences of age-related limitations and needs for workers with physical disabilities, Cook & Shinew, 2014); and gender and sexual minority status (e.g., studies of gay adoptive fathers, Richardson, Moyer & Goldberg, 2012).

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This is definitely the good news aspect; however, it is really not an occasion for large-scale celebration. Studies are still few and far between. Many provide great value through the use of qualitative approaches, providing insights into potential unique experiences and concerns of those with a particular intersected identity, but there are relatively fewer larger scale examinations and specific tests of existing theory boundary conditions. A reader is left with a smattering of insights about particular intersections and not enough insights into how an intersectionality lens might change broader research conclusions or organizational practices.

An Intersectionality Lens as a Focus

There are several ways that bringing an intersectional lens to the conversation about work-life balance and female faculty in contexts where they are underrepresented can sharpen our focus. The first is the attention brought to *unidentified needs*. The second is a greater focus on *ignored values*. The third is an awareness of *unacknowledged conflicts*. Finally, such a lens can help to recognize *unsupportive advice*.

Unidentified needs may be the more straightforward point of conversation – senior female faculty may need more support for eldercare responsibilities, single parents may want a different level of flexibility, etc... In general, Ozbilgin et al (2011) note that when an intersectionality lens is not adopted, the "experiences of individuals with non-traditional non-work commitments" can be ignored (p185). An example would be the need for longer bereavement leave time for those with far-flung family who will travel across multiple time zones to participate in more lengthy rituals and traditions marking a revered elder's passing. Another example provided by Cook and Shinew (2014) regards the work-leisure balance of workers with physical disabilities. They note that while work-life researchers often discuss permeability or flexibility of one's movement between work and life domain roles and responsibilities, individuals with disabilities carry those responsibilities related to disability management across domains. For example, an individual with a disability whose partner was out of town required greater ability to work from home for both childcare and personal care assistance needs as coming into work became more challenging during those times (Cook & Sinew, 2014). In general, the need to plan ahead and/or needs for assistance and other self-care issues affect not only a worker with physical disabilities at work, but their needs and conflicts between work and life domains (e.g., going out to dinner or on a tour while at conference with colleagues), and their higher level of leisure related stress (Cook & Sinew, 2014)

Ignoring values has been the focus of considerable discussion in critiques of the work-family research literature. Gerson (2002) talked about how cultural frameworks affect

understanding and choices of who is responsible for caretaking and financial providing; the added value of an intersectional lens is in appreciating and respecting different cultural frameworks rather than seeing work-family tradeoff choices as misguided. For example, several writers have noted that the traditional cultural schema for Black women is of work-life integration rather than the traditional majority cultural schema of family devotion and stay-at-home motherhood, so the notion of work as incompatible with mothering or gender-differentiation of household tasks has historically been less prevalent (Dean, Marsh, & Landry, 2013). One of the more common examples of ignored values in the literature on intersectionality and work-life balance is religious values (e.g., a Muslim woman dealing with a complex intersection of ethnicity, religion, patriarchal values, immigrant status and gender, Ali, Malik, Pereira & Al Ariss, 2017). Another example might be the traditional Asian custom of "doing the month," which involves rest, nutrition, and other practices designed to restore harmony after labor; while maternity leave may be seen by an organization as essentially the same thing, the pressures to answer "just a few emails" or follow-up on obligations while on leave may be counter to long-standing traditions.

Unacknowledged conflict examples are often connected to values. For example, when large extended family relationships are part of one's life, unique stresses and demands are often unacknowledged or seen as "unnecessary conflicts" by those with a more nuclear family focus. For example, Marks et al. (2008) discuss "knocks of need" or the financial and emotional support offered to extended family and acquaintances by more economically stable members of African-American families as a both a unique stressor and an important support vis-a-vis African American identity. Another example of an unacknowledged conflict would be the challenges for gay fathers in terms of the potential extra lengths gone to in adopting as well as balancing work and family entangled with gender role norms (Richardson, Moyer & Goldberg, 2012). The broader issue of applying a singular definition of what family is rather than the varied configurations that might occur can lead to these unrecognized conflict.

Unhelpful advice and policies can be illuminated with an intersectionality lens. Jaga and Bagraim (2017) discuss how one does not skip out on or even do shortened attendance at extended family gatherings that are a weekly occurrence for Hindu Indian families. Well-meaning colleagues who advise the need for being selective in attending to such obligations are not only not recognizing a value difference, but also are also suggesting the need to subjugate aspects of one's identity in order to be successful in a faculty role. Another example would be encouraging faculty to engage in travel to conferences, during summers, or on sabbatical to

expand one's network, without a consideration that an individual's personal circumstances (single parenthood, family values) makes such advice blind to an individual's important identities.

Challenges to Address

While putting the intersectionality lens on can lead to greater clarity and focus, we have to be cautious in recognizing that it is not always the best lens for the situation – like using zoom on your camera magnifies but doesn't always produce a sharp picture or it removes the context for the subject of the photo in ways that tell less rather than more of the story. Specifically, I want to address the tensions associated with invisibility, authenticity, stereotyping, and ambiguity.

Making the Invisible Visible. Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) discussed the concept of intersectional invisibility; individuals who belong to multiple marginalized identity groups can be made socially invisible in that there are not viewed as prototypical of any group. An intersectional lens can help us make that invisible intersection visible. However, the work of Stacey Blake-Beard and others on tempered visibility shows that individuals may wish to be strategic about when they want their identity and needs visible and when they may prefer to take an under-the-radar approach (i.e., making one's voice heard all the time on every issue can not only be professionally costly but also personally exhausting; see also Comas-Diaz, 2014). We all know that underrepresented faculty get tired of being asked to be the token spokesperson for how "people with or of X" feel; we need to think about allowing individuals to allow less visibility for their identities. As one clear example, many individuals see their religious beliefs and practices as something private and not something they wish to have visible in the workplace.

Being authentic while impression managing. Employing an intersectionality lens fits with the broader goal of not just allowing but encouraging authenticity in the workplace. For individuals who feel they are categorized in ways that don't reflect their identity, recognizing the unique needs and experiences of intersected identity groups indicates a more authentic workplace. Authenticity at work has been linked to well-being (Ilies, Morgeson, & Nahrgang, 2005; Ménard & Brunet, 2011); however, the workplace – and particularly the work environment of many business schools – puts value on managing impressions well. A focus on intersectionality exposes tensions between acting authentically and managing to convey the impression expected. For example, advising an untenured female faculty member on the importance of socializing at receptions at conferences as a way of networking without

acknowledging her practice of not attending social functions where alcohol is served for religious reasons (e.g., Ali et al., 2017) is prioritizing impression management over authenticity. An intersectionality lens recognizes that individuals have alternative goal hierarchies – not everyone sees self-enhancement and getting ahead at work as a higher priority than self-verification.

Stereotyping while promoting inclusion. One danger that can emerge in embracing an intersectionality lens is stereotyping those with a particular intersected identity. Hwang and Beauregard (2015) point out how assumptions of Asian women subscribing to traditional gender roles ignores the diversity among Asian women; in seeking to recognize perspectives of ethnic minority women, the problem of stereotyping all individuals of an intersectional identity can also arise. To address this, Olson, Huffman, Leiva and Culbertson (2013) suggested examining cultural values rather than ethnicity as they did in examining work-life conflict among Hispanic American workers, showing that acculturation affected beliefs in gender role norms. Ali et al (2017) discuss this in terms of cultural hybridization or the ways in which there are recombinations of practices as individuals move across and acculturate with different cultures. Thus, just as we cannot assume that younger female faculty will necessarily have the same experiences, needs, values and conflicts as older female faculty, we need to layer that recognition onto discussions and insights regarding intersectionality (e.g., younger lesbian faculty may not have the same notions of family as older lesbian faculty).

Ambiguity when promoting inclusion. One final word of caution is in regard to allowing inclusion to breed ambiguity in policies. In using language to cover a broader range of identities and circumstances, a policy's language can become non-specific, resulting in greater uncertainty as to applicability to an individual's circumstances. For example, leaves for "non-carrying parents" could refer to males and females, hetero and homosexual employees, and birth and adoptive parents; however, individuals may not be certain if it does cover them. Also, broad, inclusive language can actually be interpreted as less supportive in its lack of recognizing specific needs. Acknowledging all potential intersected identities creates unnecessary complexity, inevitably leaves something out, and is generally unwieldy: however, sensitivity to both greater inclusiveness *and* less ambiguity is essential.

Widen the Lens to a More Inclusive Workplace

An intersectionality perspective highlights broader concerns about inclusive climates in organizations, not just specifically to work-life concerns. For example, the discriminatory attitudes of coworkers toward LGBT faculty might certainly influence spillover of work to non-

work (e.g., Stavrou & Ierodiakonou, 2018), or a refusal to allow a Muslim male to negotiate his teaching schedule so as to not interfere with daily prayer times is certainly an example of broader bias (Sav, Harris & Sebar, 2014). An intersectionality lens is not just about greater attention to the work-life needs of non-majority group members: it illustrates that inclusive workplace climates are essentially a necessary supportive element in considerations of work-life issues for underrepresented groups.

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Technology & Boundary Control in Academic Job Design: Gender and Work-Life Effects

Faculty Time Allocation Across Work and Family Roles[9]

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A common pressure felt by faculty is that there is not enough time to do all that needs to be done in terms of research, teaching, and service. Faculty members are continually confronted with many activities among which they can divide their hours. For example, within the work role, time may be allocated to designing a new research study, answering email, meeting with a student, preparing for a lecture, reviewing a colleague's grant application, and attending a dissertation proposal meeting, all within one day. This pressure is exacerbated by expectations to always be available via communication technologies, increasing the blurring of the boundary between work and family roles. Time is a fixed resource with no variability, as all faculty members have the same 24 hours in a day. Yet across faculty there is variation in terms of the time and effort that is allocated to different tasks.

Research indicates that while men and women spend the same number of weekly hours working, women tend to focus more time on teaching, mentoring, and service relative to men while men focus more on research (Misra, Lundquist, & Templer, 2012). These differences are important in that the way in which time is distributed across different activities can have implications with regard to career outcomes such as promotion and tenure. For example, professors who had not been promoted to full professor after 7 years reported spending more time on teaching and less time on research than did those promoted in less than 7 years (Link et al., 2008). Increased percentage of time spent on undergraduate instruction relates to decreased average yearly publications and presentations as well as decreased career satisfaction (Carrigan et al., 2011). Time spent on paid work must also be balanced with time spent caring for family members and housework. Men and women tend to have different time allocation experiences outside of work in that women tend to spend a disproportionate amount of time on dependent care relative to men (Misra et al., 2012). In the current paper, I share descriptive results concerning time allocation across work and family roles and work-family

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[9] Allen, T. D. (2020). Faculty Time Allocation Across Work and Family Roles. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 64-70). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317261. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/tbcacj/1/

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balance among tenure-track and tenured faculty. Data come from a larger NSF funded project focused on faculty work design.

Method

Survey results come from 837 faculty members employed at universities located across a state in the southeast. A total of 480 of the participants self-identified as male, 356 as female, and 1 identified as other. The distribution of professorial rank was Assistant (n = 287), Associate (n = 361), and Full (n = 366).

Time allocation was assessed based on the activity categories used by Misra et al. (2012). Specifically, participants reported the number of hours spent on average each week engaged in work activities (research, teaching, mentoring, service to university, service to professional discipline) and in nonwork activities (housework, childcare, eldercare). They were asked to report hours for the workweek (Monday through Friday) and separately hours for the weekend (Saturday and Sunday). Examples of tasks for each category were provided to ensure participants consistently categorized tasks. Participants were reminded of the number of hours in a five-day work week and on the weekend. If implausible values were reported, participants received an error message and asked to double-check their responses. Work-family balance was measured with the five-item measured used by Allen and Kiburz (2012) (e.g., “I am able to balance the demands of my work and the demands of my family.”) (alpha = .92).

Results

Table 1 reports time allocation results across all faculty for both weekday and weekend work for each category and for each gender. Across all categories faculty reported spending an average of 109.86 hours a week on work (M = 76.58) and on nonwork (M = 33.28) activities. Results based on independent t-tests indicated significant gender differences in total number of hours worked, both on the weekend and the workweek. In each case, women (M = 113.97 total, M = 84.67 weekday, M = 29.31 weekend) reported working more hours than did men (M = 106.69 total, M = 80.17 weekday, M = 26.58 weekend). Across the week, women reported working 7.28 hours more than men on average. Overall, men reported engaging in more research than did women, whereas women reported engaging in more teaching, more childcare and more eldercare than did men. Results also show that faculty spend a significant amount of time working on weekends. Across all faculty, the average amount of time spent on work activities on the weekend was 13.67 hours.

Table 1. Time Allocation Means and Standard Deviations Overall and By Gender

	All			Men (n = 480)			Women (n = 356)		
Activity	Weekday	Weekend	Total	Weekday	Weekend	Total	Weekday	Weekend	Total
Research	20.08 (13.27)	5.68 (4.88)	25.75 (16.05)	20.85 (13.43)	6.02* (4.99)	26.86* (16.27)	19.08 (13.01)	5.23* (4.69)	24.31* (15.64)
Teaching	20.39 (11.83)	4.07 (3.00)	24.45 (14.00)	19.41* (11.38)	3.84* (3.69)	23.25* (13.38)	21.71* (12.32)	4.40* (3.77)	26.10* (14.68)
Mentoring	8.43 (6.67)	1.27 (2.15)	9.70 (7.92)	8.28 (6.80)	1.11* (1.99)	9.38 (7.90)	8.64 (6.50)	1.50* (2.33)	10.14 (7.94)
University service	8.55 (8.30)	1.03 (1.89)	9.57 (9.44)	8.20 (7.78)	1.00 (1.86)	9.19 (8.85)	9.02 (8.96)	1.07 (1.93)	10.09 (10.18)
Professional service	5.48 (5.32)	1.62 (2.62)	7.10 (7.02)	5.50 (5.58)	1.74 (2.80)	7.24 (7.43)	5.45 (4.95)	1.47 (2.35)	6.92 (6.45)
Work Total			76.58 (27.84)			75.92 (27.10)			77.55 (28.83)
Housework	10.78 (7.77)	7.82 (5.80)	18.59 (11.95)	10.86 (7.87)	7.67 (5.85)	18.52 (12.03)	10.57 (7.36)	7.92 (5.48)	18.49 (11.25)
Childcare	7.36 (11.32)	5.70 (8.44)	13.05 (19.03)	6.36* (9.95)	4.79* (7.30)	11.15* (16.60)	8.70* (12.86)	6.92* (9.65)	15.62* (21.68)
Eldercare	1.05 (3.66)	.59 (2.03)	1.63 (5.45)	.69* (2.72)	.42* (1.58)	1.11* (4.04)	1.51* (4.59)	.80* (2.61)	2.31* (6.85)
Nonwork Total			33.28 (23.74)			30.78* (21.61)			36.42* (25.73)
Grand Total	82.13 (24.72)	27.77 (12.52)	109.86 (34.69)	80.17* (24.66)	26.58* (12.26)	106.69* (34.16)	84.67* (24.55)	29.31* (12.68)	113.97* (34.93)

Asterisks represent significant mean differences.

Table 2. Time Allocation Means and Standard Deviations By Rank and By Gender

	Assistant (n =235)		Associate (n = 300)		Full (n = 302)	
Activity	Men (n = 125)	Women (n = 110)	Men (n = 147)	Women (n = 153)	Men (n = 208)	Women (n = 93)
Research	27.99 (16.99)	24.67 (14.43)	24.88 (16.19)	23.72 (16.39)	27.58 (15.84)	24.85 (15.87)
Teaching	26.45 (14.31)	25.80 (14.56)	24.94 (13.63)	27.42 (14.61)	20.13* (11.94)	24.26* (14.88)
Mentoring	9.27 (7.99)	7.82 (6.73)	9.12 (7.03)	10.84 (8.68)	9.63* (8.44)	11.72* (7.43)
University service	7.08 (6.57)	6.55 (6.51)	9.30 (7.86_	10.67 (8.97)	10.39 (10.37)	13.32 (13.82)
Professional service	5.81 (5.47)	5.31 (5.48)	6.45 (7.19)	6.75 (5.76)	8.66 (8.35)	9.09 (7.89)
Work Total	76.60 (26.87)	70.16 (27.89)	74.68 (26.82)	79.40 (27.71)	76.39 (27.54)	83.24 (30.22)
Housework	17.30 (9.19)	16.87 (8.85)	18.92 (11.21)_	19.72 (13.48)	18.96 (13.94)	18.38 (9.48)
Childcare	13.99 (20.46)	18.81 (24.70)	13.66 (17.26)	17.25 (21.48)	7.66 (12.45)	9.17 (16.42)
Eldercare	.98 (4.74)	1.54 (6.99)	1.13 (3.49)	1.92 (4.93)	1.17* (3.96)	3.87* (8.92)
Nonwork Total	32.28 (23.63)	37.22 (28.09)	33.71 (21.80)	38.90 (26.13)	27.80 (19.86)	31.42 (31.42)
Grand Total	108.88 (34.46)	107.38 (36.41)	108.39* (34.75)	118.30* (32.72)	104.19* (33.56)	114.66* (35.84)

Table 2 shows results for overall weekly hours grouped by rank and gender. Results show no gender differences in total hours work at the Assistant rank, but women report working more hours than do men at both the Associate and the Full level. Overall female associate faculty work the most total number of hours (M = 118.30) followed by female full faculty (M = 114.66). There were no significant gender differences with regard to time spent in the various activities within the Assistant rank. In addition, although there was a significant gender difference in total time spent at the Associate rank, there were no significant differences in weekly totals for individual activities. At the rank of Full, women reported significantly more time spent teaching, mentoring, and on eldercare than did men.

Differences in work-family balance across gender and rank were also examined via analysis of variance. Results indicated that men (3.28) reported greater work-family balance than did women (M = 3.00) ($F = 15.38$, $p < .001$). Full professors (M = 3.43) reported greater work-family balance than did Associate (M = 3.09) or Assistant professors (M = 2.99) ($F = 8.93$, $p < .001$). The interaction between rank and gender was not significant ($F = 2.69$, $p = .069$). I also examined correlations between time allocation and work-family balance. Correlations overall were small in magnitude, but tended to be larger for activities that involve teaching and child care.

