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INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAMS:
THE RELATIONSHIP OF PROGRAM STRUCTURE TO LONG-TERM VIABILITY

A Dissertation Presented

by

ANN FROINES

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies and Research,
University of Massachusetts Boston, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

June 2004

Higher Education Administration Program

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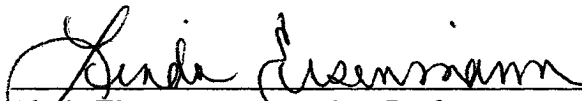
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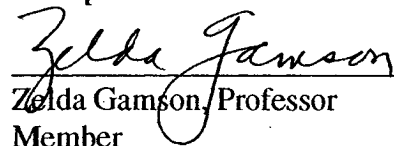
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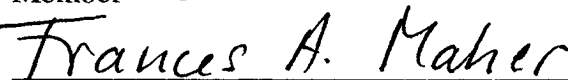
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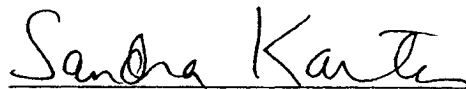
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ABSTRACT

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAMS: THE RELATIONSHIP OF PROGRAM STRUCTURE TO LONG-TERM VIABILITY

June 2004

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This study examined the institutional viability of three interdisciplinary women's studies programs in public universities to determine whether interdisciplinary programs are marginal or fragile. The research question has three related parts: (a) What factors influence assessments of institutional viability? (b) do assessments of institutional viability vary significantly according to differences in program structure? and (c) what strategies have emerged to maintain program viability over the next ten or 20 years?

A conceptual framework of three domains was utilized in this qualitative case study: (a) program history, (b) organizational effectiveness of program, and (c) alliances built by program leaders. Organizational effectiveness of programs of different structures with respect to faculty lines was assessed using dimensions derived in a study of institutions of higher education by Cameron (1978). In Phase One of the study a survey of 34 women's studies program directors confirmed these dimensions as

appropriate indicators for assessing viability of women's studies programs. The dimensions are student satisfaction, faculty satisfaction, quality of faculty, ability to acquire resources, organizational health, and alliances. In Phase Two of the study, three programs were selected for in depth case studies. Data from documents and interviews with program director, faculty members, dean and provost at each site were analyzed to develop an emerging social construct of "institutional viability" for interdisciplinary programs in specific university contexts.

The findings showed that interdisciplinary structure was not a barrier to program development. With respect to all the dimensions the three programs were perceived as effective, and had achieved long-term viability. No program was marginal or fragile. Two programs without faculty lines or joint appointments face more uncertainties with respect to ability to acquire resources and organizational health. Thus there is minor variation in viability assessments. Other findings were that (a) the leadership styles of program directors contributed to program success, (b) generational differences among faculty on the place of gender theory in women's studies may influence program structure in the future, and (c) achieving institutional viability is an ongoing process.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It must first be acknowledged that this research study could not have been accomplished without the cooperation of three women's studies program directors, other women's studies faculty, and knowledgeable administrators. The stories and program data they willingly shared reflect their commitment to the transformational goals of women's studies in colleges and universities.

I was especially fortunate to have three outstanding scholars on my dissertation committee whose own work on social change in higher education is inspiring. I am deeply appreciative of their guidance and encouragement at each critical stage of my research and writing.

Colleagues and friends at University of Massachusetts Boston contributed to my progress at various stages, especially Jean M. Humez and Shauna L. Manning. For them, too, my gratitude and admiration go hand in hand.

Finally, I want to thank my friends and my family for their loving support during the sad months of loss that preceded the completion of this project. Their kind and hopeful words and deeds helped me to achieve my goal of making this contribution to the field of women's studies.

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CHAPTER 1

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Many women's studies programs in American colleges and universities celebrated their 25th anniversaries at the end of the 1990s, as the first generation of women's studies faculty approached retirement age. Women's studies practitioners are discussing the institutional health of the field in various forums, out of a concern that women's studies programs and departments continue to flourish over the next 25 years. In women's studies journals, the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, and in program newsletters, a debate has emerged about whether women's studies is marginal or has long-term viability as an interdisciplinary field. Although there is a general consensus in the field that women's studies grew steadily in its first 25 years, a difference of opinion exists in the literature and among practitioners as to whether programs are fragile or marginal in institutions of higher education, or whether they are securely institutionalized, that is, have institutional viability as discrete units.

Some practitioners in women's studies programs in public research universities that have recently achieved department status, or have launched Ph.D. programs in women's studies, argue that department status with control over faculty lines affords women's studies a solid institutional base. But what can we say about the institutional viability of interdisciplinary women's studies programs—the majority of all programs—that rely on faculty and curriculum based primarily in other departments? If

programs have limited control over their faculty resources and a multidisciplinary structure are they necessarily fragile or marginal, with poor prospects for long-term viability, as some have argued?

Three types of reports on the growth and development of women's studies programs exist in the literature. One type consists of overview articles describing the history of, and debates within, the field (Boxer, 1982, 1989, 1998; Chamberlain, 1992, 1994; Guy-Sheftall, 1995; Stimpson, 1986; Tobias, 1978). For example, Marilyn J. Boxer, in *When Women Ask the Questions—Creating Women's Studies in America*, presents the first comprehensive account of women's studies in the United States, but with a primary focus on epistemological and pedagogical questions (1998). Another type is a report on a single women's studies program or feminist curriculum transformation project (Beck et al, 1995; Kurth, 1995; O'Barr, 1994, Shircliff, 1997; Corbett and Preston, 1998). A third type is the informed opinion piece supporting particular goals for the field (Allen, 1997; Coyner, 1983; Howe, 1975, 1997; Rosenfeldt, 1984).

Only a few research studies deal with developmental or organizational histories and issues (Scully & Currier, 1997; McMartin, 1993; Winkler, 1992; Wood, 1981). *The Politics of Women's Studies: Testimony from Thirty Founding Mothers* (2000) contains numerous recollections by both employed and retired feminist academic veterans about personal career trajectories and strategies to develop and institutionalize undergraduate women's studies programs. Most of these various reports, studies, and testimonies acknowledge the need for more systematic research into the policies and practices of institutionalization.

This study attempts to fill one of the research gaps surrounding women's studies programs. It investigates, through case study research, whether institutional viability varies according to program structure, and how practitioners—women's studies faculty and program administrators in particular—describe the issues of institutional viability for

women's studies. An initial survey of 34 program directors provided a grounded conceptual framework for the study, and for the interview protocol used in the case studies of three interdisciplinary women's studies programs at public universities. The site research was completed in 2000.

Analysis and interpretation of the data reveals a dynamic and complex picture of the institutional viability of interdisciplinary programs in specific settings. After extensive description and interpretation, this qualitative case study research study offers a theoretical perspective on the relationship between structures of academic programs and institutional viability. The conclusions drawn from this in-depth examination of three programs will not be generalizable to all of women's studies. Instead, this study offers analytic generalizations that illuminate and expand the definitions and constructs of the practice of women's studies program institutionalization to the point of long-term viability in specific university contexts. A working definition of "long-term institutional viability" also emerges from the research. Finally, the analytic generalizations may help practitioners address more knowledgeably the choices they face in program planning and development over the next generation.

Rationale

Assessing the institutional viability of women's studies interdisciplinary academic programs after 25 years of development is a significant issue for several reasons:

1. Programs are celebrating their 25th and 30th anniversaries by documenting their achievements, while at the same time, examining their institutional status in light of their potential for long-term viability. But there is little research to guide their efforts.
2. Fiscal constraints on public universities in the 1980's and 1990's negatively affected liberal arts programs, including the growth of newer interdisciplinary

programs like women's studies. Did these constraints affect institutional viability? How will future fiscal constraints affect programs?

3. Many of the faculty who built women's studies programs were hired and tenured in the initial growth period for women's studies from the mid-1970's to the mid-1980's. Since they will retire in the first decade of the 21st century, questions are being raised about the period of transition to new leadership by a new generation of faculty.
4. Other interdisciplinary programs which have structures similar to women's studies—black studies, ethnic studies—have a parallel history and similar rationale for exploring the process of institutionalization leading to long-term institutional viability. This study may provide results that have implications for these interdisciplinary programs as well.

What is the significance or importance of this study for the organization of academic units in universities? As the literature review shows there has been little systematic research on organizational or structural issues that confront interdisciplinary programs, in this case, women's studies, arguably the most successful of those programs in recent decades. The history of individual programs has been described in reports and articles in the literature. Only one survey of problems and successes of women's studies programs and centers provides some systematic data on the characteristics of successful or effective programs (Scully, 1996; Scully & Currier, 1997).

By engaging with the ongoing debate about the future institutional status of women's studies programs, this investigation examines to what extent institutional viability is, or is not, correlated with specific program models. It will explore and assess the long-term institutional viability of women's studies programs that are dependent on collaborative relationships with other academic units.

There are important implications for understanding the change process in the university with respect to its ability to embrace academic movements for social equality, and to institutionalize on a permanent basis the curricular, human, and organizational diversity they represent. Furthermore, there are implications for how curricula are organized and offered to students in higher education, and for the pre-eminent place of the department or discipline for the organization of knowledge.

Statement of the Problem and Definitions

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between women's studies program structure and program institutional viability in the university. The women's studies program is the unit of analysis. The statement of the problem has three related parts: (a) to identify and explore factors that influence or shape assessments of institutional viability; (b) to determine whether assessments of institutional viability of women's studies programs vary significantly according to differences in program structure or model; and (c) to determine what strategies are emerging to strengthen the viability of women's studies programs over the next ten or 20 years.

The term "assessment of institutional viability" is used in the problem statement rather than simply "institutional viability," since the latter implies a known quantity, something factually –based about which there is common agreement. This study attempts to develop and define an emerging social construct of "institutional viability" through a three-part conceptual framework. "Institutional viability" as a widely accepted construct does not yet exist.

Furthermore, "institutional viability" is presented as one aspect of a more complex idea—institutionalization; viability is the long-term survival and growth of the organization, in this case, the academic unit, known as women's studies, beyond the working lives of the first generation of founders and initiators. Institutionalization, as a

concept in higher education, is broader than institutional viability. None of the theories of institutionalization of programs or planned changes in higher education taken singly seemed multi-faceted enough to create a conceptual framework for research on viability of women's studies programs in universities. For example, K. Lewin in 1951 offered a definition of institutionalization of organizational change as "unfreezing, moving, and refreezing" (Goodman & Dean, 1982). Institutionalization has also been described as stages of development—"early stages, institutionalized stages, decline" (Cameron & Whetten, 1982, p. 3). Others have studied institutionalization as the "persistence of behavior within organizations" (Goodman & Dean, 1982, p. 226). Stephanie Riger (1994), a feminist scholar with experience working as a women's studies program director, explores institutionalization as the culmination of logical and necessary stages of growth in feminist organizations: creation, collectivity, formalization, and elaboration of structure.

The institutionalization of innovation has been discussed in terms of transformational leadership; in attempts by leaders to disseminate a vision, structures and relationships are established and nurtured in order to implement a certain strategy (Cameron & Ulrich, 1986). This line of thinking would provide interesting revelations about leadership, but women's studies program development and institutionalization is both bigger and different than the concept "innovation" suggests. It is more than a strategy for changing some aspects of an organization. Women's studies leaders or innovators have created new discrete academic programs within universities.

The Conceptual Framework

The processes involved in the institutionalization of new academic programs as sub-units of a larger organization—in this case a university—may reflect some factors common to the definitions above, especially the last two concerning the implementation

of a vision through establishing structures to carry out certain tasks. The above approaches, however, study organizations as a whole, or attempt to develop theory applicable to many types of organizations, or have created models applicable particularly to business organizations struggling with management issues. Because women's studies programs are small units within large, complex organizations—universities—a more complex conceptual framework needs to be developed for this study. Institutional viability is a social construct that can be illuminated by several domains: events in program history, alliances interdisciplinary programs must necessarily build, and some measure of the success or effectiveness of the programs themselves.

After reviewing organizational theory in higher education literature, the dimensions of organizational effectiveness of colleges and universities, developed by Cameron (1978) were judged to include appropriate measures of effectiveness of academic units, such as a women's studies program. The conceptual framework that shapes this research is described in Table 1.1.

The notion or construct of "institutional viability" is best examined as a cultural phenomenon, where rational elements (statistical profile of an academic program, for example, the number of participating faculty, or budget growth over time) and the non-rational elements (perception of effectiveness, or the nature and strength of alliances) are combined. "Institutional viability" is presented, therefore, as an emerging and dynamic social construct, something to be discovered through exploratory research and understood holistically.

The appropriateness of these domains as elements for the conceptual framework will be discussed in the next two chapters in greater detail. Throughout this study the phrase "women's studies programs" should be understood to contain "interdisciplinary" implied within it.

Table 1.1 – Outline of the Conceptual Framework

Title: Institutionalization of Women’s Studies Programs: The Relationship of Program Structure to Long-term Viability

Subtitle: An Inquiry to Explore and Define the Domains of Institutional Viability of Women’s Studies Programs

Domain A: History of Organizational Growth

1. History of resource acquisition over time.
2. Historical development of organization.

Domain B: Alliances – Relationships of Collaboration

1. Alliances, collaboration on campus.
2. Alliances, collaboration with groups outside university.

Domain C: Organizational Effectiveness (Perceived)

1. Six dimensions of Kim Cameron (1978). Tested in survey questionnaire returned by 34 program directors.
2. Analysis of interviews with members of the women’s studies program’s “dominant coalition” (faculty and administrators)

Domain D. Organization Effectiveness (Objective)

1. Objective data for six dimensions, if available.
2. Institutional programmatic review rating, if available.

Goal of Study: To develop an emerging picture of the “social reality” of institutional viability from an analysis of the four domains.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The history of the growth and development of women's studies programs, current characteristics and trends, the debate on institutional viability, and relevant concepts of organizational theory in higher education are topics addressed in the literature review. This review stakes out only one small portion of the literature on the growth of women's studies as a field. The appearance of women's studies in the academic world has been characterized as a paradigm revolution in the academic disciplines (Lincoln, 1989), and a women's social movement in higher education (Howe, 1975). The enormous amount of new, critical scholarship about women and gender, and the literature on theory and practice of feminist pedagogy are part of the story of the challenge of women's studies to traditional policies and practices in universities, and to "male-defined" disciplines. Many discussions about women's studies programmatic growth are often embedded in studies about the development of the entire field (Boxer, 1982, 1989, 1998; Kessler-Harris, 1992; O'Barr, 1994; Stimpson, 1986). This review will highlight the literature that focuses on institutional structures, programmatic growth, and institutional viability.

Even women's studies as a programmatic development in higher education is complex to define. Its exact boundaries are difficult to locate, in fact, the boundaries themselves are part of the debate. For example, feminist curriculum transformation projects of the disciplines have been seen as an alternative strategy to the development of

autonomous women's studies programs. Yet these same projects are linked to the growth and development of women's studies programs, and necessarily form a part of the discussion about institutional strategies, structures, and viability, according to many practitioners (Beck et al, 1990; Fritzsche, 1984; Furth, 1995; Rosenfeldt, 1984).

An impressive number of institutional structures have been created in women's studies since the first courses were developed as correctives and additions to traditional male-centered disciplines. They include the more than 700 undergraduate and graduate programs (and most recently more than a dozen new interdisciplinary Ph.D. programs), an explosion of feminist scholarship in new journals and reviews, sixty independent and university-based centers for research on women and gender, women's caucuses in the traditional disciplines, and a professional organization, the National Women's Studies Association. The strength and viability of the various women's studies programs and research centers is based on the interdependence of these elements, and sometimes, too, on the support of private foundations. Numerous curriculum transformation projects and periodic reviews of the field have been funded by the Ford Foundation, for example (Chamberlain & Bernstein, 1992; Stimpson, 1986; Guy-Sheftall, 1995).

History of the Growth of Women's Studies Programs

Florence Howe, a founder of several of the organizations important to women's studies—The Feminist Press, the Women's Studies Quarterly, and the National Women's Studies Association—wrote in 1975 that the chief effect of the women's movement in higher education had been its impact on the lives of women in academia. She cites a 1960's Carnegie Commission Report forecast predicting that by 1990, 30 percent of faculty in four-year institutions would be female, a prediction that turned out to be accurate. Howe edited a book of essays, *Women and the Power to Change*, in which she described the new women's studies programs as functioning like parallel institutions:

"[They] rarely change their host directly, though they often produce leadership that may affect other institutions" (Howe, 1975, p. 159). Yet she also notes that "the test of women's studies on campus will not finally be the proliferation of courses or programs, but their effect on the rest of the curriculum" (p. 160). This tension, whether women's studies should develop as an autonomous unit, or should focus on transforming the liberal arts curriculum, has persisted until today, in the form of the debate about department versus interdisciplinary program status for women's studies.

Marilyn Boxer published a comprehensive and widely cited review article in the early 1980's on the history, political issues, theories, and structures of women's studies, "For and About Women: The Theory and Practice of Women's Studies in the United States" (1982). She observed that women's studies interdisciplinarity had implications for its structures by reviewing the opinions of feminist scholars on both sides of the question: "Is women's studies a discipline?". She reported then that the majority of scholars believe that "feminist criticisms of content, method, and purposes are 'strands' just beginning to emerge: they do not add up to a new discipline" (p. 687). Boxer also observed that most women's studies practitioners worked in committees and alliances across disciplines, departments, divisions, even colleges.

In the early years, a few scholars emphasized the importance of working towards autonomy and a separate discipline even as they acknowledged the significance of the various interdisciplinary structures (programs) that women's studies faculty had created. Sandra Coyner argued that independence as a goal was essential for the development of women's studies: "We cannot establish women's studies as an academic discipline overnight, and must be prepared for a period of mixed models—perhaps a long period given economic conditions. . . what I am suggesting at this point in our history is a new option, the specialist in 'pure' Women's Studies" (1983, p. 67). These two different

perspectives on the growth of women's studies became what is known as the "autonomy/integration" debate.

In women's studies programs with some autonomy, the argument goes, faculty hired to do women's studies will be evaluated for tenure and promotion by taking full account of their women's studies teaching and their feminist scholarship. Tenure victories help to determine what the legitimate fields are. Deborah Rosenfeldt argued that autonomous programs are the only structure that allows women's studies to constitute itself as a discipline:

Clearly, unless we have our own programs we cannot control, shape, and coordinate the dissemination of new knowledge about women; rather we are subject to the priorities and politics of departments in which our voices and concerns are almost inevitably marginal (1984, p. 175).

A concern about the reliance on department faculty to teach courses was also reflected in the 1991 Association of American Colleges report, "Liberal Learning and the Women's Studies Major." Part of a larger national review of twelve arts and sciences majors undertaken to explore the purposes of liberal arts majors in order to improve undergraduate education, the report reflected the fact that the field of women's studies had reached a certain maturity. It had been recognized by a leading higher education association as a significant and innovative liberal arts major. The first recommendation of the report commented on the relationship between structure and long-term institutional viability by noting the inconsistent staffing of courses when programs had to rely on faculty borrowed from departments, or on part-time faculty: "women's studies as an academic unit must secure full lines and/or joint appointments so that core courses can be guaranteed" (Musil, 1991, p. 17). In other words, two decades after the first women's studies program was established at San Diego State College (now University), women's studies was still perceived in this report as insecurely institutionalized, particularly when compared to the other liberal arts majors from the traditional disciplines.

Women's studies practitioners, however, generally have seen no actual conflict between the two strategies of programmatic growth—autonomy versus curriculum transformation or integration. In fact, in some curriculum transformation projects the two strategies were seen as necessarily linked. When the University of Maryland, College Park decided to implement a comprehensive plan to improve undergraduate women's education, the Chancellor's campus-wide committee chose curriculum transformation as the main focus. According to some committee participants, the women's studies program was "pivotal" to the transformation project:

In order to give the curriculum transformation project a solid institutional base, it had to be tied to an already established program or department. Experience from other campuses had indicated that curriculum transformation projects do not work without such a base (Beck et al, 1990, p. 176).

Elizabeth Minnich, a leader in curriculum transformation efforts argues that they cannot be allowed to divert us from our work of building "special programs. . . [W]ithout the 'special studies,' we have no places, no rooms of our own, in which to keep producing the scholarship that we want to spread throughout the curriculum" (Minnich, 1994, p. 301). She also argues that all special programs of gender and ethnic studies must work in coalitions to bring about broader change.

Jean O'Barr's monograph on feminist institution building at Duke University argues that the "mixed models" approach in women's studies is "unique among interdisciplinary efforts in that it has developed autonomous programs while placing a priority on establishing relationships with other academic units and participating in curriculum transformation efforts" (1994, p. 100). She advocates continuing the dual strategies.

As early as 1974 a program administrator at the University of South Florida, Juanita Williams, acknowledged that the institutionalization of women's studies might be determined as much by opportunity as by theories about the disciplinarity of women's

studies, or strategic choices made after reviewing the "autonomy-integration" debate. She argued that the issue of establishing separate women's studies programs as opposed to developing courses on women and gender in existing departments would not be soon resolved:

Women's Studies, more than any other part of the curriculum at the present time, are emerging in idiosyncratic ways on campuses; the forms that their establishment take are a function of the beliefs, energies, and personalities of the women promoting them, and of the character of the institution and the supporting community" (Boxer, 1982, p. 691).

Williams' statement recognizes the importance of opportunity, and the character of the host institution in the complex reality of creating and maintaining women's studies programs. The extensive curriculum transformation project at the University of Maryland cited earlier, for example, was born after the state system of higher education designated College Park the "flagship campus." A very large percentage increase in state support followed, including a projected one million dollars a year over three years designed to improve women's undergraduate education. The organizers of the project credit both the infusion of state monies and presidential leadership as key to their eventual success (Beck et al, 1990).

Almost all women's studies programs were quite multi- or interdisciplinary in character when first established; they drew on courses from all over campus. According to Barbara Winkler who compared a history of four women's studies programs over the period 1970 to 1985, the "program" was the typical administrative form because "it was inexpensive for the college or university to fund" (1992, p. 223). Faculty in departments did much of the programs' committee work and acted as "ambassadors" for women's studies, Winkler points out.

The significance of particular historical opportunities, of factors in the higher education institution external to the women's studies program, and the beliefs and energies of practitioners are topics, then, that have already emerged in the women's

studies literature as shaping program goals, structure, and long-term institutional viability.

Program Models and Current Trends

Writing at the end of the 1980's, Marilyn Boxer notes that the most common model of women's studies is one "that combines a small number of full-time tenured women's studies faculty who teach 'core'(often interdisciplinary) courses with part-time or adjunct instructors who teach specialized courses linked to specific disciplines and housed in traditional departments" (1989, p. 195). What isn't clear from this description is whether those "tenured" women's studies faculty are borrowed from departments, have joint appointments with departments, or have appointments and tenure in women's studies. A few women's studies programs became departments early in their history, for example, the program at San Diego State University. In the 1990's some larger programs—the University of Minnesota, the State University of New York at Albany, and the Ohio State University—obtained department status in order that new faculty may be hired or tenured in women's studies.

On the other hand, there are women's studies programs without department status with faculty tenured in women's studies because the opportunity to make a case for tenure in interdisciplinary studies presented itself, or because someone's tenure line was transferred to women's studies. Marilyn Boxer's (1998) comprehensive overview of women's studies, *When Women Ask the Questions*, after noting a steady increase in the number of departments of women's studies (though departments are still "scarce") asserts that "departmentalization is now acknowledged as a [emphasis added] strategy suited to

the long haul” (p. 39). In sum, there are many variations in program structure with respect to faculty appointments. But a great majority of women’s studies programs and even departments depend heavily on faculty in other departments for much, and sometimes all, of their curriculum. The literature reveals a constant concern that budget shortfalls in liberal arts colleges may produce reassignments of faculty responsibilities adversely affecting interdisciplinary women’s studies programs. For these reasons an in-depth examination of program structure and institutional viability will contribute to an understanding of how programs have coped with this structural reality.

The NWSA Backlash Report (1997) by Diana Scully and Danielle Currier provides a fairly comprehensive view of program success and the variety of program models. The authors surveyed women’s studies programs, departments, and centers in higher education. Of the 45% return rate on the surveys, 80% were filled out by women’s studies program administrators. The results showed that 65% of programs had no "full faculty positions, and 56% also lacked joint faculty positions between women’s studies and a discipline” (p. 14). With respect to program structures the survey was not a complete one; it suggests, however, in contrast to Boxer's formulation, that there is no one "most common model," and that the majority of programs have not a single faculty member teaching women’s studies on a full-time basis. If the majority of women’s studies programs are heavily reliant on the teaching of discipline-based faculty, however, factors other than the number of full-time faculty in women’s studies ought to be examined in a study of institutional viability.

Scully and Currier’s survey of the problems confronted by women’s studies programs in a period of anti-feminist backlash in the wider culture (1985-1995) offers

some preliminary ideas about the relationships between structure, resources and "success." In their study "success" is defined as being without serious problems in various areas. Respondents were not asked to make a judgment about the long-term institutional viability of their programs. The results were not surprising: (a) Faculty in public institutions reported more problems than faculty in private or religiously affiliated institutions. Overall, between 30-40% of the programs, departments, and centers reported problems. (b) The problems with financial resources were reported to be equivalent to those experienced by other instructional units in the institutions, largely due to budget reductions. (c) Women's studies program administrators reported that their programs experienced more "interference" in hiring and decision-making than departments at their respective institutions (Scully & Currier, 1997, p. 18).

Program directors were also asked to cite the factors associated with success of their programs (Table 2.1). The top four factors, each cited by more than half the directors were: (a) liberal and/or supportive faculty— cited by 78%; (b) liberal and/or supportive administrators—cited by 73%; (c) consistently high level of student demand for courses—cited by 57%; (d) powerful individual advocates—cited by 51%. Publicity, strong coalitions with other programs in the institution, strong student support, and the presence of faculty with national reputations were also cited as significant factors by between 35 and 45 percent of program directors (Scully & Currier, 1997, p. 18).

**Table 2.1: Factors Associated with Program Success Noted by Program Directors
(Scully, D. & Currier, D., 1997)**

Program Factors Related to Success	Percent of Program Directors
Supportive faculty	78 %
Supportive administrators	73 %
High level of student demand for courses	57 %
Powerful individual advocates	51 %
Strong coalitions with other programs	35 - 45 %
Strong student support	35 - 45 %
Presence of faculty with national reputations	35 - 45 %

There are several important implications of these results for this research into women's studies program viability. First, in addition to interviewing program directors, interviewing program faculty and university administrators (the dean and the provost) ought to provide additional and essential perspectives on the institutional viability of the programs. These individuals are members of the "dominant coalition" governing the university with respect to academic programs, that is, those who make the decisions (Cameron, 1978). Second, the notion of a "dominant coalition" suggests that consistent faculty leadership and administrative support are crucial for institutional viability. As the first generation of women's studies faculty leaders retire, new faculty may be hired

but in what circumstances and with what experience in institution-building? Finally, the factors the program directors identified as important for program success in Scully and Currier's study correspond very closely to the domains in the conceptual framework---alliances and collaborative work, ability to acquire resources, student demand and satisfaction, and reputation of faculty.

