WORK-LIFE BALANCE AND POLICIES AMONG TENURED/TENURE-TRACK PROFESSORS IN CALIFORNIA PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

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Sandy Somo
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The Undersigned Faculty Committee Approves the

Thesis of Sandy Somo:

Work-Life Balance and Policies Among Tenured/Tenure-Track Professors in
California Public Institutions of Higher Education

Minjeong Kim, Chair
Department of Sociology

Audrey Beck
Department of Sociology

Kendra Jeffcoat
Department of Administration, Rehabilitation, and Postsecondary Education

11/11/15
Approval Date
DEDICATION

To all the women and men in the world who strive to balance their work and family lives—your struggles do not go unnoticed. And to all the pioneers in this movement who came before us and advocated for policies in the workplace—thank you.
ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Work-Life Balance and Policies Among Tenured/Tenure-Track Professors in California Public Institutions of Higher Education

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Sandy Somo
Master of Arts in Sociology
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The purpose of this research is to explore the complexities of the work-life balance of tenured and tenure-track professors in the social and behavioral sciences. It is a comparative study between professors that teach in California Community Colleges (CCC) versus those that teach in public universities, such as the California State University (CSU) and the University of California (UC), focusing on the Southern California area. This research uses qualitative methods, by the use of in-depth interviews with faculty members from the various institutions. Surveys are also administered prior to the interviews, in which respondents filled out information on their background. This study allowed for the emergence of patterns in the profession, and the analysis of the existing work policies that may aid or inhibit work-life balance among our local faculty members. The frameworks of family life course theory and role conflict theory allowed for the examination of how factors such as gender, stage of career, institutional type and professional responsibilities impact overall faculty work-life balance. Of the three types of public institutions of higher education in California, faculty interviewees from the UCs reported having better, and more varied family-friendly policies than both CSUs and CCCs. On average, university faculty reported working 50-70 hours a week whereas community college faculty reported working 40-50 hours a week. In terms of overall satisfaction with their work-life balance, tenured and tenure-track faculty members at UCs report being most satisfied with their work-life balance, followed by faculty at CCCs, with CSU faculty reporting the lowest level of satisfaction, on average. The data also showed that not only did faculty experience role conflict between work and family, but also within the work role itself, more specifically the role conflict between the teacher role and the researcher role were quite prevalent, which have traditionally been thought of as complementary.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Understanding work-life balance has become an increasingly critical issue in our country, as well as other parts of the world. Research has indicated that although female participation in higher education and the workforce have bettered gender equity, that is not the case within our homes with regards to housework and child rearing since many women still do the bulk of this work (Hochschild & Machung, 2012), which indicates that they are likely to be at a disadvantage when it comes to balancing work and family. Although there has been a plethora of research conducted that looks at how parenthood and family life affects professors (Bailyn, 2003; Drago et al., 2006; Gatta & Roos, 2004; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Mason & Goulden, 2002; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004), there is not as much literature available on community college faculty, or any studies that look at the professions of community college and university faculty members side by side. Community college faculty members have different demands, different work expectations, and different promotion paths from those of 4-year college and university faculty. These professors generally have a relatively larger teaching load, no formal research requirements, and a shorter probationary period. Since campus culture and institutional priorities and policies may vary greatly among the various types of institutions, it is important to ensure that we include all branches of higher education in this conversation in order to examine how the different policies offered affect the overall work-life balance of professors. The types of policies that institutions offer their male and female faculty can further contribute to, or lessen, the existing gender gap associated with childbearing, childrearing, and family life.

In the State of the Union address in early 2015, President Barack Obama proposed that the first two years of community college be free of tuition in every state, following the lead of Tennessee and Chicago (Mason, 2015). Also, the nation’s “Vision 2020” that was introduced back in 2009 declares a goal of becoming “first in the world in the proportion of
college graduates with an associate’s degree or higher” (White House, 2011). An estimated five million degrees and certificates are necessary from community colleges across the nation in order to meet this goal, and California’s proposed share of this number stands at one million (Community College League of California, 2010). This is likely to mean the demands for enrollment increases and curricular completions may weigh on community college professors in order to make Vision 2020 a reality. In fact, changes have been underway not only in community colleges but also in state universities in the last decade or so; yet the issue of how they impact faculty members’ work-family balance has not been fully studied.