Discussion

Long hours associated with faculty work have been the subject of recent popular press discussions (e.g., McKenna, 2018). The results of our study indicate that faculty spend on average between 70 and 80 hours a week on work-related activities. Moreover, underscoring the permeability of the boundary between work and nonwork, faculty spend a significant amount of time (13.67 hours) on work activities on the weekends. This finding is consistent with previous studies of faculty work time. For example, a study of Boise State University faculty found that faculty worked an average of 10 hours on the weekend (Matthews, 2016). Such extensive time spent engaged in work activities over the weekends suggests that faculty may have little time during which they are psychologically or physically disengaged from work, a key element of recovery (Sonnentag, 2012). Much of faculty work can be enacted in a variety of settings, making it particularly vulnerable to boundary blurring.

Consistent with previous research (Misra et al., 2012), we find that men spend more time on research than do women, while women spend more time on teaching than do men. The biggest gap in time allocation is time spent in care work. Women report spending an average of 4.47 hours more a week on childcare than do men and an average of 1.20 hours more on eldercare. This finding should be considered along side the pattern of correlations that suggest

time spent teaching and in childcare are associated with less work-family balance. Teaching may also be viewed as a form of care work, thus women faculty tend to shoulder a greater proportion of care work at both work and at home.

The data are cross-sectional but point to the need for research that followed men and women across time and academic ranks. Specifically, the data show that men and women work roughly the same number of hours per week as the Assistant level, but at the rank of Associate and Full, women significantly work more hours than do men, roughly about 10 hours more across work and nonwork roles. We need a better understanding of changes in work and family responsibilities and time allocated to those responsibilities across faculty career development stages. Although time allocation has a discretionary component, faculty are constrained by institutional expectations and norms in allocating time as they desire (Winslow, 2010). A better understanding of top down pressures that dictate time allocation are needed.

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Freedom or Bondage?: Flexible and Permeable Boundaries in Academic and Professional Careers[11]

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"*People would complain about work and life balance back in the eighties when there was no such thing as these technologies. It's a question of having a balance within one's self. It may not have anything to do with technology. I think it's having a certain security within oneself to say I will go this far and knowing what your limits are . . .*" (Duxbury et al. 2014, p. 579)

"It's up to people to set limits, to manage expectations. I think appropriate use is when you do not allow it to encroach into your private and personal life." (Duxbury et al., 2014, p. 581)

The above quotations taken from interviews with pharmaceutical sales representatives regarding smart phone use (Duxbury et al., 2014) reflect three aspects of the employee experience associated with the impact of technology on modern work. First, modern technological tools such as smart phones, email, videoconferencing and file-sharing ostensibly provide today's employees with unprecedented freedom in scheduling work hours, choosing where to work, and by extension, child-care options. Second, many employees feel the weight of responsibility in deciding whether or how to use the technology. Third, employees require a sense of security to set limits and resist the normative pressure to allow the workplace to intrude into their personal lives. In essence, they feel bound to the organization and an obligation to remain constantly available for work.

On one hand modern work technology potentially offers employees freedom from standard hours in a traditional workplace, but on the other hand the technology may represent a form of bondage forcing employees to remain connected with work. This freedom and pressure is often greater among academics and other highly educated knowledge workers whose work is already less bounded by time and location than other jobs. Further, high-status work is associated with greater normative pressure to work constantly and blur the work/non-work boundary (Schieman & Glavin, 2016). Clearly, the connection between technological advances

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and work-life “balance” is a complex one replete with opportunities and challenges for both workers and organizations. In this paper, I summarize recent research findings addressing this connection, highlight emerging ideas, and propose future research directions that may help us understand how to enjoy the benefits of modern workplace technology, while avoiding the potential pitfalls.

Boundary Flexibility and Permeability

Changes in modern work associated with technological tools such as smart phones, email and video conferencing relate to two foundational concepts in scholarly research on the work/non-work boundary: flexibility and permeability (Ashforth, Kreiner & Fugate, 2000; Hall & Richter, 1988). A flexible work/non-work boundary is a boundary that can be moved or shifted, for example changing one’s work start and ending times, or the location of work (Ashforth et al., 2000; Hall & Richter, 1988; Kossek & Lautsch, 2012). A permeable boundary allows employees located in one life domain to participate in another domain (Ashforth et al,, 2000; Hall & Richter), for example, videoconferencing into a work meeting while on vacation or having a conversation with family members from work. Flexible and permeable boundaries are often welcome among employees because they offer control or autonomy (Kossek, 2016) – a core job characteristic yielding positive employee outcomes including motivation and satisfaction (Fried et al., 2007). Flexible and permeable boundaries also provide options for juggling work and family responsibilities (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012). Yet, a fluid or blurred work/non-work boundary is also often accompanied by a sense of never being able to escape work, and the burden of greater expectations of availability to do work (Duxbury et al., 2014; Jostell & Hemlin, 2017). In essence, technology heightens the already prevalent ‘ideal-worker’ normative expectations that workers place a priority on work above the non-work domain, and remain available to the organization (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015; Williams, 2001).

In the lives of academics and other high-status knowledge workers, boundary permeability and flexibility frequently coincide, for example when a scholar writing a manuscript at home handles work and home-related tasks and calls throughout the day. Yet, boundary permeability and flexibility can operate independently of each other. A flexible boundary need not represent a permeable boundary, and a permeable boundary can be restricted in flexibility. While at home, the scholar can choose to limit their writing to specific hours, to a specific “home office” room, or restrict the phone calls they make or accept. Drawing on recent, key research findings, I propose that refining our understanding of the distinction between these two boundary characteristics is critical for understanding how to allow workers the freedom associated with modern technology while reducing the sense of being tied to work.

Lessons from Recent Research Findings

Organizational scholars are increasingly addressing the work/non-work boundary. A keyword search using the term "work-family boundary" in the *Business Source Complete* research database, for articles published during the last 10 years, yielded 90 articles. This is in contrast to only 35 articles published from 1998-2008.[12] Although existing research overwhelmingly studies non-academics, themes from this work can be applied to understanding the interplay of boundary flexibility and permeability for academics as well as other professions.

Technology heightens permeability and challenges. Although some employees still choose to maintain a rigid work/non-work boundary, overwhelmingly people use technology in ways that combine work and non-work participation (Kim & Hollensbe, 2017; Paustian-Underdahl et al., 2016; Stanko & Beckman, 2015). Moreover, although the flexibility associated with technology use is helpful and welcome by many employees (Daniel & Sonnentag, 2016), it is also often accompanied by negative effects. Remaining available constantly is associated increased work-family conflict (Eddleston & Mulki, 2015; Jostell & Hemlin, 2017; LaPierre et al., 2016), emotional exhaustion (Dettmers, 2017), the inability to recover adequately from work (Dettmers et al., 2016), and greater stress (Barley, Meyerson & Grodal, 2011).

Preferences, control and support mitigate negative effects of permeability. People vary in their preferences for permeable and impermeable boundaries (Rothbard, Phillips & Dumas, 2005), and research generally shows that the negative effects of permeability are weaker among those who prefer to blend work and non-work (Derks et al., 2016; Daniel & Sonnentag, 2016; Piszczek, 2017). Moreover, organizational support can help employees manage boundaries in accordance with their preferences, and can also give them a greater feeling of control – both of which reduce negative effects of boundary blurring (Duxbury et al., 2014). Further Jostell and Hemlin (2017) found that interruptions associated with permeability – rather than mere teleworking itself – were associated with greater work-family conflict. Ferguson, Carlson and Kacmar (2015) found that organizational support for separating work and family led to greater organizational commitment and better family well-being. Also, flexibility yielding a stronger work/non-work boundary is associated with increased affective well-being (Spieler et al., 2017). These studies highlight the positive effects of having flexibility without high permeability.

[12] Note that the search was restricted to articles published in peer-reviewed academic journals. When expanding the search to include other sources, the search yielded 128 articles addressing the work-family boundary during the 2008 – 2018 time period and 54 articles from 1998 – 2008.

The Way Forward: More Flexibility and Control with Less Permeability?

Study seasons of work. Kossek (2016) identified "cyclers", people who rotate between permeable and impermeable boundaries with the ebb and flow of their work demands. This research may be particularly applicable for academic lifestyles. Rather than attempting to fit academic work habits into one particular boundary management style, studying ways to cycle between permeability and flexibility would advance our understanding and theorizing.

Think globally and study non-U.S. norms. Expectations and norms surrounding work boundary permeability vary widely internationally (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). For example, French managers turned off their work smart phones on weekends (Lirio, 2017), and overall Europeans do not confer the same high status to constant "busyness" as do Americans (Bellezza, Paharia & Keinan, 2018). Acknowledging and studying our cultural biases toward work may be an important step in re-shaping our boundary practices.

Study leave time use. More research on the use of paid leave policies is needed to address inequities and gender differences in career paths within academia and beyond. Leave time (and stopping the tenure clock) can be an essential opportunity to fully disengage from work demands. However in practice, particularly among academics, work demands intrude into this personal time. Also, standards for evaluating productivity do not discount leave time. This places an additional burden on those who require the full benefit of an impermeable home boundary, which protects their personal time, to fully recover from childbirth and/or to adjust to new caregiving responsibilities. Thus studying leave time use has implications for gender equity. Managerial practices, organizational policies and normative expectations can significantly impact employees' ability to enact an optimally flexible and/or permeable work-home boundary. Evaluating and acknowledging existing norms, studying successful boundary management practices, and offering organizational support can facilitate employees' decisions about technology use, providing the security needed to set appropriate limits on their availability. Existing findings point the way to future research paths that may help identify best practices and solutions for the puzzle of how to balance boundary flexibility, control and permeability.

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Under Pressure: Work-Life Balance in the "Always On University"[13]

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The complex and demanding nature of faculty work and the associated challenges of maintaining work-life balance are well-known (e.g., Lester, 2013; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011). Despite the increased presence of policies designed to meet those challenges (e.g., parental leave), faculty remain dissatisfied with their ability to balance work and non-work demands. For instance, a recent survey of nearly 30,000 faculty from 65 institutions, revealed that 28% of men and 40% of women do not feel that they have been able to find the right balance between their professional and personal lives (COACHE, 2017).

The competing demands of work and home appear to disproportionately affect women, who report lower levels of job satisfaction and more difficulty balancing teaching, research, and service responsibilities (Misra, Lundquist, & Templer, 2012; Smith & Calasanti, 2005). Part of this disparity reflects the fact that women continue to bear the brunt of care-giving and domestic duties at home (Misra et al. 2012; Winslow 2010). Importantly, though, several features of the academic work environment also contribute to this disparity by increasing both actual and perceived work demands for women and reducing their perceptions of job control. Consider the following examples.

Women tend to provide more departmental and institutional service (Guarino & Borden, 2017) and receive more new work requests (O'Meara, Kuvaeva, Nyunt, Jackson, & Waugaman, 2017) than men. This work tends to be viewed as "housekeeping" (e.g., committee assignments, advising) that is undervalued, provides limited visibility, and is not integrated into their scholarship or teaching (O'Meara, Kuvaeva, and Nyunt, 2017). The latter yields inefficiencies in time allocation, necessitating longer work hours if they are to fulfill research and teaching expectations (O'Meara et al., 2017).

Women also spend a greater percentage of their workweek on teaching than men, for reasons not explained by preferences or institutional attributes (Winslow, 2010). Women are more likely to teach lower-level (and higher enrollment) courses while men in their departments teach smaller, upper division seminars. Women also report greater solicitation of standard work

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[13] Furst-Holloway, S. (2020). Under Pressure: Work-Life Balance in the "Always On University". In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 78-85). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317263. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/tbcacj/3/

demands and special favor requests from students, such as emailing with course-related questions, dropping by the office without an appointment, or overseeing independent studies (El-Alayli, Hansen-Brown, & Ceynar, 2017). On net, women interface with more students and those students expect them to be more available. When they are not, women can be penalized on evaluations, often the only means of assessing teaching performance. As a result, they may reluctantly agree to accommodate requests, further adding to their work demands.

Finally, women tend to be less certain than men that they will get tenure at their institution (COACHE, 2014). They are also less likely to believe they "have received consistent messages from tenured faculty about the requirements for tenure" and that "tenure decisions are made primarily on performance-based criteria rather than on non-performance." The lack of clarity and support regarding these criteria may fuel the belief that they must work harder and do more to not just meet but exceed promotion and tenure thresholds. These perceptions may be exacerbated by a (Western) culture that affords men a level of credibility and competence not extended to women. This disparity is oft displayed in academia, as men are regarded as "professors" and women as "teachers" (Miller & Chamberlin, 2000).

Taken together, workload inequities, implicit biases, and unclear performance standards may adversely affect women faculty in ways that increase both perceived *and* actual work demands and decrease perceptions of job control, further straining their ability to maintain work-life balance. This context is important to consider as it sets the backdrop for understanding the implications of technology use in the "always on university." As Kossek and Lautsch (2012) argued, characteristics of the social context are likely to affect how employees' boundary management behaviors and their personal preference interact to affect work- and health-related outcomes.

The Link between Technology Use and Work-Life Balance for Faculty

Advancements in information and communications technologies (ICTs), including smart phones, laptops and tablets, and web-based collaborative tools have reshaped the workplace by affording employees the opportunity to connect and collaborate anywhere, anytime (Leung, 2011). The ubiquity of ICTs and their impact on work behaviors are startling. A 2011 iPass Report shows that 95% of 2,300 survey respondents from across the globe own a smartphone and that 91% use it for work, often off hours.[14] This compares to just 3% of respondents who do not work outside of office hours. Research shows that ICTs can make work more interesting, increase productivity, and reduce work-home conflict (Kelly Services, 2009; Towers, Duxbury, &

[14] http://mobile-workforce-project.ipass.com/reports/q4-report-2011 (downloaded 1/25/12)

Thomas, 2005). At the same time, ICT use enables around the clock access to work, which threatens the ability to detach. This can increase stress, work-home conflict, and burnout (Sarker, Xiao, Sarker, & Ahuja, 2012).

The conflicting findings regarding the outcomes of ICT use may be resolved by considering the context in which ICTs are used. First, individuals may use technology-driven tactics to manage the work-home boundary in ways that meet their preferences and needs (Fenner & Renn, 2009; Furst-Holloway & Bologna, 2017). Some tactics promote integration (e.g., downloading work emails onto a mobile device while off hours) while others create greater segmentation (e.g., setting limits on when to use technology off-hours). Notably, these tactics reflect intentional efforts to use ICTs in ways to regain job control by aligning how one manages the work-home boundary with their actual boundary preferences. Thus, these tactics may be particularly important for women faculty who report larger time allocation mismatches than men—that is, their actual time allocations to both teaching and research diverge more from their preferred time allocations than those of men (Winslow, 2010).

Second, the efficacy of these tactics may vary as a function of departmental or institutional norms. Strong organizational integration norms imply that employees are expected to take work home and be available for work off-hours – as opposed to a workplace that allows or permits employees to keep work matters at work (Jarvenpaa & Lang, 2005; Kossek, Colquitt, & Noe, 2001). Research, to date, has not explored integration norms in the academy. Yet, evidence suggests that those norms may be quite strong given a normative expectation that the "ideal scientist" views work as a calling, prioritizes it over other roles, and pursues research single-mindedly (Bailyn, 2003; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004).

Strong integration norms tend to pressure employees to stay connected and engaged in work off-hours, particularly when ICTs make those connections so accessible (Derks et al., 2014; Schieman & Glavin, 2017). This pressure can be detrimental. In fact, emerging research suggests that the *pressure* to be available and responsive creates greater stress and work-home conflict than actually engaging in work off-hours (Furst-Holloway et al., 2016). Further, when integration norms are lower, the relationship between off hours work and work-life conflict is diminished, particularly for those who prefer integration (Gadeyn et al., 2018). Said differently, when employees integrate by choice not obligation, conflict lessens and psychological detachment increases (Mellner, 2016).

Despite burgeoning evidence regarding pressures to be available and connected, the trend toward greater technology access, flexibility, and integration continues unabated. As the preceding findings suggest, more attention is needed to identify the organizational norms,

practices, and policies that can preserve productivity and performance while protecting faculty from the psychological and physiological effects of anywhere, anytime work. This may be particularly true for women given what we know about the gendered work environment in academe.

Implications for the "Always On University"

To be clear, there is no shortage of work-life policies within the academy, including parental leaves, stop-the-tenure-clock policies, childcare support, and part-time work. However, these policies are often underused (Lundquist et al. 2012; Mason et al. 2013), in part because they are embedded in unsupportive, patriarchal cultures that devalue parenthood and caregiving at the expense of institutional and disciplinary standards that further prestige (Lester 2015; O'Meara & Campbell 2011). More problematic is that these policies do not address the daily work-life challenges faculty face in managing myriad and often conflicting demands and the intrusions across work and home boundaries made more permeable by ICTs.

Consistent with the literature on family supportive supervisory behaviors (FSSB; Hammer et al., 2007), research does show that support from senior departmental colleagues and institutional leaders, as well as the presence of family-friendly department norms and role models can bolster faculty's agency (i.e., perceptions of job control) in balancing their academic and home lives (Lester 2015; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011). More research is needed to understand these behaviors in the context of ICTs and around the clock accessibility. In addition to gathering baseline information on integration preferences and pressures for responsiveness, departments might design and test a series of interventions based on lessons learned from the FSSB literature. For example:

- In what ways can departmental leadership and senior colleagues **role model** appropriate ICT-related behaviors?
- In what ways can departments or institutions demonstrate **instrumental support** for ICT utilization by setting expectations for students, staff, and faculty, around response time and around the clock availability? What would such interventions look like (e.g., language in syllabi, email signatures)?

While the preceding efforts apply to all faculty, additional research is needed to understand how ICTs and connectivity affect the ability of women faculty to better manage work-life demands. For instance:

- When women engage in more service and teaching, they are – ipso facto – increasing the number of connections they have and thus the number of people to whom they must be responsive (O'Meara et al., 2017). Thus, irrespective of integration norms and

pressures to be responsive, it is necessary to address inequities in workload, subjective performance criteria, and uncertainties regarding tenure and promotion requirements that might subconsciously fuel pressures to do more and (especially) to be more available and "present."