The National Women's Studies Association began discussing in the late 1990's the need for a computerized data base of programs that join the Association. At the time of this writing, it had not been completed. Data bases should help to identify the department or program affiliation of all faculty who teach in the women's studies curriculum. Furthermore, program or department status of women's studies units will be captured by the data base entry criterion citing the name of program or unit administering women's studies courses. When this data base is on-line and regularly updated, there will be a more accurate set of data from which the number of women's studies units with program or department status can be determined. The appointment location of faculty teaching women's studies courses will also be recorded in the data base, providing a more comprehensive view of women's studies program structure than is available at this writing. In the 1990's some programs sought and achieved departmental status. Whether this will become a trend is difficult to say, but the process highlights the question: is the department model the best route to institutional viability?

Masters' and doctoral work in women's studies is also expanding, with each new opportunity helping to "legitimize, institutionalize, professionalize, and credentialize women's studies" (Shteir, 1997, p. 400). Some 22 % of programs offer some form of study at the graduate level (Women's Studies Quarterly, Spring/Summer 1997).

Discussions within Ph.D. program planning groups focus on the core concepts and the naming of the field--should it be a Ph.D. in women's studies, gender studies, feminist studies? Other important questions also follow from these developments. To what extent will a Ph.D. in women's studies, per se, with training in "interdisciplinary" research, become a requirement for teaching in the undergraduate field? Will there be available lines in women's studies to hire new Ph.D.s if the majority of hires continue to be based in other departments/disciplines, or at best, as joint appointments? In speculating how the new doctoral degrees in women's studies might impact development of women's studies programs, Claire Moses, at the University of Maryland, states that the Ph.D. in women's studies "represents an identity crisis for us all." She also notes that its development occurs at a time when women's studies practitioners must prepare themselves and their students for the "torch to be passed" (1998, p. 34).

Another significant programmatic challenge ongoing throughout the 1990s was raised by women of color, inside and outside the academy: are there significant numbers of black women's studies, ethnic and/or multicultural women's studies courses? In spite of efforts to make women's studies more reflective of the diversity of women, and more multicultural, black women's studies is still a small field on the margin of women's studies (Guy-Sheftall & Scott, 1989). Some leaders in the field believe that black women's studies will remain necessary until women's studies and black studies have been reconceptualized "to reflect more accurately the diversity and complexity of experiences of blacks and women throughout the world" (Guy-Sheftall, 1992, p. 41).

Ambitious programs to mainstream ethnic minority and global women's studies courses into the curriculum have been undertaken by two dozen different women's

studies centers and programs since 1990, supported largely by the Ford Foundation. These projects have addressed the original problem of "exclusionary practices" in women's studies, and have fostered collaborative efforts through broader campus-based cultural diversity projects (Baca Zinn, 1986). The results of these curriculum projects have also been published and widely disseminated (Fiol-Matta & Chamberlain, 1994).

The Debate about Institutional Viability

Several distinct approaches can be found in the discourse about the requirements of women's studies institutional viability. Some practitioners develop, then endorse, a set of alternatives, while others problematize the issue of institutionalization. Still others frame the discussion more like a debate between two opposed positions.

Marilyn Boxer's assessment of institutional viability and program structure is broadly formulated:

Whatever the structure of women's studies programs, they depend for success on the commitment of dedicated faculty and supportive administrators willing to place resources in women's studies. Women's studies is most successful where it is integrated into academic structures fully enough to command a goodly share of instructional and research funds, the respect of faculty, and the attention of students. To that extent, it must become a "discipline" like any other (1989, p. 196).

Boxer concludes that committed faculty and administrators are essential to the success of women's studies, not surprisingly. She avoids advocating that women's studies define itself as a discipline, but asserts it must adopt some of the characteristics of a discipline, which presumably could also be institutional characteristics of programs: ability to acquire resources, respect of faculty, and attention of students. Scully's (1997) survey results also support this conclusion.

On the other hand, some program directors have argued that women's studies programs, precisely because of their interdisciplinary character, and their role as a focal

point for teaching and research about women and gender throughout the university, need more support staff and greater resources to carry out their mission than a traditional department needs. For example, they must co-sponsor lectures with many collaborating departments or respond to outside requests for information on feminist scholarship in a variety of disciplines (Hartmann, 1991). The double duty of faculty involved in two academic units—a department and an interdisciplinary program—has also been analyzed as a difficult situation for many women's studies faculty members (Bauer, 1998).

In a discussion of women's studies programs' relationships to the disciplines in the future, Stanton and Stewart (1995) acknowledge that "the disciplinary imperative for women's studies will be determined by not only broad institutional pressures but also by the specific affiliations and collaborations that the field forges with other studies (p. 10)." Noting that women's studies' origins were in opposition to the traditional disciplines, they lay out a set of alternative approaches for women's studies programs' institutional positions and structures: grouped with other programs as "opposition studies"; distinct programs with joint appointments and collaborations in related fields, such as black studies or queer studies; or autonomous as a discipline/department. They conclude that each of the above alternatives may materialize since "the particular shape of programs will be a product of structures—and struggles—in specific institutional contexts with their own histories" (p. 10).

The problem of creating long-term institutional viability of women's studies programs in the academy has been explored by leading scholars in the field. Programs face difficult choices, even contradictions, as they confront the challenges of institutionalization. Alice Kessler-Harris (1992) points out that to remain intentionally marginal, to adopt an "outsider-within perspective" toward the institution can undermine the program's credibility and leave unprotected younger faculty and staff on whom programs rely. Ellen Messer-Davidow (1992), on the other hand, cautions academic

feminists to be aware of the power of academic institutionalization to "divide us into disciplines and separate us from other feminist communities" (p. 300). She doesn't discuss women's studies institutionalization in terms of program structure or viability, but argues that adopting the practices of traditional disciplines promotes insularity and a reluctance to address problems of public concern.

Judith Allen (1997), in a provocative article about the challenges of institutional adaptation, makes a case that women's studies remains institutionally fragile, largely through a reluctance of its practitioners to take seriously the demands of institutionalizing like other disciplines. She defines institutionalization as the taking of power in academia, and laments the fact that academic feminists have tried to link with women's organizations outside the academy, rather than see their academic work as their contribution to social change for women. She implies that it has been by choice that women's studies is not more institutionalized and professionalized. "There are opportunities to radically change for the better the institutional position of women's studies, to strengthen the field in terms of whatever constitutes strength and distinction in different institutions," she concludes (p. 381).

Allen makes the strongest case yet for adopting the practices of an autonomous discipline in order to achieve long-term institutional viability. While many readers will take exception to some of her arguments, since they neglect some of the more far-reaching and transformative goals of women's studies programs, she does offer a well-argued position that needs to be evaluated. This research on institutional viability of women's studies programs may test a few of her assumptions, for example, that women's studies program positions and structures are primarily a result of choosing marginality, and that interdisciplinary structures, are, by definition, fragile.

Allen's view on the requirements of institutional viability are further elaborated in an article she co-authored with Sally L. Kitch of the Ohio State University (1998). Their

focus is "the need for an *interdisciplinary* research mission in women's studies" (p. 275). They argue for the development of women's studies departmental structures in order to support autonomous Ph.D. programs in the field: "... Departmental status, an interdisciplinary research mission, and doctoral degree development are fundamentally interconnected requisites for progressive change for our field" (p. 292).

This review of the discourse on the history of women's studies program development demonstrates that the domains of the conceptual framework for exploring institutional viability are appropriate. Two of them—the historical examination of the program in its institutional context, and the alliances and collaboration a program undertakes—require a naturalistic method of study.

The next sections of this review will discuss briefly some relevant organizational theory from feminist and higher education literature as it pertains to the substance of the domain of "organizational effectiveness." These sections will also show there is significant correspondence between descriptions of goals of institutionalization in the women's studies literature and higher education theorist Kim Cameron's dimensions of organizational effectiveness.

Feminist Organizational Theory

The literature on women's studies program development has problematized the concept of institutional viability by drawing attention to the conflicts between feminist goals of transformation of the curriculum and even power relations in the university and the more immediate programmatic goals of institutionalization. Feminist organizational theory tends to see complex organizations like universities as sites of unyielding bureaucratic power. Kathy Ferguson (1984) asserts that women's studies programs can only provide a home for feminist discourse, an "alternative non-bureaucratic space within

the larger organization" (p. 210). Feminists working in programs cannot, she claims, restructure the university; they can only "challenge the dominant discourse in the name of an alternative way of thinking and acting" (p. 211). She sees all large hierarchical organizations--corporations, unions, and universities--in the same bureaucratic frame, a frame that structures and maintains inequality. This study does not attempt to assess the extent to which women involved in women's studies have achieved equality in the university; nevertheless, research to assess "institutional viability" of women's studies programs helps describe the nature and sources of power some women have achieved in these specific university sites.

In contrast to the view that universities are unyielding bureaucracies, one early study of women's studies programs as a case of "organizational innovation" concluded that "high structural diversity in university organizations facilitates the adoption of innovations that increase diversity," (Wood, 1981). Interestingly, the study also suggests that it may be the perception of marginality by/of women faculty that itself leads to the university's adoption of the innovation: the women's studies program. Wood notes, however, that her data provide no information on the "organizational correlates of institutionalization and success of programs" (p. 171).

One study of the institutionalization process of women's studies programs at three research universities suggests that in the process of carrying out activities designed to win institutional acceptance, these units became, over time, quite similar to other academic units (McMartin, 1993, p. 103). The implication is that as the faculty became more professional they became less concerned with various feminist goals, such as empowering students or collaborating with the campus-based women's centers.

McMartin assumes that departmentalization of women's studies provides a "level of safety," apparently because departments have higher status or are rarely perceived as marginal (p. 258). Her study, like some others reviewed earlier, falls in the category of literature that explores the conflict between institutionalization and original feminist goals. It does not shed much light on the elements in the four domains of the conceptual framework--other than departmental status--that might contribute to viability. In other words, McMartin operates from the paradigm that assumes programs to be marginal and department status to signify full institutionalization and long-term viability.

Finally, several more recent essays have explored the problem of defining interdisciplinarity in women's studies. Three women's studies scholars advocate diverse and interconnected "transdisciplinary" methods and models for describing the location and boundaries of women's studies programs and the field itself (Boxer, 2000; Pryse, 2000; Buker, 2003). They support the development of a distinctive interdisciplinary character for women's studies, but at the same time, suggest that women's studies should remain engaged with the disciplines. Although these essays focus primarily on the theoretical shape of women's studies, their conclusions have implications for the organization and institutionalization of programs as units with connections to other disciplines.

Higher Education Organizational Theory

A study of successful institutionalization of women's studies programs, defined here as reaching the goal of long-term institutional viability, might be approached in several different ways using higher education organization theory. Two other approaches are: (a) explaining institutional viability as an example of a successful change

process, or (b) exploring the nature of leadership of women's studies programs in the achievement of institutional viability. One prominent group of organizational change theorists/consultants actually combine the two when they define action roles in the change process: "change strategists, change implementors, and change recipients" (Kantor, Stein, Jick, 1992, p. 16). A metaphor of planned change by "changemasters" in an existing organization (especially a corporation), always in motion or flux, re-organizing or downsizing, doesn't seem appropriate for small units (the programs) attempting to grow and develop within large ones (the university). While dynamic leadership by faculty is likely to emerge as one factor in the story of the institutionalization of women's studies programs, a leadership frame might not reveal underlying elements that correlate with interdisciplinary program structure. This study seeks to examine the elements and actions of small programs as they attempt to achieve permanence in the university. Nonetheless, the topic of leadership emerged in the case studies as one of the factors influencing women's studies program success.

Organizational studies of higher education institutions have revealed their complexity, loose couplings, and interacting elements (Birnbaum, 1988). Furthermore, organizational theorists have formulated different "frames" for a more comprehensive and revealing view of how higher education institutions actually work (Bolman & Deal, 1991; Goodman & Dean, 1982). These theories have identified different "cultures" and provided terminology to describe how universities work, and how they are different from the hierarchies in government and corporate organizations. They also provide frameworks for understanding the specific achievements of women's studies practitioners in higher education; for example, the notion of incremental change, or changes in the

culture help to explain the change process in curriculum transformation projects, or other types of collaborative work undertaken by women's studies activists (Beck et al, 1990).

While some studies have focused on the transformational change strategies of academic activists in women's studies, other feminist academic activists and researchers point out that the university changes ("co-opts," "professionalizes," or "makes traditional") women's studies even as women's studies changes the university (Messer-Davidow, 1992; McMartin, 1993). This study attempts to shift the debate from the moral realm—has women's studies sacrificed its original goals of transformation for professional and institutional status?—to the institutional and historical realm. How have different program structures become institutionally viable? How do practitioners perceive the impact of women's studies on the university? What institutional obstacles do programs experience? What strategies are being developed in particular settings?

Kim Cameron (1978), another higher education theorist, attempted to define dimensions of organizational effectiveness in colleges and universities by systematically researching the perceptions and opinions of practitioners. Organizational effectiveness criteria uncovered by Cameron (Table 2.2) are similar to those used by the program administrators in Scully and Currier's study (1997) to define measures of the success of women's studies programs. Cameron's criteria emerged from an inductive approach based on extensive interviews with administrators and faculty, the commonly-agreed-upon internal "dominant coalition" of decision-makers in academic institutions (p. 611). He asked them to define the organizational characteristics effective colleges possess. Although he was studying institutions of higher education as a whole, his criteria can be applied to sub-units, such as academic programs, which similarly try to realize the

mission of the institution as a whole, and also have identifiable members of a dominant coalition of decision-makers.

Table 2.2: Nine Dimensions of Organizational Effectiveness in Institutions of Higher Education (Cameron, K., 1978)

Dimension of Effectiveness
Student educational satisfaction *
Student academic development
Student career development
Student personal development
Faculty (and administrator) employment satisfaction *
Professional development, quality of faculty *
Community interaction * and system openness
Ability to acquire resources *
Organizational health – use of planning to reach goals *

* The dimensions used for dissertation study of women's studies programs.

Goodman and Associates (1983) suggest that studying effectiveness with the university as the unit of analysis is questionable, precisely because universities are "composed of loosely coupled schools, departments, and other units, each producing different products, with different organizational arrangements and different types of objectives." They conclude, however, that schools or departments within universities are "appropriate units for analysis of most of the dimensions identified by Cameron" (In Cameron & Whetten, 1983, p. 170).

In sum, therefore, six of Cameron's nine dimensions of organizational effectiveness (asterisks in Table 2.2) are appropriate to use in this study as a measure of one domain of institutional viability. As the literature review has shown, women's studies practitioners themselves define "institutionalization" and "institutional viability" in terms very similar to Cameron's dimensions--student satisfaction (represented as class and program enrollments), faculty satisfaction, faculty quality, community interaction, and organizational health. Although there is debate in the literature about problems and complexities inherent in organizational effectiveness research, "almost all theories about organizations are based, at least implicitly, on the construct of effectiveness (Cameron & Whetten, 1983, p. 20).

The discussion of research design in Chapter 3 more fully elaborates how the domains of institutional viability fit together in the conceptual framework, and serve to provide a kind of hypothesis or "prior instrumentation" for this study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between women's studies program structure and program institutional viability in the university. The women's studies program is the unit of analysis. The statement of the problem has three related parts: (1) to identify and explore factors that influence or shape assessment of institutional viability; (2) to determine whether assessments of institutional viability of women's studies programs vary significantly according to differences in program structure or model; (3) to determine what strategies are emerging to strengthen the viability of women's studies programs over the next ten or twenty years.

The term "assessment of institutional viability" is used in the problem statement rather than simply "institutional viability" (implying a known, factually-based quantity), because this study develops an emerging social construct of "institutional viability" through the proposed conceptual framework. "Institutional viability" as a widely accepted construct does not yet exist. In other words, this study does not attempt to create an objective institutional viability assessment scale.

Naturalistic Inquiry

Naturalistic inquiry is especially suited to case study research concerned with practitioners' subjective definitions of reality in specific contexts. One does not assume that there is a single truth about the institutional viability of women's studies, and its

relation to program structure. Sharan B. Merriam (1988) provides this definition of naturalistic inquiry:

qualitative research assumes that there are multiple realities--that the world is not an objective thing out there but a function of personal interaction and perception. [Emphasis added] It is a highly subjective phenomenon in need of interpreting rather than measuring. Beliefs rather than facts form the basis of perception. Research is exploratory, inductive, and emphasizes processes rather than ends.. . What one *does* do is observe, intuit, sense what is occurring in a natural setting—hence the term *naturalistic inquiry* (p. 17).

In fact, in contrast to the purely “naturalistic inquiry” described above, the program director survey and interview protocol in this study do serve as a type of prior instrumentation. This allows for greater explanatory power, comparability, and generalizability in the analysis of data in case study research (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 36). Furthermore, the impact of the researcher on the quality of the data is of less concern when there is some prior instrumentation. Instrumentation also provides guidelines for how others could duplicate this research.

As Merriam (1988) argues, case study research develops generalizability in terms of working hypotheses, concrete universals (based on several cases studied in detail), and user generalizability (readers' application of findings to their own situations). Therefore, exploratory case study research has limitations for widely generalizable results, that is, for predicting the viability of women's studies programs across the diversity of program histories and structures in widely divergent contexts.

All data for the study came from established women's studies programs that participate in, or are members of, the National Women's Studies Association. Such programs are likely to be among those demonstrating more success or having access to resources. Therefore, the results of the survey discussed in Chapter 4 should not be taken to represent the situation of all women's studies programs in public universities,

some of which are less successful and less engaged in the activities of the professional association.

Conceptual Framework and Study Design (Two Phases)

The original four domains that make up the conceptual framework of this study are outlined in Table 1.1 in Chapter 1. For each of the domains the likely sources of the data anticipated at the study's outset are indicated. In Chapter 2, the literature review, the case was made for the relevance and significance of the domains for this exploration and description of institutional viability.

The review of the discourse on the history of women's studies programs demonstrated that the domains in the conceptual framework—program history, alliances, and organizational effectiveness, are, in effect, used by practitioners writing about the field to explain program success or viability. Chapter 2 has also explained the close correspondence between one discussion in the women's studies literature of factors associated with success of women's studies programs (Scully and Currier, 1997, p.78) and dimensions of organizational effectiveness in higher education organizational theory literature (Cameron, 1978):

<u><i>Scully dimensions/ % frequency cited</i></u>	<u><i>Cameron dimensions</i></u>
Faculty support of program 78%	Faculty satisfaction
Administrative support 73%	Ability to acquire resources
High level student demand 57%	Student satisfaction
Coalitions with other units 40%	Community interaction
Faculty/ national reputation 35%	Faculty quality

Four of Cameron's original nine dimensions of organizational effectiveness of colleges involve assessments of student satisfaction and experiences including, academic development, "personal development," and "career development." To make manageable the number of variables in this study, the four student-related dimensions were reduced to one: student satisfaction, indicated by student enrollment in courses in the women's studies program and in the major or minor, respondents' perceptions of student satisfaction, and documentary evidence of such. Clearly, respondents' perceptions about the program's impact on student "development" would be highly conjectural; it was judged that respondents would have no way of knowing. Therefore, the dimensions of organizational effectiveness explored are reduced from nine to six:

1. student satisfaction (primarily measured by enrollments)
2. faculty employment satisfaction
3. quality of faculty
4. community interaction (that is, alliances both within and outside the university)
5. ability to acquire resources
6. organizational health (defined, for purposes of this study by only one of Cameron's "organizational health" items: "uses planning to meets goals and challenges")

Naturalistic inquiry using a holistic—systematic and integrated—overview seems the best overall description of the complex conceptual framework of this study. The study aims to explore and explicate the phenomenon of "institutional viability" of women's studies programs through developing data on the perceptions of participants interviewed in their university contexts. The research design identifies "domains" of institutional viability and the dimensions of organizational effectiveness, one of the domains, in order to identify patterns and commonalties. The latter then inform a set of

analytic generalizations consistent with the data. Ultimately, the use of case study analysis here most closely conforms to the approaches elaborated in Miles & Huberman (1994). The conceptual framework provides a structured case outline; the standard form for collecting data from program directors promotes comparability; and finally, the interview protocol helps to focus responses on the central problem explored.

This study employed comparative case study design using triangulation based on multiple sources of data, multiple data types, and multiple methods (Merriam, 1988). The multiple data types for the case studies include the focused interviews, document analysis, and analysis of quantitative data obtained from each women's studies program director at visits to three programs. Because the visits to each university lasted only two days, direct observation of program practices was not possible.

Phase I

The research design involved two distinct steps, a program director's survey and then in-depth study of three selected women's studies programs. In the first phase, women's studies program administrators at institutions of public higher education answered questions about characteristics of programs that should be considered when measuring long-term institutional viability. A seven-page questionnaire was distributed at a women's studies program administrators pre-conference meeting prior to the National Women's Studies Association Convention, June, 1998, in Oswego, New York. (Appendix A) Only program administrators (directors) at institutions of public higher education were asked to respond to the questionnaire. An additional 20 forms were mailed to program administrators at public universities selected on a random basis from the list published in the NWSA Program Membership Directory. The majority of completed surveys came from the conference distribution in New York. Geographic regions of the United States are represented in the survey responses as follows: Midwest (16 responses); Northeast (9 responses); South (6 responses); and West (3 responses).

The survey instrument was designed with the assistance of survey research specialist Robin Burr in the Office of Institutional Research at UMass Boston. It was pre-tested with two local women's studies directors, then further revised.

About 60 program directors are estimated to have received the survey questionnaire; 34 responded for a return rate of 57%. Program directors were asked what characteristics they thought should be considered when assessing the long-term institutional viability of women's studies programs. In other words, the survey helped to test whether the conceptual framework for study design had validity in the eyes of other women's studies professionals concerned about the long-term viability of programs. As a result, the conceptual framework is grounded and validated in phase one of the study by the responses of those persons currently responsible for the success of women's studies programs. Well-grounded concepts mean the study has greater construct validity. The results of the survey most germane to the problem statement are analyzed in Chapter Four, Results of Survey of Program Directors. The seven-page survey provided a large quantity of data; only a portion was analyzed for this study.

Phase 2

For the second phase of the study, an interview protocol (Appendix B) for case study interviews was developed after analyzing and reflecting on the data from the program directors' survey. The Graduate College of Education Human Subject Review Committee at UMass Boston approved the interview protocol and consent form for Human Subject Protection (Appendix C). Program directors at two of the three case study sites had also responded to the Phase One survey questionnaire. The questions for women's studies directors, faculty members, the Provost or Academic Vice-president, and Dean are more open-ended than those in the survey, and touch on each of the domains in the conceptual framework--history, alliances, and organizational effectiveness. Seven interviews were conducted on each of three campuses during the

two-day visit. The researcher requested and received other data in the form of program documents, such as self-studies, annual reports, newsletters, and personal essays, as available. Finally, a brief quantitative questionnaire to obtain data on the history of resource allocation and program growth was given to each program director during the site visit to be completed and mailed in the weeks after the visit (Appendix D).

As much as possible, the sites for the case studies have been disguised so as to preserve the anonymity of each institution and each respondent. Quotations from the interviews are often attributed to “faculty leaders in women’s studies” or “an administrator” so as to guarantee anonymity.

Case Sample Selection

The sampling strategy for the case study phase was suggested by the goal of this research: to contribute to emerging theory about the institutionalization of the majority of women’s studies programs, those that rely largely on faculty appointed in other departments, with few or no lines controlled by the program. There are no precise numbers available on these programs, because as of year 2000 there was no complete data base of programs that provides this level of detailed information.

Three women’s studies programs at least fifteen years old and located at representative types of public universities were selected. Only public university programs are examined in order to diminish the influence of the widely different environmental factors that affect public and private universities. Furthermore, since the majority of women’s studies programs are located in public universities it is appropriate to focus on them.

Using stratified purposeful sampling, programs were identified that represent the diversity of interdisciplinary women’s studies program models, as well as diversity of public universities. This type of sampling “illustrates subgroups and facilitates

comparisons” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 28). Each of the three programs has a substantially different structure of faculty appointments, and a quite different history. Names chosen for the institutions reflect their status as three types of public universities: Big City University (BCU) is a research institution; Rural Land Grant University (LGU) is a doctoral institution; Regional State University (RSU) is a comprehensive institution.

A major consideration in program selection was the length of time the program director had served; in each case the program director was a tenured faculty member who had served for at least five years. This means they had considerable historical perspective on their program as well as experience with the policies and procedures of their institutions. All three programs were institutional members of the National Women’s Studies Association when the data for this research was collected. The phase one survey questionnaire distributed to program directors had been completed by the directors of programs at two of the three sites selected. Two of the institutions are in the Northeast, and one is in the Midwest. Thus the cases have both commonalties and significant differences, in order to allow for meaningful cross-case analysis.

This sample of women’s studies programs is representative of the appointment positions of its teaching faculty according to program structure types identified in Scully and Collier’s study. Furthermore, each case in the research corresponds to the program structure types identified in the phase one survey of program directors. The three programs have in common the following factors: (a) recognition as a program since at least 1985; (b) a distinct curriculum (courses with a women’s studies rubric); (c) an identified program administrator who reports to the dean or provost; (d) a separate operating budget; and (e) an advisory board or faculty committee that helps shape policy. What is the rationale for using the nature of faculty appointments and the existence of policy boards to define the cases? These are key elements that distinguish program

structure from department structure, elements that manifest, in structural terms, the multidisciplinary and trans-departmental nature of women's studies programs.

Case 1: ("Land Grant" University – LGU) - Program has no full-time faculty of its own. Some interdisciplinary courses are taught by the Program Director and Associate Director, and by faculty who have been "bought out" of courses in their home departments. (The fact that there is a full-time director assigned to women's studies with mainly administrative rather than teaching obligations is a rather unique arrangement.)

Case 2: ("Big City" University – BCU) - Program has one or more full-time faculty lines tenured in women's studies. There are other faculty with joint appointments. With two lines in the program, and six other faculty with joint appointments, this program has some characteristics of a department. (All "core" faculty are listed as having joint appointments, however.)

Case 3: ("Regional State" University – RSU) - Program has no faculty lines of its own nor joint appointments; all the teaching faculty and the program administrators are appointed in departments, and have substantial responsibilities outside of women's studies.

Finally, seven respondents at each campus were identified with the help of the program director for hour-long interviews. . At one site, the program director identified the faculty available for interviews and set up the appointments. At the other two sites, at the suggestion of the program directors, the researcher contacted faculty and administrators directly by E-mail or telephone to arrange interviews. All respondents signed a consent form which guaranteed confidentiality, although some knew who were the others being interviewed at their site. Finally, all 21 tape recorded interviews were transcribed by the researcher in the months following each site visit (spring 1999 through summer 2000).

The respondents include significant members of the “dominant coalition,” a term utilized by Kim Cameron (1978) to describe the decision-makers with respect to universities as a whole, or, in this case, units within universities. Members of the dominant coalition who influence the long-term institutional viability of interdisciplinary women’s studies programs include current and past program directors, founding members of the program, participating faculty appointed in departments, the college of liberal arts dean, and the provost or academic vice-president. The definition of this particular group is derived from the conceptual framework of the study, and is therefore an example of a “theory-based” sampling strategy, that is, “finding examples of a theoretical construct and thereby elaborate and examine it” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, 28).

Analysis of the three cases revealed how women’s studies programs developed in universities that themselves are organizations “with multiple goals and approaches, in complex systems of mutual influence” (Lincoln, 1989, p. 110). Theories about the relationship between structure of academic programs and viability can only be built after extensive description and interpretation of specific cases in historical context (Merriam, 1988). Case study methods also allow for an examination of institutional outcomes in the context of different organizational settings and cultures. Furthermore, the transcribed narratives contain the practitioners’ perceptions of institutional viability and reveal the sense and meaning that they make of their women’s studies program. Finally, qualitative case study research allows for new concepts to emerge concerning the processes of achieving institutional viability. As Merriam points out, “qualitative research strives to understand how all the parts work together to form a whole (1988, p. 16).