Considering the framework of stratification, the institutions of higher education are hierarchized. Based on the perceived level of prestige, Ivy Leagues and Research I institutions (those that engage in high levels of research activity, as categorized by the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education) would be at the top, State Universities in the middle, and community colleges at the bottom. There are many more studies conducted on the work-life balance of faculty members at Research I institutions than that of faculty at community colleges.

Community colleges have less power and are considered on the lower end of the totem pole, and therefore do not garner as much attention. This is a result of several factors, including their differentiating status as a non-traditional institution of higher education when compared to the traditional 4-year colleges, as well as their label as institutions that do not produce knowledge, but rather strictly disseminate it. Students who attend community colleges typically come from lower socio-economic backgrounds and are sometimes stereotyped as less serious or are regarded as unable to perform at the university level, regardless of whether or not that is the case. Yet, it is noteworthy to mention that about 52% of California State University graduates transferred from a California Community College, as did about 31% of University of California graduates (Community College League of California, 2015). Also, faculty at the community college level may be regarded as less esteemed than their colleagues at the university level as a result of typically lower minimum qualifications for employment, and lacking a certain degree of reputation within the discipline because of the lower expectation of research activities or publications, which are generally what generates such recognition.
However, expectations of educational attainment are rapidly changing as a result of the influx of PhDs, and community colleges are increasingly hiring mostly PhDs for the tenure-track jobs on their campuses. Some community college faculty conduct research and publish, but usually not at high rates because of heavy teaching loads that constrict most of their time, and no course reassignment options that allow them to dedicate the time to work on research. All of these assumptions regarding the students and faculty at community colleges contributes to their perceived prestige and value, and also translates into real consequences as a result of this stratification, which is further reflected in their limited access to federal and state funds, and overall level of resources and programs available on their respective campuses. Additionally, since research is not a top priority within community colleges, and is generally not expected of the faculty, this further increases the disparity between which faculty members and types of institutions are most studied, on account that faculty employed in research institutions likely study similar faculty rather than those employed within community colleges.

With this research, I aim to examine the work-life balance among professors at different types of institutions, including community colleges, in order to better understand the experiences of those who work there, and I would like to focus on what institutional structures and policies exacerbate or ameliorate the present conflicts. The questions I seek to explore, include: Are there any significant differences or patterns that emerge regarding the work-life balance of tenured and tenure-track faculty members in universities and community colleges? How differently or similarly do faculty in different institutions perceive their work-life balance? What institutional structures and family policies aid or inhibit the work-life balance of the faculty members at these respective institutions?

**Theoretical Paradigms**

Although there is an array of research on work-life balance in academia, there is little research that looks at the work-life balance of faculty in select disciplines, and especially very little done on community college tenured/tenure-track faculty in comparison to university tenured/tenure-track faculty, which is what this research aims to address. There may be vast differences between community college faculty and university faculty as a result of the variation in their respective workloads and expectations. Similarly, there may be much
variation when comparing disciplines that potentially have different types of research expectations or processes, and so I limited this sample to a specific cluster of disciplines, that of the social and behavioral sciences. Additionally, some disciplines, such as those in the social and behavioral sciences, may be different than other disciplines because the idea of work-life balance is likely not to be an foreign concept, and this difference may be reflected in the way that individual departments deal with requests for further flexibility from what their formal institutional policies grant. The theoretical frameworks used for this study are family life course theory and role conflict theory.