- Research should explore whether differences exist between men and women (both students and faculty) with respect to ICT utilization, expectations for others' responsiveness, and their own internalized pressures to respond. To the extent that differences emerge, training interventions can be developed to help these stakeholders understand sources of bias and to develop more equitable expectations and practices that level the playing field.
- Research examining faculty experiences from an intersectional perspective indicates that work-life balance varies as a function of both race and gender (Denson, Szelényi, & Bresonis, 2018). To be true, faculty possess multiple identities (e.g., scientist, teacher, parent, African American, lesbian, gardener, fitness junky) that likely inform how they approach their work and respond to work experiences. Research is thus needed that examines how demands associated with the always on university affect faculty from this multiple identity lens.

In closing, advancements in technology undoubtedly expand the capability of institutions and faculty to be more innovative, broaden collaboration networks, and be more flexible in attending to academic and personal demands. Yet, these advancements do not come without potential costs in terms of coordination and integration challenges. To date, research and practice in this area have largely (albeit not exclusively) outside of the higher education setting. The hope is that the ideas presented here might stimulate new research – both basic and applied – to advance this work.

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Work-Life Stigmatization, Overwork Faculty Cultures

Gender, Work-Family Overload, and Stigmatization: Academia as a Revealing Organizational Case[15]

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Work and family are proverbially "greedy" domains (Coser, 1974). They claim time, energy, and allegiance—drawing heavily upon people's loyalty and absorption. These demands also compete in ways that are difficult to reconcile (Byron, 2005). Resulting is work-family conflict. The conflict is growing in the US and other industrialized nations, with women working outside, as well as inside, the home; and separate spheres of work and family, by gender, disappearing (Moen and Roehling, 2005). The conflict is also bidirectional—work-to-family and family-to-work. It is important to differentiate between the two because they are distinct (although related) constructs and can have different antecedents (Bellavia and Frone, 2005; Grzywacz et al., 2002).

Academia is a revealing, organizational case for the study of gender and work-family overload and conflict. First, normative expectations are that the "ideal academic" gives priority to work; has few outside interests; and pursues work single-mindedly (Bailyn, 2003: 139; Ward and Wolf-Wendel, 2004: 237).

Second, the work role is highly salient to faculty members' identity. The identification and involvement arise early in life, and those who persist through graduate school often set their sights on research careers (Fox and Stephan, 2001). The involvement shapes expressions of self and makes faculty responsive to work demands. In this sense, academic work can qualify for what is termed "work devotion" (Blair-Loy, 2003), with work standing in tension to other commitments, including family.

Third, organizational standards of evaluation and reward can heighten the striving for achievement. In academia, standards of evaluation are often both "absolute and subjective." This means that evaluative criteria can be vague and variable. The issue of "how much is enough" (Huber, 2002:78) is particularly salient for women who, on average, are less likely than men to report that criteria for tenure and promotion are "very clear" (Fox, 2015), and more likely to report that they do not understand the criteria for evaluation in their units (Roth and Sonnert, 2011). Further, a recent study points to

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[15] Fox, M. F. (2020). Gender, Work-Family Overload, and Stigmatization: Academia as a Revealing Organizational Case. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 87-92). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317216. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/wlsofc/1

informal factors, frequency of speaking with faculty and perceptions of being in a collegial department, as stronger factors in predicting clarity than formal factors of seniority and rank. This means that social integration is shaping patterms of clarity of evaluation (Fox, 2015).

These organizational conditions and experiences and are not gender-neutral. Work and family conflict is especially salient for women faculty for at least two reasons. Women's pathway to the faculty role is frequently fraught with sacrifices and prices paid, and with heightened awareness of the penalties for shortfall in any dimension of work (Fox, 2003).

These can make women especially sensitive to performance. At the same time, compared to men, women are frequently subject to higher cultural and social expectations for attention to family. This operates whether or not they have demanding work roles (Boulis and Jacobs, 2008).

In a survey conducted with faculty in nine research universities, academic scientists reported bi-directional work-family conflict: family/household interferes with work, and work interferes with family, with variations by gender (Fox et al., 2011). Work to family conflict, on average, was higher than "moderate" for women and close to "moderate" for men. Family to work conflict was close to "moderate" for women and somewhat more than "little" for men.

Likely, the greater interference in the direction of work-to-family reflects broad, national pressure in the US for the precedence of work. Compared to family roles, work roles are organizational and are tied to people's social standing. In keeping with this, negative sanctions exist for allowing family to interfere with work. In comparison, few negative sanctions discourage focusing on work at home (Kelloway et al., 1999). Further, in the same study, factors predicting work-family conflict vary in interesting ways, by gender, in effects of marriage, ages of children, and senior compared to junior rank (Fox et al., 2011).

Marriage did not significantly raise or lower the probability of work-to-family conflict for either men or women. However, for conflict in the other direction—family-to-work—being married significantly increased the probability of conflict for men and not for women. How might we explain this? The pattern may relate to men's spouses (who tend to be outside academic and scientific occupations) being more likely than women's spouses to act as "social managers" who arrange engagements and activities that are not related to perceived needs to focus on work.

For conflict in the direction of work-to-family, the presence of children in two age groups (under age six and between six-eighteen) increased the probability of interference. However, for the direction of family-to-work conflict, the presence of children under age six significantly predicted interference among men and *not* among women.

Given the demands of small children, this is non-intuitive. How might we explain this? Women in academia who have preschool children and remain in full-time, tenured or tenure- track faculty positions may be a highly selective group in adjusting to demands of their work. This possibility is supported by prior research showing that, in academic science, women with preschool children exercise "disciplined choices" in management of their time, allocating hours to research activities, particularly (Fox, 2005). Bear in mind here that that we are assessing patterns only among those who are employed, that is, those who have survived. Attrition, owing to work-family conflict, may occur earlier, and these women do not appear among the employed group of faculty studied.

Academic rank is also a sensitive factor and operated in unexpected ways. Senior (associate/full professor), compared to junior (assistant professor), rank predicted work and family conflict among women, but not men. Further, the effect of rank operated differently depending on the direction/type of conflict. Holding senior rank *decreased* the likelihood of work to family conflict, but *increased* the likelihood of family-to-work conflict for women in the study.

The pattern of senior rank increasing the likelihood of women's family-to-work conflict may reflect potential demands of care for parents and aging family members among women at higher rank. The pattern may also reflect the experiences of women faculty, reported elsewhere, that personal or professional case does not necessarily accompany advancement in rank (MIT, 1999).

Implications exist for interventions of childcare supports; work expectations that accelerate with higher rank; and tenure leave policies that operate differently by gender. First, the presence of children of school aged children increased the probability of both work-to-family and family-to-work conflict for women and men. This suggests that childcare issues go beyond issues of pre-schoolers, and that work-family conflicts may be reduced by after-school programs and programs during "break" periods for school-aged children.

Second, the seemingly anomalous pattern of senior rank predicting higher family-to-work conflict for women is consistent with complex ways in which faculty positions operate. This calls for attention to issues of overload for senior women faculty.

Third, the high expectations that prevail mean that gender-neutral family leaves do not necessarily operate with shared benefit for both women and men. A recent investigation of faculty in 50 top economics departments over time (1980-2005) indicates that gender-neutral "stop the tenure clock" leaves for birth of children or care of ill family members benefit men more than women. The adoption of departments' gender-neutral policies significantly reduced women's tenure rates, and increased men's. The primary driving mechanism is that, after these policies are implemented, the men publish more in the top economics journals, and the women did not (Antecol et al., 2018). This suggests that the leave policies do not account for gender-specific productivity losses, and the can actually increase the gender gap in productivity and advancement of faculty. Just as conditions are not gender-neutral, neither are the effects of policies.

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Illusions of Flexibility Among Academic Careers: Contradictions And Competing Expectations Within Faculty Cultures[16]

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Introduction

To those outside of academia, an assumption exists that the faculty careers are flexible. We often are subject to comments such as, "it must be great to have the summers off" in which it is assumed that we only teach and do little else. Yet, teaching only represents a portion of what most tenured and tenure track faculty do as we are also expected to conduct research and engage in service inside and outside our institutions. In this thought paper, I will explore this "illusion of flexibility" and how it contradicts reality within academic cultures that are often plagued by overwork associated with establishing a "career trifecta" in which excellence in teaching, research and service must be simultaneously achieved. In their quest for excellence in all three areas, faculty may find themselves managing competing expectations within each domain. For example, students and curriculum coordinators expect faculty to be devoted to their students while department chairs and peers expect faculty to be devoted to publishing in high quality journal outlets. At the same time, university administrators and the business community impose demands upon faculty to comment on current events in the media and engage in and or lead organizational change and policy initiatives across campus and beyond.

These competing expectations can also cross over to nonwork-domains and often carry gendered implications. For example, women faculty who are mothers may use this illusion of "flexibility" to portray themselves in a more positive light by others in their home life, while they may be simultaneously trying to downplay their parenting roles at work. Men on the other hand, may downplay any flexibility assumed in their academic careers to be portrayed as more masculine and "hardworking" by others (Ladge & Little, 2019). In this paper, I will address these contradictions and competing expectations within faculty cultures, paying particular attention to business faculty where academic research is often the most significant evaluative measure of success within the academic community but is often an unrecognized role by many within (students, administrators) and outside the academia (family and friends, practicing managing),

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by drawing upon prior research, generating new research questions, avenues for future research and exploring potential practical solutions.

Contradictions and Competing Expectations within Faculty Cultures

Perceived flexibility in the literature is often defined as the extent to which employees feel they have the flexibility in their schedule and workload which has been found to have positive effects on employee health and well-being and workplace attitudes (e.g. Grzywacz et al., 2008l Hill et al., 2001; Richman et al., 2008). Yet despites its positive benefits, work-family researchers often find that formal flexibility programs are often underutilized when workers feel it may impact how others may perceived them (Allen, 2001; Thompson et al., 1999). Research has consistently found that there is a stigma associated with professionals who take advantage of flexible work arrangements. These individuals are typically marginalized, assumed to be less committed to their organizations and viewed as "time deviants" for not fitting the "ideal worker template" (Epstein et al. 1999, Glass 2004, Leslie et al. 2012; Williams et al., 2016: 525). Research also shows that those who engage in flexible work programs suffer career consequences such as lower performance ratings, receive fewer promotions and less pay over time (Judiesch & Lyness, 1999). This coupled with the psychological consequences of perceived threat of being seen as less dedicated workers may explain why many workers don't utilize such programs. Often burden falls heavily on those who have significant obligations outside of work and need to balance their work and family/life demands. Given this the flexibility bias is highly correlated to a work-life stigma.

Although flexibility is a body of research that has been well studied by work-family scholars, researchers have not explored what I refer to here as an "illusion of flexibility" (IOF) which relates to certain roles and professions which may be assumed to be flexible (by others and by oneself) when in fact they often are not. In particular, we know little about how IOF may affect workers, how they respond to others' impressions of IOF, and whether the impact may be greater for some groups of workers over others. Although this is an understudied area of research, prior research may be relevant to exploring this phenomenon including research in the areas of impression management, professional identity construction and managing multiple roles – which often considers the interaction between work and family roles rather than the dynamic interplay among multiple work roles (e.g. Ashforth, Kreiner & Fugate, 2000; Ramarajan & Reid, 2013; Rothbard, Phillips & Dumas, 2005; Ruderman et al., 2002). Additionally, who and how individuals are affected by IOF may be be shaped by contextual factors such as workplace culture and perceived support as well as individual factors such as gender and tenure within an organization.

Looking to our own profession (academia), it may be assumed that flexible schedules may be leveraged to attend to the many facets of one's job. For example, if a typically teaching load is two course per semester, the other days may be used to engage in research and service. While the teaching times and service commitments (e.g. scheduled meetings, conferences, attending or leading seminars) may come with limited flexibility, research time can be quite flexible and is often "squeezed in" between these other commitments. The problem with this is that research is often the most important evaluative factor for faculty and the piece that students and outsiders don't recognize as part of a faculty members job. Part of the issue is that academic environments are often siloed in these three areas and rarely do the three paths meet. Expectations are high for all three roles, particularly at the mid-level (associate professor). Meeting the expectations of the many constituents can be challenging and can lead to overload, stress and burnout. Some research suggests that pressure to publish can have negative effects on the other domains (Miller et al, 2010). Indeed, Flexibility, when utilized, can have enriching effects, but "illusions" of flexibility may in fact have depleting effects.

Additionally, these competing expectations can also cross over to nonwork-domains and often carry gendered implications. For example, women faculty who are mothers may use this illusion of "flexibility" to portray themselves in a more positive light by others in their home life, while they may be simultaneously trying to downplay their parenting roles at work. Men on the other hand, may downplay any flexibility assumed in their academic careers to be portrayed as more masculine and "hardworking" by others (Ladge & Little, 2019). Research has consistently shown a range of gender-based expectations and biases that often hinder women academic careers (and women's careers more broadly) including bias in teaching ratings (Bennett, 1982; Boring, 2017), maternal wall bias (Huopalainen & Satama, 2019; Ghodsee & Connelly, 2011; Mason, Wolfinger & Gouden, 2013), and engagement in more "office house work" (Babcock, Recalde & Vesterlund, 2018). What is less clear and may be a new avenue for future research is to explore how IOF perpetuate these biases gender biases. Additionally, those faculty with family may be assumed to require even greater flexibility than is assumed or afforded. In my own experiences, I have had colleagues assume I am not at meetings because I am tending to my family responsibilities when in fact I am in class or in another meeting. The same working parent stereotypes that plague most organizations also exist in academia.

Where do we go from here? Research questions, Future research and Practical solutions

There are several questions and the potential for different avenues for future research related to the issue of IOF in academia. Below I outline several questions that might be addressed in future research and identify areas of literature that may help explain or build on

these questions. The first set of questions that may be explored are: How does IOF affect workers and what are the ways in which academics respond to others' impressions of IOF? A second set of questions might explore: How might IOF impact some groups of workers over others and what role does gender and work-family stigma play in navigating IOF? Lastly, are there particularly what career stages of IOF that matter the most and how does it impact faculty career progression? There are several ways to gain insights into these questions and avenues for future research should not only consider the impact to the individual faculty member but also the interpersonal and contextual factors that shape their experience.

Further, what practical solutions that address the issues of IOF as we simultaneously develop a research agenda to understand this phenomenon in depth and its impact on individuals and University setting?. First, we must address that IOF is a real issue for faculty and determine ways for faculty to gain more autonomy in navigating the three areas. Addressing how faculty performance is measured and evaluated should be a dynamic, not a static process based on generic numerical ratings that are provided on an annual basis. Consideration of how much time is dedicated to each domain should be an important factor determining performance metrics and evaluation. Additionally, providing more opportunities within business schools to showcase faculty research to nonfaculty constituents including students, administrators and the business community might also help manage competing expectations among the varied work roles. Some business schools are already very good at this but others are so heavily focus on publishing in top journals, that there is often a disconnect and shared understanding of what is and is not valued. However, while promoting faculty research in school publications and websites are effective ways to show the external world about research, universities often do little to promote other faculty roles such as teaching and service. Rewards and extra compensation may be one approach to motivating faculty to engage in areas that may be less valued but important to the University and one's overall performance.

More important, business schools need to consider their organizational culture and the extent to which the culture ignore IOF. Recognizing and valuing faculty for all of the work they do and not just one area (typically publishing in a top tier journal), needs to be a high priority for senior administrators. Research active faculty are often rewarded with reduced teaching loads and service obligations which may perpetuate biases and place an overwhelming burden of service and teaching on faculty who are striving to gain traction in the research but can't because of their other responsibilities. Additionally, there should be efforts made to acknowledge work-life stigma in Universities such that working parents don't have live up to outdated norms about what it means to be an ideal worker (or ideal parent).

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Causes and Remedies of Overwork Norms in Academia[17]

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My thinking on the topic of overwork norms in academia has been informed by the concept of work identity. This is for two reasons. First, the more I read and conducted interviews with academics about the topic, the more I realized how central identity was to the phenomenon of work culture in the academy. For academic researchers, our work is core to our identities. For many of us, it is central to who we are. In this regard, work is for many a calling or a passion as much as an occupation or job. And what we know from prior research is that work calling is a double-edged sword (e.g., Bunderson & Thompson, 2009). On the one hand, a passion for one's work can enhance the meaning and fulfillment one receives from it. On the other, feelings of work passion often come with a good deal of sacrifice, typically in the form of overwork and an inability to "turn off" work to attend to other life demands.

Second, there is a rich literature on professional identity. A recent article in The Academy of Management Annals on occupations and professions (Anteby et al., 2016) is a nice overview of this literature. Here the authors develop a framework for understanding occupational and professional identity – how it is developed, how it is enacted, and how it influences our relationships with others. In this article the authors describe three distinct lenses that have been used to understand professional identity: (1) becoming; (2) doing; and (3) relating. The becoming lens focuses on the ways in which occupational members are socialized into the values, norms, and work expectations of their profession. The doing lens is concerned with the ways in which occupational members perform their work tasks, including which tasks are given priority over others. And the relating lens focuses on the ways in which occupational members build collaborative relationships with co-workers, clients, and others.

In each of these domains – becoming, doing, and relating – there appear to be distinct implications for work norms; expectations – both of the self and by others; and work/family balance. In the "becoming" stage of occupational identity, academics prepare for their professions through the grueling apprenticeship process called graduate school. Here students are socialized to work long hours puzzling through hazy problems with little immediate feedback on the quality of their solutions. The next step on the journey of becoming a scholar is the role of

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[17] Leana, C. (2020). Causes and Remedies of Overwork Norms in Academia. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 99-102). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317264. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/wlsofc/3

Assistant Professor, a 6 to 10 year process which bleeds into the "doing" phase. Here the nature of the work itself – long lead times, limited feedback, the necessity of early success – is complicit in creating pressure to focus on one's work, often at the expense of other aspects of one's life. In the "relating" dimension of occupational identity, academics face demands from multiple constituencies, each knowing only a sliver of what an academic does with her time, and each assuming that their particular demands take priority. Students have little awareness of professors' research activities; journal editors have little interaction with the students to whom one is responsible; research colleagues have little interest in the demands of other projects one is engaged in; and deans and department chairs have seemingly little awareness of the competing demands for faculty time.