Data Condensation, Display, and Analysis

Techniques for coding, displaying, and thematically analyzing data from the interview transcripts were derived from Miles & Huberman's source book *Qualitative Data Analysis* (1994). In general, the questions in the interview protocol that are related were grouped together, then summary sheets of answers were prepared which allowed for both within-case and cross-case analysis. The final coding scheme was developed after a careful reading of interview transcripts themselves. An outside code checker coded at least 20 percent of the interview transcripts. After comparing, refining codes, then re-checking, a reliability rate of 88% was achieved.

The focus of this study is to explore and describe the domains of institutional viability of interdisciplinary women's studies programs. Appropriate displays of data, both within- case and across-case, include "role-ordered displays" (for example, as program director, faculty member, dean, etc.) and "conceptually ordered displays," by theme, such as perceptions of alliances or achievements of the women's studies program (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 90). Finally, all coded data was entered and counted in three conceptually-ordered matrices, one for each program.

Because of limitations in the kinds of data available, it was necessary to modify somewhat the four domains of the initial conceptual framework. All themes in the initial framework are fully discussed in the final four chapters, however. The reasons for the modification are explained more fully in Chapter 8.

Analysis of the case studies must also address the training, experience and biases of the researcher and a discussion of steps taken to increase the probability of a trustworthy study. The greater the detail provided about how the study was conducted, the more likely readers will understand the findings, and be able to apply them to their own situation (Merriam, 1988, p. 177).

This researcher brings a long involvement as a women's studies faculty member and program director to the study of institutional viability. This experience provided the motivation to investigate in depth to what extent women's studies has been institutionalized in the university. The ways in which active women's studies practitioners work to preserve and strengthen their programs are familiar to me from years of sharing experiences with other program directors, most recently via computer discussion lists, a knowledge of the literature, and publishing on the topic (Froines, 1998). These are strengths the researcher brings to the topic.

Researcher opinions about the topic can also introduce bias, however. As stated earlier, researcher influence on the outcomes of interviews was minimized because the interviews followed a structured protocol or set of questions for each interview. Furthermore, in the interviews the researcher limited her own responses or comments. The research project was not discussed at any length with respondents at the site even after the interviews were completed. Most importantly, careful adherence to techniques of data condensation and display, then identifying and counting patterns and themes, is a check on possible bias in qualitative research.

Some women's studies practitioners interviewed may have assumed that this researcher, as a program director and women's studies faculty member, shared many of the same experiences, assumptions, and perspectives. Of the 21 persons interviewed, the researcher was acquainted professionally with only two respondents from national or regional conferences. Furthermore, the researcher asked respondents to clarify general statements with examples in order to ascertain the true significance of a particular assertion. For all of these reasons I believe researcher bias is at a minimum.

Multiple data sources are used wherever possible because of issues that arise concerning validity. There is thought to be a high degree of internal validity in case study research, remembering that what is being observed is "people's constructions of

reality, how they understand the world" (Merriam, 1988, p. 167). The researcher's position as an outside observer, although a well-informed one, allows the level of information to be controlled by the group members being interviewed, however. The analysis of program documents and other factual or concrete data from program directors helped confirm details in the respondents' narratives, and thus enhance validity.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY OF PROGRAM DIRECTORS

Introduction

Chapter 4 summarizes the results of the program directors' survey that are most germane to the problem statement concerning program structure and institutional viability. The survey (Appendix A) was distributed to directors of women's studies programs in public universities after pre-testing with two local women's studies program directors. Chapter 3 on Research Design and Methods describes in greater detail how the survey was conducted. The primary purpose of the survey was to solicit from program directors their opinions on what characteristics should be considered when assessing the long-term viability of interdisciplinary women's studies programs. In other words, the survey tested whether the conceptual framework outlined earlier had validity in their eyes. The results of the survey of program directors confirm the importance of the initial research problem, and the appropriateness of the conceptual framework utilized in the study.

Data was collected about the status and structure of each program with respect to where participating faculty are appointed, about faculty and student satisfaction, and about the organizational climate within the program in an effort to identify characteristics

salient for this study. Furthermore, each program director was asked to rate the long-term institutional viability of her program, as either fragile, adequate, or strong.

From the sample of 34 responding program directors representing all types of four-year public universities, one cannot generalize to all programs on the topic of viability, even if there is some statistical significance in the frequency distributions of responses. It is important to remember that the data in this survey were intended to shed light on the domains of institutional viability and clarify the emerging picture of its “social reality,” rather than to provide statistical criteria for predicting women’s studies program institutional viability.

Program Structure and Characteristics of Viability

The data in Table 4.1 from the survey (N=34) illustrates the diversity of program names.

Table 4.1: Variety of Program Names and Degrees

Title	Number
Women’s Studies Programs	22
Women’s Studies Departments	5
Women’s Studies Centers	2
Women’s Studies Institutes	1
Women’s and Gender Studies Programs	3
Ethnic/Gender Studies	1
Total	34

Two thirds (23) of the programs surveyed in 1998 were founded in 1970-1980, and thus had existed for at least 18 years. Two programs were launched in years 1981-1985. Eight were established in 1986, and one later than 1986. The following analysis of the data from the survey helps to define some important characteristics for assessing how certain features of program structure might relate to long-term institutional viability.

Program structure

Seventeen programs had faculty appointments in other departments only, whereas 14 had at least one faculty member appointed in women's studies *per se*, or joint appointments and a faculty line in combination. A few had more than one faculty line in the women's studies program. Only one program director checked the survey alternative "some participating faculty have a joint appointment between the women's studies program and another department." The researcher expected this last type of appointment to appear more frequently in the 34 programs, based on the significant number of job announcements described as joint appointments that have appeared on various women's studies lists in recent years. Since the question asked directors to choose one structure that best represented their situation, some small variability in structures may not have been recorded in the answer.

All programs offered an undergraduate minor or concentration; about one-third of them (11 out of 34) also offered a B. A. in women's studies; seven had the graduate certificate or Masters of Arts degree, and two had graduate minors pending approval.

Characteristics for assessing viability

Responding to an open-ended question, program directors listed characteristics they felt should be considered when assessing long-term institutional viability. (“Please list the characteristics of women’s studies programs that you think should be considered when measuring or assessing the long-term institutional viability of programs.”) The numbers in Table 4.2 represent the number of program directors who listed that characteristic. Similarly worded answers were grouped together to arrive at these figures.

Table 4.2: Frequency Distribution of Characteristics Listed for Assessing Viability

Characteristics Listed by Director	Frequency	Percent (%)
Student enrollment	18	47
Budget size/Administrative support	12	35
Faculty lines	11	32
Academic quality of program	12	24
Faculty interest and/or support	7	21
Courses in Gen Ed curricula	6	18
Whether program offers B.A.*	3	9
Whether unit has department status *	3	9

* Characteristics which appeared five or fewer times.

The program directors most frequent responses, then, confirmed that student satisfaction (represented by enrollment figures), faculty lines and faculty satisfaction

(participation and support), academic quality of program and faculty, and the ability to acquire resources from the administration were the most significant factors for long-term viability. The results confirm four of six of Cameron's dimensions of effectiveness. The results also reveal that institutionalization of women's studies courses was achieved through listing of courses in college or university general education requirements. In response to the question above, "the program has department status," and "the program offers a B. A." are answers that appeared only three times each. This suggests that department status in and of itself is not necessarily seen by program directors to be a measure of women's studies program long-term viability. Faculty lines in the program, however, are considered very important.

In response to an explicit question about program status, however, the answers break down differently. To the question, "Which is better, department status or program status?" 18 directors said "department status" was better. Ten said "program status" was better, and six did not respond to this question. In an academic world where departments are the paradigm, and in particular, faculty lines are historically given to departments, it is understandable why nearly twice as many respondents indicated that "department" status is "better." The researcher acknowledges that the meaning of "better" is not indicated in the questionnaire. Since the question on which status is "better" occurs immediately following questions about institutional viability, it is possible that "better" might mean "better institutional viability." Inferences from the survey with respect to "department status" are not definitive.

Respondents were also asked to explain their answer to the question about which status is better. Considerable ambivalence about this topic was revealed. Several commented that since departments are the more common or typical unit, women's studies departments will be perceived to have greater status. However, a number of them challenged whether department status is preferred, since, women's studies, by definition, should exist across the disciplines. Eight of eleven found benefits in an interdisciplinary program structure. For example, several indicated an interdisciplinary program structure is the appropriate one for achieving the mission and goals of women's studies. Others indicated that a program structure was necessary given the nature of the curriculum. Since one half the programs surveyed—17 out of 34—reported that all faculty teaching women's studies courses have appointments in departments, the interdisciplinary or cross-departmental structure of the program is a given. Nonetheless, 18 out of 28 rated department status as "better."

Program Structure and Self-ratings of Viability

The survey asked program directors to rate the long-term institutional viability of their program. Sixteen rated their program strong ("excellent long term prospects"); 16 rated their program adequate ("Good long-term prospects"); and one rated her program fragile ("poor long term prospects"). One provided no rating. There was a significant correlation between program structure with respect to location of faculty and ratings of viability, as indicated in the following list:

Strong programs: 5 had all faculty appointed in departments
10 had at least one faculty member appointed in women's studies

Adequate programs: 11 had all faculty appointed in departments.
4 had at least one faculty member appointed in women's studies

“Strong viability” programs predominantly had one structure; 63% had at least one faculty line in women's studies (Table 4.3). “Adequate viability” programs predominantly had the other structure; in 73% of the cases all faculty were appointed in departments. It seems significant that nearly two-thirds of the program directors who chose the rating “strong” (excellent prospects for long-term viability) worked in programs where at least one faculty line had been allocated to women's studies. And conversely, of “adequate” programs (good prospects for long-term viability), only 27% had faculty lines allocated to women's studies. It is not surprising that directors of programs with a greater amount of resources over which they have control are likely to believe their programs are more secure or viable.

Table 4.3: Frequency Distribution of Program Viability Ratings According to Faculty Appointments

N = 32 (Two programs have administrative line for director.)

Viability Rating	One Full-Time		No Full-Time, One Joint Appointment		All Faculty in Departments	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Strong 16 Programs	10	63	1	6	5	31
Adequate 15 Programs	4	27			11	73
Fragile					1	100
Frequency Distribution of Program Structures	44		3		52	

The survey asked program directors to list the actual factors they thought would affect the institutional viability of their program over the next five years. The responses that appeared most frequently were very similar to what program directors said should be considered when assessing viability: increasing numbers of faculty teaching, faculty support; maintaining or increasing administrative support; increasing the numbers of majors and minors. Six programs mentioned the need to replace faculty who were leaving or retiring. Five mentioned developing graduate women's studies, and only four mentioned developing a major. There were approximately three dozen different responses, many unique to a particular program, ranging from "conservative climate in the state" to "expansion of student internships."

Other Results Relevant to Problem Statement

Some of the data results are interesting to consider by grouping data about “strong” programs separately from data about “adequate” programs. This data is reported here in Chapter 4 but its significance will be considered in later chapters as a context for analysis and conclusions about the cases.

1. When asked to “rank order the following three kinds of factors on which the viability of your program depends (most important, somewhat important, least important), eight “strong” programs cited factors internal to the program as most important, while only one “adequate” program did (8:1). With respect to external factors which program directors could not anticipate, only two “strong” programs cited these factors as most important, while 10 “adequate” programs did (2:10). Clearly a significantly larger percentage of program directors of self-rated “strong” viability programs felt viability depended on their own efforts. On the other hand, directors of “adequate” viability programs expressed a significant concern that external factors they were unable to anticipate, and perhaps to control, might do more to determine their fate than their own efforts. Perhaps programs perceived as having only “adequate viability” by their leadership might be evaluated as being more vulnerable to external factors.

2. The difference between “strong” and “adequate” programs was not pronounced on Question 13: “Are factors affecting your program’s viability different from those affecting other academic programs or departments in your institution?” Directors of ten “strong” programs and 15 “adequate” programs indicated that they thought women’s studies had exceptional or different factors affecting viability. Of about

17 different factors listed, nine had to do with program size, structure, or location of faculty lines. Only three reasons cited the content of the field itself as a factor, for example, “women’s studies is perceived as political.”

3. The strengths and weaknesses of women’s studies program structure for participating faculty are captured in Questions 24 and 25 of the survey: “List the ways faculty appointed in departments express satisfaction (and dissatisfaction) with their involvement in the women’s studies program. Satisfaction was expressed in these terms, according to the program directors, for both “strong” and “adequate” programs: (a) faculty participate in activities and volunteer for committees (mentioned 9 times); (b) faculty value social and intellectual collegiality and mentoring (mentioned 6 times); (c) faculty volunteer to teach women’s studies courses and develop new courses (3 times). Faculty dissatisfaction with involvement was frequently expressed in terms of “being pulled in two directions,” or “the extra workload,” or “failure to receive enough recognition for their work in women’s studies.” Presumably these negative factors were especially significant for those majority of faculty members appointed in other disciplines.

4. Program directors of “strong viability” programs perceived their university culture as more receptive to change than did program directors who rated their programs as having “adequate viability,” according to the survey. This was not a surprising finding; stronger programs feel less beleaguered, more respected, and therefore perceive the institution as a whole as more sympathetic to what is new, different, or challenging about women's studies. Furthermore, university leadership which explicitly supports

innovative, interdisciplinary program development contributes to a climate that is more receptive to feminist-led curricular transformation.

For the purposes of comparing program structure (in terms of faculty lines allocated to women's studies) with the kinds of degrees offered by the program, (Table 4.4) displays these results for the "strong" programs. This display forms a background from which to think about the analysis based on the cases in Phase Two of the study. (Two of three case study programs also returned survey forms, and both rated themselves as being "strong" programs—that is, "excellent prospects for long-term viability").

Table 4. 4: Program Structure/Degrees Offered in "Strong" Programs

No. & Name Of Program	Faculty Lines/W.S.	<u>No. of Programs which offer:</u>			
		Minor	B. A.	Grad Concen.	M. A.
3 Departments	all have at least 1	3	3	0	2
9 Programs	5 have at least 1	9	(4)**	5	0
2 Centers	1 has at least 1	2	1	1	1
1 Institute	has at least 1	1	(1)**	0	0
15 W. S. units	10 units have 1 line	15	4	6	3

****The entries [4] & [1] indicate number of campuses where no B. A. program exists but students have the option to design an "individual major" in Arts and Sciences.**

Only 11 out of 34 programs responding to the survey, approximately 32%, offered the B. A. degree in 1998. According to the survey responses to the question

about assessment of institutional viability, women's studies program directors work to institutionalize their interdisciplinary programs by increasing faculty participation, student enrollments, and their operating budgets. Becoming a department, or as much like a regular discipline as possible, perhaps was not seen as a realistic goal by the majority of program directors at the time the survey was undertaken (1998). Program directors suggest in significant numbers that an interdisciplinary structure is appropriate for women's studies across disciplines, a structure which represents the roots of most program curricula, and the knowledge field known as women's studies. Furthermore, six program directors cited as a sign of program viability the integration of women's studies courses into college and university-wide general education or diversity requirements. The survey results suggest, then, that the matter of program versus department status involves complex issues, and has to be understood holistically, in a variety of university settings.

In research that involves self-ratings of viability, or assessment of viability based on dimensions of "effectiveness," a dilemma arises. Analysis of the results, in effect, creates measures that can be used to demonstrate or assess "effectiveness" of programs in a comparative fashion. Such measures can form the basis of performance-based reviews for the purpose of budget re-allocations. Newer or more marginal academic programs are often quite understandably nervous about the use of administration-sponsored program reviews to allocate resources, even as they recognize that self-studies and external reviewers can be part of a strategy for improving program performance and enhancing institutional viability.

It is important to state, therefore that it is not the primary purpose of this research to reinforce the importance of reviews or assessment ratings to support budget re-allocation, particularly since high performance interdisciplinary programs may not benefit much from re-allocations, because they often do not control any faculty lines. Instead, the intent of this research is to make a contribution to the discourse about women's studies programs' institutional place as program directors and participating faculty articulate visions for the long-term development of women's studies on their campuses.

CHAPTER 5

PROFILES OF THREE WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAMS

Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to provide a factual profile of each of the three programs and their respective universities selected for the case study phase so that the subsequent comparative discussions of themes in the conceptual framework can be assessed and understood in their different contexts. Each of the three programs has a different program structure with respect to faculty appointments and tenure lines (Table 5. 1). What they have in common includes: a distinct curriculum (that is, some “core” courses with a women’s studies rubric); a program administrator who reports to a dean or provost; an operating budget; and a faculty-staff advisory board or faculty committee that helps shape program policy and curriculum. Each of the three programs has existed 20 years or longer in some form. University and program documents, including the questionnaire titled “Data on History of Resource Allocation and Program Growth” (Appendix D) completed by each program director, and, to some extent, the interviews, provided the information for the profiles. The different program names are also displayed in Table 5.1.

**Table 5.1: Display of Program Characteristics in 2000 to Highlight
Program Structure Variation**

<u>LGU</u> <u>Land Grant University</u>	<u>BCU</u> <u>Big City University</u>	<u>RSU</u> <u>Regional State University</u>
Women's Studies Program and WCP	Gender and Women's Studies Program	Women's Studies Program
Doctoral	Research	Comprehensive
1980	1975	In 1970's
Undergraduate Minor B. A. Graduate Certificate	Undergraduate Minor Graduate Concentration	Undergraduate Minor M. A.
No tenure faculty lines in Women's Studies	2 tenure track faculty lines	No faculty lines
Full-time Director tenured in another department	6 joint appointments	All faculty are in other departments
One professional staff line		

Land Grant University (LGU)

The program and its university context

The interdisciplinary program in women's studies formalized in 1989 at Land Grant University (LGU) was preceded on the campus by a Women's Curriculum Project (WCP). Organized in 1980 by a director of Equal Opportunity at LGU, the WCP's main goals were to integrate materials by and about women into the university curriculum, and to improve the university climate for women. Funding for the WCP was initially provided by the university, then later by a Women's Educational Equity Grant from the U.S. Dept of Education. The project provides grants to faculty to re-design courses to "move toward a curriculum which is 'bifocal' . . . which focuses no less upon the contributions, perspectives, values, and needs of women than of men" (WCP/WSP Annual Report, 1997-1998, p. 9).

The faculty and staff in the WCP soon initiated a women's studies committee which reported to the Vice President for Academic Affairs. Various women's studies courses were developed in the 1980's. Since 1989 the WCP and the women's studies program (WCP/WSP) have been united under the leadership of a full-time director. Thus the women's studies minor, and ultimately, the major, approved in 1998, have grown in the context of considerable university-wide awareness and support for the inclusion of the contributions and perspectives of women and feminist scholars. In 1999 an interdisciplinary graduate concentration in women's studies was approved.

Land Grant University, founded in 1868, has five undergraduate colleges, and graduate studies through the Ph.D. in 23 fields. Located in a town in the rural center

of the state, LGU enrolls 8000 undergraduates and 2000 graduate students. Almost all undergraduates live on campus in dormitories. LGU experienced major budget reductions in the 1990's, but in spite of this downsizing, the WCP/WSP was able to maintain the level of courses offered. The director redirected some funds for curriculum transformation to the support of courses in women's studies. The full-time faculty director of this dual program, a tenured faculty member, usually teaches one course each semester as needed; most of her energy goes into program development, fund-raising, student advising, and administration of the curriculum project. She also plays an important role in maintaining a statewide women's studies consortium.

Overview of program history

The LGU Women's Studies Program is closely tied to an ongoing curriculum transformation project that itself has been successfully institutionalized. Most of the funding for the WCP also comes from within the university system. In 1996 the dual program began reporting to the College of Arts and Sciences dean. Extracurricular programming by the WCP/WSP is extensive at LGU. For example, the program director works with other groups on campus, and with work-study students to organize a comprehensive set of lectures and workshops for Women's History Month each March. In addition, the program also sponsors a weekly series of lunch lectures and talks each semester on a wide variety of topics of interest to women students, faculty, and staff. The most ambitious faculty development program organized by the WCP/WSP director was a seven-week multicultural women's studies institute in summer 1998. Nationally known visiting scholars met with LGU faculty "to discuss not only their scholarly work,

but also their own experiences with multicultural teaching” (Program Newsletter, 1998-99).

In the mid-1990’s, the WCP/WSP moved into a large first floor area shared with the Women’s Resource Center. It includes an expansive library/reading area, a conference room, five adjacent faculty and staff offices, a small room for photocopying, and desks and telephones for work-study students. Neither of the other two case study programs investigated in this research had anything equivalent to this space. The program library contained a number of women’s studies journals and newsletters, educational videos, and art work on display. LGU’s Women’s Resource Center, an all-purpose women’s center, does programming for women students, including in the residence halls, for classified employees, and even for high school girls in the community. Women’s studies faculty also collaborate with community groups. The program director has served many years on the board of a local battered women’s shelter; community and university women together participate in an oral history project.

Structure/location of faculty appointments

With no faculty tenure lines of its own except that of the director, the women’s studies undergraduate curriculum relies on courses taught by department-based faculty, primarily in the arts and sciences. The program’s budget includes “section money” to buy some course releases for faculty to teach the interdisciplinary women’s studies core courses. Between them the tenured program director (tenured at the university but not in women’s studies) and an associate director, who is professional staff, teach several courses in the program each year. Together they are responsible for the leadership of the dual programs, WCP/WSP, a job described as “keeping a lot of balls in the air at

once.” Besides the director and associate director, in 1999, nine other faculty in eight different departments teach in the new graduate concentration.

At Land Grant University, the WCP/WSP is cited by university administrators as a model in its structure for other, newer and developing interdisciplinary programs, such as Native American studies or ethnic studies. That structure, however, has evolved out of its dual focus as well as the limited opportunities for any faculty lines devoted to women’s studies during tough budget times. University administrators stated that the women’s studies program was a good model for some of the newer interdisciplinary programs being developed.

Activities of the women’s studies committee

Each aspect of the dual WCP/WSP at LGU has its own advisory committee that makes major decisions about curriculum matters. The women’s studies program committee is responsible for program governance and curricular planning (Proposal for a B. A. in Women’s Studies, 1998). The WCP committee reads the applications for the curriculum transformation grants, and selects the recipients. Many faculty and staff are involved each year on these committees, and so are brought into the work of achieving the transformative goals of the two programs. For example, faculty from physics, math, and social work as well as the liberal arts serve on the WCP, and consider what activities to fund that focus on the significance of gender differences in the curriculum. A summer multi-cultural women’s studies institute described earlier was developed by another committee, involving different individuals, including those working in Native American studies and minority student services. The WCP/WSP director and associate

director usually serve on all of these committees, with the primary leadership provided by the director (interviews).

Budget

The operating budget for WCP/WSP declined somewhat (from \$13,000 to \$11,000) during the downsizing in the 1990's because the director shifted some money into staff lines in order that no staff would have to be laid off. On the other hand, funding for sections of women's studies courses was transferred from Academic Affairs to the women's studies budget in 1996, so that currently about \$15,000 for paying faculty to teach women's studies courses is also controlled by the program. The dual program also has a full-time administrative assistant. The director has done considerable fund-raising on campus and off in order to pay for special events and education resources such as videos and journals (interview).

Student enrollments

Over the 1990s the number of courses offered increased considerably as new components were added to the program, and enrollments in the courses held steady. Each semester between one-half and one-third of courses offered by the program are interdisciplinary women's studies courses. As in the other two programs profiled here, where the undergraduate course of study offers a minor rather than a major, the total number of students officially involved is somewhat difficult to track. (Often the "minor" area of study does not appear in official university transcripts. Since the women's studies minor at LGU began in 1989, the numbers have increased from only a few to "39 majors, 32 minors and 8 graduate concentrators in 1999" (Data on Resource Allocation and Program Growth).

Students coming directly from high schools to LGU generally have heard nothing about women's studies as a field in which to major, according to the Director, and so almost all sign up after they have been on campus for a few semesters (interview). Ten sections of the introductory women's studies courses are offered each year, and the classes are always full. Approximately 250 students participate in these sections since the enrollment is capped at 25 (Proposal for B.A. in Women's Studies, 1998). Students sometimes transfer from other state institutions in order to take advantage of the women's studies major and the new graduate concentration at LGU, according to the director.

Big City University (BCU)

The program and its university context

The women's studies program at Big City University (BCU) was launched in the early 1970's; it has both an undergraduate minor and a graduate concentration. The program has grown and evolved considerably over three decades as the public university in which it is located has undergone major institutional change. BCU started out in 1965 as a comprehensive urban university branch, but it is now a research university as a result of a merger with another campus in the state higher education system. Its enrollment has grown from 10,000 students in 1965 to approximately 25,000 in 1999 ("BCU News," September 22, 1999). The great majority of its students are residents of the state in which it is located. Twenty-five percent overall are enrolled in master's and doctoral/professional programs. Almost all students commute although more development of student housing is anticipated. Slightly more than half of the students come from the suburbs surrounding the city, in contrast to the early years when most were city residents. The annual budget of BCU is about one billion dollars. Its urban

mission is defined as strengthening its commitment to the metropolitan area; praise and research funds are bestowed on faculty who carry out research and consult on urban issues in partnership with other institutions in the city (interviews).

The women's studies program is located in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, the largest of one of half a dozen colleges at BCU. This college is also the home of a small department of African-American studies, which offers an interdisciplinary major, and a program in Latin American studies, which offers an interdisciplinary major and graduate concentration. These programs are somewhat similar in history and structure to the women's studies program, but both offer a major for undergraduates. Both were officially established as minors/majors in late 1960's and early 1970's, before the women's studies achieved an undergraduate minor. In contrast, women's studies faculty decided in the 1980's, and again, in the 1990's not to propose a major, because any new B.A. program must be approved by the state board of higher education. In recent years, the board had endorsed eliminating departments and majors when it perceived the student demand to be not "significant"; program faculty were concerned about the close scrutiny they would receive concerning the number of potential majors if they applied for a major or department status.

Program directors in the College report to the dean and are included in regular meetings the Dean has with chairs of departments. Women's studies has no formal affiliation with the other interdisciplinary programs focusing on ethnic or area studies, but the programs do occasionally work together to co-sponsor events.

Overview of program history

The first three interdisciplinary women's studies courses were created by the founding mothers at BCU in 1973. For the first few years they were taught on an overload basis by faculty who were appointed in departments. Once these and other courses were offered on a regular basis as part of a faculty member's teaching load, the

program committee lobbied for a full-time director's position. The first director of women's studies was hired, with tenure, in 1979 from another women's studies program. One special feature of this program was that for many years a teaching collective, including one staff member, taught the introductory course.

The women's studies program and other programs for women at BCU, including the child care center, were organized in the 1970's by the efforts of faculty, staff, and students who formed a campus women's liberation group that was affiliated with a city-wide women's group. Many of the faculty in women's studies maintained this activist orientation to try to bring about institutional change on behalf of women and gender equality throughout the program's history. They have initiated and participated in a variety of actions and committees that built other women-centered and feminist units on campus, such as a Center for Research on Women and an Office of Women's Concerns (Personal Memoir, 1999).

The program has been acknowledged by the central administration as being particularly effective in developing programs in teaching, research, and service that reflect the campus's commitment to the metropolitan area. Organizing conferences that promote dialogue between research scholars and community activists is an example of how the vision of the founders and the university's urban mission coincide.