Family life course theory (Bengtson & Allen, 1993) emphasizes the importance of an individual’s location within the context of the family, such as age (they may be part of the sandwich generation, taking care of their children and parents), gender (women shoulder more of the housework and childcare), race, socioeconomic status (generally have more life stress), and other factors that may further disadvantage individuals as a result of their circumstances. As a result of this varying “location” over the course of a lifetime, the energy, time, and effort that faulty members can put in varies as well, and therefore overall productivity can fluctuate over time, especially for research (Austin, 2010; Cytrynbaum, Lee, & Wadner, 1982; Han and Moen, 1999; Herman & Webster, 2010; Moen and Sweet, 2004). For example, one of the most common issues for early career faculty is the extra strain that is caused during the pre-tenure probationary period since it coincides with the time that faculty are generally starting families. Mid-career faculty may be struggling with caring for ailing parents, and late career faculty may be transitioning into retirement. Therefore, enhancing or maintaining faculty productivity and sense of work-life balance over the life course requires different policies to meet those needs, based on the various time periods in the faculty member’s life and career. Policy needs also vary depending on the type of institution, since term lengths and faculty workloads and expectations greatly differ, and this perspective will help inform those differences by looking at what types of institutions include policies that help mitigate the disadvantages of these various “locations.” Although all of these varying locations (age, gender, race, and socioeconomic status) may affect faculty, I am going to focus on career stage and gender aspects of this theory for the purposes of this study.

Role conflict theory (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) examines the extent to which a person experiences pressures within one role that are incompatible with the pressures of one
or more other roles. There is a large body of literature on work-family conflict, which is most frequently defined as:

   a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect. That is, participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by virtue of the participation in the family (work) role. (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985)

As such, feelings of role conflict ensue when faculty members feel strain as a result of their competing familial and professional obligations. Most of the research in this area has sought to alleviate some of the negative outcomes that result from this role conflict (Lee & Phillips, 2006).

   This role conflict theory can also be applied to look at how multiple roles at home or at workplace can be in conflict. For example, professors are spouses, parents, sons, daughters, siblings, cousins, and friends, amongst other roles based on hobbies or preoccupations. At school, their work usually consists of three roles in teaching, research, and service, which all compete for faculty time and attention. When comparing the challenges that faculty members face in different institutions, this study reveals how role conflict theory is not only about work-family balance but also about changing priorities among the triad of faculty’s job.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on the intersection of work and family life flourished between the 2000-2010 decade (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010) and a sizeable amount of it was focused on the issues that men and women face in academia, especially those in dual-earner households. Gatta and Roos (2004) present qualitative data from a gender equity study at a Carnegie I research institution via interviews with senior men and women, and found that family-work integration is still a major issue within universities, and that this issue is becoming increasingly prevalent as more faculty members are now in dual-earner couples. This article, among others (Bailyn, 2003), reveals the subtle discrimination that women face as a result of these conflicts that often deem them as outsiders within academia. Faculty members may even have fewer children than they want and avoid using the work-family policies available to them for fear of backlash from their colleagues (Drago et al., 2006) and additional studies suggest that career success in academia may be negatively impacted for mothers early in their career, but not for fathers (Mason & Goulden, 2002). However, other studies have shown that men who become unemployed or reduce work hours for family reasons may suffer just as much as women, and possibly more, via lower future earnings and limited career opportunities as a result of the “flexibility stigma,” the perception that those who use family or flexibility policies are less committed to their jobs, and are then treated as such (Coltrane, Miller, DeHaan, & Stewart, 2013; Lundquist Misra, & O’Meara, 2013).