A final aspect of occupational identity for academics is the scorecards that are used to benchmark success. Articles published, citation counts, grant money raised, and student evaluations of teaching performance are readily accessible, both to the individual faculty member and to colleagues, administrators and students. Thus, measures of success are both very public and continually salient, adding further pressure to continually perform. At the same time, opportunity for reflection is an ideal that attracted many of us to the profession and is a unique feature of academic life – consultants, doctors, lawyers and other professionals don't expect reflection to be part of their jobs, but academics do. But because of the ever-salient scorecards, such reflection is increasingly harder to come by and the disconnect between the ideal and the reality can be a further source of stress and burnout. These are some of the factors that contribute to the overwork culture in academia.

A question before us is how this can be remedied. Here my interviews with junior faculty were illuminating. Interestingly, the dozen or so faculty I spoke with reported that while some of the pressures they face are levied externally by deans, department chairs and senior colleagues, at least as many are self- imposed. This makes the solutions far more complex. One thing we know from research across a range of academic disciplines is that norms that are internalized are considerably more difficult to change (Andrighetto et al., 2010; Elaster, 1989; Etzioni, 2000; Durkhein, 1933; French & Raven, 1959). So is it possible for external stimuli to change these internalized norms?

Kellogg has done some work with surgical residents that I think is applicable here (Hutter et al.,). Fifteen years ago the Accreditation Council of Graduate Medical Education mandated that residents cut their work hours to no more than 80 per week. In one of their studies, the average number of hours residents spent at work decreased from 99.5 to 78.9 hours per week after the mandate. This resulted in significant increases in residents' job satisfaction and quality

of life outside of work, as well as decreases in their reported feelings of burnout, without decrements in patient outcomes. Interestingly, however, residents did not perceive a significant change in their workloads, and attending physicians (who supervised the residents) reported lower quality of life both in and outside of work after the change. In a follow-up ethnographic study, Kellogg (2009) followed two hospitals as they attempted to decrease resident work hours to comply with the ACGME mandate. In one hospital, the change was successful, largely due to collective action and the development of a cultural and political "toolkit" (consisting of staffing, accountability and evaluation systems), while in the other hospital, collective action was inconsistent and the toolkit was under-developed (Kellogg, 2011).

How might such "toolkits" be developed for overworked academics? First, it is hard to overestimate the effect of the mandated limitations on the number of hours residents spent at work. While this may not be so feasible in an academic context, where "face time" is not a requirement, it is worth thinking about systemic solutions to change. Second, an important facet of successful change in the work hours of surgical residents in one hospital was the presence of an evaluation system whereby residents could review the performance of staff surgeons who supervised them. Thus, there was two- way feedback: Not only were the supervising surgeons evaluating residents' progress, but the residents could also evaluate the performance of their supervisors in terms of the opportunities for development, realistic expectations, etc. One wonders if such two-way feedback might be developed in academic settings so that doctoral students and junior faculty could inform department chairs and senior faculty about what's working (and not working) for them. Third, an important cultural aspect of change was support and accountability by senior administrators and supervising physicians. So instead of the "sink or swim" culture at many academic institutions, perhaps senior faculty and administrators could have some accountability in terms of the development of their junior colleagues. While we as senior faculty are often happy to take some credit for junior colleagues who do well, we are not held to account for our junior faculty who do not make the tenure bar.

To summarize, the overwork culture in academia appears to be due at least as much to internalized norms as to external demands. This means that change is not simply a matter of changing policy, but must also include attention to political and cultural dynamics. The research on changing work norms among medical residents is a useful model in that, like academics, surgeons also held internalized norms of what it meant to be a good surgeon, which had performance ("continuity of care") and identity ("iron man") justifications. But change has occurred and I believe there are some lessons here to assist us in our discussions and deliberations.

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Dual-Career Couples, Singles, & Organizational Work-Family Support

Organizational Work-Family Support, Life Stages and Flexibility[18]

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Over the last 30 years or so, a host of research has supported the notion that formal and informal organization work-family support can have positive consequences on employees and organizations—reducing work-family conflict and increasing family satisfaction, positive health outcomes, and perceived firm-level performance (e.g., Crain, Hammer, Bodner, Kossek, Moen, Lilienthal, & Buxton, 2014; Lee, Sudom, & Zamorski, 2013; Perry-Smith & Blum, 2010; Uchino, Cacioppo, & Kiecolt-Glaser, 1996). Ample support also exists for the notion that work-family balance continues to be important in job choice. In recent surveys, 53 percent of employees reported that greater work-life balance and better personal well-being is "very important" to them (State of the American Workplace, 2017) while work-life balance was rated as the most critical factor when evaluating a job opportunity. Work-life balance is important to parents and non-parents with 80% of working parents (Erdmann-Sullivan, 2017) and 72% of non-parents (Jay, 2017) reporting that work-life balance is the most important factor when considering a job.

My co-authors and I have found that expectant mothers, in particular, do not always feel supported. We found that many worry about negative career and image consequences of having a baby and, as a result, work hard to maintain their image (Little, Major, Hinojosa, & Nelson, 2015). We also found that this is particularly true in unsupportive environments. Women in these environments engage in image management with differential consequences on changes in work-family conflict and stress (Little, Hinojosa, Paustian-Underdahl, & Zipay, 2018). In another study, we found that following pregnancy disclosure women receive declining career encouragement despite increasing career motivation. These gender differences in career encouragement result in increases in turnover intentions (Paustian- Underdahl, Mandeville, Eaton, & Little, 2019). There is a bright spot, though. When supervisors show excitement during disclosure it improves their relationship with their employees long-term (Little, Hinojosa, & Lynch, 2017). So how can we better support our employees' work-family balance?

Many outlets would suggest that the key to work-family balance and organizational is offering flexibility. A 2017 Deloitte Millennial Survey reported that 80% of employees surveyed suggested that organizations that allow for highly flexible work arrangements have a very/fairly

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[18] Little, L. (2020). Organizational Work-Family Support, Life Stages and Flexibility. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 104-109). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317220. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/dccsowfs/1

positive impact on their overall work-life balance and that 81% of respondents suggested that flexibility positively impacted their productivity. Recent statistics indicate that some organizations are increasingly implementing policies aimed at work-family balance as twenty-three percent of companies surveyed in the 2017 Deloitte Global Human Capital Trends reported that they were excellent in helping employees balance personal and professional life--up from 19 percent in 2016. Thus, it seems that flexibility is a step in the right direction for improving work-life balance and is often well-received by employees.

A Lesson from Academia

Interestingly**,** academia is an industry that has generally embraced flexibility; and yet, work-life balance appears to continue to be elusive. Of course, often when academics report on the state of work-life balance in Academia, we primarily discuss faculty roles; it is important to remember that many (potentially the majority) of positions in academia are professional staff roles. Typically faculty, at least perceptually, have greater flexibility than professional staff; however, a recent global survey conducted by *Times Higher Education* would suggest neither faculty nor staff is particularly satisfied with the work-family balance available in academia (Bothwell, 2018). Both report believing that they are paid worse and have worse work-life balance than most of their friends outside of academia and both groups cite workload as a primary issue (Bothwell, 2018). This report goes on to show that faculty perceive less work-family than professional staff. A notion that I consider interesting given their greater access to flexible work arrangements.

Bothwell (2018) also reports that these survey results suggested that faculty believe their lack of work-family balance stems, at least in part, from the inability to block out times during the week to engage in deep thought for research. Instead, the week is filled with meetings and other potentially peripheral activities related to developing new programs or ticking off metric boxes. This proliferation of service work results in less research productivity or an increase in evening and weekend work related to research. Often faculty are given workload allocation matrices to suggest how much time should be allocated to teaching, research, and service, and yet, these are often not possible allocations given the amount of work that needs to be done and the intense pressure to publish. This pressure is exacerbated among faculty with children, particularly mothers, who may not be able to dedicate these extended hours to work. In fact, 43% of female academics report that their children hold back their careers “significantly” or “a great deal.”

Professional staff may see the more flexible working arrangements of faculty and the associated higher pay and feel underappreciated. The misconception that faculty get summers

off while staff remains in the workplace also drives these equity issues. Although, professional staff report being more able to turn work off at home (24% compared to 6% of faculty) and report more comparable work-life balance to other professionals, many still struggle with this balance as well as 43% report that their work-life balance is worse or a lot worse than that of their nonacademic friends (Bothwell, 2018).

In my opinion, research and policy need to dig deeper than simply promoting flexibility in general to consider how and when to implement flexible work policies. For example, both differences in the family unit as well as life stages may influence work-family balance needs—both within academia and outside. Also, more focus needs to be given to the implementation and communication of flexible working arrangements as well as how they influence equity issues in the organization.

Family Units and Life Stages

Dual-career couples, singles, and other family unit situations undoubtedly influence what constitutes adequate work-family balance, and yet, little research or policies seem to accounts for these differences. One clear way to help dual-career working mothers is to ensure the working father or significant other also has the time and opportunity to focus on work-family balance. Dads, regardless as to their thoughts on gender roles (i.e., if they were categorized as egalitarian, divided or traditional) or to what generation the belonged (Millennials to Gen X to Baby Boomers) have said that they want more time with their children (Harrington, Fraone, & Lee, 2017). However, organizations are not always structured to allow them to do so, creating an environment where it is assumed that the most productive employees are those who put their work before family life. Although many have called attention to the trickle-down effect of father's work-family balance, few studies have investigated this directly.

Additionally, very little research has investigated the different work-family needs of parents in different parenting and life stages. I do not think we can expect one size to fit all. My colleagues and I are investigating within-person changes related to work-related outcomes of parents as children age in an ongoing study. Initial results suggest that age of the child matters. Mothers with younger children are less engaged at work (Burgess, Little, & Wilson, 2018) and thus, are less likely to intend to stay in their current job. Additionally, we found that spousal support moderates this relationship such that the more spousal support a working mom receives, the more engaged she is as her children age and the more likely she is to intend to remain at her organization. Future research should continue to study how we can better understand and account for the cognitive costs of childrearing, particularly of young children, in our work-family policies. How can we help mothers of older children best utilize their increased engagement and

what other struggles may parents of older children face that parents of younger children do not? Importantly, how do these life stages interact with career stages and how can we help working parents better align the two?

Along these lines, it may be important to investigate parents as a team and better understand their relative contributions to the family—also considering their life stages. For example, in a recent article, Courtney Masterson and I explore the period of reentry after maternity leave—a time when demands increase and can generate heightened levels of home stress. It is also a time that home demands weigh more heavily on the new mother. From a health perspective, newborns have biological needs that only a mother can inherently meet (e.g., breastfeeding). Additionally, social norms and pressures regarding parenthood remain gendered even for dual-earner couples. Mothers are expected to take the lead on child caregiving and managing the home, which involves routine chores as well as planning and scheduling family members' activities (Arendell, 2001; Hochschild 1989; Meisenbach, 2010; Offer & Schneider, 2011). In this study, we found that when the mother perceived organizational and spousal support both mother and SO experienced less home stress whereas SO perceptions of support did not influence either of their levels of home stress. Each parent's level of stress influenced their behaviors at home and at work. This study emphasizes the importance of crossover effects in families.

Finally, as I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, conclusions drawn in research and popular press tend to agree that flexibility may be vital in helping workers maintain greater work-family balance—in academia and out as well as in different life stages. However, this information alone is not sufficient for assisting organizations to improve employees' work-family balance. Faculty roles, which tend to be flexible, may be a case in point. Flexibility may not increase work-family balance when expectations keep growing. In my position as a manager, I also see challenges regarding equity and comparison-other issues across professional staff and faculty roles. Despite differences in jobs, life and family stages, employees often compare their situations to others and place a strong focus on equity. How can organizations/academia develop programs that meet individual needs but are still perceived as equitable? Additionally, more research is needed regarding the communication and implementation of programs related to flexibility and other work arrangement aimed at increasing work-family balance.

In conclusion, while progress has been made, the work-family balance remains a significant issue for both employees and organizations—within academia and outside. More research is needed to guide organizations in making flexible workplace decisions and ensuring good intentions do not go awry.

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Barriers to Organizational Work-Family Support in Academia: An HR perspective[19]

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Scholars have consistently noted that employee perceptions of family-supportive supervision and family-friendly organizations foster experiences of reduced work-family conflict, promote emotional and physical well-being, and enhance positive work-related outcomes such as engagement, job satisfaction, commitment, and retention (e.g., Kossek et al., 2011). The underlying premise here is that organizational efforts to accommodate employee non-work needs are reflected not only in providing *but also* embracing supportive benefits and policies by proactively encouraging employees to practice healthy work-life management (e.g., Kossek, 2005). Yet in the context of academia, to have a meaningful conversation around promoting a supportive work-family culture there are important underlying institutional realities that must be recognized. This thought paper emphasizes family-supportive perceptions as explanatory mechanisms as to why, even in a resource rich environment like academia, faculty still experience heightened levels of conflict between work and family. Highlighting a number of human resource (HR) practicalities, a pivot is made to argue that if we truly wish to develop our understanding and promotion of organizational work-family support for academics, we must begin to systematically consider realities facing post-secondary institutions.

A Resource Perspective

A consistently robust finding is that working adults with more resources are better able to handle and cope with different stressors, wherein resources are defined as objects, states, conditions, and other things that people value (Halbesleben et al. 2014). Given the nature of their jobs, academics often have access to an array of resources helpful in managing the often conflicting demands that arise when dealing with work, while also having a life outside of work (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). More concretely, in light of known resources that promote the effective management of the work-family interface (Eby et al., 2005), it is arguable that academics function in resource rich environments. Academics often have access to such resources as job autonomy and job flexibility, challenging and engaging work, work that is meaningful both individually and to society, as well as more concrete resources like healthcare,

[19] Matthews, R. A. (2020). Barriers to Organizational Work-Family Support in Academia: An HR perspective. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 110-115). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317222. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/dccsowfs/2

childcare, tuition reimbursement, access to university facilities and events (e.g., athletic facilities, cultural events), 24-hour police protection, and retirement plans.

And yet, academics experience significant trouble managing the work-family interface (e.g., Beigi et al., 2016; Judge & Colquitt, 2004; Watanabe & Falci. 2016). In light of the many demands academics must deal with (e.g., Hendel & Horn, 2008; Reevy & Deason, 2014), this potential paradox (i.e. conflict between domains even within a resource rich environment) can be partially understood in light of two other organizationally-sourced resources, *family-supportive supervision* (FSS; employees' perceptions of the extent to which supervisors' behaviors consistently promote and facilitate effective management of work and family life: Allen, 2001) and *family-supportive organization perceptions* (FSOP: the degree to which employees perceive their organization is supportive and accommodating of their family-related responsibilities and non-work needs; Allen, 2001). Without a supportive work-family environment, work-family promoting resources (like many of those available to faculty) may remain underutilized for various reasons, including concerns about negative consequences associated with use and lack of awareness of the resources (Kossek, 2005; Neil & Hammer, 2005). And an unsupportive supervisor can in fact undermine the success of family-specific policy implementation and the development and maintenance of a family-supportive work environment (Kossek, 2005). As organizational intermediaries, supervisors relay information between levels of the organization, thus they are in a unique position to facilitate, or hinder, employees' ability to effectively manage work and family roles (Kossek & Distelberg, 2009).

The Human Resource Side of Post-Secondary Education & Work-Family Support

While most post-secondary institutions would like to argue they promote a positive work-family environment through the provision of formal policies and benefits, the reality is, most fail to some degree. Further, even within a given institution, there is likely meaningful variation in perceptions of work-family support (i.e., FSOP and FSS) given the sheer diversity in the people who make up the faculty (i.e., meaningful subgroups exist). Although it is the responsibility of the institution and its leadership (e.g., president, provost, deans, chairs, directors) to promote a positive work-family culture, we must recognize that these institutions, like all organizations, have meaningful HR-related practicalities that influence the provision and promotion of organizational work-family support.

Recognition of these practicalities is not meant to imply that post-secondary institutions are free of the responsibility of ensuring a positive work-family culture (e.g., FSOP and FSS). Rather, the goal is to highlight these issues so that realistic expectations can be developed and to facilitate proactive plans to address these issues to maximize the provision of work-family

support. Taking a HR perspective, a series of issues are highlighted below. Each of these, conceptually, have the potential to influence the work-family culture developed and maintained in an institution, the nature of support (i.e., resources) provided, and/or impact how subgroups within an academic environment might differentially perceive and experience the work-family culture.

Faculty are One of Many

First, we must recognize that faculty (i.e., instructional staff) are only one part of any successful institution; instructional staff account for approximately 36.7% of employed individuals in post-secondary institutions, 63.3% of staff are *not* instruction-focused (Ginder et al., 2017). When discussing policies and benefits that might promote an academic's ability to manage work and family, from an operational standpoint, there are still other employee constituents that must be considered. For example, any institutional leave policy developed to support work-family must be written to ensure it encompasses all university staff (Crouter & Booth, 2009). Having separate policies for faculty vs staff may in fact result in negative justice perception, and in turn negatively effect overall perceptions of the institution (e.g., Auer & Welte, 2009).

"Faculty" Ambiguity

Even focusing on faculty there is still a huge range to consider, and the picture is increasingly complicated. It is estimated that there are approximately 1.6 million postsecondary faculty of which 52% were full-time and 48% part-time faculty (U.S. Department of Education, 2017). With that in mind, the term *faculty* itself is actually relatively ambiguous; the U.S. Department of Education uses the term to encompass assistant, associate, and full professors, as well as instructors, lecturers, assisting professors, adjunct professors, and interim professors. The general use of the term masks the complexity of experiences across these groups wherein the roles, responsibilities, and even access to work-family resources are going to potentially vary dramatically (e.g., Castañeda et al., 2015). Further, it is estimated that from 1999 to 2016 (USDE) there was a 51% increase in the number of faculty in postsecondary institutions, with much of that growth driven by the hiring of adjunct and contingent faculty (Yakoboski & Foster, 2014). And in the same time span the percentage of female faculty increased from 41% to 49%. Developing a true understanding of institutional work-family support will require careful consideration of what and who we mean by faculty, recognizing the inherent diversity of faculty, the associated diversity in those faculty's family situations, as well as a recognition that as faculty surface and deep level diversity characteristics shift, so too will the organizations' definition of what it means to be work-family supportive (Allen & Eby, 2016).