In contrast to the significant space allocation to women's studies at LGU—resource area, meeting room, several faculty offices, a copying room—the women's studies program at BCU has very limited office space and no central meeting or resource rooms. The program director and the full-time clerical assistant have small adjoining offices in the social sciences building; part-time faculty and graduate assistants share office space nearby.

Structure/location of faculty appointments

Until 1984 only one budgeted line, that of the program director, belonged to women's studies. In 1984, portions of each of the lines of the two founding mothers, still teaching in the program in 1990, were transferred to women's studies, becoming in effect, joint appointments. The program successfully resisted an attempt in the early 1980's by a liberal arts dean to fold it into the sociology department, an apparently poor fit since the three most active faculty members were in other fields, and the director was an historian. By organizing a campaign to maintain their autonomy the program faculty avoided this fate.

The program made a decision in the 1980's not to develop a B. A. in women's studies, but to offer a minor, and ultimately, a graduate concentration. In the growing area of graduate studies at BCU, the graduate women's studies concentration would provide feminist perspectives and critiques of various knowledge areas, just as the undergraduate minor does. For example, central to the curriculum of the graduate concentration are two core courses, "Feminist Theories" and "Feminist Methodologies."

In the early 1990s several faculty were hired on joint appointments, one as a new director. At this time the collective approach to teaching the undergraduate introductory courses was abandoned as too expensive and impractical in other ways. The program uses teaching assistants from other graduate programs, for example, English and history, to help teach the large introductory courses. By 1999 the program controlled approximately 18 different courses under the "WS" rubric. Three of these courses also count toward general education requirements. In one recent academic year 33 different courses were offered by the program and departments that counted for women's studies credit, and this number has held steady for the past decade. Recently the name of the program was altered to "Gender and Women's Studies" in order to pave the way for the development of more courses in gender theory and gay and lesbian studies.

Although the program is still governed by a committee made up of women's studies faculty, some staff, and at least one student, in the 1990's the faculty began also to meet separately on a regular basis to discuss faculty issues. The broader group is currently discussing whether to develop a major in women's studies as well as a Master's degree.

By 1999 there were two full-time lines in the program and six joint appointments (Data on Resource Allocation and Program Growth). In several of these joint appointments, more than 50% of the faculty appointment is allotted to women's studies. A peer committee of tenured women's studies faculty and faculty from the candidate's other department conducts the tenure and promotion reviews. Recently, a prominent scholar was hired with tenure by the program in 1999, as part of an effort by the newly appointed dean of liberal arts and sciences to strengthen the scholarly profile of the college. Faculty normally teach two courses a semester at BCU, and the women's studies program director is released from one course each semester for administrative work. The program designates one faculty member to oversee the undergraduate minor and another to advise students in the graduate concentration.

Activities of the women's studies committee

Individuals with appointments in the women's studies program are automatically considered members of the women's studies committee, whether faculty, staff, or students. There also must be at least one undergraduate student member. All committee members have a vote on program matters brought before them. According to the "Policies and Procedures Handbook," the scope of committee activities is extensive, and includes, for example, setting policies, approving all new courses, recommendations for promotion, program evaluation, and making budget decisions for all expenditures over \$100. The handbook also states that the program director must consult with the appropriate subcommittee of the women's studies committee before making any

significant decision between meetings, a measure of the intention of the women's studies program to operate with a collective decision-making model as much as possible.

Budget

Since 1985 the various budget increases and cutbacks for the women's studies program have paralleled those of BCU as a whole. Overall, the operating budget has increased substantially, however. The budget with faculty salaries included, steadily increased in the 1990's, largely because of new faculty hires (Data on Resource Allocation and Program Growth). The program has one full-time administrative assistant. According to the program director, additional modest sums are requested and granted each year from the administration for special events such as conferences, and these amounts vary widely according to the events proposed. In the late 1990's one faculty member brought in a sizeable research grant from the state for a human services program evaluation.

Student enrollments

Women's studies courses at BCU enroll well according to the director's brief annual reports. The introductory courses, which also provide general education credit, fill before the semester begins. The program has requested additional teaching assistants so as to be able to increase the enrollment cap in one of these courses to meet demand. A recent annual report of the program indicates a goal of recruiting more undergraduate students into the introductory courses, because it is from these courses that students decide to minor in women's studies. This reflects a concern that the number of minors in the program might be one factor the university administration will consider if its scrutinizes the program. Programs at BCU that offer only minors are not evaluated in the same fashion as those that offer majors. As of 1999 there were 44 undergraduate minors and 37 graduate concentrators enrolled in the program. The numbers enrolled have

increased since 1990, according to data provided by the program director (Data on Resource Allocation and Program Growth).

Overall university enrollment is a concern at BCU, and targets are set, especially for graduate enrollment. Graduate students in fall of 1999 totaled just over 6000, slightly above the target. Minority student enrollment is approximately 42% of the total at BCU, while women students make up slightly more than one half (BCU—A Banner Year, 1998).

Regional State University (RSU)

The program and its university context

The first women's studies course was taught at Regional State University (RSU) in 1971. The women's studies program was not recognized as an institutional entity, however, until 1990, when it was approved to offer an 18-credit undergraduate minor. Approximately 30 undergraduate courses were offered in the program in 1999. The program recently launched the first Master of Arts in women's studies in its region. RSU, with an enrollment of approximately 6000 undergraduates and 6000 graduate students, is one of four campuses in a state university system. It evolved in a manner common to many institutions in the U.S. with the name "state university;" the original Normal School became a Teachers' College, then a State College with arts and sciences degrees and finally, in 1983, a State University (RSU Undergraduate Studies Catalog, 1999-2000). The majority of students are state residents, either living on campus or commuting from the metropolitan area in which the campus is located. In the middle of the largest construction program in the university's one hundred year-plus history, the campus in 2000 built an addition to the library, renovated faculty offices and classrooms, constructed a new student center, and expanded sports facilities and parking.

The mission of RSU is summed up in its four related functions: to provide liberal education; professional education; graduate study and research; and public service. Graduate degrees only to the Master's level are offered in five different schools: arts and sciences, business, education, information and library sciences, health and human services. The new M. A. in women's studies relies heavily on courses offered in other disciplines, for example, English, history, and sociology. Students who pursue a M. A. degree in another field may earn also a 12-credit graduate certificate in women's studies. Approximately 75% of graduate students at RSU are female (Proposal for a M. A. Degree Program in Women's Studies, 1996).

Overview of program history

From 1971 to 1988 the women's studies program was governed by the women's studies committee, a voluntary group of eight to ten faculty members, some of whom were involved in women's organizations in the community. A program self-study characterizes this period as one highlighted by considerable growth in the number of courses offered, on the one hand, but one which also required constant defense of these courses and the goals of women's studies at RSU, on the other (Self-Assessment Report, 1995-1996). When the program finally sought and was given institutional recognition as an undergraduate minor in 1990, two of the faculty leaders were appointed to be co-coordinators. Although the university did not grant their request for faculty lines, eventually the program secured a full-time administrative assistant in a small, centrally-located office.

Decent office space is greatly in demand at RSU. Some tenured faculty share offices; the faculty co-coordinator of women's studies, a member of the English department, barely had enough file cabinet space and bookshelves to accommodate her women's studies files and personal library. A newly remodeled women's center has ample space, however, and women's studies meetings and activities have access to that

space. The women's center was a substantial distance away from the small women's studies office and the faculty co-coordinators office, however. Unlike the other two universities, there was no one area where women's studies faculty, staff, and students could easily meet or congregate; there was no distinct or significant women's studies space.

During the decade of the 1990's the co-coordinators, with the help of other groups on campus, organized a series of well-attended annual conferences on a variety of themes related to women's activism and cultural diversity. These conferences, largely financed by university resources, in part under the umbrella of faculty development efforts, brought nationally recognized scholars and activists to the campus, and solidified working relationships with community groups, thereby enhancing both the visibility and the reputation of the program, both on and off campus. Women's studies made itself well-known on the campus with this strategy, because it was the only academic group organizing such large conferences.

Structure/location of faculty appointments

Although it does hire part-time faculty, the women's studies program at RSU itself controls no faculty lines. All faculty who teach courses in the program are appointed in other departments, mainly in arts and sciences; therefore courses with the women's studies rubric are taught on the basis of "reassigned time," or a course release. In one recent academic year, 17 full-time faculty, all appointed in departments, were teaching interdisciplinary or core women's studies courses on "reassigned time." The teaching load at RSU is heavy--four courses or twelve credits each semester (interviews).

For their administrative work in the program, the two co-coordinators are given two course releases each. One of the two co-coordinators has an administrative appointment. She teaches in women's studies and also serves as director of the women's center. A third faculty member with a long history in the program is provided reassigned

time to serve as Graduate Director. Because it is not a department with any faculty lines of its own, the program reports for administrative and budget purposes directly to the office of the academic vice-president in the RSU organizational system. The coordinators also attend meetings of department chairs with the dean of arts and sciences (interviews).

The first two decades of women's studies course development at RSU took place in a period of declining state support of higher education. Although program documents mention the need for faculty lines in women's studies, lines are only awarded to departments according to program leaders. Program co-coordinators felt it was a substantial achievement to obtain in 1998 the full-time administrative assistant to help with paperwork, publications, communications, and overall coordination of the undergraduate minor and M. A. programs.

Activities of the women's studies committee

The single women's studies committee that governed the program in its early years had been succeeded by a more elaborate governance structure. Now the two co-coordinators, nominated by voting members of the program (that is, faculty and committee members), are responsible for academic planning, student advising, event planning, publicity, fund-raising--in short, all major activities of the program. The self-assessment report indicated that the co-coordinators serve on every committee, and "often pick up the slack left by less involved members" (Self-Assessment Report, 1995-1996). Thus the program is neither completely hierarchical nor fully collective in structure, but is a "dynamic ever-evolving organization that is difficult to categorize" (Self-Assessment Report, 1995-1996). One of the co-coordinators asserted that in the current semester she was conducting most committee business by e-mail since she was unable to find a common time for meetings, given the heavy workload of faculty at RSU.

Budget

Prior to 1996 the women's studies program at RSU was not granted an operating budget, except for some funding for part-time faculty. Instead the program operated with resources generated by the registration fees at the annual conferences. Conference organizing expenses—mailings, duplication, speakers—were subsidized by the general university budget on an "as-needed basis." By 1999, however, the program had an operating budget of \$45,000, excluding faculty staff and salaries, most of it provided by the university (Data on Resource Allocation and Program Growth). This funding was provided to launch the new M. A. degree.

Student enrollments

Women's studies program co-coordinators have virtually no way to track students who are completing a minor in women's studies, according to a co- coordinator. Because RSU does not ask students to declare a minor, or print the student's minor either on the student record or diploma, there is no reliable way to cite statistics on the number of minors graduated over the last decade. The program self-assessment points to this problem as a weakness that needs to be addressed. Both the number of courses offered and the total number of students enrolled in courses steadily increased in the 1990's (Data on Resource Allocation and Program Growth). The main concern about enrollments at present is focused on the new M. A. degree program (interviews). The program must demonstrate that it can enroll and graduate a small but consistent number of students over the next five years, to fulfill both its own goals as well as the university's master plan.

Summary Comparison of Profiles

These profiles highlight the different university settings, program structures and degrees offered, enrollment and resource acquisition trends, and governance structures. A comparison of the profiles of the three programs reveals that the program at BCU has a

structure and resources most similar to that of a university department, with two faculty lines and six jointly appointment appointed faculty in women's studies and another discipline. In contrast, the program at RSU is most dependent, even for its leadership, on the motivation and energy of faculty with appointments and responsibilities in other departments. The LGU program is somewhere between the two in its ability to control resources since its full-time director and assistant director devote themselves solely to WCP/WSP responsibilities, although neither has a faculty line in women's studies. Both the RSU and LGU programs have to buy out the time of some faculty to teach the core women's studies courses. Nonetheless, all programs have, during the history covered in this study, expanded course and degree offerings, increased their overall budget despite campus-wide cutbacks, achieved representation in dean's meetings with department chairpersons, and maintained a vigorous extra-curricular program of activities.

The operating budget figures cannot be compared across the three cases because the directors included different elements in this category. They should be viewed only as showing the growth of budget resources over time within each women's studies program.

Different university practices concerning the allocation of tenure track faculty lines necessarily shape the options available to small interdisciplinary programs. For example, at two points in BCU's history, tenure track faculty lines were allocated to women's studies to hire a new program director. On the other hand, university regulations at RSU stipulate that only departments shall receive tenure track faculty lines. Therefore, the problem of seeking department status and/or faculty lines at the two universities is less a matter of ideological views on optimum program structure or goals of curricular transformation than it is a matter of state and university regulations. Furthermore since the programs have a policy of including faculty who wish to

participate in women's studies teaching, program leaders continue to encourage the development of courses in the various disciplines in, and beyond, arts and sciences.

Another difference between the three institutions of public higher education is the racial-ethnic breakdown of the student population. This factor is related primarily to geographical location and to the historical mission of each campus. BCU and RSU have substantial racial and ethnic diversity in the student body while LGU does not.

Nonetheless, since faculty leaders in the women's studies programs follow national curricular concerns in the field of women's studies, each of the three programs in this study has undertaken serious and sustained curriculum and faculty development with the goal of increasing the number of courses taught with multicultural and/or global perspectives. Furthermore, faculty in each of the three programs mentioned their commitment to urge the university to hire more faculty of color to achieve a desired goal of greater ethnic diversity of perspectives in the curriculum. Finally, only at BCU are there programs or departments in ethnic studies comparable in size to the women's studies program as of 2000. At the other two campuses, ethnic studies programs are in the planning stage, and the women's studies program is seen as a model for their development.

CHAPTER 6

HISTORY OF PROGRAM ORGANIZATIONAL GROWTH

Introduction

The history of the organizational growth of women's studies programs (Domain A of the conceptual framework) is one domain to be explored for understanding institutional viability, and more specifically, the acquisition of resources over time and the development of program structure, including position of teaching faculty and types of degrees offered. The profiles in the previous chapter provided an overview of the history of program growth and development. This chapter's focus on the history of organizational growth is based on data collected from program directors about the history of resource allocation, documentary materials from programs, and the responses of faculty and administrators interviewed to questions about a significant development in the history of each program (Responses to Questions 1-4). Furthermore, how program history is presented and interpreted by program faculty leaders also sheds light on the process of institutionalization. For example, in two of the three cases the programs circulated to program members, campus committees, and administrators their annual reports or program proposals describing program history in order to explain and justify their use of resources, and to seek additional resources. The third case, BCU, shared

with its program participants on a regular basis a brief annual report, a policy and procedures manual, a personal memoir and an essay. (All of these documents were made available for this research.)

It is not a goal of this chapter to write fully elaborated program histories. (See Barbara Winkler's *A Comparative History of Four Women's Studies Programs—1970 to 1985*, Ph.D. dissertation, 1992 for this approach.) The one-hour long site interviews were conducted with a set of questions that reflect the conceptual framework of this study, one aspect of which is the history of program development. Winkler's earlier study, however, helps to define an initial framework for looking at the history of the institutionalization of women's studies programs.

Winkler's (1992) research on the history of four women's studies programs that offered a B. A. degree (Wellesley College, plus three public research universities) covers the founding period up to the point of "permanence"—or institutionalization—that is, the point at which the program is recognized officially as a legitimate academic unit with a defined curriculum. Since each of the programs examined in this research was recognized officially as an academic unit by 1990, all would be considered "institutionalized," according to her schema. Winkler suggests that the choice of programmatic status for women's studies was a practical one; public university budgets were tight and declining, making it difficult to seek departmental status. Smaller departments of ethnic studies and black studies, founded in the 1960s, were already struggling with reduced budgets and isolation by the 1980s. Furthermore, women's studies programs generally built their initial curricula with courses from

interested faculty throughout the liberal arts and sciences disciplines because the new feminist critiques of scholarship and curriculum was such a widespread phenomenon across all fields. In short, the “marginalization of interdisciplinary programs has roots in both the intellectual and administrative organization of higher education,” concludes Winkler (1992, p. 222). Thus decisions by program leaders in response to wider institutional events and realities determined to a great extent program structure, affiliations, and strategies for institutionalization as programs, rather than departments. As this chapter will show, the story of the history of program development as told by program directors and program faculty leaders in these three cases bears out Winkler’s thesis.

When the current research was initiated, the most comprehensive list of women’s studies programs was provided by *Women’s Studies Quarterly*, as an educational service of *The Feminist Press*. Of the 611 programs in 1997, approximately 40 percent offered majors leading to the B. A. or B. S. degree and 22 percent of programs offered some form of graduate work (*Women’s Studies Quarterly*, 1997, p. 422). Only one of the three cases (LGU) offered a B. A. in women’s studies in addition to the minor when this research was completed in 2000. In sum, all three programs offered an undergraduate interdisciplinary minor; one a B.A.; two offered a graduate certificate; and one had recently launched an M. A. in women’s studies.

Among these three cases, whether or not a program has B. A. or M. A. degree-granting authority has no obvious correlation with securing tenure lines in women’s studies. For example, the program at BCU, the only program in this study in which

faculty were tenured in women's studies *per se*, did not offer a B. A. degree, but only an undergraduate minor and a graduate certificate. LGU launched its B. A. degree in women's studies without hiring any tenure track faculty in the program. The program at RSU won permission to offer a M. A. degree in women's studies without a single tenure-track line assigned to the program.

Three elements in the history of organizational growth will be discussed in this chapter: (a) the trends of resource acquisition over a specific time period based on the Data on the History of Resource Allocation and Program Growth questionnaire (Appendix D) completed by the current program director; (b) each program's public presentation of its development as revealed in documentary sources, and (c) a comparison of faculty members' and administrators' views on the future development of the women's studies program based on the responses to Question 5 in the interview protocol. The documents help corroborate the historical events described in the interviews, where subjects relied on memory.

Trends in Resource Allocation

Data on resource allocation provide a crude overview of program funding growth trends. These funding trends substantiate with numerical data the stories of program growth and development presented in the documentary histories. Specific figures about resource allocation cannot be compared across the cases because each university has a different approach to budgeting and accounting, and differs in its method of funding extra-curricular programming or in its awarding of released time for administrative work. The trends in resource allocation at the three institutions can be compared, however.

Data on budget and faculty resources was provided for years spanning 1985 to 1999; data trends on the number of courses offered and students enrollments was solicited from 1990 onwards. Questions in the second category were framed to reveal trends rather than exact numbers, because absolute numbers are sometimes unavailable and because the institutions varied widely in undergraduate and graduate enrollment. For example, the number of women's studies courses offered in the decade 1990-1999 either stayed the same (BCU) or increased (LGU and RSU). The latter two programs experienced considerable growth in the 1990s, while BCU, a much older program, experienced its major growth in course offerings from 1975 to 1990. The number of faculty joint appointments at BCU increased substantially in the 1990s, however. At each site the total number of students enrolled in the program, as minors, B. A. or Master's level certificate students increased over the decade of the 1990s (Data on Resource Allocation and Program Growth).

Two programs received substantially increased budget allocations to support faculty from 1985 to 1999. BCU in 1985 had two joint appointments in women's studies but by 1999 had six. RSU generated operating revenue from campus conferences until 1999, at which time \$45,000 was allocated to the program by the administration, primarily to launch the new M. A. degree program. Because of system-wide budget cuts, the program at LGU experienced a reduction in operating budget in the 1990s, in part because the program director diverted funds from the operating budget to pay teaching staff. LGU nonetheless experienced program growth during this period of tight budgets: it secured authorization to offer the B. A. degree and added a full-time Ph.D. Assistant

Director in a staff line with 50 percent instructional responsibilities (Data on Resource Allocation and Program Growth). The current program directors at all three institutions sought and gained funds from both on-campus and off-campus sources for conferences and curriculum transformation projects. In sum, all three programs over the period 1990-2000 experienced stability and/or steady growth in the number of courses offered, while two programs had significant expansion with respect to faculty/staff lines (BCU and LGU) and two increased their operating budgets (BCU and RSU).

Public Presentation of Program History

Women's studies organizational growth and institutional history is reflected in program documents acquired at each site, specifically annual reports, newsletters, a self-study, a program proposal and individual memoirs. In one case a four-page history of the program is available on its web site. Documents made available by each program director varied considerably, but all were circulated among some or all program participants during the drafting process, or after the document was sent forward to the administration. Thus they had, and continue to have, considerable exposure in the campus women's studies community. An essay on women's studies and a personal memoir on program history produced by two different faculty at BCU reveal more of the dilemmas of institutionalization, in light of internal program values, than do annual reports or self-studies prepared for review by administrators and others. The following descriptions and analysis of the documents demonstrate what program leaders wished to include or emphasize in the narratives they wrote about their programs.

Land Grant University (LGU)

Each year during the decade of the 1990s, the director of the Women in Curriculum Project/Women's Studies Program (WCP/WSP) at LGU published a lengthy annual report of 50 pages, plus attached documents, in which she included approximately ten pages of program history. The origins and development of WCP/WSP, its different sources of funding, including a two-year \$200,000 grant from the Women's Educational Equity Act Program of the U.S. Department of Education, are central items in this history. The several dozen faculty and staff members who have nurtured the program are named and acknowledged in each report. The report also documents how the WCP/WSP was able to respond to recommendations from the administration concerning organizational changes in ways that saved or strengthened the program (Annual Report, 1997-98, p. 6). For example, during a period of down-sizing, the two leaders of women's programs at LGU convinced the administration not to eliminate the Women's Resource Center by proposing an alternative plan for savings (Annual Report, 1997-98, p. 7).

When a reorganization of Academic Affairs at LGU created a new home for WCP/WSP in the College of Arts and Sciences, the program did not relinquish its university-wide mission to create a "bifocal curriculum focusing no less upon the contributions, perspectives, values, and needs of women" than of men (Annual Report, 1997-98, p. 9). Campus-wide faculty participation in the Women's Curriculum Project (WCP), profiles of faculty grant recipients, a vigorous and very visible program of events for Women's History Month in March, and WCP/WSP involvement in annual

awards presented to women of achievement in the state, are all documented systematically in the annual reports and newsletters. The reports thus reinforce on an annual basis the centrality of the program's objectives to the mission of the university: to promote university-wide curriculum transformation, public service, and inclusivity.

The two proposals for a B. A. and a graduate certificate at LGU in the middle 1990s also emphasize that the program's goals and outcomes have a close correspondence to the university's mission. Because of the interdisciplinary nature of the degree and certificate, the proposals argue that no new faculty are required to launch and maintain them. These proposals were sent forth at a time of very tight higher education budgets in the state. Therefore the proposals request modest additional funding to expand library resources, purchase another computer, and expand the assistant director's job to full time status. The requests were largely granted (interviews).

Cooperating units for the major and graduate certificate include a substantial number of liberal arts departments as well as nursing and social work. The strong alliances built between women's studies and other departments over its 20-year history provided a central rationale for administrative approval of each proposal. The program's alliances with organizations in the wider community, described in the proposal as "extensive contacts with women's agencies. . . statewide" guarantee internships for students (Interdisciplinary Graduate Concentration Statement of Plan, 1999, p. 4).

Big City University (BCU)

Two long-time tenured faculty members in the BCU program have written about program development and institutional recognition in essays which also explore how the initial collective feminist processes and program structures of the activist faculty and students were transformed over time. These reflective pieces discuss more explicitly the story of a program's struggle to operate with an alternative model of social relations as it became institutionalized within a large bureaucratic university. While the LGU program presents its public face as a long-term commitment by many individuals to curriculum transformation and women's studies program development at the university, the BCU story in these memoirs is built around a trade-off—the decline in opportunities for feminist collective action as the program director and core faculty assume a stronger leadership role (Personal Memoir, 1999). But even with an evolution to a more department-like structure, the program's core faculty have a commitment to a collective decision-making model, so that major decisions in program direction are made in the larger women's studies committee (Policies and Procedures Handbook, 1999, p. 43; faculty interviews). The memoirs and policy and procedures manual are written less for public consumption and more for internal organization and governance purposes.

Both program historians emphasize the role of the women's studies faculty in building other campus centers and offices for women—a women's affairs office and a multi-college Center for Research on Women—and maintaining a collaborative, non-competitive relationship with them. They acknowledge, however, an awareness of an internal tension to balance the ability of the women's studies program to serve as a model

for democratic and feminist process in the university while at the same time implementing decisions in a timely and effective manner. This is a particular challenge, one essay concludes, when the public university is itself in a contradictory position in the wider society, torn between the “false and limited choices of consumer individualism” and the ideals of people working together for equity and progress (Essay on Women’s Studies, 1999, p. 7). On a more positive note, one of the program founder’s memoirs noted that the program’s record of working with the outside women’s community in the metropolitan area converged with a recent sharpening of the university’s urban mission. Consequently the administration gave financial support to conferences on housing and domestic violence that brought together researchers and activists from the community.

The essay and memoir, one circulated internally, the other now published, serve to inform current program participants about the various political and ethical issues underlying the two program leaders’ viewpoints on their program history. These two narratives also stress the compatibility of the program’s history with the university’s mission. BCU’s web site includes a brief history by a faculty leader which highlights the program’s persistent adherence to ‘reasonable and clear’ feminist goals. She attributes the program’s success to this persistence.

Regional State University (RSU)

The story of institutionalization of the women’s studies program at RSU is told in three program documents: (a) A report (1992) titled “The Women’s Studies Program at Regional State University: Building Coalitions,” which accompanied a proposal for an interdisciplinary graduate certificate in women’s studies ; (b) a program-initiated “Self-

Assessment Report” (1995-96); and (c) “Proposal for a Master of Arts Degree Program in Women’s Studies” (1996). These documents were described by program leaders in interviews as part of an conscious strategy of coalition-building and program development to give further visibility to women’s studies and create a base of support within the university. More than in the other two cases, RSU women’s studies faculty leaders emphasized the use of self- assessment reports and the lengthy proposal in its recent history to demonstrate the program’s credibility (interviews).

The 1992 Report argued for additional formal institutional recognition so as to bring resources into the program. The minor in women’s studies had been approved in the 1980s, but the faculty leaders had operated as a volunteer activist organization without any formal recognition of their contributions. This effort was initiated after a substantial number of new faculty were hired who were interested in teaching women’s studies courses in their respective departments (interview). To obtain minimal resources from the academic vice-president, for example, re-assigned time for faculty coordinators and a small operating budget, the volunteer committee established a group that represented diverse interests in the university community to work for institutional recognition:

The special subcommittee thus included both women and men, people of different ethnicities, differing physical abilities, and differing sexual preferences, tenured and untenured, instructional and administrative faculty, faculty from four of the six schools in the university and from departments as diverse as Theatre, Physical Education, and Political Science, as well as deans from the School of Arts and Sciences, the School of Nursing, and the Graduate School. (The Women’s Studies Program at RSU: Building Coalitions, 1992, p. 2).

Much of the report emphasizes connections built with campus groups such as the women's center and the department of resident life, the local community, and other women's studies programs in the region, through a strategy of organizing annual conferences that were publicized widely in the region as well as through substantial programming for women's history month. Attendance at these events provided evidence that women's studies was broadly supported by faculty, staff, and students which helped persuade the administration that the modest resources requested were warranted (co-coordinator interview). The co-coordinators now had some released time from teaching to plan and implement extra-curricular programming, the annual conference and summer institutes for different constituencies in the community, which, in turn, gave the program greater visibility and generated more funds.