Most research conducted on gender equity looks at professional outcomes of women in comparison to men, but Mason and Goulden (2004) also looked at familial outcomes as well, such as childbirth, marriage and divorce. Their results suggested that women may be more successful in obtaining academic careers if they forgo or delay marriage and childbirth, and that women who pursue ladder-rank faculty careers and are successful are less likely to marry and have children, and more likely to divorce. This shows that the gap between the
family outcomes of men and women (measured by marriage, children, and divorce) is as wide as the gap in employment in the world of academia. However, that may not be the case across all disciplines. Research recently published by the American Sociological Association suggests that “women sociologists with children are equally likely to have ‘ideal’ careers as men with children and childless men,” and “despite the difficulties faced by women in pursuing the ‘male model for careers,’ mothers in sociology appear to be as successful following an ideal career track as their male colleagues” (Spalter-Roth & Van Vooren, 2012). The results of their study revealed that women in sociology are progressing through the tenure and promotion system at the intended rate, with comparable outcomes to those of the men in the profession. Recent numbers show that less women are employed at 4-year institutions than 2-year institutions, at the rate of 40.5% versus 54.2%, respectively (United States Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics, 2009). While tenured and tenure-track female academics at California Community Colleges make up almost 54% of the faculty (California Community Colleges Chancellor’s Office, 2014), female full-time employment at the California State University is at 44% (California State University, 2013), whereas women make up considerably less than 40% of the ladder-rank faculty at the University of California (University of California, 2011). Thus, women are slightly overrepresented within the California Community College system, slightly underrepresented within the California State University system, and drastically underrepresented within the University of California system.

Some research suggests that community colleges often afford female faculty more of an opportunity to maintain a work-life balance than other types of post-secondary institutions (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008). Although there is a heavier teaching load for community college faculty, the schedule is fairly predictable and family-friendly due to the high levels of flexibility, which makes it an attractive option. While faculty at the university level also enjoy high levels of flexibility, the sense of heightened pressure and stress from research activities may discourage men and women who feel that it may hamper their work-life balance. Research and publication require a long-term commitment to projects that must be thought of, created, conducted, analyzed, written, and then submitted and revised perhaps several times until it can be published. Additionally, the responsibilities of teaching and service are ever-present, and those demands may overshadow research since there is no built-
in accountability the way that there is with students and teaching, or with colleagues and service. Although the teaching load is smaller for faculty who teach at institutions that expect research, it can still be difficult to balance amidst all the other obligations that faculty incur. This pressure regarding research is further heightened during the probationary pre-tenure years, and especially in Research I institutions, since they require that manuscripts for journal articles, books, and so on, are published in the most renowned of publications, which further amps up the stress. These different sorting mechanisms may be at play when faculty select their college or university, and the type of universities that faculty members trained at are likely to be the types of institutions that they are likely to be employed at.

Aside from the issues of gender and family formation, issues of work overload also came to light. Jacobs and Winslow (2004) found that faculty members who work sixty or more hours per week were much more likely to publish than those who didn’t. And since publishing has become more expected across most colleges and universities, these heavy workweeks raise questions about whether or not people with children can expect to succeed in this profession. Although both college and university faculty work long hours, faculty who are employed within research institutions are likely to publish more if they work more, which creates an environment where people are expected to work long hours, and therefore takes time away from family. Women may face exceptional challenges in this profession, since they traditionally do more of the housework and childrearing, and may find it even more difficult to succeed at both work and home when their children are young and require more of their time and attention. Several books have been written in the past few years alone on the exceptional challenges that women face in the academy, such as *Mama, PhD* (Evans & Grant, 2008) and *Motherhood, the Elephant in the Laboratory: Women Scientists Speak Out* (Monosson, 2008) which both provide testimonials from women, some who were able to overcome the challenges and remain in academia, and others who decided to leave. But perhaps most notably, *Professor Mommy* (Connelly & Ghodsee, 2011) took a different approach by instead producing a “how-to” guide, a navigation manual for women who plan to attempt the balancing act of the academy and motherhood. The book includes sections on deciding when to have children and how many, how to navigate graduate school, the job market, and choosing the right institution, plus how to achieve tenure and promotion to full
professor thereafter. The authors also encourage faculty members to lobby for better work-life balance policies at their institutions after they have received tenure.