Complicated legal structure

While not common in work-family research, we must recognize that post-secondary intuitions function within a complex legal environment. At the Federal level alone institutions must comply with *hundreds* of laws, Executive Orders, and statutes governing not just HR practices (e.g., benefits, wages, hiring, recruitment, termination, discrimination, retirement, unions) but also how academic programs are managed, accounting practices, admission, campus safety, contracts, procurement, diversity, environmental health & occupational safety, fundraising and development, health care and insurance, immigration, IT and information security, international activities, political activity, and research. Not only does this legal context directly and indirectly affect the daily functioning of faculty (e.g., compliance demands), but it places boundary conditions around how institutions function. It is instrumental to recognize that sometimes institutional leadership makes decisions that seemingly negatively impact faculty, and by extension their ability to manage work and family, not because they do not care, but because the institution is required by law to engage in certain practices.

Other Issues:

While beyond the current scope, other HR issues to consider in conversations around organizational work-family support include: the changing financial structure of institutions and the resulting pressures this places on faculty, poorly defined organizational strategies that ignore the changing demographics of society, antiquated people analytics systems making it difficult to understand faculty and staff experiences, poorly defined appraisal systems that leave faculty unsure about what is valued, the role of alternative compensation packages, and the selection of departmental leadership as well as the training and development of these leaders.

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Balance is Bunk: Organizational and Martial Turnover in Dual Academic Career Couples[20]

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Academic couples enjoy unique benefits and yet also face unique challenges in being linked to each other both romantically and professionally. Being part of an academic couple can be both intellectually and professionally beneficial to each partner by providing opportunities to share intellectual interests, help one another in their career path, providing a sounding board for work issues, and engaging in overlapping professional networks. However, in academia where power and privilege often fall along gendered lines, being part of an academic couple presents tricky terrain both professionally and in the romantic relationship, such that couples can find it particularly challenging to remain with an employing university and committed to a significant other relationship.

Dual hiring of the partners in an academic couple presents a challenge for many women faculty but an opportunity for universities willing and equipped to navigate those waters. For instance, women make up 36% of the professoriate, and women (40%) are more likely than men (34%) to have academic partners (Schiebinger, Henderson, & Gilmartin, 2008). Unfortunately, women more often perceive their professional mobility being undermined as a result of being part of an academic couple yet they often refuse job offers if their partner doesn't have a satisfactory position on the horizon (Schiebinger et al., 2008) and women are more likely to experience negative professional consequences if they change academic jobs to support a partner's career path (McElrath, 1992). However, dual hiring offers universities an opportunity to hire the best and brightest, and to also achieve greater gender equity. For instance, 53% of first-hire women who are senior academics (i.e., full or endowed professors) are part of an academic couple where their male partner is of equal rank (Schiebinger et al., 2008). Thus, in recruiting women as the first hire in the recruitment of an academic couple allows universities to break the stereotype of senior academics negotiating a position for a junior partner.

Dual career couples must often ask questions of themselves and each other such as, "Whose career is primary in this situation or relationship?" The answer that academic couples in particular give more often than those who have an employed but non-academic partner is that both careers are equally important (Schiebinger et al., 2008) and, not surprisingly, this suggests that academic

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[20] Thompson, M. (2020). Balance is Bunk: Organizational and Martial Turnover in Dual Academic Career Couples. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 116-120). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317224. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/dccsowfs/3

couples place great importance on equity in their relationships. However, even in academic couples, men are more likely to consider their career more important than that of their partner regardless of the man's professorial rank (Schiebinger et al., 2008) and women are more likely to subordinate their careers to those of their partners (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988). Interestingly, women at the full or endowed professor level value career equity more highly compared to those at other ranks (Schiebinger et al., 2008).

Not surprisingly, academic couples vote with their feet and are apt to leave institutions of higher education when they perceive those organizations as unsupportive of their work and/or nonwork lives. While organizational research has yet to empirically study what makes a difference in reducing the organizational turnover of academic couples, prior research offers several factors to consider including compensation, full-time employment for both partners, and the respect that each partner perceives for what they bring to the table. First, research finds conflicting results related to the relative compensation of partners in an academic couple compared to peer faculty members, with one study indicating men with academic partners earn less than those with non-academic partners (Astin & Milem, 1997), and another study suggesting that both partners in an academic couple do *not* make significantly less compared to peer faculty members (Schiebinger et al., 2008). Second, an overwhelmingly majority (88 percent) of faculty who landed a sequential dual hire at their institution observed that the first hire would have refused the job offer had it not included an employment offer for his or her partner (Schiebinger et al., 2008). Thus, future research should explore the relative importance of these and other factors in predicting the organizational turnover of partners in an academic couple. Last, the term "trailing spouse" generally embodies the notion that one partner's career is taking a back seat to that of the other partner. That term often also carries a stigma that the second hire is less qualified or valued than the first hire, which can result in treating that faculty member with less respect and as a second-class citizen. This can lead to not only poor working conditions for everyone in the department but strained relations within the academic couple. An area ripe for future research relates to the recruitment, selection and retention practices that may help the department avoid hiring a less qualified second hire and to communicating and affirming their value in the department once a qualified second hire is brought on board.

A rarely considered, but perhaps just as important, topic is that of marital or relationship turnover among academic couples. Unfortunately, research is silent on how the unique work-life challenges faced by academic couples may motivate marital/relationship turnover. Like other dual career couples, academic couples often compromise their nonwork lives to maintain or advance their careers and/or compromise their work lives to maintain or advance their nonwork lives. Being part of an academic couple is fraught on many fronts, and particularly so with the all but inevitable

power imbalance it creates within the couple and comparisons that may be drawn related to the partners' careers. One second hire partner had this to say about the challenges created by the power imbalance:

"I am a partner hire. Though I am competent and qualified, I know that I have a job because the university wanted to hire my partner. Dual hire situations are not easy to obtain. While I am grateful to have a position that allows me to do work that I enjoy and still live in the same house as my partner, the dual hire scenario ultimately creates a power imbalance from its inception. Upon starting my new position, my program chair took me to lunch. While there, we met another colleague from the College of Education. To introduce me, my program chair said, "This is our spousal hire." I had no name or qualifications. My only element of significance was being married to someone the university wanted to hire. Thus, I began my job from a lower position." (Atwood & Fortney, p. 19)

Further, given that power imbalance, it seems important for universities and hiring departments to engage in recruitment and selection processes of an academic couple such that not only do the existing faculty members perceive the process as legitimate, but where both partners in the couple perceive it as legitimate and that both partners are valued for the experience, expertise, and skills they bring to the department. Doing otherwise not only creates problems within the department or departments hiring the couple, but may lead to competitiveness between partners. Competitiveness is often associated with dual academic career situations, which is almost always harmful to the partners' relationship with one another (Hall & Hall, 1979; Holmstrom, 1973). Further, couples who are linked via either the same employing organization or by working in the same field, as academic couples are, often experience more strain-based work-family conflict compared to couples who do not share an employer or professional field (Halbesleben, Wheeler, & Rossi, 2012). Thus, the potential for marital or relationship turnover in these couples may be greater due to power imbalances, competitiveness that is difficult to avoid, and the associated work-family conflict that comes from working with one's partner.

One might argue that for academic couples, every work or nonwork issue is a work-life balance issue because their domains are so intertwined. There are many opportunities for researchers to examine the resources and situations that universities can offer academic couples that might enhance that work-life balance and limit both organizational and marital turnover in academic couples. First, offering mentoring to both partners in academic couples may prove beneficial, especially for women. Perhaps more important would be pairing new faculty members who are part of an academic couple with mentors who are also part of an academic couple and

who have navigated successfully that challenging terrain. Doing so may help the new faculty members acclimate to their roles in academia and achieve greater work-life balance. A mentor who is a close similar or comparable other may help the new hires broaden their perspectives about what is possible with respect to balancing the demands of both faculty life and life in an academic couple. Second, while perhaps out of the norm or beyond common expectations, researchers might examine the impact on academic couples' work-life balance and their organizational and relationship turnover in light of household support options offered by their universities. Even in dual career couples, women still do the majority of the housework, and one study suggests that female scientists perform nearly twice as much housework as their male partners (Schiebinger & Gilmartin, 2010). However, employing household help increases the productivity of both male and female faculty, even after controlling for rank and salary (Schiebinger & Gilmartin, 2010). Some universities offer on-site childcare and college tuition, and most offer health care and retirement benefits. Providing a benefit that assists with housework could be another element in a cafeteria-style benefits plan.

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Discrimination, Work-Life and Gender Inequality, and Closing the Gap

Family Responsibilities in Academia: Premiums, Penalties, and Policies[21]

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Conceptual Framework

The proposed conceptual framework for understanding the career consequences of family responsibilities inside academia is based on concepts and theories from economics, sociology, and social psychology. The framework presented here is informed by the model presented in a review chapter on family responsibilities and career outcomes (Manchester, Leslie, & Dahm, 2015), which I developed closely with Lisa Leslie, and has been used to inform our subsequent work.

There are three main tenets of the framework. First, family responsibilities can be a source of career premium or career penalty in academia depending on the nature of the family responsibility. Namely, whether the responsibility centers on breadwinning as opposed to caregiving for related others. Having breadwinner responsibilities, or being perceived as having these responsibilities, for related others will lead to career premiums relative to faculty without family responsibilities. Alternatively, having caregiving responsibilities, or being perceived as having these responsibilities, for related others will lead to career penalties relative to those without family responsibilities. In the case of faculty, these caregiving responsibilities are unlikely to entail the direct provision of continuous, full-time care; however, faculty with caregiving responsibilities are (or perceived to be) primary caregivers within the household (i.e., responsibility for the full-time care of related others).

Second, the effect of family responsibilities on career outcomes is in part explained by differences in productivity between faculty with and without family responsibilities, which is based in resource utilization and availability. The dominant theoretical perspective is that of household specialization by which the family can achieve greater returns to human capital through specialization between breadwinner and caregiver (Becker,1985). Specialization results in the allocation of resources within the household such that faculty members with breadwinner responsibilities would spend more time and effort on work relative to faculty without family responsibilities, while faculty with caregiving responsibilities would spent less time and effort on work relative to those without family responsibilities. Differences in time and effort directed

[21] Manchester, C. (2020). Family Responsibilities in Academia: Premiums, Penalties, and Policies. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 122-128). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317221. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/dwlgicg/1

towards work are assumed to translate into differences in productivity and, in turn, career outcomes.

Third, the effect of family responsibilities is in part explained by perceived differences stemming from discriminatory factors, or stereotypes connected to the roles of breadwinning and caregiving. One source of stereotype comes from the social role itself. Namely, social role theory argues that individuals are perceived to possess the traits necessary to succeed in the roles they occupy (Eagly, 1987). As such, faculty members in the breadwinner role are likely to be perceived as more competent and committed than those without family responsibilities, while faculty members in a caregiving role are expected to be more other-orientated and warm relative to those without family responsibilities. Further, those with caregiving responsibilities are also likely to be perceived as having lower competence and lower commitment relative to those without family responsibilities given that competence and commitment to work are perceived as incompatible with caregiving (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004). These stereotypic attitudes are likely to affect career outcomes of faculty members given that competence and commitment are highly awarded (c.f. Correll et al., 2007), particularly in academia due to prevalence of the ideal worker norm (c.f. Manchester, Leslie, & Kramer, 2013). In addition, the ideal of distributive justice, which includes the principle of need-based justice (e.g., Leventhal, 1976; Deutsch, 1975), supports the desire by evaluators to grant rewards based on perceptions of need.

Therefore, perceptions of need may differ between those with and without family responsibilities (i.e., breadwinner perceived as having greater need, while caregivers perceived as having less need) which in turn may influence pay decisions (c.f., Pfeffer & Ross, 1982).

While gender is often considered a central factor for understanding career outcomes associated with family responsibilities (e.g., motherhood penalty, fatherhood premium, maternal role), the proposed framework focuses attention on the nature of family responsibilities, or role, rather than gender per se in understanding the consequences for career outcomes. This is consistent with recent work from the laboratory (Bear & Glick, 2017) and the field (Manchester, Leslie, & Dahm, 2019) shows that the same advantages accrue to primary-breadwinner employees regardless of gender. Therefore, a key aspect of the framework is highlighting the nature of the family responsibility – breadwinning or caregiving – in order to understand the consequences for career outcomes. That said, gender cannot be disconnected from assumptions about the type of family responsibility faculty are likely to fulfill or expected to fulfill (i.e., men as breadwinners, women as caregivers; Eagly & Steffan, 1984).

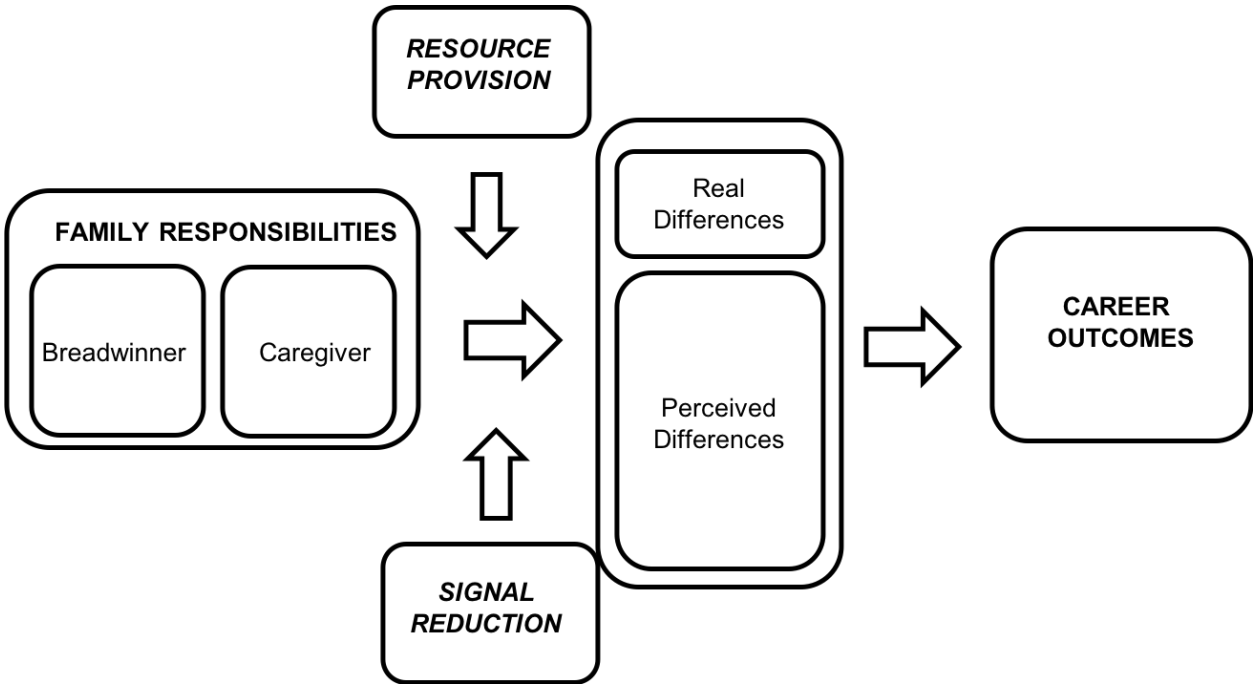

Figure 1: Family Responsibilities, Career Outcomes, and Policy Efforts

Evaluating Framework with Empirical Evidence

How does this framework stack up against research both inside and outside of academia? A key finding from inside academia is that non-discriminatory factors (i.e., differences based in productivity) is not sufficient for explaining differences in career outcomes between those with and without family responsibilities. Stated differently, perceived differences, or those based in discrimination or stereotypes, are an important part of the relationship between family responsibilities and career outcomes.

Namely, research shows that stopping the tenure clock for family reasons results in a pay penalty relative to those who did not stop the clock over and above measures of productivity (i.e., quality and quantity of publications); this pay penalty is present for both men and women (Manchester, Leslie, & Kramer, 2013). More directly, research by King (2008) shows that senior colleagues' perceptions about junior faculty members' work and life attitudes predict career outcomes over and above self-reports of these attitudes by the junior faculty members. Relatedly, Kmec (2013) interprets the finding that women faculty with children in STEM fields report needing to put forth greater work effort as evidence of these women facing discriminatory attitudes about their competence and commitment. Further, research outside of academia questions actually calls into question whether there are real differences between those with and without family responsibilities in terms of productivity-related factors. This includes studies based on reports of work effort (Kmec, 2011) and based on organizational records of performance (Manchester, Lelise, & Dahm, 2019).

While many studies look at differences by gender, my assessment is that the findings are likely best understood through the nature of the family responsibility– breadwinner versus caregiving – rather than gender. As an example, the penalty for stopping the clock for family reasons, which is likely seen as an indication of caregiver status, applies to both men and women (Manchester, et al., 2013). To the extent that gender matters, such as in the King (2008) study, it is likely operating through the social role men and women are expected to fulfill.

Where should universities target policy efforts?

Based on the presented framework and reviewed evidence, I recommend that universities focus on two types of efforts to mitigate differences in career outcomes stemming from family responsibilities: signal reduction and resource provision.

Signal reduction implies assessing policies and practices from the lens of information signaling. Does the policy or practice activate stereotypes evaluators have about those with family responsibilities? Are evaluators likely to view policy use as a signal about a faculty member's current or future family responsibilities? For instance, stop the clock policies are likely

to have different implications for career outcomes based on how access to the policy is structured. Do faculty members opt in, or is use automatically triggered based on certain events? Is eligibility broad, or limited? When policy use requires greater self-selection, evaluators are more likely to view use as an informative signal; alternatively, if there is the less scope for selection, then the signal is reduced or weakened. This idea holds for policies as well as types of employment (i.e., clinical faculty versus research faculty). Overall, designing policies and practices to reduce signaling attempts to directly mitigate perceived differences between those with and without family responsibilities.