RSU program leaders initiated a program evaluation and self-study for their next stage of development. The evaluation was not mandated by the administration; such reviews are required contractually only by departments at RSU (vice-president interview). Drafted by a faculty member with considerable curriculum development experience in the program, the 40-page "Self-Assessment Report" (1996) was, according to several faculty members interviewed, designed to position the program to expand. It outlined the history and mission of women's studies at RSU and reviewed the undergraduate minor and the graduate certificate. After their site visit, the outside evaluators used the report to prepare their evaluation, citing program strengths and deficits, and recommendations for program growth. The self-study and outside evaluators' report helped the women's studies program justify its proposal for a

freestanding M. A. in women's studies, the first in the region (faculty interviews). In effect, the reports and evaluation process demonstrated that three faculty members with some re-assigned time, working in careful collaboration with 15 or 20 other faculty and several work-study students, could develop and oversee a curriculum and a thorough evaluation of that curriculum in a credible manner, equivalent to the process a department might undertake.

A third document examined here, the "Proposal for a M.A. Degree Program," articulated how the new graduate degree in women's studies fits perfectly with RSU's strategic plan for 1997-2003 to "develop new graduate and professional programs that . . . advance the state's social, cultural, and economic well-being" (1996, p. 1). The program at RSU, with no faculty or professional administrative lines of its own, soon received permission from the state board of higher education to launch its M. A. degree. A graduate program director would receive "nine credits of re-assigned time and a graduate assistant position" to run the program (Proposal for a M. A. Degree Program, p. 16). How this compares to more established M. A. programs based in departments at RSU is not known. But the RSU women's studies program story shows how program growth and institutionalization is possible, even with limited resources, by building on a curriculum of courses among interested faculty in the arts and sciences, and to some extent, in social work and nursing, and by maintaining a high public and community service profile.

Women's studies program leaders in all three cases presented their program history in the context of the university mission, equity goals for women, and the

development of an innovative interdisciplinary curriculum on women and gender. They argued successfully that even with limited resources—for example, few or no faculty lines designated for women’s studies--the interdisciplinary undergraduate and graduate curriculum, both innovative and central to the university’s mission, deserves continued support. Two of the programs, LGU and RSU, most reliant on faculty wholly based in departments, and therefore on a year-to-year budget to ‘buy out’ faculty, documented extensively the involvement of numerous actors in the small and large moments of program history, giving it a characteristic shape and vitality that accounted for its present status and achievements. Through public events like conferences, special lectures, and program evaluation, followed by documentation of these events, the program leaders convinced other faculty and administrators that their women’s studies programs are neither marginal nor ghettoized, in spite of their interdisciplinary curriculum and small size, according to most of the respondents at each site (interviews).

The BCU Women’s Studies Program, on the other hand, has under its control considerable more faculty resources—and a more department-like structure. It did not circulate either lengthy annual reports or a self-evaluation in order to educate the university community about the program and its accomplishments.

Comparison of Views on Program History

Views on program history and status expressed by the dean and provost (or academic vice-president), the two administrators most closely involved in the institutionalization of women’s studies, were remarkably similar to those of program

leaders (interviews). Five of the six administrators at the three sites had been in their positions for at least two years, though three were relatively new to the campus and therefore had no role to play in the earlier history of women's studies. One dean had been appointed after a national search nine months prior to the site visit. Each of the deans and provosts had advocated recently to campus presidents and boards in support of resources for women's studies program development (interviews). They characterized women's studies as intellectually vital, consistent with the institutional mission, and a model for other interdisciplinary programs. Furthermore, at each institution the opinion was expressed by one of the administrators that the women's studies program was a more significant campus force than other similar interdisciplinary programs (interviews).

There was an interesting difference between administrator and program leader responses to a question about how the program is likely to develop in the future. Three of the six administrators at two sites mentioned that they would like to see programs offer a B. A. degree, or expand or choose to be a department, after obtaining some faculty lines. Faculty leaders at the two sites, on the other hand, expressed reservations about offering the B. A. degree. In fact, they argued that their programs had only survived difficult budget years precisely by not being a degree program or department. These program leaders viewed small departments with few faculty lines as more vulnerable to budget cuts or higher education board interference than were interdisciplinary programs with a university-wide mission. This is an important finding, and supports Winkler's (1992) thesis that the decision not to push for a women's studies department or the B. A.

degree may be a strategic or practical one rather than a political or ideological choice to maintain outsider status, that is, to be marginal. Nonetheless, one faculty leader pointed out, as programs grow, and add graduate minors, the pressure and logic for adding an undergraduate B. A. degree may grow as well. These findings may have implications for the estimated 50% of interdisciplinary women's studies programs that did not offer the B. A. degree as of 2000. (The precise figures are unavailable).

Tight budgets in public higher education, in two of these three cases—LGU and RSU—discouraged women's studies leaders from seeking faculty lines or department status, according to faculty interviews. Nonetheless, they were able to develop in recent years a graduate level women's studies curricula equivalent to that of BCU, a larger and well-funded program with joint appointments and two faculty lines in women's studies. As of 2000 only LGU offered a B. A. degree in women's studies, although students in the BCU program could utilize an individual or self-designed major option. This suggests that program structure alone, even lack of control over significant faculty resources, is not itself an obstacle to program growth, if faculty members in other departments agree to participate over the long run.

CHAPTER 7

OVERVIEW OF THE INSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF THREE PROGRAMS

Introduction

Chapters 7 and 8 “hone in the core processes that hold the case together,” by building a perspective on current institutional status for each women’s studies program through within-case and cross-case analysis of the interview narratives (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 38). In Chapter Six, “The History of Women’s Studies Program Organizational Growth,” the analysis was derived primarily from information in program documents, the Data on History of Resource Allocation and Program Growth Questionnaire, and, to a lesser extent, the case study interviews.

Two approaches are used to analyze data in the interview transcripts. In this chapter two sets of related questions are paired and the responses are condensed into a conceptually ordered display for each case. Next, the responses are compared, summarized, and counted; through this process the sense or meaning women’s studies practitioners give to their activities is revealed, along with an overview of the institutional status of the program.

In Chapter 8 the interview narratives are coded in their entirety for the two of the domains—organizational effectiveness and alliances—as well as any other significant

units of meaning that might relate to those dimensions. Because the study is conceptually complex, a decision was made to keep the number of codes to about ten. Chapter 8 includes the analysis of the Domain B—alliances—because, while it was initially framed as a distinct domain, in operational terms its definition is the same as one of Cameron's six dimensions of organizational effectiveness—community interaction and relationships.

Case study data collected through the use of identical interview questions can be characterized as a selective rather than open-ended process. Some questions in the protocol were designed to focus directly on an item in one of the domains, for example: "Describe the ongoing collaborative efforts women's studies has with units in the university" (Question 12). The majority of the questions were broader and open-ended, however, and did not directly solicit responses on the dimensions of organizational effectiveness, for example: In your opinion, what has been the greatest achievement of women's studies here on your campus" (Question 9)? The interview protocol was designed to give respondents multiple opportunities to characterize the achievements, impact, status and future of women's studies on each campus in order to gain a fuller view of the concept of institutional viability. Respondents were not asked directly a question—"do you think the women's studies program is well-institutionalized, and explain why or why not?"—because that would force premature closure on a complex process, and diminish the possibility that new concepts or unanticipated findings would emerge from this qualitative study.

This chapter, then, provides an overview of the status of each women's studies program, whereas the next chapter analyzes the dimensions of organizational

effectiveness for each of the different program structures and university contexts. All findings and illustrative quotations in Chapters 7 and 8 are from the interview transcripts.

Achievements and Impacts of the Programs

Respondents' perspectives on the achievements and the impact of a women's studies program on the university emerge from the analysis of paired, similar questions. (Question 9: "In your opinion what has been the greatest achievement of women's studies on your campus?" Question 17: "How would you describe the impact the women's studies program has had on the university?") A data matrix was constructed for each campus visited. The two columns in the matrix consist of the two questions; the rows are the seven respondents interviewed (program director, four faculty, dean, and provost or vice-president). The cell entries include the responses to the question, almost always as direct quotes. Most respondents mentioned several items for greatest achievement or impact on university. Thus the matrix includes the various components of a single variable as identified by the respondent.

Assessments of the "greatest achievement" of the women's studies program in the three cases are very much congruent. Four responses appeared multiple times; the remainder were cited two or fewer times. "Creation, establishment, or survival of the academic program" over the years was the most frequently cited achievement (ten times). "Being respected academically" and "creating respect for the new scholarship on women"—two phrases with the same meaning—was the second most frequently cited achievement (eight times). The other achievements cited multiple times were "creating awareness of women's/gender issues across the campus" (five times) and "building

community and collegiality among faculty and students” (four times). The summary results for the three cases are displayed in the following list:

<i>Item</i>	<i>No. of times mentioned</i>
Survival of the program	10
Being respected academically	8
Creating awareness of women’s/gender issues across the campus	5
Building community/collegiality among faculty and students	4

The responses also reflected the different programmatic emphases of the programs on the different campuses. For example, curriculum transformation work which serves as a model for other programs was cited frequently by respondents at LGU when illustrating “respect for the new scholarship on women.” At RSU the work organizing for the annual women’s studies conferences was cited as the achievement that earned respect for the program among many members of the campus community. Finally, at BCU, the fact that the program was “institutionalized” into different aspects of university structures—curriculum, women’s programming, and gender equity drives—was offered more than once as an illustration of the greatest achievement.

A critical question for within-case analysis is to what extent do the viewpoints of the two administrators—dean and provost—concur with that of the faculty on the achievements of women’s studies. Ongoing administrative support (combined with size of budget) was cited as one of the most important factors in determining “institutional viability” by the 34 program directors surveyed (Chapter 4). Concurring assessments by administrators and faculty of the program’s status suggests that administrators are supportive of the program’s goals and strengths. A matrix display of the responses of

the two administrators (six respondents) and the program directors (five respondents--a current and former director, two co-coordinators, except in the third case where the former director had moved on) reveals very little difference; they cite with most frequency the top two of the four factors cited earlier—creating and maintaining the academic program and gaining respect for the new scholarship on women. Even though the institutional contexts differ in that one is a comprehensive institution, one doctoral, and one research, there seems to be equivalent emphasis in each on the achievement of respect for women’s studies scholarship as an essential element of institutional recognition or status.

Varying illustrations of “respect for women’s studies scholarship” are provided at the different universities. Several respondents at LGU pointed out that the Women in Curriculum Program (WCP), through grants provided to faculty to create more gender balance in their courses, laid the groundwork for the acceptance of varying kinds of feminist scholarship, and ultimately the women’s studies program itself. The strong research and publication records of women’s studies faculty leaders at BCU earned respect for women’s studies scholarship. One dramatic anecdote about “respect” described by two faculty respondents at RSU, though probably not characteristic, is nonetheless revealing:

“And in the _____ Department, there was one faculty member so vehemently opposed to women’s studies that he made up this horrible parody of a women’s history month flyer . . . But he later recognized the quality of our scholarship when he served on the promotion and tenure committee, and he apologized. I was really astounded by his ability to recognize that what we had offered the university was so sound and so concrete, that even he, hating us, had to make a full 180, and recognize that we were not in any way illegitimate.”

Summary displays of responses to related Question 17 (“How would you describe the impact the women’s studies program has had on the university?”) show some overlap when the responses are compared to the earlier question about achievement:

<i>Item</i>	<i>No. of times item mentioned</i>
Respect for scholarship on women	6
Changes in campus climate for women	5
Awareness of women’s issues	3
Positive impacts on students	3

Some faculty and administrators at each site noted that the improved climate for women and greater campus-wide awareness of women’s and gender issues were significant factors in attracting new or outstanding women faculty to the campus, not only to the women’s studies program. A dean (male) with a long career as a faculty leader and administrator at several universities asserted that feminism, in general, had contributed more to changing the cultures of universities over the last 30 years than any other single factor.

Finally, for the two urban universities, BCU and RSU, fulfilling the mission of the university by being a resource to the community, through conferences and research done in collaboration with community organizations and agencies, is also considered an important impact.

Future Development of the Programs

Perspectives on the future development of the women’s studies program in the three cases exhibit a common theme; a majority of respondents predicted the program would achieve its next level of planned growth. Program leaders at LGU and RSU were planning to focus on making the new graduate-level women’s studies curricula a success.

The fate of the recently approved M. A. degree in women's studies at RSU, in particular, rests on achieving a minimum number of graduates each year after three or four years of existence. The implication was that enrollments of master's students could, in a few years, affect the funding of courses in M. A. program. The situation is somewhat different at LGU because the graduate curriculum is so far only an interdisciplinary graduate minor ; students in the women's studies courses are enrolled as M. A. or doctoral students in other fields. Its goal is to educate a wider group of graduate students about women's studies and gender theory in conjunction with studies in other disciplines.

Both LGU and RSU are campuses in a public multi-campus university system, and are the first campuses in each system to initiate a graduate program in women's studies. The formal proposals for graduate level courses in women's studies in both institutions stressed this aspect as a unique and forward-looking contribution they were making to graduate education in their state. Both programs have a history of participating in coordinated planning with other campuses in their systems, according to the program directors. Faculty and administrator optimism about the new master's level curricula may be in part due to this reality of being the "first."

The likely emphasis of future developments in women's studies at BCU, however, are the new curricular initiatives in gender theory and gay/lesbian studies at the undergraduate level, according to the majority of respondents (5 out of 7). Four respondents mentioned the development of a full-fledged M. A. degree in women's studies as a future possibility, not surprising since BCU is a research university with the objective of increasing the number of graduate students.

The most frequently cited possible *obstacles* at all three campuses that might affect the institutional status of women's studies over the longer term are (a) a reduction in resources or administrative support; (b) bureaucratic hassles, especially with higher education boards; and (c) leadership transition challenges. (Question 9: What obstacles do you see at this university which may interfere with women's studies reaching its goals?")

In spite of consistent administration support for women's studies program development in the last decade at each campus, the program directors and some faculty pointed out that continued funding of the women's studies curriculum depends, in part, on factors beyond their control, for example, the economy in general, and the overall university budget. All program directors believed their programs had excellent relations with current college and university administrators, however, and they seemed to have expectations of these positive relationships continuing.

Program directors were the most precise of all respondents on bureaucratic or structural realities in their specific university contexts that could hinder future growth. The LGU program director stated that it would be difficult for the program to grow without faculty lines. Even now, "we don't have enough staff to accomplish well all the we set out to do." She also believes that the departments are very strong at LGU: "The departments here feel very much entitled. . .the idea that some [positions] might get reallocated to new programs is real hard for them to take." The dean and vice-president at LGU seemed also to agree that resources—particularly lack of faculty lines—were the only obstacles that might affect the program's future. "If we had more resources it would be my intention to add faculty, at least for joint appointments. . .in the long run,

the viability of the program would be assured that way,” said the dean, an avowed supporter of interdisciplinary programs. Interdisciplinary programs at LGU are apparently seen by some department faculty to be in competition with departments for scarce resources. In spite of the program’s achievements, as a newer and interdisciplinary field, it faces resistance by challenging the dominant paradigm for the delivery of degree programs. In times of budget reductions, however, departments may also perceive themselves in competition with one another for scarce resources.

Bureaucratic or ideological obstacles to future growth were most clearly articulated by faculty leaders at BCU. To establish either a B. A. or M. A. degree program, in addition to the existing minor and graduate concentration, would require a review and positive decision from the Board of Higher Education, which earlier had attempted to eliminate departments with a “small” number of majors. Because of a “conservative trustee base,” women’s studies as a degree-granting unit might be vulnerable at the time of review, the former director stated. Stability for the interdisciplinary program with its minor and graduate concentration now exists with two faculty lines and six joint appointments. The dean and provost at BCU simply saw no obstacles that might affect the program’s institutional status in the long-term. They believe the program is “stable” and “a well-established part of the fabric of the institution.”

A weakening or loss of leadership in women’s studies was cited by several respondents at RSU as major obstacles that could affect the institutional status of the program in the long-term. A change in leadership may not be a likely event in the next few years; however, as one co- coordinator put it: “Only we can negatively affect the

program.” The implication is that if they don’t do the job of meeting the enrollment goals in the new M. A. program, that program could be in jeopardy. University regulations at RSU allow only departments to receive faculty lines, according to one co-coordinator, even though the program was approved to offer an M. A. degree. All seemed to recognize that because the faculty leaders of women’s studies have multiple roles—teaching and service responsibilities in women’s studies and in another department—program leadership, consistent for more than a decade, is pulled in many directions.

This overview of the institutional status is based on condensations and summaries of answers to direct questions about women’s studies program achievements, impacts, future, and obstacles. The answers are the assessments of faculty and administrators (Cameron’s “dominant coalition” of decision-makers) most directly involved with the institutional status of the women’s studies program on their campuses. While some obstacles to future growth were cited, including obstacles to gaining faculty lines, the overwhelming message of all respondents was the expectation that women’s studies will remain a permanent fixture on these campuses. Faculty leaders expressed more concern about potential obstacles than did the administrators. Several wondered whether the next generation of faculty leaders will be willing to put in the extra effort involved in running an interdisciplinary program. The majority of administrator respondents seemed impressed with what these small units had accomplished with relatively few resources.

The overview lays the groundwork for a more detailed examination in the next chapter of the core processes of this study, the domain of organizational effectiveness

made up of six key dimensions for assessing the viability of academic programs, in relation to their program structure.

CHAPTER 8

ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS AND ALLIANCES

Introduction

Chapter 8 explores the domains of organizational effectiveness and alliances essential to the purpose of this study: to explain in a holistic fashion the relationship between women's studies program structure and program institutional viability. Do assessments of institutional viability of women's studies programs vary significantly according to differences in program structure or model?

In Chapter 6 the analysis of the cases was based on an examination of the history of programs found in the program documents, and confirmed or amplified in the interviews. Chapter 7, "Overview of the Institutional Status of Three Programs," presented the commonalities in the achievements and impacts, and obstacles to future development, of the three programs, according to the stories revealed in the interviews. The major findings are described at the end of the chapters.

This chapter analyzes the views of the campus respondents—the dominant coalition with respect to women's studies programs—on the dimensions of organizational effectiveness of each program, and their relationship to assessments of long-term viability of programs.

Cameron (1978), in his study of colleges and universities, defined the dimensions of organizational effectiveness as the characteristics effective (or successful) colleges possess. Goodman argued that these dimensions are appropriate units for analysis of schools or departments within universities, and in this research, the unit is a women's studies program (Cameron & Whetton, 1983, p. 170).

The original conceptual framework in Chapter 3 on Research Design proposed four domains in which to examine institutional viability: (a) program history, (b) program alliances, (c) perceived dimensions of organizational effectiveness, and (d) objective dimensions of organizational effectiveness. The conceptual framework proposed at the outset of this study has been condensed, but not significantly altered, to eliminate overlap and build on the strengths of the kinds of data it was possible to obtain. Obtaining objective measures of organizational effectiveness proved too difficult or time-consuming for this study. (In Cameron's original study obtaining reliable objective measures also proved to be a problem.) Some data were unavailable, even to the program directors, without extensive data collection efforts on their parts. For example, data on numbers of program graduates, or the graduates' employment success, or faculty awards and publication records in comparison with other departments or programs would provide evidence of student satisfaction and faculty quality, but none of the programs had such data available. Furthermore, for some of the dimensions of organizational effectiveness there are significant non-rational elements of the dimension, for example, "faculty satisfaction" or "community relationships." Data on these dimensions emerged in the interviews with the faculty and administrators. The analysis in Chapter 8, then, is

based on statements of respondents that are largely within the domain of perceptions of organizational effectiveness, although respondents frequently cited objective, confirmable evidence for their perceptions. Confirmable evidence includes, for example, teaching awards given to faculty, or the fact that faculty served on prestigious university-wide search committees—both evidence of “faculty quality.”

“Program alliances,” conceived as a distinct domain in the original conceptual framework proved to be indistinguishable in meaning from Cameron’s dimension of “community interaction and relationships.” Thus “alliances” will be treated as a dimension of organizational effectiveness in this analysis, though one with special significance for interdisciplinary programs.

The responses in the case study interviews were assigned units of meaning on perceptions of organizational effectiveness, utilizing code definitions (Appendix E) operationalized from a careful reading of all the narratives in light of Cameron’s six dimensions of organizational effectiveness and the equivalent measures of long-term institutional viability obtained in the program directors’ survey (Chapter 4).

Although the final two questions in the interview protocol invited respondents to reflect on leadership qualities and issues in women’s studies programs, ideas about “leadership” appear throughout the interview narratives as faculty and administrators spoke of the history, status, and effectiveness of the program. It was necessary, therefore, to code for “leadership” as a distinct unit of meaning independent of, but related to, the six dimensions of organizational effectiveness. (For the rest of the chapter, the term “organizational effectiveness” will be represented by the letters “OE” for reader

convenience in recognizing the concept being discussed. And quotation marks will not be used with terms defining the dimensions.)

This chapter is divided into six sections. The first presents respondents' ideas about OE, in general, in the university and the second discusses code definitions. The third section contains the analysis of the six dimensions of OE, using both within-case and cross-case summaries. The fourth section presents summary findings on OE and program structure. Sections five and six focus on new findings—the significance of leadership in establishing program viability, and the possible impact of generational issues among faculty.

Respondents' Definitions of Organizational Effectiveness of Women's Studies

The interview protocol asked respondents to provide a definition of OE of academic units within the university, in “specific terms” (Question 7) and then to “describe the OE of the women's studies program” (Question 8). The aim of these two questions was to introduce the idea of OE as a general concept in program assessment, before asking respondents to describe their perceptions of the OE of the women's studies program. In the process they provided their own definitions of OE. This analysis of respondents' preliminary definition of OE focuses on the responses of program directors (five persons), the dean and the provost because these individuals promote, approve, or monitor program growth and development.

Two program directors (BCU and RSU) defined OE of academic units in terms of carrying out the mission of the university, specifically teaching, research, and the urban service mission. An RSU co-coordinator added to the definition the mission of

preparing students for careers . But she added that “we really don’t know what is effective since we don’t assess student outcomes.” She went on to assert, however, when discussing the OE of the women’s studies program, that “women’s studies has good teachers who deliver interesting courses that energize students.” All directors mentioned student satisfaction with courses and the program, shown in faculty teaching evaluations, as an example of program effectiveness.

A third director, somewhat baffled by this line of questioning, responded by describing the connection of the women’s studies program to curriculum transformation efforts (LGU): “So a student will be in a gender-balanced history course, see how interesting the material on women is, then takes ‘Womanhood in America’ . . .and really likes that. Then she takes something interdisciplinary in the women’s studies program.” The history of these two programs is so linked—and the director is responsible for both—that it was hard to separate them for purposes of discussing OE. Like the other directors, however, she focused on the teaching mission of the university, and the program’s impact on students, when reflecting on the essential core of OE in the women’s studies program.

Deans’ and provost/vice-presidents’ responses on OE also defined unit effectiveness in terms of carrying out a three-part mission, again with the emphasis on student learning outcomes (four of six respondents). One half cited the “prolific” or “solid records of scholarship” of women’s studies faculty. The two administrators at BCU rated the women’s studies program as a very fine unit in terms of OE because of the quality of their internal relationships. “They give selflessly to one another to get the job

done. . . they are very proud of their heritage, of the history of the program,” the provost pointed out. The more skeptical dean pronounced: “Internally they run a good shop. . .a very fine unit in organizational terms, given the ordinary run of things [in the academy].”

In sum, quality of faculty as teachers and scholars and examples of student and faculty satisfaction—three of the six dimensions—are cited most frequently in these responses about definitions of academic unit OE, in general, and women’s studies OE, in particular.

Dimensions of Organizational Effectiveness: Code Definitions

Open-ended questions about the women’s studies program were dispersed throughout the interview, and therefore provided many opportunities for respondents to discuss the characteristics of their women’s studies program. The first step was to read through all the transcripts in order to register the descriptions and elements of programs and program participants. How were the experiences of the program participants characterized? Could the various elements be assigned units of meaning that correspond to the dimensions of OE cited by Cameron as the “characteristics effective colleges possess?” When it became apparent there was a good correspondence between all the elements of each program’s story in the narratives, and the dimensions of OE, the next step was to develop definitions for each of the dimensions by grouping similar elements into a single unit of meaning, or code definition (Appendix E). In this process the element of leadership emerged as very significant throughout the narratives, and so it was added as a unit of meaning in the coding process. Findings about leadership will be discussed separately from the six dimensions. The final step in the analysis of the

dimensions of OE (perceived), therefore, was to code the transcripts according to the code definitions for the following dimensions:

- Student Satisfaction
- Faculty Satisfaction
- Quality of Faculty
- Alliances--
 - with departments
 - with other campus groups
 - with community organizations
- Ability to Acquire Resources
- Organizational Health (uses planning)
- Leadership (added after initial reading of transcripts)

The interview protocol contained several specific questions about “program alliances” and “leadership,” but the transcripts were coded throughout for these dimensions.

Coding for faculty, student, and administrator behaviors and beliefs, program methods of action and outcomes, and then displaying the coded data in a matrix for each program, creates a “story” for each program on a central theme of this research—organizational effectiveness and institutional viability.

A set of operational definitions for the above seven categories or dimensions was developed, resulting in a total of nine codes. The researcher and code-checker reviewed these definitions together, then each practice-coded the same two transcripts. Initial reliability rates for the two transcripts were 72% and 75%. Areas of difference were discussed, and the codes narrowed and clarified.

The next step was to compare coding on five other transcripts, or approximately 23% of the total number of transcript pages. The following reliability rates were achieved on the five transcripts—89%, 88%, 86%, 88%, 88%—for an overall reliability rate of 88%. This is close to the desired reliability rate of 90%. Some of the difference

(12%) can be attributed to slight overlaps in meaning in two different areas, for example: “faculty satisfaction” overlaps with “alliances with departments,” and “organizational health (planning)” can overlap with “leadership.” A particular dimension in a single anecdote or example of program experience was coded as one item, even if the dimension was referred to several times in the course of the story. In other words, codes represent distinct anecdotes or examples, not simply a phrase every time it appears. Inferential meanings (see Appendix E) were weighted no differently than the primary descriptive meanings assigned.

A manual method of coding was employed by marking each appearance of an element within one of the dimensions of OE and the element “leadership” with an appropriate color tab on the right-hand margin of all transcript pages. The tabs were then counted and recorded in the cells in a conceptually -clustered matrix for each case. During the second round of code-checking another feature was added. Negative statements relating to the particular dimensions were also recorded. These negative statements, for example, difficulties in acquiring resources, or examples of faculty dissatisfaction, are only a small fraction (5%) of the total recorded, but their presence must be noted in order to develop a valid representation of respondents’ perceptions of OE. Finally, not all of the cells in the conceptually-clustered matrices on the dimensions of OE have entries. In 10% of the cells, no statement was made about the dimension. There is no particular pattern for the empty cells except to note that a total of four faculty members at three sites offered no comment on the program’s “ability to acquire resources,” perhaps because that dimension is not their area of responsibility. Two of the

respondents, a vice-president for academic affairs and an assistant vice-president for academic affairs, had fewer entries overall.

Dimensions of Organizational Effectiveness: Analysis

A cross-case examination of the conceptually-clustered matrices that totaled up all the code elements of respondents' "perceptions of OE and leadership" shows the following:

1. There is no marked difference in the three cases in the spread of entries in the cells, although one case, BCU, has a larger number of total entries. The fact that the spread of cell entries is similar for all three cases suggests that there is some consensus about the significance of these dimensions for describing the characteristics of an effective women's studies program.
2. The university administrators appear to share perceptions similar to those of women's studies faculty on the six dimensions of OE of women's studies programs.
3. Student satisfaction and faculty satisfaction are the two dimensions that appear most frequently in all three cases.