The findings from Ward and Wolf-Wendel’s (2004) qualitative study on women from research universities of varying prestige and different disciplines, concluded that “faculty and administrators need to consider research and policy about the integration of work and family” for the betterment of the institutions. This change would allow for a better return on the investment of institutions in their faculty and would likely attract other qualified individuals to enter academia, who may be hesitating as a result of the present work-life balance issues. The case for an alternative work schedule for faculty members has been made continuously (Drago & Williams, 2000), and one of the recommendations is to have part-time positions for tenure-track/tenured faculty, or PTTT. Although this concept is poorly misunderstood and is the least implemented policy for faculty flexibility, Herbers (2014) provides data that explores how this type of policy can be successful and beneficial to both the faculty members and the institution.

**CURRENT INSTITUTIONAL FAMILY POLICIES**

Institutions of higher education continually compete with other institutions to hire and retain talented faculty, but they also compete with sectors outside of higher education to attract these employees. Research suggests that institutions of higher education suffer in the competitive workplace in the absence of solid family policies (Friedman, Rimsky, & Johnson, 1996). Since the childbearing and childrearing period of life can run into the probationary period for tenure, it is increasingly important that family-friendly policies are made a priority within institutions.

In the State of California, there are three types of public institutions of higher education, which include the University of California (UCs), the California State University (CSUs), and the California Community Colleges (CCCs). The following three unpaid leaves of absence are available to faculty, with specific eligibility requirements that may be a bit varied based on the institution and/or district of employment.

**Federal Policies:**

- Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA) is administered by US Department of Labor for up to twelve weeks unpaid, and is granted to employees with at least twelve
months (two semesters or three quarters) of employment (United States Department of Labor, 2015).

State Policies for California:

- California Family Rights Act (CFRA) is administered by the California Department of Fair Employment and Housing for a maximum of twelve weeks unpaid, and runs concurrently with FMLA except in the case where Pregnancy Disability Leave (PDL) is used (California Department for Fair Employment and Housing, 2010a).

- Pregnancy Disability Leave (PDL) is approximately 16 weeks unpaid and can be used in addition to the twelve weeks of FMLA (California Department for Fair Employment and Housing, 2010b).

The University of California (UCs)

Full-time tenure track faculty at the UC have a probationary period of up to seven years before going up for tenure to be promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor. Faculty members in these institutions are expected to demonstrate exceptional productive research activities, and have a relatively smaller teaching load of 2-2-0 on the quarter system (ten weeks each), aside from service obligations to the department, the college, the community, and/or professional organizations. According to the University of California Office of the President (2014), the following family-friendly policies are currently available to UC faculty:

Pre-Tenure/Probationary Period and Merit Reviews:

- Extension of the Probation Period for Assistant Level Faculty will occur at the rate of one year for each event of birth or adoption, for up to a maximum of two extensions.

- Flexible Workloads for Assistant Level Faculty are granted in the case of substantial responsibility for the care of a child, spouse, or domestic partner for up to a period of two years, and includes relief from teaching and most service responsibilities, but with the continuation of research, student advising, and department responsibilities at 50% time with the option of using accrued sabbatical credits or extramural grant funding to supplement the temporary reduction in salary.

- Deferral of Merit Reviews for any level faculty is also available, and may be requested by faculty taking care of a newborn child or newly adopted child under age 5, which will defer his/her normally scheduled merit review by one year, with a maximum of two merit review deferrals.

Temporary Reduction of the Workload:
Active Service-Modified Duties (ASMD) is a period of reduced responsibilities (not a leave of absence) to faculty members who have more than half of the day-to-day responsibility for the care of the child and includes either a partial or full relief from scheduled teaching responsibilities while still receiving at least his or her approved base salary. Eligibility for a period of ASMD extends from 3 months before to twelve months following the birth or placement of a child while all other faculty are entitled for up to one quarter of ASMD for each event of birth or placement.

Childbearing Leave is provided for the period of time before, during, and after childbirth that the faculty member is temporarily disabled due to pregnancy, childbirth, and recovery, with the normal period being six weeks (with approved base salary during that time), although up to four months if necessary with possible eligibility for additional paid medical leave. Faculty members on Childbearing Leave are relieved of all duties for the duration of the leave, which may be preceded and/or followed by a period of Active Service-Modified Duties.