Alternatively, resource provision is an indirect way to counteract negative stereotypes associated with caregiving responsibilities. Namely, providing faculty who have caregiving responsibilities with resources that enable greater productivity at times when questions about commitment and competence are likely strongest (e.g., around birth or adoption of a child) may combat or shield faculty from these negative stereotypes. This may include modified duties policies and availability of additional research funding concurrent with or following significant life events. Importantly, university efforts should not just entail providing resources; instead, mitigating resource depletion is key. Research shows that faculty who have fewer resources to draw upon or who experience greater resource depletion are less able to fulfill their intentions of making time for research (Dahm, Glomb, Manchester, & Leroy, 2015). Inattention to caregiving resources faculty rely on, unbridled requests for service, and failing to consider bias in student evaluations of teaching will all contribute to resource depletion and impair research efforts of faculty, and the effect is likely to be worse for those with caregiving responsibilities. While differences between faculty with and without family responsibilities are more likely to be perceived than real, universities have the potential to amplify real differences through accelerating resource depletion.

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Masculinity as a Psychologically Permeable Barrier to Gender Equality[22]

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Gender inequality in the workplace is a timely issue that policymakers and organizations are eager to amend. My research examines the role that the system-justification motives play in shaping men's understanding of gender inequality. Individuals have a fundamental need to view a social system positively and will engage in a number of motivated processes to rationalize the status quo (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Kay, 2005; Kunda, 1990; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Because men occupy a privileged position in the social hierarchy and women occupy a subordinate position (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004), it is likely that these two social groups will interpret evidence of gender inequality differently, based not only on their unique experiences but also their unique goals. This is consistent with the notion that views on inequality differ as a function of hierarchical rank, with high status group members favoring individualistic explanations that locate the source of inequality in the deficiencies of the disadvantaged and low status group members favoring structural explanations (Kluegel & Smith, 1986). From this lens, gendered outcomes reflect macro-level negotiations occurring between men and women as distinct social groups (Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994).

Although uncovering gender differences in attribution and belief is important in its own right, my research takes the additional step of identifying contextual factors that increase or decrease these differences. Ultimately, I seek to develop interventions that can be implemented by managers and organizations as a whole to reduce men's need to defend the system as fair and just and in so doing to build consensus about the solutions to persistent gender inequality. For example, my research has shown that holding the belief that gender roles are fixed has stronger consequences for how men view themselves and their support for the broader social system than it does for women (Kray, Howland, Russell, & Jackman, 2017).

Building on Jost and Kay's (2005) research that finds women's (but not men's) support for the gender system increases after priming complementary gender stereotypes that hold feminine attributes as separate but equal in value to masculine attributes, we showed that men's (but not women's) support for the status quo increases when holding the belief that gender roles are fixed as opposed to malleable. Just as asserting gender differences as established facts

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[22] Kray, L. (2020). Masculinity as a Psychologically Permeable Barrier to Gender Equality. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 129-134). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317218. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/dwlgicg/2

triggers the system justification motive for men but not women (Morton, Postmes, Haslam, & Hornsey, 2009), exposure to the belief that gender roles are immutable strengthens masculine identification and, in turn, men's defense of gender inequality. This happens because implicit theories about the fixedness or malleability of a given construct powerfully shape the types of goals that individuals adopt (Dweck & Leggett, 1988).

A key assumption is whether a given trait or domain is fixed (*fixed mindset*) or malleable (*growth mindset*). Applied to gender roles, individuals who subscribe to a fixed mindset believe certain attributes or tasks are intrinsically linked to gender. That is to say, the role of caretaker belongs to women and the role of breadwinner belongs to men. Individual men or women might take on gender atypical roles, but at their core gender roles will always be tied to specific social roles. Those with a growth mindset of gender roles, in contrast, see them as pliable: these roles and behaviors are linked more to specific actions and circumstances than to an immutable link to gender. While individuals with growth mindsets tend to adopt goals oriented toward learning and growth, those with fixed mindsets are particularly motivated to prove themselves and show that they possess a desirable characteristic. Applied to gender roles, fixed mindsets increase men's efforts to 'prove gender' whereas the holding of a growth mindset alleviates this pressure. This suggests that one way to reduce gender discrimination is to reduce men's strict adherence to masculine gender roles by promoting the notion that gender roles are malleable.

This work linking men's mindsets to gender system justification suggests that men's need to prove masculinity status is a critical ingredient in bringing about social change. In subsequent research, I have more directly linked psychological threat to men's gender system justification. To ensure that it is masculinity threats in particular that trigger the system justification motive, and not any generalized threat to gender identity, we included women in the sample as a point of comparison. Based on past research showing women are relatively impervious to gender identity threats (Maas et al., 2003; Vandello et al., 2008, Willer et al., 2013), we did not expect the gender system justification motive in women to be triggered by psychological threats to their gender identity.

Prior work (Willer et al., 2013) testing whether masculinity threats increase men's system justification failed to yield support for an effect on a generalized measure including items such as "Everyone has a fair shot at wealth and happiness". Instead, we expected a domain-specific measure of gender system justification (Jost & Kay, 2005) would more precisely capture reactions to masculine identity threats. The measure of gender system justification includes statements such as: "Most policies relating to gender and the sexual division of labor serve the greater good" and "Society is set up so that men and women usually get what they deserve." In

this way, participants are asked to consider the fairness of relations between men and women as social groups specifically.

We predicted the effect of a gender identity threat on men's gender system justification. To test this idea, online participants completed an abbreviated version of Bem's Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), which was ostensibly used to categorize their gender identity but in reality was not scored. After completing the inventory, participants were randomly assigned to receive feedback indicating their responses were consistent with an average male or an average female. This manipulation was taken directly from past research (Maas et al., 2003; Willer et al., 2013). Participants who received feedback that was consistent with their self-reported gender (i.e. male participants who received feedback that their gender identity was masculine and female participants who received feedback that their gender identity was feminine) comprised the gender congruent feedback condition, whereas those receiving inconsistent feedback comprised the gender incongruent feedback condition. Immediately after receiving the feedback, participants completed the gender system justification scale.

I found that men engaged in more gender system justification than women did, but this was only true when their gender identity was threatened. After receiving gender incongruent feedback, men justified the gender system more than women did. After receiving gender congruent feedback, men and women did not differ significantly in their gender system justification. This finding underscores that at least some of men's failure to acknowledge gender inequality is caused by masculinity threat. When masculine insecurity is high, men rationalize the gender system as fair. Doing so may be an attempt to compensate for the perceived loss of manhood derived from being gender-atypical (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013; Willer et al., 2013).

Next, I aimed to neutralize men's gender system-justification motive to increase their support for a legal intervention designed to bring about pay equity. If men's system justification arises from psychological threats to masculinity, then it is important to identify ways to circumvent this process to increase support for structural change. To examine this question, I utilized a self-affirmation manipulation whereby participants were asked to rank order the personal importance of 6 values that were provided and then write a short essay about the meaning and relevance of the most important value in their life (Cohen, Aronson, & Steele, 2000). Immediately after doing so, I manipulated gender identity feedback in an identical manner as described above. In general, people are motivated to maintain self-integrity, or the belief that one is a good person (Steele, 1988). Self-affirmations provide opportunities to realize one's integrity through behavior, thoughts, and feelings. By affirming personal values, perceptions of threat can be attenuated (Sherman & Cohen, 2002; Sherman & Cohen, 2006;

Steele, 1988) and reduce defensive responses to threatening information (Sherman, Nelson, & Steele, 2000). Indeed, I found that men who had self-affirmed before receiving gender incongruent feedback reported more support for a structural change to level the playing field (i.e. “salary history ban” legislation) than under baseline conditions. The gender incongruent feedback that had previously been interpreted as a threat to masculinity was now evidently seen as a signal that supporting gender equality was relevant to who they are as people. This research underscores the need to examine the factors that increase men’s support for change by affirming their core values and identity as humans rather than men.

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Proof or Pedigree: Prestige of Men's but not Women's PhD Program Predicts Top Placements in Business Schools[23]

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Despite the clear recognition that women are held to higher standards in academia (Trevino, Balkin, & Gomez-Mejia, 2017), there have been few explanations for *how* men are preferentially selected over women. It is unlikely that academic institutions are consciously lowering standards for men and raising them for women. Indeed, many academic standards are quite quantifiable (number of publications, citation counts, and grant dollars). Thus, what can account for the gender gap in attaining placements at top business schools, even when controlling for all these measurable factors? To address this question, we conducted a qualitative study with PhD students who were applying for their first tenure-track position on the academic job market.

Study 1: Qualitative Study

For the qualitative study, we used a list of PhD candidates who were on the job market in the school year 2016-2017. This list appears online as a GoogleDoc, is publicly available, and serves as a resource for PhD students to share information about available jobs, job interviews, and themselves. We contacted all of the students listed on the GoogleDoc via email. 44 students, 18 women and 26 men, agreed to be interviewed. We asked the participants to explain why they received a number of interviews they received. Both men and women mentioned their strong publication records as a key factor in their success. Many of the men mentioned their connections or school. One male said, "One thing that has helped is […] coming from a school that is widely known. Maybe letters and back channel communications." In contrast, women rarely mentioned the prestige of their school or connections of their advisors. Even when they did mention these factors, they were more likely to explain how their school or advisor helped them attain success. One woman said, "It is hard to say how much the overall Ivy League helps. I am not sure if it is that per se or the people I worked with and the resources I had available to me because I was at that school that made a difference."

Study 2

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[23] Johnson, S. K. (2020). Proof or Pedigree: Prestige of Men's but not Women's PhD Program Predicts Top Placements in Business Schools. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 135-138). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317217. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/dwlgicg/3

Our sample consisted of 195 assistant and associate micro/organizational behavior focused business professors from the top 70 management departments in the US. The list of schools is based on the Texas A&M Mays list of department rankings and the variable of department ranking reflects the rank from 2011-2016 on the Texas A&M list. The professors on the list all graduated in the year 2000 or later. Using the list established by the librarian, the research team downloaded each professor's vita to code it on several features. Each professor's PhD program was coded based on its US News and World Report ranking for business schools to measure prestige, which has been linked to other indicators of prestige (Armstrong & Sperry, 1994). For the measures of prestige and rank, a higher number indicates lower prestige or a worse rank. Some professors (*n* = 36) did a post doc before starting their first job, and this was coded in the dataset as well.

Counts were taken of all publications written before and after the professors received their PhD. Publications were coded as A-level if they were on the Texas A&M Mays list (*Academy of Management Journal, Academy of Management Review, Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, Journal of Applied Psychology, Personnel Psychology, Administrative Science Quarterly, Organization Science*). Sex and race (white or non-white) were coded based on photos and names on one's faculty website. There were 119 men and 76 women in our sample.

We use this sample to take a retrospective look at the prestige of one's PhD program, the rank of professors' first tenure track job and their current jobs. There was a significant interaction between sex and prestige of one's PhD program on the rank of one's first tenure track job, even when controlling for publications written during the PhD. The nature of the interaction was such that there was a direct effect of prestige of one's PhD program on rank of one's first job for male PhD students (Effect = .59, SE = .25, 95% CI = [.10, 1.08]) but not for women (Effect = -.13, SE = .28, 95% CI = [-.69, .43]) (see Table 3). The results show that even when controlling for A-Level publications and other publications, men attain positions in well-ranked management departments based on the prestige of their PhD institution.

Limiting our sample to only those professors who had tenure, we found that rank of one's first job was included as a mediator. We added A-level publications and other publications written after PhD as additional mediators, so the model controlled for these factors. Just as with the previous model, we allowed sex to moderate the relationship between prestige and rank of one's first job. A-level publications and other publications were included as controls along with the controls used in the first analysis. As expected, there was still a significant interaction between the prestige of one's PhD program and sex in predicting rank of one's first job.

Moreover, rank of one's first job predicted rank of one's current job as did A-level publications after PhD. There was a significant conditional indirect effect of prestige of one's PhD school through rank of one's first job on rank of one's current job for men (Effect = .18, SE = .10, 95% CI = [.04, .43]) but not for women (Effect = -.04, SE = .06, 95% CI = [-.19, .05]). The results here show that the prestige of men's PhD program is not only related to the rank of the first job that men attain, but also the likelihood that they will hold tenure in a well-ranked management department.

Study 3

Finally, in study 3 I test an intervention to reduce bias – blinding a selection process. To mitigate institutional bias, gender bias, and the interaction between prestige and sex described in Study 2, we removed the names (to blind sex) and affiliations (to blind prestige) from a list of applicants for a tenure-track job in the management department. Two faculty members independently came up with an algorithm to score the applicants' data. The first faculty member scored the results as a sum of A-level publications plus .5 X (A-level publications that had an R&R). The second faculty member scored the results as 1 point for each A-level plus .4 X (A-level publications that had an R&R) plus .02 X (number of conference presentations).
The comparison of both lists demonstrated that there was a 100% agreement on the top 13 candidates. Six job candidates in the final pool were male and seven were female. At that point, the faculty considered a more holistic approach to the candidates' vitas, such as their letters of recommendation and areas of study. All of the candidates were interviewed over the phone to assess fit, interest, and research topic. After this step, three female and one male candidate were invited to personal interviews on campus. Finally, a female candidate was hired.

Discussion

There are myriad ways that bias can occur against women faculty. One way is through different perceptions of high status positions. A number of studies show a clear bias in favor of men in academia, even controlling for merit. There are structural reasons that can explain the bias — for example, a qualitative study in the Netherlands showed that men avoid career interruptions and have larger networks than women (Van den Brink & Benschop, 2011). There is, however, empirical evidence that, even beyond these factors, women are discriminated against in academia. For example, women get less credit for coauthored papers than men, particularly when they coauthor with all men (Sarsons, 2015). Trevino, Gomez-Mejia, Balkin, and Mixon (2015) found that women have a lower probability of holding an endowed chair than male faculty, even after controlling for performance, human capital factors, and other variables usually associated with career advancement. Women faculty are also less likely to receive

tenure, even after controlling for research productivity and citations (Park & Gordon, 1996). In addition, women faculty are paid less over time than their male counterparts, even after controlling for research outcomes and teaching performance (Gomez-Mejia & Balkin, 1992). Women even get less credit for coauthored papers than men, particularly when they coauthor with all men (Sarsons, 2015). Our findings also inform previous theories of the different standards used to evaluate men and women by highlighting the differential impact of prestige on the evaluation of men and women (Ridgeway, 2001).

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Faculty Gender & Work-Life Inclusion: Links to Organizational Strategy and Performance

Five Key Inhibitors of Women's Advancement in Business Schools[24]

María Triana

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What is holding back women and those faculty with a strong family identity from advancing to senior leadership positions at business schools? What needs to change from an organizational strategy and performance perspective?

There are many factors holding back women from advancing to senior leadership positions at business schools.

Lack of clock from Associate Professor to Full Professor. Unlike the tenure clock which requires an Assistant Professor to have an up or out decision made by the end of their sixth year, there is no such clock for promotion to Full Professor. This means that people (men or women) may be left at that level for a considerable number of years. Due to this ambiguity about when someone should be considered for a promotion to Full Professor, the decision often gets postponed.

Heavy emphasis on A publications. Because business schools value publishing in top-tier journals above all else, that creates a very high bar for people to achieve promotion to Full Professor, which is required to also be a Dean. In the case of women with children, a couple of Associate Professors have told me directly that they have given up trying to get promoted until their children are grown up. They have too many responsibilities at home and want to be able to spend time with their children. In fact, one specifically lamented being mean to her children during one summer when she was trying to push forward a journal revision, and then regretting that choice when the revision was later rejected. The following summer she declined support and told the school to keep their money so that she could spend a peaceful summer with her children. Two other professors I know had been led to believe that there was an alternative path to becoming a Full Professor which required less research and would acknowledge strong service contributions. They later found out that this alternative path to promotion was a myth and they invested much time in service roles which gave them no credit. Moreover, the nature of the publication process punishes those who do not work on enough projects with enough colleagues, because acceptance rates are very low at the top journals. Therefore, working on

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[24] Triana, M. (2020). Five Key Inhibitors of Women's Advancement in Business Schools. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 140-144). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317225. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/fgwli/1

fewer projects may help provide work-life balance, but it inevitably poses a higher risk of taking a longer time for promotion.

Masculine culture. Academia has a very masculine culture, and the overwhelming majority of Full Professors in business schools are men. Most of these men have a stay-at-home wife or a wife whose job is secondary to theirs. Things are usually taken care of at home for them. Also, because they generally have a good experience at work, they do not conceptualize work the same way that most women do, because they do not experience the problems of most women. For example, my experience and that of other women I know in academia would attest to the fact that most universities have elements of an old boys culture. This means exposure to: hostile work environment sexual harassment, locker room talk during meetings, situations where senior male faculty members engage in sexual relationships with, assault, or proposition junior female faculty members or doctoral students, late-night Academy parties in hotel rooms or at bars which last until 2 AM and involve people getting drunk, and implicit bias in decision-making associating men with success more so than women. This is exactly what research on implicit bias shows, namely that three quarters of the population more rapidly associates men with careers and women with home and family (Nosek et al., 2007). This type of masculine culture creates a context where women either risk sexual harassment/assault, need to pretend to be one of the boys and enjoy the culture, or a situation where women disengage from this type of context and decide it is not worth it to partake of the culture. Either way, there are risks for women. In the event that women disengage, there is also the added challenge that they may be seen as aloof or a party pooper. This could come back to hurt them in promotion decisions where the senior faculty members have all the power and must usher their tenure case through the bureaucratic process. This could also be limiting in terms of getting on research papers with colleagues and doctoral students which could get published and, ultimately, make promotion more likely.

A very hierarchical structure. In academia, the power is concentrated at the top and every level of the organization is evaluated by all levels above them. This creates a culture of silence and putting up with things one does not like at lower levels. Several faculty members have commented to me that until they got tenure, they would not dare speak out or complain about anything. The promotion process is handled only by tenured faculty, and in the case of promotion to Full Professor, the case will go nowhere unless the Full Professors in your department are in agreement to pursue your tenure case. This means that even at the Associate Professor level, one must be careful in picking one’s battles. Otherwise, the Full Professors can turn on you and you will never get promoted. All of this contributes to women

being quiet about the problems they see in academia, because otherwise, they may be labeled troublemakers or other names. Again, disengaging is a form of being quiet to avoid complaining, and this can also lead one to be labeled as aloof or disengaged.