The next step was to analyze the different dimensions across the three cases.

Student satisfaction, faculty satisfaction, and quality of faculty

Table 8.1 shows what percentage of the entries from the narratives mention three of the dimensions of an effective women's studies program—student satisfaction, faculty satisfaction, and quality of faculty. These three dimensions are analyzed together because the enterprise of undergraduate women's studies programs constitutes primarily

teaching and learning—the activities and responses of faculty and students. They were also confirmed as significant ones for viability in the Survey of Program Directors discussed in Chapter 4 (n=34). Student satisfaction, quality of faculty (and academic quality of program) and faculty satisfaction were among the top five characteristics cited by the 34 program directors as determinants of long-term viability. The code definitions themselves (Appendix E) indicate the kinds of examples that appear for each of the dimensions in the interviews.

Table 8.1: Student Satisfaction, Faculty Satisfaction, and Quality of Faculty - Number of Cell Entries and Percentages of Three Dimensions of OE

Site	Student Satisfaction	Faculty Satisfaction	Quality of Faculty	Total Number of Positive Comments	Three Dimensions as % of Total
LGU	14 or 10 %	37 or 26 %	9 or 6 %	140	42 %
BCU	27 or 13 %	50 or 23 %	28 or 13 %	214	49 %
RSU	21 or 16 %	16 or 12 %	15 or 11 %	134	39 %

A representative sample of respondents' comments on these related dimensions reveal distinctive elements about each institution as well as elements in common.

Comments on student satisfaction with the women's studies programs help confirm the

data provided by program directors on the steady or increasing enrollment numbers both in the courses and the program. Each of the programs had substantially increased the overall number of courses offered in the last ten years. Nonetheless, several respondents acknowledged that except for student course evaluations and enrollment totals, they don't know much about student satisfaction other than through anecdotal evidence. None of the programs had undertaken outcome assessments of students in a systematic way.

One BCU faculty member affiliated with the program tied together student and faculty satisfaction:

I think in its relationships with its faculty. . .it is an incredibly supportive unit, not just [to] the faculty who are affiliated with women's studies directly, but [to] those like me, aren't affiliated with women's studies at all, but who have interests. It is an extremely supportive faculty of undergraduate and graduate students, in terms of producing students that know how to live in our society, and know how to put what they learn to good use.

The program director concluded that "our women's studies program has never been separatist, has never excluded men, has always had very good student evaluations. So I don't think there is any significant negative feeling, and there is a great deal of positive feeling."

A faculty member at LGU also pointed out that women's studies has been a "very effective program" for students:

I can see it in the students as majors that have been taking women's studies courses, and I can think of a series of graduates and undergraduates that have done work with women's studies, or with the women's centers, and with some of the student groups on campus that have been active over the years. . .Women's studies has been very important in their lives. . .in terms of what they end up doing, whether they're going into teaching, or law, wherever they end up.

Making a difference in students' lives, and perhaps in the directions their careers might take, seems to summarize many of the responses concerning student satisfaction.

Respondents itemized a variety of different elements that constituted evidence of faculty satisfaction with the women's studies program. They include all evidence of willing participation in women's studies activities, as well as positive experiences with the program and its leaders. At RSU one senior faculty described what happened when she was first hired in her department in the 1980s:

I think this happened to a lot of other women on this campus. . .when I came in I was the only woman and the only assistant professor. And there were only a few members that even spoke the same language, there was no sense of, no sisterhood, let's put it that way. . . it forced me to reach out and develop relationships with women on campus, with many of the new women that came in, and we just really bonded. It was like a baptism of fire, maybe. And so I decided that was where I was going to put my work, that was what I wanted to do anyway.

Her comment illustrates how the development of women's studies programs is not only based on feminist intellectual perspectives but also on the need, in some cases, for the support and friendship of other women faculty.

The program director at BCU described the attraction of women's studies for other faculty: "In fact, we have people who want to move part of their line into women's studies, which is wonderful. Then we have to decide well, would it be good for them, would it be good for us? These are nice questions to be thinking about." Beyond the core of joint appointments at BCU, there is a lengthy list of faculty affiliated with the program.

A junior faculty member at BCU, jointly appointed in women's studies and another discipline, described the expected commitment to women's studies:

I owe two courses to the department each year. . . typically I have taught an introductory course and one upper level course. . . I serve on the women's studies committee—everyone has to—and I serve on the women's studies faculty committee, a subgroup of the women's studies committee, and I do other things which are more voluntary, organizing activities.

She also expressed enthusiasm about the style of leadership in women's studies:

It is very direct, in the sense that there is a lot of contact among people. In almost all cases, except when something has to happen quickly, [the director] is always informing us, she is a big e-mail person. We can approve, disapprove, or ignore, but we are kept up on everything. It is a democratic style of leadership. . . one thing that has always impressed me, at meetings, it is a very democratic style, in that everyone's voice is heard and counts, and it is also one in which democracy does not run amok. There is a sense of, here is our agenda, let's stick to it, when we reach the end of the meeting, goodbye. There is an orderliness to it. Paradoxically, in the department, where there is a much more hierarchical arrangement, it is much more out of control.

Finally, one young faculty member completing her first year at LGU stated that she wanted to come to a university that had a women's studies program:

For me, the biggest strength of women's studies is the fact that it is interdisciplinary, and I love that aspect from my own perspective. Getting to work with, getting to know faculty from different parts of the campus, is just fun and interesting, and to me it is the strength of women's studies. . . This women's studies department does a pretty good job of that [being interdisciplinary], of not being dominated by one group. You know how some women's studies programs can become dominated by humanities people, for example. This program doesn't have that.

A brief selection of comments from university administrators on faculty quality and the related element "program quality" provides an overview of this dimension. An experienced university administrator, the provost at BCU, had had interactions with women's studies programs at other campuses before this one:

The women's studies program took on a lot of service to improve the status of women. At the same time. . . it maintained the highest level of academic excellence. This is a program that has never sacrificed academic excellence to

politics. And a problem I have with some women's studies programs, is that politics has become more important than academic excellence. I believe in the long run, that is a defeatist position. . .that is how you get marginalized. . . You really can have an outstanding scholarly and educational program, at the same time that you promote the status of women.

The provost at LGU commented that the faculty in women's studies "have the reputation of being good, solid scholars," while his counterpart at RSU believed that the new M. A. program has "academic rigor. . . we think in some ways it represents a model for other interdisciplinary activities in the institution."

Alliances

Alliances, or the relationships women's studies programs build with other groups on and off campus, are revealed also to be a substantial part of the narratives throughout, in addition to the responses to questions (12-14) which specifically ask about alliances. The numbers and percentages of responses (cell entries) of the three types of alliances appear in Table 8.2:

Table 8.2: Program Alliances – Number of Cell Entries and Percentages of the Dimension

	Department (4a)	Group (4b)	Community (4c)	Total Number of Positive Comments	Dimension as % of Total
LGU	19	8	10	37	26 %
BCU	24	14	13	51	24 %
RSU	12	8	17	37	28 %

Program directors, faculty, and administrators commented to an equivalent extent with respect to both number and placement of cell entries on the dimension of alliances built by the women's studies program. Some of the comments from the respondents at each of the sites who had the most to say about program alliances reveal the relationship between perceptions about alliances (this dimension) and institutionalization.

A dean at one site said: “. . .women's studies and the honors program are the most successful programs that are . . .teaching collaborations in the university.” Earlier in the interview she shared her philosophical predisposition to interdisciplinary studies:

. . .to the extent we foster interdisciplinary studies, we move to a modern university and one that has a chance of staying abreast of and meeting the needs of society in the next century. I think in many ways the old model of walled departments doesn't work.

The program director at LGU described the alliances created with others on campus for the purpose of making an annual award to honor an outstanding woman in the state:

People from the university on the committee are not necessarily involved with women's studies, like there is a woman from the development office, and women from conferences and catering, and other classified employees. . .there are different ways for women all over the university and community women to interact with the kinds of programs we have.

To describe the variety of program alliances that had been built at BCU, a former program director said, “We helped to found . . . the Center for Research on Women and Gender . . . and someone from women's studies has been on that board since the inception of the Center. A weakness is that it has tended to be me.” She pointed out that “other kinds of alliances get activated with peoples' service on university committees

. . .we have good connections with the graduate college because several of us have served on the executive committee.” She added, “this is a different kind of institutionalization. I think we have had more influence in the university than departments that by other measures would be seen to be much stronger.”

This same program faculty leader had obviously given considerable thought to the question of institutionalization of the program. She described a period in program history when its budget had been reduced, and a proposal to lodge the program within one department was floated :

. . .we assumed that it was sexism in action, of course they wouldn’t know what we are doing. The good part about that was that we proceeded to try to explain ourselves more. . .that crisis really did make us more visible, and it was out of that crisis that we decided to move on the graduate front. It got us to focus on things we have to do, by working on the graduate front we were talking to other units about something. People don’t notice you if you don’t have something to talk to them about.

The dean at this site confirmed that the women’s studies program “reached toward departments” to a very significant degree in the areas of curriculum and hiring.

A program co-coordinator at RSU described some of the problems associated with creating and maintaining alliances in the university. While these alliances, particularly those with departments, are essential to the interdisciplinary curriculum and bring other benefits to the program by making it more widely known and supported, sometimes they aren’t accomplished without cost:

Because we borrow [list] courses from other departments, we don’t have any control over effectiveness. . .That is one of my most nightmarish responsibilities, finding the courses! They are scheduled by their department chairs, obviously, and department chairs have their own agendas about what gets offered when. And we don’t have any input on that, unless the chair happens to want to share

that with us. I literally have to call up chairs, faculty, and secretaries, beg, plead, demand, threaten, bribe [laughs], to get the information about when the courses are being offered so I can put them in the template for the upcoming semester. In any more organized environment, you might actually have some mechanism for people admitting having courses a little more efficiently. It is very unpleasant but there is nothing we can do about it at this point.

Other kinds of outreach efforts of faculty leaders at RSU to members of the university community were acknowledged by the dean as particularly effective:

One of the things they are really good at. . .is [organizing] our women's studies conference every fall. And they have done a very good job of bringing people in . . .this is probably where I first became involved with the women's studies program because they asked me to present at the conference. More than just distributing the brochures, the call for papers, someone actually picked up the telephone and called me, so I think they are very good at that, to bring forward women's issues, they do an excellent job.

The story of alliances with campus and community groups is where constructive ideas about feminist organizing for social transformation in the university are manifested. Chapter 7 described how "changes in the campus climate for women" and "awareness of women's issues" were two impacts of women's studies program activities. The program director at BCU believes that "becoming a visible, essential part of the university's daily life" was an important achievement:

I think we have become very institutionalized. We're really part of this institution. And in some ways that is also our greatest danger. Can we keep alive the mission and spirit of women's studies if we are institutionalized? I don't know, the future will tell.

Later on in the interview this same program director gave an illustration of how the campus climate had changed for women:

I think that people are much more aware of gender, for example, if they put a committee together, they always think about whether women are represented. The recently departed chancellor. . . used to say that he was most proud of hiring women deans. . .so I think gender is something that is in the consciousness of the institution. Whether women's studies has done that, whether it is in the climate of the time, it is hard for me to sort out. But I think we have had an impact.

In one program leader's experience, successful alliance-building with other women's groups is not always a factor in a program's history. Active in women's studies organizations, she reflected on a dilemma of institutionalizing women's programs she had observed at several other universities:

The people who envisioned the program 25 years ago had this vision of a comprehensive approach to institutionalizing issues about women on campus. I get all teary talking about the long march through the institution, but we made it. We didn't make it in a certain sense. . .no endowed chairs, we don't have any of that, but to have done what we have done, and to have cooperative relationships with all of these units is really amazing. Many of the places I know about, all of those units [women's programs] have become competing ego turf. When you have internecine battles, we haven't had that. . .to be able to influence the institution to the extent we have. . .and to have the respect that we have, is what I am most proud of. In fact, our strategy was to try to have a broad influence rather than narrow influence and build a certain amount of turf. We have not been turf conscious, so we didn't have much turf for a long time.

The respondents' ideas about alliance-building have been included in the analysis to this extent because they reveal the different types of alliances that faculty leaders strive to build. They include at least four types: (a) the ongoing work of course scheduling and personnel evaluation with departments sponsoring courses; (b) collaborative efforts with other faculty on committees with similar curricular goals, for example, addition of multicultural perspectives in curricula; (c) linkages with women's centers and other women's equity struggles; and (d) off-campus community-based research and service.

These alliances are characterized in a variety of ways, as inevitable, necessary, unusual, influential, and sometimes only achieved with considerable thought and effort. Several program faculty, however cited university structures and procedures, such as the barriers between colleges, or the competition for resources or “turf” as particular challenges in the quest for institutionalization through building alliances.

Ability to acquire resources

An ability to acquire resources was the second most important determinant of long-term viability according to the Program Directors Survey (Chapter 4, Table 4.2). The trend of positive resource growth over time, a fact of the history of these three programs presented in Chapter 5, is further confirmed by analyzing the interviews for this dimension. It is an especially significant part of the narratives of program directors and deans. All kinds of resources were considered when coding for this dimension: half-time lines for joint appointments; funding for faculty “buy-outs;” support for staff lines or administrative assistants; office space; operating budgets; and funding and grants for research, curriculum transformation workshops, or other activities.

The ability to acquire resources dimension appears in Table 8.3 as a similar percentage of each women’s studies program story.

Table 8.3: Ability to Acquire Resources – Number of Cell Entries and Percent of the Dimension

	Total Number of Positive Comments	Dimension as % of Total
LGU	17	12 %
BCU	21	10 %
RSU	17	13 %

All of the program directors at the three sites had good records of acquiring both university and outside funding for workshops for faculty development and for conferences. This is a responsibility and an achievement that may be much more characteristic of the work of program directors and other faculty leaders in women's studies than it is of department chairs. For example, the program director at LGU obtained funding for summer faculty development sessions, with noted guest lecturers, on integrating the perspectives of women of color not only into women's studies courses, but courses across the curriculum.

Each of the three programs has struggled at times with uncertain budgets because of overall university budget reductions. In one case the budget problems appear as a small but significant cluster of negative responses at LGU in the cell under ability to acquire resources (5 negative and 17 positive). This is the only cluster of negative responses in the matrices on OE. The program director at LGU, who each year must

“buy out” some faculty from departments with funds from an annual budget, said that the most significant obstacle to the women’s studies program reaching its goals was

“ . . . [lack of] money, money, money:”

I think there is going to be pressure to be a department, if we are going to fit in a minor, major, and graduate work. . . It is hard to see how that will be possible without some massive infusion of money. What I am thinking is, that as each piece of the program grows it may be harder and harder with the present staff. . . because if you are doing all these program components I have listed, one is constantly needing more attention, another less, you have to keep paying attention to what is necessary to foreground at the moment.

One of the faculty at LGU confirmed that the struggle for funding “has sometimes been quite discouraging.”

The program directors and administrators (dean and provosts) at two sites where programs have no faculty lines (LGU and RSU) acknowledged that the programs had reached a point where additional faculty resources, or a line for a director, would be a desirable next step to help maintain all that had already been achieved. They acknowledged, however, that budget limitations might make the proposition of a line for women’s studies a contested issue in the colleges of arts and sciences. The future of the women’s studies program was expressed in these two cases as an issue of “transitions” in program leadership, for example, the willingness of the next generation of younger women’s studies faculty to assume a mantle of leadership if it was configured in the same way. Most of the growth of these two programs had occurred under the leadership of a single director or set of co-coordinators serving more than six years. The programs had been effective in acquiring resources needed for program growth up to the time of this

research. But the future of the two programs, at present without any faculty lines that they control, may depend on increased funding to support new faculty leadership.

Organizational health

The final one of the six dimensions of OE to be analyzed is organizational health, which, for the purposes of this study, is defined by the single item: “uses long-term planning to reach goals.” Since this study is exploring the relationship of program structure to long-term institutional viability, the question of the intentions of the program directors and other faculty with respect to program growth and structure, is a repeated theme. Therefore it is important to consider the nature of any planning processes used to set and achieve goals.

In the Survey of Program Directors (n=34) the majority of directors of programs with “adequate viability” (9 out of 16) and “strong viability” (10 out of 16) replied that the use of “long-term planning” was “somewhat significant”—the middle choice. Only five directors in total rated long-term planning as “very significant” for the program’s growth and development. A precise definition of “long-term planning” was not provided in the survey, and so it is difficult to know what directors might have been thinking when the majority chose “somewhat significant.” For example, were directors envisioning in the question “formal” or administration-mandated strategic planning, or internal informal planning over the history of the program? Answers to the questions about planning in the interview protocol in the three cases, however, provide some concrete examples of the thinking of program directors and the dean or provost about this topic.

There were fewer items in the organizational health/planning cells of the data analysis matrices than for the other five dimensions. Program directors seemed to share the conviction that formal or strategic planning would not make much difference in the achievement of their goals even as they described types of planning processes they had used. The director at LGU responded, “not really,” when asked if she utilized long-term planning, because,

“I find that the terrain changes so much. We could say we had a long-range plan to have a graduate minor, but had to change, and go for the major. But because we had a long-term plan for the minor, I picked it up last fall, after the major had been approved, where we had left off, and moved it forward. So it was sort of like a plan.”

The dean at LGU characterized the director as always knowing “where the program is going. She always has the next step in place, and she is very collaborative in advancing the plan. . . I don’t think the institution as a whole has taken responsibility for strategic planning in women’s studies, I think it has been a bottom-up effort.”

Because of the rapid turnover in deans in her college, the program director at BCU was very skeptical about the usefulness of administration-mandated strategic planning. She acknowledged, however, that “we do try to think where we want to go and how to get there. But I find that so many things change in the course of five years, that a lot of strategic planning is obsolete the day after it’s done. That’s my personal opinion.”

When the former program director at BCU discussed their “strategy” she offered the example of the “founders’ vision of concentrating on a strategy to try to influence the university rather than build our turf.” She also commended the program director who succeeded her for having the vision to see that adopting a less collective, more

conventional structure—with a standard division of labor between program director and administrative assistant—would allow the program to grow. (In this study, “vision” is coded with “organizational health/planning” rather than with the category “leadership.”)

The dean at BCU, in that role for less than one year, was unable to comment on any specific planning processes of the women’s studies program. The dean noted, however, that the program itself began the discussion on whether to add the study of gender to its original concept of women’s studies: “And that’s important because it is a signal that the unit itself thought that its own scope. . .had expanded from what it had been during the formative years.”

The vision for women’s studies program development grew out of a collaborative process, according to one co-coordinator at RSU, though the primary responsibility for writing up and initiating each phase fell to her.

During my first term as co-coordinator I realized that we could seek and gain institutional recognition in a formal, funded fashion. . .Then I became interested in calling attention to the program through conferences. . .and now most recently my responsibilities were involved with launching the Master of Arts degree. . .we do have a plan in place [for the M. A.]but none of the new initiatives have gotten off the ground at this point.

The Dean at RSU pointed out that having a plan is one element of a recently instituted assessment process of degree programs, and that the new M. A. degree wouldn’t be reviewed for at least another three years.

All three cases share a common reality with respect to planning: program directors undertake the primary responsibility for articulating the vision for the next stage of programmatic development, but the vision itself emerges from some sort of collaborative process with other faculty. In all three cases, program directors referred to

their next goal in the program development process, and described some steps to achieve that goal. The need to pay more attention to planning for transitions in program leadership was described at two sites—LGU and RSU. Both programs are very much dependent on faculty based in departments, and have had the same leaders for at least six years. Several respondents wondered whether other department faculty would be prepared to assume the mantle of leadership. These findings will be discussed in a later chapter section about the role of leadership in creating institutional viability.

Summary of Findings on Organizational Effectiveness and Program Structure

Regardless of program structure with respect to location of faculty lines, or kinds of degrees offered, respondents from all three programs characterized in comparable ways the success or organizational effectiveness of their program. The major part of their story fit into the matrix cells of (a) student satisfaction, (b) faculty satisfaction, (c) quality of faculty, and (d) alliances or community interactions and relationships. For the first three dimensions above, taken as a group, there is considerable parity at the three sites as a percentage of the total number of positive statements and anecdotes about the program in the narratives (42%, 49%, 39%). Cell entries for (d) alliances show a similar parity across the three cases (26%, 24%, 28%).

There is some variation between individual dimensions in each of the different cases, however (see Table 8.1). Faculty satisfaction was more emphasized at BCU (23%) and LGU (26%), a research and a doctoral university, respectively, than at RSU (12%), a comprehensive university. Even if it is a statistically significant percentage

difference, it would be a mistake to try to attribute it to a difference in the study's main variable, program structure, for the following reasons.

First, content analysis percentages of items in interviews do not lend themselves to statistical manipulations because of the many subjective elements that can influence the final narrative. For example, in spite of researcher effort to make each interview last about one hour, and cover all questions, because of respondents' length of answers and unexpected time pressures, some topics were covered more thoroughly than others in a particular interview. Second, there are at least two different variables in the study that could influence the responses. The main variable is program structure. As has been shown, the program at RSU has no faculty member, in either an administrative or faculty line, who devotes her entire energies to women's studies. This difference in program structure could be an influence on the dimension of faculty satisfaction. On the other hand, a secondary variable--different university contexts--might also influence "faculty satisfaction." The definition of the dimension includes "participation in faculty on women's studies committees" and "feelings of collegiality and community" in the program. These items may register as a less significant part of the story at RSU because the faculty are working in a comprehensive university with a four-course teaching load per semester, as compared to the lighter teaching load at the other campuses of two or three courses per semester. With less time or opportunity for collaborative women's studies meetings and other formal and informal associations that promote participation and collegiality across department boundaries, it is possible that the comprehensive university context shaped the respondent's perceptions of faculty satisfaction. Even by

variation among public universities can contribute to a significantly different faculty experience. In any case, to understand in a holistic fashion the relationship between women's studies program structure and program institutional viability requires taking into account the different university contexts as a possible influence on perceptions.

The dimensions of OE as they emerge in each program's story have considerable explanatory power for the central problem of this research: to understand the processes by which interdisciplinary women's studies programs become institutionalized, and then to explain the relationship between program structure and institutional viability. Analysis of the narratives shows that with respect to four of the dimensions of OE—student satisfaction, faculty satisfaction, quality of faculty, and alliances—members of the women's studies “dominant coalition” in all three programs, regardless of program structure, perceive these elements to be a very significant component of the program's success or viability. That is, the institutionalization and long-term viability of the two programs with no faculty lines assigned to women's studies, LGU and RSU, are defined in very similar ways to that of the department-like program at BCU. With no direct control over faculty resources, only negotiated arrangements and voluntary faculty participation, the LGU and RSU programs have not only managed to develop a full complement of courses for the undergraduate minor and graduate certificate, but also to establish a B. A. degree program and M. A. degree program, respectively. So even with a solely interdisciplinary structure they are not perceived as marginal, or having limited prospects for long-term viability.

Furthermore, the BCU program, which has hired two faculty in its history primarily for women's studies, also strengthened its interdisciplinary structure by increasing steadily the number of joint appointments, rather trying to become a department, in part because of pragmatic considerations of program survival, but also because of faculty leaders' visions about how a small unit can have wider influence on the curriculum and the institution.

All three programs exhibited the other two dimensions as well—ability to acquire resources and organizational health/planning. Respondents at LGU and RSU expressed more concerns, however, on these issues than did respondents at BCU. The two programs without faculty appointments in women's studies faced more uncertainties with respect to resources because they had no faculty resources under their control, only negotiated resources. On the other hand, since these two programs also demonstrated substantial faculty satisfaction with women's studies, it seems the participating department-based faculty feel quite committed to the program. Respondents from these two programs also spoke more frequently about potential issues in a leadership transition. There was more uncertainty expressed on how to plan and carry out the leadership transition. This suggests that the viability of interdisciplinary programs with few or no faculty resources under program control could be impacted by reduced effectiveness in these two dimensions.

Leadership Asserts Its Place in the Story

An additional important finding—one not initially envisioned separately in the conceptual framework—was the respondents' perception that leadership efforts and

styles are significant in program success and viability. Assertiveness in doing outreach to multiple constituencies, dedication and commitment, a democratic and collaborative approach, and nurturing faculty are the special program director leadership attributes frequently mentioned. A faculty member at LGU remarked, “My sense is that program directors do more in terms of long-range planning, programming, mobilizing people to do research projects collaboratively, or teaching collaboratively, rather than in a department where things are more traditional.” This issue of leadership clearly relates to the ability to build successful alliances with other campus units and constituencies. However, it was striking to see how frequently leadership arose as a distinct element in comments about a variety of topics in the interviews.

The program director at BCU was expecting to step down after a six year term because a search was underway for a new faculty director. She described collaborative leadership as “an interesting balance between leading and following, and working side by side.” She pointed out that “some departments work that way, and some don’t. All of the departments are not homogeneous. It is different, though, in that women’s studies has a mission, and a political consciousness that a lot of other departments don’t have.”

The perception that women’s studies program directors are especially committed may partly be based on articulated program goals of social and curricular change within the university. But it’s also influenced by the historical reality of faculty volunteering initially in the program’s past to become the director, and the length of time served--in the case of LGU upwards of six years, and RSU, nine years.

A faculty member at LGU described the changes brought about under the current program director's leadership:

She has been more visible, more energetic in terms of gathering and mobilizing resources, and people and projects. She has turned what had been a low key, not very visible program into something really central and vibrant on this campus. It's a really quite thriving program, with a lot of different pieces. So that has been one of the key changes in the time that I have been here.

Making the transition to the next generation of faculty leaders for women's studies (a finding that is related to the dimension of organizational health/planning) seems a more significant problem facing the two programs with no faculty lines, and no obvious candidate to take over the leadership. At one site, a department-based faculty member who regularly taught women's studies courses in her field pointed out:

It is hard to imagine what will happen when it is time for new leadership, in part because [she] has a level of energy, commitment, and drive that is extraordinary. . . she hasn't encouraged others to develop those skills as much as might happen in other places. For example, my department. . .

The long-serving co-coordinator at RSU said: “. . .there is something to be said for continuity and something to be said for new leadership.” She worried that it may be hard to persuade people to take over leadership of women's studies,

because leadership is yet another fragmentation of focus in what is already a very chaotic workload. So if you add another thing which had administrative components, you just might just go crazy from the sheer overwhelming burden of it all.

Where leadership is not seen as embodied in one person, and procedures are in place for stepping down, as at BCU, a program may be perceived as more imbedded in the institutional fabric of the university, with better prospects for long-term institutional viability. A few respondents expressed more insecurity about the future leadership of

the women's studies program when so many of the program's achievements could be attributed to the "extraordinary" abilities of one person. A dean at a site with no faculty lines in the women's studies program, however, was optimistic about the leadership potential in newer faculty: "Continuity is assured as long as we have good faculty with sincere interest and expertise." The special demands and qualities of program leadership and the issues involved in planning for leadership transitions are overlapping themes in the interview narratives.

In two of the three cases, BCU (research university) and RSU (comprehensive university), the women's studies program directors took on other significant leadership roles in the university. The current director at BCU in 2000 was nominated to be on the Search Committee for a new chancellor. The former program director had served on the executive committee of the graduate college and was currently working half-time as associate vice-chancellor for academic affairs with responsibilities for faculty development. In effect, the appointment acknowledged her experience over the years of women's studies program leadership in encouraging junior faculty to achieve excellence in teaching, scholarship, and community service. She was now helping to design programs in the office of academic affairs to promote faculty development campus-wide. The provost who appointed her to the position summed up the achievements of the women's studies program at BCU this way:

I think everyone in the department [sic] is actively involved in some kind of scholarly agenda. They take their teaching very seriously. Their students are happy. . . They are very engaged in the community. They really take on the three-pronged mission of a land grant institution in a way that many traditional departments don't do. . . They understand what they are about, they understand

how they fit into our campus, they are very proud of their heritage, of the history of the program.