Parental Leave Without Pay is available for up to one year of full time or part time for the purpose of caring for a child, spouse, or domestic partner, and may be combined with Childbearing Leave and/or a period of Active Service-Modified Duties, but not to exceed one year altogether.

Part-Time Tenure Track Appointments:

PTTT positions may be appointed initially in a permanent part-time position, or may be a requested change from a traditional permanent full-time appointment to a permanent part-time appointment. A temporary reduction in percentage of time of a full-time appointment to accommodate family needs is also available.

Employment Assistance for Spouses/Partners:

Partner Opportunities Program provides vast employment search assistance to spouses and partners of faculty candidates or appointees.

Relocation Assistance provides resources to help with finding housing, school districts, and the like.

Southern California Higher Education Recruitment Consortium is an employment network that includes the UCs, CSUs, and CCCs to assist in finding local jobs.

Faculty Support Programs:

Faculty Mentoring Program is available to new, incoming faculty members, who are paired with an established faculty member via their department chair so that the two may develop a mentoring relationship to assist in the new faculty member’s adjustment to academia and/or their new campus of employment.

Faculty Success Program is a twelve-week virtual boot camp that is sponsored by the National Center for Faculty Development and Diversity. This program strives to transform faculty members’ personal and professional lives by way of learning.
and implementing work-life balance tactics, and most UCs have institutional memberships so that faculty can participate in the program.

**Phased Retirement Programs:**

- Pathways to Retirement Plan is an option for those 60+ years of age with at least five years of service, in which a specific date for retirement up to two years in the future can be established, followed by developing a plan of research, teaching, and service for that time period. This may include a modified teaching schedule for up to one year, a deferral of an upcoming review, summer ninths (compensation) for specific research or assignments performed, office or laboratory space, or other benefit as approved by the Dean.

**The California State University (CSUs)**

Full-time tenure track faculty at the CSU have a probationary period of six years before going up for tenure to be promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor. Faculty members in these institutions are expected to prioritize teaching, and have a larger teaching load of 4-4 on the semester system (sixteen weeks each) or 3-3-3 on the quarter system (ten weeks each), aside from sizeable research expectations as well as service obligations to the department, the college, the community, and/or professional organizations (California State University, 2014). The following family-friendly policies are currently available to CSU faculty:

**Pre-Tenure/Probationary Period:**

- Extensions of the Tenure Clock may be granted for the following reasons and require the approval of the president: a one year extension as a result of a leave of absence for pregnancy/birth or adoption, an extension for personal leave of absence without pay for one or more full academic years, and/or a one year extension for professional leave of absence without pay for two or more academic years. The probation period for tenure can also be extended by one year for the following absences of less than one academic year: leave of absence for pregnancy/birth or adoption, personal leave of absence without pay, professional leave of absence without pay, workers’ compensation, industrial disability leave, nonindustrial disability leave, or paid sick leave.

**Temporary Reduction of the Workload:**

- Reduced Teaching Load in the first two years of probation includes a teaching load of 18 semester units, which is usually a two class reduction, and makes the teaching load a 3-3 instead of 4-4. Conversely, for CSUs that are on the quarter system, the teaching load is reduced to 24 quarter units for the academic year, which is usually a three class reduction, and makes the teaching load a 2-2-2 instead of 3-3-3 during the first two years of probation.
• Parental Leave With Pay is up to thirty days and Parental Leave Without Pay may be granted for up to twelve months.

• Leave Sharing is an option if a spouse or partner is also a faculty employee; they can donate their parental leave to the other spouse or partner (since leaves of less than one academic term are challenging to accommodate).

• Reduction in Workload (40% reduction for semester system or 60% for quarter) in lieu of the thirty days of Parental Leave may be taken.

• Combination of paid Parental Leave, Sick Leave, and unpaid leave in order to take an entire semester or quarter leave is another option.