You are so good at doing service (oh wait, but service doesn't count). Because of stereotypes of women being kind, nurturing, sympathetic, and helpful (Heilman, 2001), women are very often elected, nominated, and asked to serve on committees and major service roles. This is especially true in committees related to diversity (e.g., women and minorities in organizations) where representation from minority groups is sought. Oftentimes, this overwhelms women and results in them serving on more committees which take time and do not count for anything at promotion/review time.

How will implementing gender and work life inclusion enhance organizational performance?

This will only work if the reward structure in academia is changed. All that matters right now is top-tier publications by your next five-year review. If those publications are not there, the Dean has the right to invoke a list of punishments including reducing faculty pay, taking research resources/budget away, and increasing teaching load. That increases the downward spiral, making one less likely to be promoted. In my experience, talk of work-life balance and inclusion is not backed up with substantive action or flexible policies.

What is holding back women and those faculty with a strong family identity from advancing to senior leadership positions at business schools? What needs to change from an organizational strategy and performance perspective?

All of the items mentioned above are holding women back. In order to change, we need more people in leadership who understand that these issues above are systemic and culturally ingrained in the overwhelming majority of business schools. Those people at the top of the University need to be willing to implement diversity and inclusion practices that make it easier for women and for faculty with family obligations to have a more flexible career path. This includes revamping leave structures and allowing access and benefits to support people with children and other family responsibilities to balance work and life demands. This also involves completely changing the culture so that those who take time off to work on something other than research are not stigmatized as not being serious about their careers or as being unsuccessful faculty members. Schools also need to give faculty members credit for publications that are high quality even if they are not in the most premier A outlets possible. Those publications still contribute to school prestige and accreditation, and this would make it more attainable for people to excel in academia. It is also important for reward structures to take into account major

teaching accomplishments and service accomplishments in promotion decisions, because these are necessary to the efficient running of the school and to meeting its teaching mission. School leadership often talks about the importance of acknowledging peer-reviewed publications as well as strong teaching and service contributions. But in the experience of many tenured faculty, when the five-year review rolls around, all that matters is top-tier publications.

Schools should also be holding leaders accountable for implementing diversity management practices, and for the selection, advancement, and retention of women, minorities, and people with family obligations in organizations. Academia is currently structured as if everyone were a White male, married, heterosexual, with a stay at home or secondary wage earning spouse, and able-bodied. The reward structures, the culture, and the expectations around productivity and time off have been structured by and for faculty members who meet this description over time, and that has shaped the culture in academia to this day. The culture itself needs to be more inclusive, and the measures taken to become more inclusive need to be enforced by the top leaders at the university and at the schools of business in order for things to change.

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Creating Inclusive Organizations through Policies[25]

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Employment Relationship and Workplace Inequality

The advancement of technology, accompanied by increasing competition in the business environment, has led to a fundamental shift in organizations' employment strategies. In the past, the dominant employment system was a closed, internal labor market-oriented system, characterized as internal hierarchical ladders, career-long training programs, and the consideration of seniority and loyalty in the distribution of rewards (e.g., pay, promotion). Nowadays, employment systems are becoming more open to external markets and institutional pressures, characterized as frequent employee movements in and out of the organization (at all hierarchical levels), and the merit-based (i.e., performance, competence, efforts, abilities-based) reward distribution. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics report (2018) indicates that annual employee separation rates (quits, layoffs, etc.) have been steadily and continuously rising over the years, from 38.1% in 2013 to 43.0% in 2017.

By definition, merit-based employment systems may be expected to reduce workplace discrimination and inequality; employee rewards will not be determined by their merit-irrelevant factors such as gender, age, race, and other demographic characteristics. Unfortunately, however, workplace inequality persists despite the widespread norm of merit-based rewards (World Economic Forum, 2015). More alarmingly, merit-based employment systems do not only fail to improve workplace equality but also contribute to increasing inequality, namely "the paradox of meritocracy" (Castilla & Benard, 2010). That is, as the organization emphasizes the norm of meritocracy, employees are more likely to make unfair, biased decisions because the organization's culture makes people feel that they can express their own beliefs, which often suffer from biases and stereotypes.

Then a critical question arises: how can organizations create (or maintain) an inclusive culture when their employment systems are changing toward merit-based ones?

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[25] Park, T.-Y. (2020). Creating Inclusive Organizations through Policies. In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 145-149). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317223. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/fgwli/2

[26] Dr. Park was at Vanderbilt University at the time of the workshop.

Creating Inclusive Organizations through Policies and Practices

To retain and be more inclusive of diverse individuals, especially minority and low status groups, it is important to design and implement policies and practices that support their diverse needs. In my review of the management and organization literature, however, the discussion on creating inclusive culture has frequently been limited to training leaders and employees to be mindful about their (explicit and implicit) biases against minority groups, relatively lacking the discussion on ways to design and use inclusion-supportive policies and practices. Below, building on a recent study (Park, Lee, & Budd, 2019), I identify four important considerations—availability, awareness, affordability, and assurance—in using policies and practices for the creation of inclusive organization.

First, to be inclusive, organizations should offer policies that help minority employees continue their career without experiencing career interruptions. For example, compared against male employees, female employees tend to experience more challenges in balancing work and family lives, partly due to the social norms about their family duties. To help them balance their work and social roles, it is important to make flexible work policies *available* to them. Flexible work policies can be both formal—for example, (paid) maternity leave, flexible schedules, occasional telecommuting, routine telecommuting, part-time work, compressed work weeks, and job shares—and informal ones (e.g., mentoring, networking). There are three parties who can contribute to the adoption of flexible work policies. An obvious party might be organizational decision makers such as CEOs and top management teams. Research shows that the diversity of the top management team facilitates the adoption of inclusive, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT)-friendly policies (Everly & Schwarz, 2015). Also, national policy makers can facilitate the adoption of flexible policies; for example, in the United States many state governments are actively enacting the law of making maternity leave from unpaid to paid.

Another, less discussed but important facilitator of inclusive policies is labor unions. Through collective voice mechanism, unions can prompt the organization to design employment policies towards ones desired by the employees (Berg et al., 2014).

Second, when available, it is important to make employees *aware* of the policy's availability. It is well-recognized that the mere presence of policies does not guarantee their use. Kramer (2008) analyzed a nationally representative data set and showed that about 15% of workers were not aware that they were eligible to use parental and family leave based on the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). Similarly, organizational researchers recognize that employees often do not have a shared understanding about their organizations' policies and

practices, and the underlying philosophy and intentions of those policies (Bowen & Ostroff, 2004). A handful of research investigated ways to enhance employee awareness and understanding about employment policies (e.g., flexible work policies). Kim, Su, and Wright (2018) show that when supervisors better understand employment policies through their strong connections with HR managers, employees under the supervisors share the high understanding of employment policies. In addition to communication via supervisors, use of other communication methods such as newsletters, website, and training can also be an effective way to enhance employee awareness (Park et al., 2019).

Third, once aware, employees should be able to *afford* to use inclusive policies. For example, regarding the maternity leave policy, many employees, especially low-income employees, cannot afford to use it even though the government protects employee rights to use it via FMLA, because they cannot afford the income loss during the leave period. Hence, it is critical to provide sufficient financial and time support to employees when offering inclusive policies. Employers and policymakers, by designing the policies with sufficient financial/time supports, can certainly enhance affordability of inclusive policies. In addition, research also shows that employees' negotiation skills, and/or their collective bargaining power (via unions), can enhance affordability as well, because supervisors and employers can adjust policies to meet personal needs (Hornung, Rousseau, & Glaser, 2008).

Lastly, and critically, organizations should give *assurance* to employees that they won't be penalized by the use of inclusive policies. It is well-documented that using inclusive policies can lead to negative career outcomes such as wage growth decline and lower promotion opportunities (e.g., Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006; Leslie et al., 2012). Unfortunately, however, ways to address such negative consequences (i.e., assure employees that they won't experience negative outcomes) are relatively less well-known. For example, in describing the state of gender research, Kossek and Buzzanell (2018) put, "most of the research on gender equality does a better job at *describing* problems in human resources practices and organizational structures and climates than in coming up with evidence-based *solutions* to address women's underutilization at the top of organizations and across professions" (p. 814). Albeit limited, enhancing organizational accountability and transparency seem to be an effective way to prevent demographic-based biases (e.g., Tetlock, 1983). That is, accountability and transparency motivate individuals to process information in a more analytical and careful way, thus facilitating fair and equitable decisions (Castilla, 2015). In addition, establishing a formal grievance procedure could be another way to help employees feel assured that they are protected from unfair treatments (Park et al., 2019).

Conclusion

Creating an inclusive culture is becoming more challenging as many organizations are actively adopting the norm of meritocracy as part of their culture. I suggest ways in which organizational policies and practices can be used to create an inclusive organization. In designing and facilitating the use of inclusive policies, organizations should consider whether necessary policies are available to employees, whether employees are aware of those policies, whether employees can afford to use the policies, and whether they get assurance that they can use the policies without being concerned about negative outcomes.

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Gender Diversity in Business Schools: An Opportunity for Enhanced Performance?[27]

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Much of the early diversity research focused on the link between diversity and performance. Results were inconclusive with studies finding positive, negative, and null effects. Cumulative evidence from meta-analyses indicates that simply increasing diversity will most likely not affect performance and this finding applies to gender diversity as well (Joshi & Roh, 2009; van Dijk et al., 2012). Instead, research has shifted towards boundary conditions that increase the likelihood for positive performance effects to occur. It can be said that what emerges from the literature is not a business case for diversity but a business case for diversity management.

Organizational and group norms, such as diversity climate, have been studied and were highlighted as one key factor in leveraging potential benefits of diversity (Dwertmann et al., 2016; McKay & Avery, 2015). They are particularly relevant because they offer the potential for managerial and organizational interventions. Unfortunately, we know little about how to create such positive climates. The few existing empirical studies on antecedents of diversity climate have investigated either Human Resources (HR) practices (Boehm, Kunze, & Bruch, 2014; Herdman & McMillan-Capehart, 2010) or the influence of the community in which an organization is located (Pugh, Dietz, Brief, & Wiley, 2008). Leadership also has been proposed as a factor that shapes group norms regarding diversity (e.g., Shore, Cleveland, & Sanchez, 2017). In addition to conceptual work on authentic leadership (Boekhorst, 2015), most scholars have focused on the quality of relationships between leaders and followers – leader-member exchange (LMX). However, the notions of leadership as an antecedent of diversity climate have been somewhat unspecific. For instance, Nishii and Mayer (2009) and Boehm and Dwertmann (2015) both state that equally high-level relationships between the leader and all followers send a strong signal of inclusion. Essentially, this equals a pattern of high LMX mean and low LMX differentiation. However, this proposition and pattern contradict day-to-day experiences of leaders and central assumptions of the LMX literature, because LMX theory is founded on the premise that leaders have to build unique, differentiated relationships with different members due to limited time and resources as well as various needs of followers (Graen & Cashman,

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[27] Dwertmann, D. (2020). Gender Diversity in Business Schools: An Opportunity for Enhanced Performance? In E. E. Kossek & K.-H. Lee (Eds.), Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organizational Science Lens (pp. 150-153). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue e-Pubs. DOI: 10.5703/1288284317215. Retrieved from https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/worklifeinclusion/2018/fgwli/3/

1975; Graen & Scandura, 1987; Scandura, 1999). Thus, in a current mixed-methods, multistudy project, we address this conceptual and practical problem and investigate the link between LMX differentiation and diversity climate. We argue that how leaders differentiate LMX quality within their units, rather than how much they differentiate, sends signals regarding what leaders and their units value. In doing so, we conceptualize basis of differentiation, which refers to how the formation of differential LMX relationships between leaders and their unit members is determined (Chen, He, & Weng, 2018).

Prior research has found demographic similarity to predict leader's liking of a follower (Wayne & Liden, 1995) and their LMX quality (Dwertmann & Boehm, 2016; Judge & Ferris, 1993). At the same time, Scandura and Lankau (1996) have argued that leaders who differentiate based on demographics can create feelings of injustice and face backlash. Therefore, we argue that if leaders differentiate based on demographic similarity the diversity climate in the unit will be lower. Differentiating based on other, malleable factors such as performance and needs signals that everyone can become a member of the leader's in-group and positively affects diversity climate. We find support for this hypothesis in an experimental study utilizing video vignettes and a field study in a large U.S. organization.

We conclude from our findings that researchers should focus on ways in which leaders such as deans can create the conditions in which women can thrive (e.g., a positive diversity climate) in addition to raising their numbers. Intervention studies are key here. For leaders, our findings imply that they need to take an honest look at their in-group and out-group. As a male leader or dean, do you find many more men in your close circles? On what basis do you differentiate? Making sure that differentiation is based on performance and clearly communicating it will help you to advance women to senior roles and leverage the potential for positive performance effects of diversity.

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A Call for Action: Research and Practice Agenda to Advance Work-Life Inclusion in Organizations[28]

Ellen Ernst Kossek and Kyung-Hee Lee

The NSF workshop held at Purdue University Krannert School of Management in October 2018 on Fostering Gender and Work-Life Inclusion for Faculty in Understudied Contexts: An Organization Science Lens yielded rich insights and suggestions for practice and research. We first summarize each thematic paper panels of papers with its takeaway messages, followed by future agenda for research and practice. The workshop was organized by these themes: understanding work-life inclusion from an organizational science lens, intersectionality and work-life inclusion, work-life boundaries in the academy, overwork scholarly cultures, dual career and family matters, discrimination and stigma, and work-life linkages to performance.

Illustrative Finding from Each Workshop Thought Leader's Paper

The Landscape of Faculty Gender and Work-Life Inclusion from an Organizational Science Lens

1. **Ideal worker and ideal mom norms**. Work-life inclusion is the idea that work-life issues are a form of diversity and inclusion identities that shape perceptions of job belonginess and well-being (Kossek, 2020). Organizations and individuals must navigate contrasting and often conflicting images particularly between the ideal mom and ideal worker norms that pressure faculty members (King, 2020). We need to particularly identify organizational practices that support work-life inclusion during the time that faculty are managing parenting pressures while advancing careers. This age old issue has not been resolved and is not going away.
2. **Leaders play a key inclusion role**. Leaders play a key role in advancing concepts of inclusion (belongingness and uniqueness) and exclusion (the opposite of inclusion). A key issue in academia is to highlight how leader inclusion offers value (i.e. the benefits of being inclusive and the costs of not being inclusive) to the university, profession, and society.

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Leaders need to establish an environment where differences are valued. Shore (2020) emphasized the importance of demonstrating how: 1) the supportive inclusion attitudes of leaders; 2a) the degree of leader belongingness; and 2b) leader uniqueness treatment in improving faculty inclusion relates to organizational effectiveness.

3. **Organizational redesign to promote inclusion and field experiments are needed.** There is a need to redesign organizations to foster positive work-family/life relationships and work productivity. Organizational field experiments might target the design and evaluation of workplace interventions addressing administrators' family/life supportive behaviors, boundary management norms,, and career flexibility policies to advance gender and work-life inclusion (Kossek, 2020).

Intersectionality, Gender, and Work-Life Inclusion in Academia

1. **Inclusion and Tokenism and Formal and Informal Processes Decoupling Challenges**. Inclusion (Mor Barak, 2020) is defined as "the ability to bring your entire self to the workplace." Organizations should be cautioned that tokenism (uniqueness without belongingness) should not be mistaken as inclusion. Inclusion and exclusion can relate to formal policies (e.g.,. anti- discrimination policies) and informal processes (e.g., hallway conversations), and they are often decoupled.
2. **Minority faculty experiences such as those of black women should be studied and learned from.** Given the underrepresentation within the larger group of underrepresented minority faculty, we lack understanding on minority faculty's experiences such as black women – especially in business schools (Creary, 2020). In order to get real results from the intensive and extensive efforts that are currently being made in some universities to increase and retain diverse faculty in business schools and the success of other pipeline initiatives, we need to first understand how to dramatically increase the number of underrepresented minority faculty in professional schools.
3. **Social identity theory and inclusion linkages.** Identities are contextual (and sometimes oppressive in contexts), fluid, and constructed through social interactions links to inclusion (Ramarajan, 2020). Social identity theory provides a useful lens to understand the relationships between the multiple identities everyone personally brings to work.
4. **Intersectionality can be powerful as a methodological and analytical framework.** An intersectional lens is a useful way to look at issues related to the work-life nexus because it can sharpen our focus on unidentified needs, ignored values, unacknowledged conflicts, and unsupportive advice (Ryan, 2020). It can be used as a framework to analyze: 1) how

different faculty work-life groups are surviving or not; and 2) the barriers to success for these different groups.

Work-life Boundaries in the Academy

1. **Faculty time allocation across work and family roles.** Preliminary results from an NSF-funded study on faculty time use suggests significant gender differences in faculty time for research and service that favor men over women (Allen, 2020). Female full professors spend far more time on service which increases their weekly work hours. This results in a larger discrepancy between desired time use and actual time spent compared to male full professor faculty- the later of whom often reduce their teaching time in order to have more time for research.
2. **Flexible and permeable boundaries should be decoupled to enable benefits and not burdens**. Technology could be a burden because it creates the expectation that faculty will constantly be available (Dumas, 2020). We still lack knowledge on topics, including: 1) study of seasons of work (e.g., changing work demands across an academic year); 2) international norms allowing periods of greater segmentation (e.g., France); 3) and boundary permeability during leaves such as sabbaticals when faculty are supposed to be off work for recovery.
3. **Boundary Management Strategies in the "always on university".** Professionals are engaging in various technology boundary management strategies including: 1) setting limits (e.g., not checking work emails after work hours); 2) turning off devices at work or home; 3) separating social media between work and home; and 4) assigning different ring tones for work and home (Furst-Holloway, 2020). However, we still need to understand how these strategies influence their career and well-being.

Overwork Scholarly Cultures and Demands- Organizational Linkages

1. **Academia as a revealing organizational case for overwork norms.** Ideal worker norms and the ratcheting standards of evaluation heighten faculty achievement expectations in strong overwork cultures (Fox, 2020). We need to pay more attention to: 1) childcare issues beyond the preschool children; 2) overload for senior female faculty; and (3) the unequal benefits/penalties of gender-neutral leave policies.
2. **Illusions of flexibility among academic careers.** Faculty often struggle to reconcile between how others not in academia see them (as having flexibility and summers off) l) and how faculty fulfill work-nonwork competing expectations in an overwork culture of academia (Ladge, 2020). We need to find ways for faculty to successfully leverage the purported

flexibility they have compared to occupations with12 month appointments and more rigid face time schedules to push back on the availability and performance expectations on the institutional level, where there is a stigma to actually use flexibility for work-life well-being.