One of the faculty coordinators at RSU was an especially active campus leader in areas that exemplified a commitment to the university mission of teaching and student success. She chaired the university re-accreditation committee in 2000, and for some years was graduate director in her department. She also played a leadership role in organizing new student orientation. Both co-coordinators at RSU were characterized by a participating faculty member as having ability to “educate people” in a “non-offensive way,” and to turn potentially confrontational moments (with the administration) into opportunities. “That’s been a very big lesson for me,” she observed.

The program director at LGU also provided the leadership for an ongoing curriculum transformation project in which faculty participation was voluntary. In this respect, she was also playing a campus-wide role in faculty development. She was a key player in organizing and maintaining a state-wide consortium of women’s studies programs, and served 20 years on the board of directors of the local battered women’s shelter. In spite of the heavy demands of women’s studies program administration and leadership, all program directors interviewed had a record of substantial leadership in the university beyond the program.

That women’s studies program directors demonstrate different leadership qualities or styles, as compared to department chairpersons, in general, was affirmed by slightly more than half of the respondents. Two of the responses were qualified “yes’s;” one director pointed out that a department may also be run collaboratively, for example.

Both faculty and administrators were included in the minority who believe there is not much difference in leadership qualities between interdisciplinary program directors and department chairpersons.

Respondents provided many different illustrations of women's studies program directors' leadership qualities; some observed that the program's structures and goals require different administrative tasks, and therefore different leadership skills.

For example, department chairpersons conduct or oversee peer reviews of department members, while directors of programs with no faculty lines do not have this responsibility. The leadership styles of directors, therefore, are connected to the variable of program structure and to program goals.

The academic vice-president at RSU pointed out the structural basis of program leadership in contrast to departments:

I think there is something about working with faculty who are not in your department that is different, that is shared by all programs. The biggest difference is that there is no personnel process involved. You are not supervised by your colleagues in women's studies; the promotion process happens in the department of the individual, so in a sense, the coordinators are freer, because they don't have to worry about that. At the same time, they are restricted, because they don't have any power. They need to rely on their persuasion, their intellectual gifts. That is common to all programs. It may not necessarily be different for women's studies.

This quote captures a tension or balance of features between negative and positive aspects of interdisciplinary program structure. On the one hand, programs would benefit from having tenure track faculty lines, a more department-like structure, and the benefits—some “power” over program resources—that go along with faculty lines. This is a statement of the obvious strength of the department paradigm in universities. On the other hand, throughout the interviews, fruitful alliances are described that have been

built through “persuasion,” that is, free will collaborations based on intellectual partnerships which help to institutionalize the women’s studies program. Persuasion and collaboration are examples of influence on curriculum, perhaps, rather than control over curriculum. Nevertheless, the interdisciplinary programs which have initiated these influences have achieved long-term institutional viability, according to the respondents in the three case studies.

Generational Issues and Long-term Viability

The majority of the women’s studies program faculty at the three institutions are tenured. This fact alone provides a kind of program viability for ten years or more. Age differences among faculty is generally considered healthy and desirable for an academic unit because it is a sign that the university has been able consistently to recruit and hire. However, replacing the first cohort of women’s studies faculty hired in the 1970s as they retire, many of them founders and leaders of programs, will be a challenge unless the resource picture improves in institutions of public higher education.

In each of the three cases some respondents initiated comments on the issue of “generational differences” among women’s studies faculty. Several observed, for example, that younger faculty had encountered gender theory in their graduate studies, and might want therefore to place gender more in the “foreground.” One younger faculty member based in a department at BCU said:

I don’t think of myself as a women’s studies person because I come out of gender theory . . . I teach from the perspective of how gender is created. I think that it is actually a very hard transition to go from women’s studies to gender studies.

Another younger faculty member with a joint appointment between women's studies and her discipline department felt more ambivalent about embracing a more theoretical gender perspective:

As the program expands, it is going to become more theoretical, and more interested in gender questions. . . I am one of those in-between generations people who is much more comfortable with theory than some people who trained in the 1970s. On the other hand, it is only with great regret that I would see that engagement aspect of women's studies fade away. . . because it has those engaged connotations, people want to move away from it as insufficiently intellectual. And so I would be sad to see that go; I think there is definitely a place for both.

The program director at BCU embraced generational differences as a necessary part of program evolution:

I think that my generation, the generation that came of age during women's liberation in the 1970's in the universities. . .we've had our day. Our day has been wonderful, we got these things started, but it is time to turn it over to the next generation. And in some ways we are seeing that, the transition to 'gender,' which some of us old ones see as de-politicized, in fact is not necessarily de-politicized, but it is a shift. And gender resonates more with younger faculty, hmmm. . .so times are different. I don't know what issues they are going to bring up. I think it is good to let a new generation take leadership, because if women's studies is going to survive in the long run, it has to deal with the generational transition.

With respect to the women/gender dilemma, described as "do we stay women's studies or do we become gender studies?" a senior faculty member at RSU pointed out that "the current leadership agrees that if you drop the word women, then women get lost. And so I think that philosophical difference will be an issue."

A new faculty member at LGU who taught a course for the women's studies program expressed her ambivalence about gender studies:

I kind of like the political agenda of the women's studies program, seeking to empower women and give women on campus a place to become stronger. I still—maybe I'm old-fashioned—like that kind of approach, and I see gender studies as being a little less like that. I wouldn't really go toward gender studies at this point, personally. I see the argument for it from the institutional perspective. Gender studies wouldn't have to go away. If women are well represented in all the disciplines and are empowered. . . then women's studies doesn't really have a reason to exist any more, whereas gender studies would.

Her argument is related to a theme in the debate about the future of women's studies: only if women's studies can develop a distinct theoretical core that doesn't overlap with other disciplines, for example, gender theory, can the field survive over the long run.

The goal of integrating some gender theory perspectives into the women's studies curriculum had already been embraced only by the women's studies program at BCU, recently re-named "Gender and Women's Studies Program." BCU's program director thought the transition to gender theory, however, might not necessarily mean a weakening of the activist perspectives embedded in the program's curriculum and represented in its history, but she acknowledged that long-term survival meant that the new generation should take up leadership and then everyone would have to deal with resulting transitions.

Although some faculty acknowledged tensions and ambivalence about the integration of gender studies into the women's studies curriculum, none of the three programs had experienced a serious division over the issue. Instead, it was characterized as something to be anticipated in the future, an ongoing discussion, awaiting further course development at both the undergraduate and graduate level. The faculty debates about these issues have the potential to be energizing and unifying or debilitating and divisive.

The development of the categories of gender studies and gender theory is already advanced in academic publishing and is a central formulation in Ph.D. women's studies programs. How these theoretical developments might influence issues of interdisciplinary program structure or institutionalization awaits future consideration. On the one hand, as several faculty pointed out, gender theory is a different approach, and could constitute the core of the new discipline or "interdiscipline" of women's studies. Only faculty trained in gender theory would be hired to fill a women's studies line, presumably. On the other hand, if gender studies is seen as a broader field—incorporating women's studies, masculinity studies, and gay and lesbian studies—or a theoretical branch of women's studies, then the types of interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary programs could perhaps more easily add a gender studies component. In any case, intellectual definitions or boundaries of the field as it evolves will have implications for academic program structures.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

“Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. . .” (LGU)

“Informally we have contacts everywhere, we are well thought of, we can make things happen. Formally, we are a tiny unit, the smallest unit in the liberal arts college. But we actually have a campus-wide focus.” (BCU)

“We’re kind of like dandelions, or something that spreads in the garden by roots spreading out. We’re very hard to get rid of, because they would have to go department to department eliminating faculty. If we were a department, they could kill us in one swat.” (RSU)

The program directors at Land Grant U., Big City U. and Regional State U., respectively, each characterized succinctly her program’s position and status in the above quotations. Their words reflect the analyses in the three previous chapters. Although the interdisciplinary programs in the three cases are small and have a multidisciplinary structure—as compared to departments—they are described as effective and institutionalized, with very good prospects for long-term viability. The program at LGU is held up as a model for newly developing interdisciplinary programs to “imitate.” The “smallest unit in the liberal arts college,” at BCU can “make things happen” and has informal “contacts everywhere.” The program at RSU, reliant on faculty “department to department” is characterized as “roots spreading out. . .hard to get rid of.”

The history of resource acquisition outlined in Chapter 6 revealed that the status of interdisciplinary program with little or no control of faculty lines was not an obstacle to program growth and development, including the addition of master's level work in women's studies. The analysis of data in Chapters 7 and 8 showed that all members of the dominant coalition directly concerned with the women's studies program, the unit of analysis in this study, perceived that the program was well-institutionalized, and likely to remain institutionally viable over the next 10-20 years. The three cases illustrate different models of women's studies interdisciplinary program types identified in Scully and Currier's study (1997), and in the Survey of Program Directors conducted in Phase One of this study. These are representative models that have been established in public universities in the decades of the programs' histories, 1975-2000. Therefore it is likely that the results of this study may have user generalizability for other interdisciplinary programs in public universities, that is, the dimensions for assessing viability may prove useful to practitioners in other similar settings.

The initial conceptual framework utilized in this qualitative study for exploring and analyzing program long-term institutional viability proved to be an effective approach that rendered more transparent the events and processes of each program in its different university institutional context. The three domains of the conceptual framework—program history, program alliances, and organizational effectiveness—each rely on a variety of data sources, an approach which enhances the validity of the program stories that emerge. Overlapping and reinforcing data, themes, and meaning are analyzed in Chapters 6, 7, and 8, and the conclusions, understood holistically, present a complex view of institutionalization and an emerging “social construct” of long-term institutional

viability. It may be that there is not a single point in a linear history at which an interdisciplinary program becomes “fully institutionalized,” as others have suggested. Achieving institutional viability is perhaps more correctly seen as an ongoing process. The variety of alliances and connections established by women’s studies programs in different university contexts in their 20-25 year histories means their institutional identity is, compared to departments, more fluid and evolving.

The study’s findings are summarized in Chapters 6, 7, and 8. This concluding chapter briefly repeats, then interprets these findings, and contains four sections: (a) summary of findings and the analytic generalizations which can be derived from this study; (b) some implications for practice; (c) limitations of the study; and (d) suggestions for further research.

Summary of Findings

Case study methods are utilized in this research to reveal the practitioners’ subjective definitions of reality in specific contexts. Naturalistic inquiry, in the words of Sharan B. Merriam (1988), does not assume there is a single truth about the institutional viability of women’s studies programs. Instead there are “multiple realities. . .[T]he world is not an objective thing out there but a function of personal interaction and perception . . . in need of interpreting rather than measuring” (p. 17). In this study a naturalistic approach was modified by using a conceptual framework—grounded and verified in Phase One of the study by the results of the Survey of Program Directors analyzed in Chapter 4—and an interview protocol as prior instrumentation. As a result, the study results analyzed in Chapters 6, 7, and 8 provide greater explanatory power by

providing a basis for comparability and limited generalizability. One of the intentions of this research was to provide user generalizability so that readers can apply the findings to their own institutions.

A summary of some of the data in the Phase One Survey of Program Directors provides a backdrop for evaluating the findings of the analyses of cases. Of the 34 women's studies program units surveyed, five had the name "departments." In one half the programs (17), all teaching women's studies faculty were appointed in other departments. About one-third offered a B. A. degree in 1998. Table 4.4 in Chapter 4, "Program Structures/Degrees Offered" displays the 15 (of 16) "strong" women's studies units (others were 16 "adequate" and one "fragile"). Directors of "strong" programs, only three of which were named "department," had all rated their units as "having excellent prospects for long-term viability." Finally, when asked whether program or department status was better for women's studies, 18 of the 34 directors responded that department status was better. An analysis of their substantive remarks on this topic showed that while a slight majority of program directors thought department status was better, in theory, they acknowledged in their remarks on practice both the necessity and some advantages of interdisciplinary program structure.

When the findings from the three case studies are positioned against the fact that 16 program directors rated the viability of their programs as "excellent long-term prospects for viability," an emerging social construct of long-term "institutional viability" of programs is revealed, which may apply to a greater number of programs than just the three cases.

The results of the study have addressed each of the three parts of the initial problem statement: (a) to identify and explore factors that influence or shape assessments of institutional viability of women's studies programs; (b) to determine whether assessments of institutional viability vary according to differences in program structure or model; and (c) to determine what strategies are emerging to strengthen the viability of women's studies programs for the future. A summary of these results is presented in the following discussion.

The three case study sites represented the three program types with respect to program structure according to the absence or presence of women's studies faculty lines. Only one of the three (BCU) had control over two faculty lines and a group of joint appointments (which represents partial control). LGU and RSU relied on department-based faculty for their curriculum, though the program director and an associate director in a staff line at LGU worked full-time for women's studies. All three programs had achieved success or viability, particularly with respect to the first four of Cameron's dimensions of organizational effectiveness—student satisfaction, faculty satisfaction, quality of faculty, and alliances—although the three programs were perceived as effective in all dimensions, and in leadership.

The analysis in Chapter 8 showed that these dimensions are comparable across the sample of programs in their different institutional contexts. The two programs without any tenure-track faculty lines had established a B. A. degree and a graduate concentration (LGU) and an M. A. degree (RSU), which shows that interdisciplinary program structure need not be a brake or a barrier to curricular growth and innovation on a particular campus. These two degree options at sites in the case study sample had been

established relatively recently; evaluation of their success in attracting and graduating students awaits future analysis. Their institutions, however, had been supportive of the establishment of the degree programs, something that suggests a considerable degree of confidence in the program quality and viability.

On the other hand, the analysis in Chapter 8 suggests that the BCU program with its own faculty lines and joint appointments, what this study has identified as a “department-like structure,” faces fewer uncertainties than the other two programs with respect to two of the dimensions—ability to acquire resources and organizational health, in this case, “uses planning,” especially planning for leadership transitions. Therefore, program structure when defined by presence of faculty lines, does appear to have some impact on assessments of long-term viability with respect to these two dimensions. Programs totally reliant on faculty appointed in other departments, with no or few faculty resources of their own, face more uncertainties about budget for courses and the rotation of leadership, in the eyes of members of the dominant coalition.

Effective departments in universities would presumably also demonstrate in their stories student and faculty satisfaction, quality of faculty, as well as other dimensions, if Cameron’s dimensions were used as a frame for analyzing departments. One can speculate, however, that successful interdisciplinary programs depart from the effective department model in the nature and quantity of alliances established with other units on campus and in the community. Four types of alliances with other units and organizations were discussed in Chapter 8. (Departments, or some of their faculty, depending on the field, may also establish alliances with community groups if they define community service as part of their mission.) The stories of each program revealed that

faculty leaders' active work in building alliances simultaneously helped to institutionalize the program and contributed to an improved campus climate for women, one of the social justice goals of the first generation of women's studies faculty leaders. While most respondents reported on the achievements of building these alliances, only a few faculty leaders and administrators commented on the significance and achievements of these alliances to both women's studies programs and to the university as a whole.

Interdisciplinary program leadership may promote greater integration and reduced isolation of academic units and faculty to a greater extent than department leadership given the different agendas of the faculty leaders.

These findings challenge Allen's assumptions (1997) that women's studies practitioners failed to take seriously the demands of institutionalizing, "like other disciplines." The programs have institutionalized as programs, according to respondents at the three case study sites, by demonstrating the characteristics or dimensions of effective academic units, and especially by building alliances with other units to a greater extent than departments do. None of the three programs is perceived as marginal or fragile, although the respondents at two sites, LGU and RSU, thought that some additional faculty line(s) should be made available to the programs, resources permitting.

Two additional important findings emerged from the analysis of the interviews with members of the women's studies dominant coalition. First, the role of faculty leadership in institutionalizing interdisciplinary programs is very important in these cases. Although not foregrounded in the initial conceptual framework, the actions of specific individuals in the organizational analysis "asserted their place" in the story that emerged. (Actions of faculty and administrators are, of course, implicit in some the six

dimensions of organizational effectiveness, for example, in faculty quality, ability to acquire resources, or community interaction and alliances.) A four-part framework, then, would provide a more complete view of the elements that contribute to the social construct of institutional viability: organizational effectiveness, alliances, knowledge of program history, and assertive leadership.

Second, generational differences among faculty in women's studies may become more significant in the years after 2000 because younger faculty have had different experiences with the social movement of women, and with courses in feminist thought and gender theory in their graduate studies. These differences are mentioned briefly in this study. If debates about how to incorporate theories of gender into women's studies program curricula are not rancorous but fruitful, then curricular growth and change will occur without having a negative impact on institutional viability.

Additional analytic generalizations derived from this research also shed light on strategies used to strengthen the viability of women's studies programs.

1. While department status in the Phase One Survey is seen as "better" by slightly more than half of program directors, which presumably would also include "better" prospects for viability, in two of the three case study sites (BCU and RSU), the directors explained why department status might make them more vulnerable to budget reductions or to politically conservative higher education board members (Chapter 6). None of the programs had current plans to seek department status. Furthermore, the impacts of the three programs with respect to influencing both the curricula and campus climate about status of women and/or gender probably could not have been achieved without an interdisciplinary structure and university-wide, or at least college-wide focus (Chapters

6-7). The history of women's studies program growth derived from documents and the interviews revealed that program faculty leaders' responses to wider institutional events and realities determined to a considerable extent the strategies for institutionalization, especially with respect to interdisciplinary program structure and alliances. In published program documents faculty leaders presented each program's achievements over the years as consistent with the university mission. Furthermore, they utilized these documents as part of their strategy to gain resources or support for new program initiatives.

2. This study is indebted to and builds on the work of several other researchers on women's studies program institutionalization. Scully and Currier showed in the *NWSA Backlash Report* (1997) that there is no "one most common model" of women's studies programs, and the majority of programs have not a single faculty member teaching women's studies on a fulltime basis. Winkler (1992) and McMartin (1993) examined some of the changes in women's studies programs' values and goals over the first two decades as they became institutionalized and "professionalized" in colleges and universities. Their studies concluded that programs, in their quest for institutionalization, adopted more of the practices required by traditional academic units (cooptation) and dropped or modified earlier feminist, inclusive, and collective practices. Winkler commented on the challenges to women's studies programs in the mid-1980s:

Further development of women's studies programs, whether through the addition of more-program defined majors, graduate programs, and transformation to reflect women's diversity, is also endangered through continuing economic retrenchment. Women's studies will therefore be faced with the more obviously political tasks of outreach, organizing, and coalition-building in the coming years, not only to ensure survival and preserve and advance gains in curriculum and personnel, but to widen the

space for liberatory education by creating a more hospitable space for feminists and other progressives (p. 454).

This research shows that in 2000 three women's studies programs, perhaps, in part, because of their interdisciplinary structure, were successful in building alliances with the goal of creating a more supportive campus climate for women faculty and students, and transforming curricula. In these three programs, internal practices over time also involved fewer "collective" meetings of the entire group, though they still exhibited faculty collaboration on important decisions. Nonetheless, the motivation and vision of the leaders comes from an evolving feminist agenda for social transformation of the university curriculum that takes into account women, gender, and, to a lesser extent, race, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation, according to the interviews. The programs had survived budget cuts, and added new degree opportunities in the 1990s. As women's studies programs move from a "foothold" in the university to institutional viability, one can argue, they have had greater influence. "Outsider" status, with no "place at the table" does not provide a basis for much influence. The campus administrators interviewed for this study confirmed that women's studies programs have contributed to an improved campus climate for women, and more awareness of women and gender throughout the curriculum (Chapter 7).

3. The leadership abilities of program directors over the program histories contributed to their success and viability, according to slightly more than half of the respondents. Long years of service, collaborative styles, ability to reach out to varied constituencies, and plain old hard work were the leadership elements most frequently mentioned. Women's studies faculty leaders (all tenured, with 10-25 years of service)

had also shown themselves to be exemplary university citizens, accepting or seeking leadership roles outside the program unit. Undoubtedly this pattern of leadership also helped to legitimate the women's studies program with which the particular faculty were associated.

4. Because of the decision to focus on organizational theory, program structure, and the program as the unit of analysis, the human element of leadership was not a distinct element in the initial conceptual framework. That leadership emerged as a significant factor in the case study stories of institutionalization through achieving organizational effectiveness is not surprising. The frames or lenses researchers employ to study program practices in their institutional contexts are simply tools for understanding the topic in a holistic perspective; similar themes or core elements may be revealed with different frameworks. Because the institutions are complex the framework may necessarily evolve in the course of seeking understanding of the processes, as happened in this study—an important epistemological lesson.

5. Finally, the dimensions of organizational effectiveness used to assess long-term institutional viability in this study appear in the narratives as both indicators and determinants of assessments of viability. For example, respondents argued that the excellent faculty with active scholarly agendas (determinant) helped make the women's studies program visible, credible, and successful. Alternatively, they measure the program success by the quality of its faculty, as evidenced by teaching awards and successful records of scholarship (indicator). A factor that helped determine the institutional viability of the program—its alliances with other units—is also cited by respondents as an indicator of the institutional strength of the program (the “informal

contacts” and “roots” metaphor). These are examples of Robert Birnbaum’s insight that colleges and university organizations exhibit “non-linear circles of reciprocal interaction and influence” (1998, p. 47). Evaluating how things happen or the relationship of cause and effect is complicated in such a dynamic landscape. The findings of this study, however, suggest guidelines for both evaluating and strengthening women’s studies program long-term institutional viability.

Implications for Practice

There are several implications for practice that emerge from this analysis of the issues facing women’s studies programs in the quest for long-term institutional viability.

1. As one faculty leader described it, women’s studies programs have grown organizationally “like dandelions,” and have spread out where they could by seizing opportunities as they became available in the different university contexts. In recent years, as the discipline or “interdiscipline” of women’s studies is maturing, a dozen Ph.D. programs have been established, and there is ongoing debate about defining boundaries and creating structures for the field. This debate is often formulated as a choice between department and program structure or status, as was described in Chapter 2, the Review of the Literature. There are more productive approaches to these serious questions about the organizational identities of women’s studies. For example, established women’s studies programs at a period of required program evaluation or leadership transition might undertake a year-long discussion, involving all members of the dominant coalition, about the structure and resource requirements of their particular program. Participants in this discussion can draw on the growing knowledge base represented by this study and the

earlier work of other researchers cited in the literature review in order to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of interdisciplinary programs, and make appropriate adjustments.

2. The various models of effective women's studies programs should continue to be supported by faculty leaders and university administrations, even as the Ph.D. programs present new challenges and opportunities for growth and change. This study has shown that different models can flourish if they create student and faculty satisfaction, and acquire a consistent level of adequate funding over time. Both program leaders and campus administrators need to be cognizant of ways to promote faculty satisfaction, most importantly by installing procedures for evaluating and rewarding faculty contributions to women's studies as well as their home departments. The persistent problem of jointly appointed faculty juggling the expectations of two homes must be addressed. Programs with a history of jointly-appointed faculty obtaining tenure have experience in making it work. Deans and provosts have an important role to play in clarifying and monitoring the situation of jointly appointed faculty. Organizational innovations in the field will continue to reflect the ongoing intellectual and scholarly diversity in the broad areas of women's studies and gender studies scholarship for the foreseeable future.

3. One of the most important findings of this study was the significance of alliances—the various kinds of connections and cooperative relationships—in the story of institutionalizing women's studies programs, of which the interdisciplinary curriculum is the most visible and central manifestation. In the cases where programs do not have joint appointments, these alliances are voluntary; they are based on the shared understanding

between several individuals about a common objective. For example, the women's studies program director, a particular department-based faculty member who contributes either a cross-listed or core women's studies course, and her department chairperson have an agreement about the faculty member's teaching commitment to women's studies. But the understanding may have to be re-negotiated when department chairs change, or if the faculty member leaves the department. Similarly, as an age cohort of faculty retires, perhaps within a few years of each other, the women's studies curriculum could be weakened or jeopardized. A dean of a college of liberal arts can demonstrate a commitment to women's studies by providing joint appointment faculty positions as in the BCU case. Short of that, program directors may need to pursue additional kinds of formal agreements in writing for ongoing support from the liberal arts college in which their program resides, so that women's studies does not remain reliant on informal understandings made between individuals.

4. Program faculty leaders could speak and write more about program history as an example of institution-building in a diverse universe, rather than be drawn into a debate about which structure is required for women's studies development at this stage. The debate about the field and the dilemmas of institutionalization are important subjects, and should not be minimized or avoided. But sometimes the debate is undertaken in abstract rather than grounded formulations, without taking into account the different university contexts. This study has shown how three programs used formulations of their own history in its specific university context in creative ways to promote program growth and institutionalization.

5. Finally, there are broad implications of this research for other “people programs,” in particular, African-American studies and other ethnic studies programs that have somewhat similar histories to women’s studies. The organizational development of African-American studies, begun a decade earlier than women’s studies, parallels it in many ways. Darlene Clark Hine provides an overview:

Typically they were established in response to political exigencies rather than intellectual and academic imperatives. These and other factors contributed to ongoing structural and organizational diversity. Today it seems that no two black studies programs are alike. Their diversity is evidenced in faculty size and composition, relations with university administrators and more traditional departments, curriculum, degrees offered, budgets, spatial resources, range of special programs, and the nature of their community outreach (Harris, Jr. et al, p. 15).

Chairpersons of African American studies programs and departments and leading scholars in the field are often faculty appointed in other departments, or have joint appointments. Autonomous departments exist, however, for example, at Temple University. Temple offers the Ph.D. as do three other universities as of May 2000, according to the National Council for Black Studies, with a few more in the works, including Harvard (Hamilton, 2000, p. 24).

Because of historical and conceptual distinctions between women’s studies and African-American studies (not the least of which is that racism is not a simple analogy to sexism, and women aren’t a statistical “minority” in the United States), comparisons between the two fields have to be made carefully. For example, as of May 2000 only three universities in the south offered a major in African-American studies, though presumably there are some interdisciplinary concentrations with minors (Evelyn & Hamilton, 2000, p. 30). Thus it is important for women’s studies practitioners to

understand the different history and organizational challenges of African-American studies departments. The authors of the essays cited above suggest that even after having achieved department status in the 1970s, Black studies (as it was then called) underwent a decline in the 1980s. Black studies units had the name “department” but often had, in fact, the structure of an interdisciplinary program. As in women’s studies there are many debates about the core theories and boundaries of the field, a sign of their developmental histories and well as their vibrancy, according to the aforementioned scholars.

Of the three universities in the case study sample, only one, BCU, had an African-American studies department or program. Though it has the name “department,” according to the university web site, it is comparable to the women’s studies program in size and organization, except that it offers the major. A recent chairperson of the African-American Studies department at BCU is actually appointed in criminal justice and women’s studies. This fact illustrates how many of the organizational challenges of women’s studies programs are relevant for interdisciplinary ethnic studies programs and departments. More collaboration on issues of institutionalization between units and across interdisciplinary fields might enhance the overall impact our programs have on university practices. The goal would be to learn from each other about the similar organizational, curricular, and social justice components of these interdisciplinary areas of knowledge and program development.