3. **Causes and remedies of overwork norms in academia.** Overwork norms are externally-imposed (lack of flexibility, short tenure clocks, and expectations of extra service) and internally-imposed causes (the importance of work identity, early career success, competition, and isolation) of "overwork culture" in the academy (Leana, 2020). Although the internalized norms are far more difficult to change, external stimuli can help change these norms through mandatory structural changes, staffing systems, 2-way evaluation systems, and accountability.

Academic Dual Career and Family Matters: Organizational Linkages

1. **Organizational work-family support (or lack thereof) across life stages.** Although organizational support is important in employees' work-family and health outcomes, the reality is that many employees do not feel supported, especially pregnant employees (Little, 2020). Flexibility is a key and we need to better understand: 1) the different maternity support and child care needs across life stages considering the parenting needs related to the developmental ages of children; and 2) how to better support the needs and resources of the family unit and the effects of having availability to (or not) of (spousal support) when implementing flexibility policies.
2. **HR view helpful in understanding barriers to organizational work-family support in academia.** Organizational efforts to accommodate employee non-work needs are reflected not only in providing but also embracing supportive benefits and policies by proactively encouraging employees to practice healthy work-life management (Matthews, 2020). To explain why faculty still experience high levels of work-family/life conflict, many other factors need to be more effectively considered. These include: 1) the need to strategically create an overall university work-life culture that considers the equality and equity needs of all employees, not just faculty; 2) being more responsive to different unique work-life needs across faculty groups; 3) increased faculty demands due to changing universities' business models; 4) updating policies to better manage work-life needs in complicated bureaucratic administrative and legal structures; 5) the need to better define and execute work-life organizational strategies; 6) shrinking resources due to changing financial structure of institutions; and 7) improving the selection of university leadership.

3. **Organizational and marital turnover in dual academic career couples.** Although being part of an academic couple can have many benefits, including sharing intellectual interests and can help in engaging in overlapping professional networks, it can also be challenging for couples. Issues include 1) having to refuse job offers if their partner does not have a satisfactory position in the same institution; 2) the power imbalance between the first hire and the "trailing" spouses; and 3) how the dual academic career can sometimes raise competitiveness tensions between partners. Research is needed examining marital turnover in dual academic couples (Thompson, 2020).

Discrimination and Stigma

1. **Family Responsibilities in Academia: Premiums, Penalties, and Policies.** Family responsibilities can be a source of either career premiums or career penalties inside academia, and that university policies and practices can influence these outcomes. Based on social role theory, Manchester (2020) proposed that whether family responsibilities lead to career premiums or career penalties depends on whether family responsibilities centers on breadwinning to provide financial support or caregiving to support related others. The extent to which faculty connection to one role or the other is primary (breadwinner versus caregiver) determines career consequences.
2. **Masculinity as a Psychologically Permeable Barrier to Gender Equality.** Masculinity can be a barrier to gender inequality, but there are ways to target men's beliefs to reduce the tendency to deny the existence of gender inequality using gender system justification theory. This is based on the idea that people can justify gender inequality to view a social system positively in order to rationalize the status quo. Based on the implicit theories of gender roles, Kray (2020) argued that a growth mindset (an assumption that a given trait is malleable) instead of a fixed mindset (an assumption that a given trait is fixed) may reduce gender system justification, as well as the extent to which self-affirmation operates as a mechanism to encourage a growth mindset.
3. **Proof or Pedigree: Prestige of Men's but not Women's Ph.D. Program Predicts Top Placements.** Male and female academics are often assessed using different standards, and these shifting standards are one of the contributing factors of diversity in universities (Johnson, 2019). Status characteristics theory may be helpful in examining why and how a job candidate with mismatching status characteristics (e.g., a woman graduating from a prestigious school) is subject to additional scrutiny due to status inconsistency, whereas a job candidate whose status characteristics are consistent (e.g., a man graduating from a

prestigious school) is perceived as more competent and hirable, resulting in gender inequality. Overall, compared to men, women with similar prestigious academic degrees, are generally hired at less prestigious institutions.

Work-Life Inclusion Linkages to Performance and Strategy

1. **Five Key Inhibitors of Women's Advancement.** There are several key inhibitors of women's achievement in business schools. These include: 1) no time clock limit for promotion to advance between associate professor and full professor; 2) an over focus on "A "publications; 3) masculine cultures; 4) hierarchical structures; and 5) unequal distribution of service responsibilities between men and women. Future research should examine the effectiveness of change strategies including: 1) bias training for faculty and management; 2) increasing the representation of female members in the highest level of university leadership (e.g., chancellor, board members); 3) revamping leave structure to be more flexible; 4) reducing the stigma of using work-life policies; 5) revamping reward structure to take account teaching and service accomplishments in promotion decisions; and 6) holding the leadership more accountable for implementing diversity practices (Triana, 2020).
2. **Creating Inclusive Organizations through Policies.** Standards of "meritocracy" might contribute to gender inequality rather than reducing the gender gap because the meritocratic culture can makes people feel that they can express their own biased beliefs to preserve the status quo (Park, 2020). This reflects the "paradox of meritocracy." Policies and practices that support the differing needs of diverse individuals could help to create a more work-life inclusive culture. In order for family leave policies to work effectively, 1) they have to be available; (2) employees need to be aware of them; 3) employees need to feel a leave is affordable; and 4) there needs to be an assurance that there will not be career penalties for taking a leave.
3. **Gender Diversity in Business schools and Enhanced Performance.** Past research suggests that increasing diversity alone is not necessarily effective in improving performance and gender diversity, but there may be a business case for diversity management (Dwertmann, 2020). Based on leader-member exchange perspectives, the criteria based on which leaders differentiate their relationship quality with their employees, such as the basis of differentiation being demographic similarity is important in understanding the effects of diversity management as it can lead to lower diversity climate. In contrast,, leader differentiation based on other factors such as performance and needs

signals that everyone can become a member of the leader's in-group, which positively affects diversity climate.

Research Agenda

Besides future research directions from the presenters, the scholars gathered at the workshop developed a future research agenda for each topic areas:

Advancing Understanding of Work-Life Inclusion

Overall, experts agree that there is much work to be done to improve work-life inclusion in business schools, businesses and universities more generally. Below we suggest some areas for future research suggested by the findings above.

Gender and Work-Life Inclusion in Business Schools & Understudied Faculty Contexts: What are the Issues and the Terrain?

First, we need to develop a deeper understanding of the leader and organizational characteristics fostering work-life inclusion, the interplay between individual, family, and organizational work-life inclusion pressures, norms, and outcomes and requisite policies and cultural changes. Future studies should interview leaders and employees to help us better define the concept of work-life inclusion. One current study is in progress (Kossek, Lee, Pratt, Misisco, Allen Bodner 2020). Such studies are needed to develop measures of the climate dimensions that comprise a work-life inclusive organization in order to validate and assess its presence, and metrics to evaluate the degree of cultural support. It also may be helpful to understand when work-life inclusion is similar to other forms of inclusion, how it links to other forms of intersectionality (e.g., gender, race, religion, sexuality) (also discussed below) and when it differs. This inquiry would need to identify individual, group, and organizational factors associated with a positive climate for work-life inclusion and how they relate to faculty employee perceptions and organizational outcomes. Such research may also advance organizational change on the science of work-life inclusion and how to develop and implement more effective policies across other many organizational contexts.

Future research is also needed in order to better understand how to link work-life inclusion to existing organizational barriers that prevent faculty healthy work-life integration. We also need studies to identify best practices in improving work-life inclusion such as how to better support gender and work-life inclusion at various career transition points. For example, what are the potential unintended negative consequences of the extended tenure clock for women or for

men? What are the barriers to the transition from associate to full professor? More research is needed on contrasting images of ideal worker and ideal mom norms and how these are pressuring faculty (King, 2020); the role leaders play in advancing concepts of inclusion (belongingness and uniqueness) and exclusion (Shore, 2020); and how to redesign organizations to foster positive work-family/life relationships, productivity and implement interventions (Kossek, 2020).

Intersectionality, Diversity, Gender, and Work-Life Inclusion

Intersectionality can be a powerful methodological and analytical framework. Social identity and inclusion theories (Ramarajan, 2020) can be integrated in order to advance an intersectional lens as a powerful methodological and analytical framework (Ryan, 2020). For example, such lenses be used to examine how different minority groups are surviving or not; what the barriers to success for different employee occupational groups; and the power dynamics of various faculty groups such as how tenure-tracked vs. non-tenure tracked job groups intersect with race, class, gender and family status. We also need to examine the effects of tokenism and the burden this places on minority faculty in every day work-life interactions. Future research is needed on the differences between inclusion and tokenism and what leads to decoupling processes between formal policies and informal processes (Mor Barak, 2020). Studies are also needed to learn from minority faculty experiences (e.g., black women) and their implications for pipeline initiatives in professional schools (Creary, 2020).

Technology & Boundary Control in Academic Job Design: Gender and Work-Life Effects

Future research is needed on significant gender differences in faculty desired and actual time for research, teaching, and service that favors men over women (Allen, 2019) and how these related to the management of flexible and permeable boundaries to enable benefits and not burdens (Dumas, 2019); and successful boundary management strategies in the "always on university (Furst-Holloway, 2019). We also need to examine the benefits and negative consequences of setting work-life boundaries and technology-related boundaries (e.g., email response time) in academic settings. Moreover, there is a need to examine the effects of social pressures on faculty's work-life well-being . For example, what are the effects of pressures from co-authors, review requests, conferences, and students on faculty's work-life well-being? How do we distinguish internal vs. external pressures and do they have differential effects on faculty's work-life well-being?

Work-Life Stigmatization, Overwork Faculty Cultures

Experts agreed that we need to find ways of looking at our faculty work more multi - dimensionally and holistically. For example, how do we reward individuals not just for the research and teaching productivity but what we care about, such as rewarding faculty for being better mentors or doing services to the university? Future studies should examine academia as a revealing case for strong overwork norms (Fox, 2020); career identity illusion tensions for faculty struggling to reconcile between how others see them (having flexibility & summers off) but not experiencing careers in this way, and fulfilling competing overwork cultural expectations (Ladge, 2020); and the external and internal causes and remedies of overwork norms in academia (Leana, 2020).

Dual-Career Couples, Singles, & Organizational Work-Family Support

Future studies are needed on organizational work-family support (or lack thereof across varying life stages and access to spousal support), particularly for pregnant employees; (Little, 2020). Studies are also needed to advance how and why increasing a focus on HR systems view is helpful for explaining why faculty still experience high levels of work-family/life conflict, unhealthy lifestyles, despite the availability of policies as well as identifying the barriers to effectively implementing universities' organizational work-family support (Matthews, 2020). Research is also needed on organizational and marital turnover in dual academic career couples and problems in dual-career "trailing spouse" policies (Thompson, 2020). As a new way of defining and examining success, the concept of "net family success" can be useful because who the breadwinner is may change on a daily or weekly basis, requiring a more systemic approach. For example, how does one spouse's success impact the dynamics of couple relationships or the success of the other spouse?

Leader's roles in Fostering Work-Life Inclusion as an Organizational Strategy to Close the Gender Gap

As the average length of a Dean is relatively short, research is needed on how the turnover of a Dean affects the diversity of leaders and how and whether diversity initiatives get sustained after leader turnover. Research is needed on the tension between designing clear criteria for promotion and tenure, and having less clear criteria in order to have more flexibility and be able to adopt a broader portfolio view of the balance between faculty contribution based on research, teaching, and service. Studies are needed to find empirical ways to address this later philosophical question to change organizational cultures and the benefits of this for employees and employers.

Discrimination, Work-Life and Gender Inequality, and Closing the Gap

Additional research is needed on when family responsibilities are a source of career premiums or penalties inside academia and the moderating influences of university policies and practices Manchester (2020). Studies are also needed to better understand masculinity in work cultures as a psychologically permeable barrier to gender equality (Kray, 2020); as well as on why the prestige of men's schooling but not women's Ph.D. programs predicts top placements and linkages to status characteristics attributions (Johnson, 2020). Moreover, there needs to be more nuanced research on the stigma of using leave policies. For example, how does it affect men and women differently? How does it differentially affect single women or single mothers? How do we reduce the stigma of being labeled the "trailing spouse" or the "diversity hire"?

Faculty Gender & Work-Life Inclusion: Links to Organizational Strategy and Performance

Studies are needed on the key inhibitors of women faculty's achievement in business schools (Triana, 2020); how to create inclusive organizations through policies and whether standards of "meritocracy" might contribute to gender inequality rather than reducing the gender gap (the paradox of meritocracy) (Park, 2019). Research is also needed on the differences between increasing diversity only versus proactively managing diversity such as improving leader relational climate influences as a business case for enhancing organizational performance (Dwertmann, 2020). Moreover, we need a better way to evaluate teaching to reduce persistent gender bias in teaching evaluations. We need to test different evaluation methods (e.g., qualitative vs. quantitative), different evaluation criteria (e.g., subjective vs. objective criteria), and the effects of using inclusive language in evaluation forms to identify how we can best reduce gender bias in teaching evaluation. We can also test whether implicit bias training for students is effective in reducing gender bias in teaching evaluations.

Practice Agenda

Besides the presentations from scholars across the country, three Deans of leading business schools, David Hummels at Purdue University, Kathy Farrell at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, and Srilata Zaheer at the University of Minnesota, participated in a panel discussion on the leader's roles in fostering work-life inclusion as an organizational strategy to close the gender gap (Deans' Panel Discussion, 2018). Taken together, we identified the following six themes related to how we can increase work-life inclusion in organizations.

Theme 1: The importance of leaders' work-life inclusive messaging

Recognizing the importance of leaders' role in gender and work-life inclusion in organizations is an imperative. Leaders are an important role model in any organization, setting a tone for the organization, particularly for how it manages diversity and inclusion. Employees in organizations take cues from how and what leaders talk about and behave to decide what is expected and valued in the organization (Ely & Meyerson, 2010). Thus, when communicating a gender and work-life inclusion agenda, leaders need to be mindful of their power to change the culture of the organization and leverage it for the good.

Theme 2: Make leaders accountable for the faculty's success and reducing systemic bias

It has been established that measuring accountability is a very important way to increase diversity and inclusion in organizations (Castilla, 2016). When leaders are held accountable (e.g., diversity goals tied to bonus or promotion), diversity and inclusion efforts get real results. Moreover, when leaders, including senior faculty members, hold themselves accountable for junior faculty's success and leading culture change in the department to reduce systemic biases, significant changes are more likely to occur faster.

Theme 3: The need to broaden academic career success models

It is time to consider that academic success does not have to look the same for everyone. In the current rigidly defined tenure and promotion system, there is little room for individualized goals or individually defined success. Thought leaders argue that in order to achieve this change, organizational leaders need to change traditional imbalanced views on success, where success in one area (e.g., research) is valued more than in other areas (e.g., service) (Link, Swann, & Bozzman, 2008). We need to evaluate new initiatives that ensure greater fairness and equality in career success evaluation systems while allowing more flexibility to customize to individualized goals and expectations.

Theme 4: Move beyond win-lose identity sacrifice

In an overwork culture, we are forced to decide which identity we are to prioritize above all other identities (e.g., spouse or parent) in order to be successful (Cha, 2010). It is time we move beyond this win-lose paradigm to create a more work-life inclusive culture so that people do not feel they need to sacrifice other areas of their life to be successful at work or leave the workforce because they cannot fulfill responsibilities at work and at home at the same time (Cha, 2013). We need to acknowledge that we all occupy multiple important identities at the same time and to find ways to value and respect them without risking the possibility of success at work.

Theme 5: Increase dual-career support

Whether they are dual-academic couples or dual-career couples, faculty members in a dual-career relationships need greater university supports. Unless both spouses find a satisfying job in the same city, one spouse typically has to sacrifice and take a less satisfying job. Or it is increasingly common that sometimes faculty and families need to live apart, creating stress and conflict. Women are unequally affected by the growth in dual career families. For example, they are often more likely to make career tradeoffs as research shows that women are less likely to initiate dual-hiring negotiation than men (Morton, 2018). Women academics are also more likely to refuse a job offer if their partner does not find a satisfying employment, even if they consider their career as primary compared to their partner's (Zhang, Kmec, Byington, 2019). Considering that more female faculty are married to another academic than male faculty are (Schiebinger, Henderson, & Gilmartin, 2008), improving dual-career hiring support can help increasing gender and work-life inclusion in universities.

Theme 6: The need for field experiments

Many universities have implemented work-life policies (e.g., stop the tenure clocks or universally extended tenure clocks) in an effort to increase gender and work-life inclusion. However, evidence suggests these policies are not always successful and may result in new career problems. Leader and organizations need to conduct action research and experiments to better assess the benefits and sometimes unintended negative consequences of these policies to inform improved future policy implementation. Rather than across the board policy changes in large bureaucratic universities, we need to implement pilot studies evaluating new policies and identifying effective implementation tactics, and compare initiatives with a control group. These studies could inform us which policies are effective under what conditions. These steps will ensure that evidence-based policies are developed and implemented in ways that not only meet the unique circumstances of the organizational workforce but can ensure an effective culture of work-life inclusion to attract and retain diverse and leading faculty and students.

Closing

In some ways, universities are lagging behind business organizations in closing gender gaps in hiring, promotion, and pay. As institutions to educate future leaders and workers, universities need to be a model of diversity and inclusion rather than a follower. This monograph has the overarching objective of advancing understanding of linkages between gender diversity and work-life inclusion, and implications for strategies to foster women's and minorities' career

success in universities, business, and society. We drew on leading thought leaders perspectives to identify scientific gap and address an under-researched critical area of organizational science. The research agenda developed may encourage future interdisciplinary scholarship on gender equality and work-life inclusion that can help policymakers to engage in more effective evidence-based practices. We hope this monograph will foster new insights on the organizational science regarding how to foster more gender and work-life inclusive businesses and universities. Such knowledge also will advance scientific knowledge on strategies enhancing the attraction, advancement, retention, and career longevity of women faculty, which also helps address societal inequality.

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