Limitations of the Study

1. This study would be strengthened if the researcher had been able to identify and investigate a negative case, for example a “de-institutionalized” women’s studies

program or a program in a period of decline. The researcher investigated programs that recently had experienced some growth in either faculty or administrative lines, or by the addition of degrees offered. Such growth was representative of trends in the field in the late 1990s. Selection of a declining program for comparison, however—the “outlier” effect—may have strengthened the argument that these particular dimensions of organizational effectiveness are characteristics successful programs possess.

2. The evidence of “student satisfaction” had to be interpreted from perceptions of faculty and administrators, and from data provided by program directors on enrollment growth. Cameron did not interview students when he developed these dimensions in the 1970s, so there is justification for using his model of interviewing faculty and administrators only. Still, a fuller picture of women’s studies program achievements and impacts could be obtained by researching student perceptions on these issues.

3. This study was not able to compare the findings of the Phase One Survey of Program Directors with a broader number of women’s studies programs because there is no national data base of programs that contains salient program characteristics and is regularly updated. As a result, this researcher could not access up-to-date information on the variety of program structures that exist in 2003, but needed to rely exclusively on data from the mid-1990s, for example, Scully and Currier’s study (1997).

4. It is possible that in the selection of the three cases for this study, the element of chance contributed to the identification of three sites whose faculty had exceptional leadership abilities with respect to building alliances with other units on and off campus. The point remains, however, that for small interdisciplinary programs to survive, alliances must be created and maintained.

Suggestions and Questions for Further Research

Further research on organizational effectiveness, program structure, and strategies for institutionalization might focus on the following needs and topics, not listed in order of priority, but in the order in which this researcher encountered them in the course of this study.

1. There is still a need for an accurate and complete data base on women's studies programs and departments. The National Women's Studies Association objective of creating such a data base remains a future goal, largely because of the expense and time involved in setting up and maintaining such a data base of such complex categories. Researchers who attempt to understand and interpret the development of women's studies need background data before the results can be expressed in more definitive ways.

2. Follow-up research on the next stages of development of the three case study programs will be necessary to present a complete story of long-term institutional viability, and, in effect, to test further whether dimensions of organizational effectiveness and viability prove to be useful social constructs for interpreting the institutionalization of academic units within larger organizations. For example, if resources in public universities are severely limited in the coming decades, will these relatively new interdisciplinary programs remain viable? In the three cases in this study, the programs survived the budget reductions of the early 1990s, but, in two cases, they had not yet taken on the development of degree programs. Consistent student enrollments as majors, and in the Masters of Arts courses will be a requirement of continued support from

university administrations, according to several respondents. Whether interdisciplinary women's studies programs fare better or worse under budget constraints than some other liberal arts disciplines presently organized in departments is difficult to predict. Winkler's (1992) history of four women's studies programs up to the mid-1980s warned that women's studies was endangered through [sic] economic retrenchment. This study has shown that of the 34 programs surveyed in 1998, nearly one half of the directors rated their programs' viability as strong ("excellent prospects for long-term viability"). These programs and the three cases explored in depth in this study flourished in spite of occasional budget downturns of the late 1980s and 1990s in public universities. But economic retrenchment and conservative political trends remain possible challenges for programs in public universities in the next decades as well. Under these circumstances, or at times of budget-driven reviews, student demand for courses and programs is an important criteria of program vitality; the future of smaller programs and departments therefore depends on continued strong student and faculty interest. Furthermore, as the RSU coordinator quoted at the beginning of this chapter pointed out, "we're very hard to get rid of, because they would have to go department to department eliminating faculty." Program structure, therefore, as well as continued enthusiasm of faculty and students, may help protect the core of women's studies in a period of severe budget restraints or even from ideological attacks. A possible model for women's studies programs in a future of limited resources is the type of structure at BCU—two lines in women's studies and several joint appointments. With this pattern of appointment, departments, too, benefit from the addition of feminist scholars. Only future investigation can reveal more

conclusively which kinds of faculty appointments and interdisciplinary program structures are resilient in times of economic retrenchment.

3. What has been the fate of women's studies departments, both those in liberal arts colleges, and those in research universities where Ph.D. programs have been launched? Have they maintained any aspects of their interdisciplinary structures? Can the model of multiple joint appointments, represented here in the BCU case, be extended to joint appointments between departments? How might this development change the meaning of "discipline" and "department?" There are indications that scholarly agendas of faculty in a number of disciplines are influenced by perspectives that intentionally transcend narrow disciplinary views. Many in the field are also awaiting analyses of how women's studies Ph.D.s fare in the job market, given that the majority of women's studies programs are still so dependent for their curricula on department-based faculty. While the department seems quite secure as the paradigm for academic organization, two administrators in this study endorsed other approaches in curriculum development which crossed disciplinary boundaries.

The related question of whether women's studies is a discipline or an interdisciplinary field is actively discussed at conferences and in journals. A recent discussion of women's studies by Eloise Buker (2003), a women's studies director and professor of political science, "Is Women's Studies a Disciplinary or an Interdisciplinary Field of Inquiry?" connects the intellectual mode of inquiry with the debate about program structure. Women's studies will undergo changes, she argues, but can remain "on the cutting edge of intellectual inquiry and administrative creativity. What those changes might be will vary as programs and departments evolve in ways that affirm our

commitments to democratic practices and intellectual integrity” (Buker, 2003, p. 91).

Buker does not recommend that programs adopt the administrative structure of a department, but instead suggests, as does this study, that intellectual evolution of the field can take place and institutional viability be achieved with either a program or department structure.

4. A major contribution of this study has been to demonstrate the importance of evaluating the institutionalization of interdisciplinary programs in a holistic fashion in their different university contexts. Size of university and status in the Carnegie classification system are important variables in any analysis of women’s studies program institutionalization, and may shape the opportunities and organizational outcomes with respect to women’s studies program structure. To survey program directors within one type of university, for example, all comprehensive, or all doctoral institutions, and then compare them, would reveal to what extent common practices and experiences may be rooted in the overall institutional framework. A recent study examined the identities of faculty teaching women’s studies courses in four comprehensive universities. The authors found that some identified as “interdisciplinary scholars,” regardless of location of appointment, while others identified more as “disciplinary scholars” (Burghardt and Colbeck, 2000). In both situations their scholarly work, focused on women or gender, was often not sufficiently acknowledged; the authors concluded, therefore, that women’s studies program directors, department chairs, and administrators need to work together “to formally acknowledge those scholars who are teaching women’s studies courses” (p. 30). Such acknowledgement would help to identify and solidify the connections between interdisciplinary programs and departments on each campus.

In summary, the original impetus for this study stemmed from the discussion within the field that emerged in the second half of the 1990s. Faculty leaders associated with several programs or departments in women's studies at large research universities, who were trying to initiate the Ph.D., argued, at conferences and in published articles, that "progressive change" in the field required department status and Ph.D. development (Allen & Kitch, 1998, p. 292). A few expressed concern that women's studies programs would remain marginal as long as they had an interdisciplinary program structure. Faculty leaders of interdisciplinary programs, this researcher included, questioned these judgments as premature closure on a debate about the significance and future of the majority of women's studies programs (some even named "departments") which rely on courses taught by discipline-based faculty, or have only one or two faculty or staff who are responsible for program leadership and some of the core courses.

The supporters of the argument that a department structure with control over a significant number of faculty lines is necessary to achieve institutional recognition and permanence were perhaps thinking primarily of the context of a research university. Department status may be a prerequisite for a sufficient level of funding and security in some research universities, or even a statutory requirement for establishing the Ph.D. in women's studies. In such settings, working to establish a department and the required faculty lines is an appropriate next step because of the goals, size, available resources, and institutional context of the program. But it is not an appropriate or practical step for all programs in all settings. Women's studies programs in most settings, and even women's studies departments with some faculty lines, will continue to rely on the contributions of affiliated department faculty from other disciplines. And it is likely

that significant numbers of discipline-based faculty, given their exposure to women's studies in their own education, will want to participate in women's studies programs at the universities in which they are hired, and contribute to the evolution of the field.

This study explored the achievements and challenges of acquiring institutional viability for a sample of women's studies programs in public universities, those that have neither a B. A. program and/or significant numbers of faculty lines in women's studies per se, according to the best available data. Disaggregating programs according to university classification, and analyzing the domains of effective programs has produced a social construct—institutional viability—that expands the knowledge base about interdisciplinary women's studies programs' institutional status and develops a more nuanced, less polarized approach for assessing the long-term viability of these programs.

APPENDIX A

Letter to Program Directors and Survey Questionnaire

Women's Studies Program
June 5, 1998

Dear Women's Studies Program Administrator:

I want to introduce myself and ask for your cooperation in a study of Women's Studies programs in public universities.

I am conducting this research on Women's Studies programs for an EdD dissertation in a program of higher education administration. My goal is to help practitioners understand better some of the institutional issues facing Women's Studies as we enter the next generation of development.

For twenty-four years I have been teaching in the UMass Boston Women's Studies program; I've served as program administrator for fifteen years. I'm a longtime member of NWSA and I've served on the editorial board of the NWSA Journal, when it was edited by Patsy Schweickart at the University of New Hampshire.

The attached questionnaire includes questions about your perceptions of the characteristics of your Women's Studies program. Even if you have no systematic data for making a certain judgement, please answer the question based on your perception of the program.

I ask for your signature and address at the top of the questionnaire to confirm your understanding that the results of the study may be published or distributed, and that I may contact you again by E-mail.

Be assured that all respondents and institutions will be kept anonymous in the discussion and interpretation of results.

Sincerely yours,

Ann Froines

(Email: froines@umbsky.cc.umb.edu Tel: 617-287-6784)

Questionnaire

(Return questionnaire in attached stamped, addressed envelope within two weeks, please.)

(your signature) _____

(print name) _____

(institution) _____

(address) _____

(E-mail) _____ (Tel) _____

(program or department in which you are appointed) _____

Instructions:

Each question requires that you circle/check an answer, or write a short answer. Any comparative question refers to comparisons between W.S. and other academic units in the university. Women's Studies is abbreviated throughout as "W.S." It should take about 30 minutes to complete. Thank you very much for your time!

Please be as thoughtful and fair as possible in assessing the characteristics of your Women's Studies Program .

The first part of the questionnaire asks for demographic data about the Women's Studies program.

* * * * *

1a. Please indicate in which category of W. S. program structure your program best fits:

_____ all participating faculty appointed in other departments or programs

_____ some participating faculty have joint appointments between the W.S. program and other disciplines; there are no full-time faculty positions in W.S.

_____ there is at least one full-time faculty member whose appointment is exclusively in Women's Studies

1b. What is the official name of your program/department?

Name _____

- 1c. Name of position of person to whom the W.S. Program Administrator reports: _____
2. In what time period was the W. S. program founded?
before 1975 _____
1975-1980 _____
1981-1985 _____
after 1985 _____
3. Please indicate the amount of the program's operating budget (Do not include faculty/staff salaries): _____
4. Does program administrator receive (mark all that apply)
release time from teaching _____
additional compensation _____
other (please explain) _____
5. Does the program have an active advisory board or similar policy-making body? yes _____ no _____
6. Please indicate the number of undergraduates in the student body at your university.
fewer than 10,000 _____
between 10,000 and 20,000 _____
more than 20,000 _____
7. Note all minor/major/degrees that apply for W.S.:
undergrad concentration/minor _____
undergrad individualized major _____
undergrad B.A./B.S. in W. S. _____
other degrees, including graduate (please list)

8. Is your program listed in the NWSA online database?
yes _____ no _____
9. Please list the characteristics of W. S. programs that you think should be considered when measuring or assessing the long-term institutional viability of the programs.

10. How would you rate the long-term institutional viability of your W.S. program? (Check one.)

- ☐ fragile - poor long-term prospects for program survival over next 10 years.
- ☐ adequate - good long-term prospects for maintaining program at present strength over next 10 years.
- ☐ strong - excellent long-term prospects for maintaining or increasing program strength over next 10 years.

11. List four or five important factors affecting your program's institutional viability over the next ten years:

12. Rank order the following three factors on which the viability of your W.S. program depends (1 = most important:)

- ☐ program factors over which program itself has control
- ☐ external factors which program planning can anticipate
- ☐ external factors which we are unable to anticipate

13. Are any factors affecting your program's viability different from those affecting academic departments in your institution? Yes____ No____
If so, please list those factors that you believe are different.

14. Does your program have plans to become a department?
Yes____ No____
If yes, when is it likely to happen?_____

15. In your opinion, is it better to have interdisciplinary program status or department status?
(Check one)
interdisciplinary program status is better _____
department status is better _____
Please explain your answer:

16. How do W. S. class sizes compare with class sizes of other programs/departments?
(Check one)
greater _____
same _____
fewer _____

17. How would you assess student satisfaction with their W. S. major/minor? (Check one)
very satisfied _____
satisfied _____
dissatisfied _____

18. What is your perception of the numbers of W.S. majors who have gone on to graduate/professional education, as compared to majors in other fields at your university?
(Check one) Greater _____
Same _____
Fewer _____
Our program doesn't have majors _____

19. How do W.S. majors'/minors' overall grade point averages compare to those of students in other liberal arts fields?
(Check one) above other majors _____
same as other majors _____
below other majors _____
don't know _____

20. In your opinion, how important is it for W. S. programs to offer the opportunity to undergraduates of taking an "honors" course or tutorial? (Check one)
very important _____
important _____
not important _____

21. How do you think the majority of W.S. majors/minors perceive their field of study in relation to their career goals. (Check one)
Women's Studies will help them _____
Women's Studies has no effect _____
Women's Studies will hurt them. _____
22. List the ways your W. S. program provides career advising to students.
23. List opportunities offered by your W. S. Program for student extracurricular activities:
24. List the ways that faculty appointed in other departments express satisfaction with their involvement in the W. S. Program:
25. List the ways that faculty appointed in other departments express dissatisfaction with their involvement in the W. S. Program:
26. Please fill in the numbers of faculty teaching W. S. courses who are appointed as full professors _____
associate professors _____
assistant professors _____
instructors _____
27. In your estimation, what percentage of W. S. faculty in your program have a national reputation? ____ %.
28. Describe any recognition or awards for teaching or research received by faculty teaching W. S. at your university:

29. List the ways that W. S. faculty are involved in community activities/service outside the university:

30. List the ways that W. S. majors and minors are involved in community activities/service outside the university:

31. Rate the effectiveness of the W.S. program in developing relationships with community groups outside the university. (Check one)

low _____

medium _____

high _____

32. To what extent is the W. S. program perceived by administrators to have drawing power for students, as compared to other liberal arts programs?

more drawing power _____

same drawing power _____

less drawing power _____

33. Is the W. S. program funded adequately by the institution in comparison to other interdisciplinary programs? (Check one)

_____receives more funds

_____ receives same funds

_____receives fewer funds

34. Has the W. S. program acquired funding from sources outside the university in the last 10 years? Yes _____ No _____. If yes, please describe sources and activities funded.

35. Have W. S. faculty received funding from sources outside the university in the last ten years? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, please describe sources and activities funded.

36. In your opinion, how significant has long term planning been for your W. S. program's growth and development? (Check one) _____ very significant
_____ somewhat significant
_____ not significant

37. Describe the organizational climate within the W. S. program by circling the numbers on the grid as they apply for each set of adjectives. (Example: decision-making style: 1 - very bureaucratic... to ... 5 - very collegial)

decision-making style	bureaucratic	1 2 3 4 5	collegial
level of trust	low	1 2 3 4 5	high
level of conflict	high	1 2 3 4 5	low
recognition of contributions to program	lack of equity	1 2 3 4 5	equity
student/faculty relations (with undergrads)	poor	1 2 3 4 5	excellent

38. Please rate on the scale below the overall university institutional environment in which you function:

a culture <u>receptive to change</u>	1	2	3	4	5	a culture <u>resistant to change</u>
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

39. In your opinion, do the perceptions of Women's Studies faculty about the organizational effectiveness of the Women's Studies Program differ significantly from members of the administration, e.g. the Dean or the academic vice-president? Yes _____ No _____. Please explain your answer on reverse side.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR CASE STUDIES

Case Study Research/Ann Froines

INTRODUCE MYSELF, THANK THEM FOR PARTICIPATING, GIVE THEM THE CONSENT FORM.

BRIEF EXPLANATORY STATEMENT:

My goal with this study is to help all those responsible for guiding women's studies understand better some of the structural and institutional issues facing women's studies in its next generation of development.

I am interviewing 8-10 individuals at each institution who have had significant roles with the women's studies program. Even though programs may have different names and structures, for the purposes of my interview I will refer to the program at your institution as "women's studies."

FIRST, SOME FACTUAL DATA:

- (1) how long have you been in your present position? what was your position before this one?
- (2) what is your discipline or field of interest?
- (3) what are your interactions with or responsibilities for women's studies?
- (4) (Dean/provost/or prog director) does a representative of women's studies participate in program directors/chairpersons meetings with the dean/provost? Why or why not?

QUESTIONS FOR DOMAINS A, B, C, IN CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:

History

1. Did you play a role in the founding of women's studies at this university? or at another university? If so, please describe it.
2. During the time you have been dean/provost/faculty/ student, what has been the most important development or change in women's studies at your university?
3. Did you participate in this change or development? How?
4. Are you aware of any deliberate efforts to weaken, discredit, or eliminate the w.s. program, or any of its active faculty or staff here at this university?
If yes, how did the program respond?
5. How do you see the women's studies program here developing in the future? (By this I mean not what you would like to see, but what you think will actually happen.)
6. Has women's studies had a formal program review? what were the results of the review?

Organizational Effectiveness

7. Research done on the organizational effectiveness of academic institutions suggests that o.e. is defined as carrying out effectively the mission of the university.
How would you define in specific terms the dimensions of organizational effectiveness of academic units within the university, such as academic departments and programs.
8. How would you describe the organizational effectiveness of the women's studies program?
9. In your opinion what has been the greatest achievement of women's studies here on your campus?
10. What obstacles do you see at this university which interfere with women's studies reaching its goals?
11. How do you think these obstacles will affect its institutional status in the long-term future, say ten years?

Alliances

12. Describe the ongoing collaborative efforts women's studies has with other units in the university.
13. Describe the collaborative efforts with groups outside the university.
14. With which units is women's studies most closely allied?
15. Please characterize how faculty as a whole at the university (or in the college of a & s) perceive the w.s.p.
16. How do members of the central administration perceive the women's studies program, in your opinion?
17. How would you describe the impact the women's studies program has had on the university?
18. Has women's studies utilized long-term or strategic planning for its growth and development? Who's involved?
19. In your opinion, are different leadership qualities demonstrated by the director of women's studies as compared to other academic units, e.g. dept chairs? What are they?
20. What issues will the women's studies program confront when it is time, for whatever reason, to make a transition to a new group of faculty for leadership?

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

Doctoral Dissertation Research

Topic: The Institutionalization of Women's Studies Programs: The Relationship of Program Structure to Long-term Viability.

Ann Froines, Program in Higher Education Administration
Graduate College of Education
University of Massachusetts Boston
100 Morrissey Blvd.
Boston, MA 02125

Tel: (617) 287-6784 (office)

E-mail: ann.froines@umb.edu

I would like to request your cooperation in a study of Women's Studies Programs in public universities. I would like to interview you about the characteristics of the Women's Studies Program on your campus. The questions will concern the history of its organizational development, its organizational effectiveness and the affiliations the program has established inside and outside the university. The information you provide will contribute to the understanding of institutionalization issues of interdisciplinary academic Women's Studies programs as they enter the next generation of development.

I also request your permission to tape record the one hour interview for later transcription. Only myself or independent coders will review the tapes; the coders will not be able to identify you by name. Information obtained in this study that can be identified with you will remain confidential. The tapes and transcripts will be stored in a locked file cabinet, and will be destroyed after five years from this date. The anonymity of institutions and individuals participating in this study will be preserved in the analysis of the cases.

If you decide to participate in the study you are free to withdraw consent and discontinue participation at any time.

Sincerely,

Ann Froines

(You may keep the top of this form)

I have decided to participate in the study by Ann Froines on the institutionalization of Women's Studies programs in public universities. My signature indicates that I have read the information above and that I agree to have a tape-recorded interview. I realize that I may withdraw from the study at any time after signing this form should I decide to do so.

signature

print name

date

APPENDIX D

DATA COLLECTION ON HISTORY OF RESOURCE ALLOCATION AND PROGRAM GROWTH OF THE WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAM.

(To be filled out by the current program director.

I appreciate your efforts to locate and verify the data requested on this form. Thank you!)

1. Please indicate the total number of courses/sections counting toward the Women's Studies (WS) certificate/degree offered over the entire academic year 1998-99.

_____ different courses

_____ total number of sections

2. Within the above total, how many are interdisciplinary WS courses, with a women's studies rubric, that is, courses not based in other departments or programs? _____ courses.

3. Has the number of courses offered each academic year changed significantly since 1990?

_____ increased (by more than 4 courses)

_____ stayed the same (plus or minus 4)

_____ decreased (by more than 4)

4. What is the total number of students (certificate, minor, major) enrolled in the WS Program at the present time?

_____ students.

Compared to 1990, has the number

_____ increased

_____ stayed the same

_____ decreased

5. Please indicate the dollar amounts of the WS Program operating budget for the following years: **Do NOT include faculty or staff salaries.**

1985 _____

1990 _____

1995 _____

1999 _____

6. Please indicate or explain if some of the operating budget of the program indicated for the different years above had a source outside the university budgeting process (e.g., a grant from an outside agency; donations from fund-raising) (Use reverse side of sheet if necessary.)

7. For each year indicated, fill in the number of part-time and full-time faculty positions hired in the WS Program.

	<i>Part-time</i>	:	<i>Fulltime</i>
1985	_____		_____
1990	_____		_____
1995	_____		_____
1999	_____		_____

8. For each year indicated, fill in the number of part-time and full-time faculty, with a faculty line in another department, assigned to the WS Program on a permanent basis, for the purpose of teaching interdisciplinary or core WS courses.

	<i>Part-time</i>	:	<i>Fulltime</i>
1985	_____		_____
1990	_____		_____
1995	_____		_____
1999	_____		_____

9. Does the program director work fulltime for the WS Program while she serves as program director? If NO, please explain briefly.

10. In the history of the program has there been any change in the definition or description of the program director's position? Please explain briefly.

11. Does the program director receive additional compensation and/or "released time" equivalent to that granted to department chairpersons? Explain, if necessary.

Add comp _____
Released time _____

12. What is the number of part-time and fulltime university support staff in the WS Program? Please indicate whether they are clerical or professional staff. (Do not include work-study student staff.)

13. Please use reverse side to explain any important factors in the history of resource allocation or program growth of your WS Program that have not been described above.

APPENDIX E

DIMENSIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS: CODES AND CODE DEFINITIONS

The codes apply only to the women's studies program, the unit of analysis.

1. Satisfaction, Student (Sat S)

Descriptive – Coding for:

- Evidence of participation, support, involvement of students or alumnae.
- Any mention of student achievements, personal growth, etc.
- Special services for students, such as career advising provided by program (but NOT academic advising in the ordinary course of things).
- Respondents speak of special efforts for students

Inferential – Coding for:

- Respondents speak of concern (awareness) of student satisfaction.
- Respondents mention an interest in roles/employment students have after graduation (inference: positive roles provide satisfaction)

2. Satisfaction, Faculty (Sat F)

Descriptive – Coding for:

- Ongoing and persistent participation in w. s. program as teachers, and in other events, such as lectures and conferences. **
- Comment on support by program, or program leaders, of faculty; a feeling of community or collegiality.
- Program is a factor in attracting new faculty to the university.
- Expressions of eagerness or excitement about program, e.g. with the intellectual quality of program.

Inferential – Coding for:

- Volunteer service on women's studies committees.
- Comment on w. s. program role in improving climate for women on campus.
- Desire to be more involved with w. s. program.

**** distinguish between “participation” (Sat F) and statement of connection between a dept-based faculty member and program (alliance – al/cam-dp) by the intent of statement.**

3. Quality of faculty (Qual F)

Descriptive – Coding for:

- Tenure and promotion = positive peer recognition.
- Publishing record; scholarly productivity;
- Comments about/awards for excellence in teaching.
- University and/or public service; good university citizens; include
- feminist activism on campus, e.g. raising awareness of women’s issues**

Inferential – Coding for:

- Evidence or mention of special commitment to teaching and advising.
- Involvement in important institutional roles outside of w.s. program. **

****Do NOT code for leadership ability of program director or other w. s. faculty leaders. There is a separate code for this item.**

4. Alliances; community interaction & relationships

4a – alliances on campus –depts (al/cam-dp)

4b – alliances on campus – other groups (al/cam-gr)

4c - alliances with community groups - (al/comm)

Descriptive – Coding for:

- On campus – with departments **(al/cam-dp)**
Negotiations and relationships with departments for faculty “buyouts, “ cross-listed courses, or curriculum transformation work. Include “dependence of program on depts;” (Do NOT confuse with individual dept. faculty members’ participation and support of program. Consider intent of statement.)
- On campus – with other groups **(al/cam-gr)**
Affiliations, co-sponsorships, serving on advisory boards of other groups; outreach to staff and student groups for programming purposes, etc. **
- Off campus – alliances with community organizations **(al/comm)**
Any evidence of individual w. s. faculty, program, or student participation in community organizations, including internships; joint projects with, and providing resources for, community groups.

Inferential – Coding for:

- Efforts by program to reach out for support on campus in times of threat, for example, organize a campus meeting to defend women's studies. **

**Do not code in this category any statement of support for program, or about influence of program, or for "positive or changed climate for women, about gender," etc. They are to be considered the product of alliances/community interaction or the impact of program on campus, rather than the alliances themselves. (Again, consider statement's intent.)

5. Ability to acquire resources (Res Acq)

Descriptive – Coding for:

- Positive record of obtaining budget for programming and staff support, or any other resources, such as space.
- Positive record of acquiring funds to buy out faculty, or of obtaining faculty lines. **

Inferential – Coding for:

- The phrase "there is administrative support for the women's studies program" (inference: respondents often mean funding support when use this phrase).

** don't code for statements about department-based faculty who teach courses cross-listed in program (fits under another code); this code is for resources that the program "controls."

Note: Administrative "approval" of a new certificate or degree is NOT to be coded as "administrative support – ability to acquire resources". Programs can be "authorized" to offer a "minor", e.g. without having a history of acquiring resources.

6. Organizational health: uses planning (Org heal)

(Code only for this one aspect of "organizational health" for the unit, "women's studies" –ignore university "planning")

Descriptive – Coding for:

- Uses planning to meet goals, challenges; evidence of collective planning processes or planning documents written by individuals **
- Planning for transitions in leadership – If the intent is to say something about planning, code for **org heal** not for **leadership**.

Inferential – Coding for:

- Having vision or a sense of where program should go (inference: having “vision” inspires planning or makes planning more effective.) If faculty “leaders” have “vision”, code for **org heal** not **leadership**.

****Writing a persuasive proposal is NOT to be coded as “planning.”**

7. Leadership

“Leadership” emerged in interviews as a very significant factor related to but independent of “organizational effectiveness.” THEREFORE, code for the following “chunks” of meaning on “leadership.” Consider whether intent is to say something about “leadership.” (“Vision” is in **Org heal**)

Descriptive – Coding For:

- Women’s studies program leadership on campus.
- Any reference to program director as a leader. **
- Women’s Studies faculty leadership of program, or on campus.
- All references to leadership as a factor in the w. s. program story, if carried out by program participant. (Dean’s leadership on behalf of program is not to be coded.)

Inferential – Coding for:

- References to skills and talents that are components of “leadership,” such as “people skills” or “organizing ability” among w. s. participants.

****Leadership does not include ongoing program administration work.**

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