Other Leaves of Absence:

• Sick leave is accrued at eight hours for every pay period (one day per month) and employees can use up to forty hours of sick leave per year for emergency family care, and each death in the immediate family. Employees can get up to sixty days of unpaid sick leave or use vacation days once accumulated sick leave has been exhausted, and they may also donate vacation or sick leave days to faculty who have exhausted theirs and need more.

• Bereavement Leave is up to five days of paid leave for each death in the immediate family.

Phased Retirement Programs:

• Faculty Early Retirement Program (FERP) is available to those 55+ years of age, at the same rank and salary step prior to retirement, and proportional to current time base. These employees are still deemed a tenured faculty employee.

• Pre-Retirement Reduction in Time Base is available to those between 55 and 65 years of age, who have been employed full time within the CSU for at least ten years and may now work a time base average of 2/3, 1/2, or 1/3 of full time for a maximum of five years. These employees are eligible for the same health and dental benefits, but may not get sabbatical or leaves with pay, and the sick leave will be accrued on pro rata basis, with vacation days accrued at two days per month of service.

**The California Community Colleges (CCCs)**

Full-time tenure track faculty at most CCC’s have a probationary period of four years before going up for tenure to be promoted from Assistant Professor to Full Professor. In some districts, the tenure system more closely mirrors the two-step tenure/promotion system of the UCs and CSUs (but with a different timeline), and includes a probationary period of four years before going up for tenure to be promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor, and then another four years to go from Associate Professor to Full Professor. Faculty members in the community college system are expected to be dedicated to teaching,
and have the largest teaching load of 5-5 on the semester system (sixteen weeks each), as well as service obligations to the department, the college, the community, and/or professional organizations (Grossmont-Cuyamaca Community College District, 2015; Palomar Community College District, 2015; San Diego Community College District, 2015; Southwestern Community College District, 2015). Research and publication are optional and can be used for salary step increases. Although there are no research requirements for CCC faculty who instead have larger teaching loads, there are also more workplace stipulations that faculty must meet, as well as some general recommendations, such as:

- Faculty must work a minimum of 35-40 hours workweek with a minimum of five office hours of weekly availability for students, and some campuses stipulate that thirty of those total weekly work hours must be spent on campus.
- Some campuses recommend a maximum of three preps in a semester (face-to-face and online of the same class are considered separate preps) and this can be increased with agreement, but will be compensated with lower preps the following semester.
- Other guidelines include a maximum of three online classes per semester, no more than three hours of lecture in a row, and up to six hours of overload permitted a week.

The following family-friendly policies are currently available to CCC faculty:

**Temporary Reduction of the Workload:**

- Reduction in Service Leave enables faculty to reduce to a 50% assignment with salary and benefits reduced in proportion to service (not available in all districts).

**Other Leaves of Absence:**

- Paid Sick Leave accrues at 8 hours per month (10 or 11 days per year).
- Maternity Leave is 6 weeks for natural birth and 8 weeks for C-section, and full salary or half salary sick leave can be used for this. Generally, half salary sick leave can be used once full salary sick leave accrual and sick leave allotment for the year are exhausted.
- Personal Business Leave is paid for up to 2 hours per month.
- Personal Necessity Leave is paid for up to 6 days a year.
- Bereavement Leave for up to 5 days is paid, plus up to 5 additional days of accumulated full salary sick leave if desired.
- Parental Leave is paid for 1 day.
- Short Personal Leave of 5 days or less may receive about 50% of usual salary compensation, with the rest of the salary used to pay for a substitute.
• Personal Leave for pregnancy reasons can be taken for up to 90 days unpaid, but includes District-supported health and welfare benefit plan for that time.

• Unpaid Personal Leave of up to 25 days may be granted by the president, and more days can be requested, not to exceed 2 semesters, can be approved by the Governing Board.

Load Banking/Course Overload:

• Course overload is permissible each year for up to 40% of the academic year contract load. This extra load of courses can then be redeemed by “banking” the course(s) for use as release time later, or by receiving a deferred salary immediately, meaning that faculty may get paid for these extra classes at a lower rate than usual (adjunct/part-time hourly rate) to make extra money for the time being instead of using it to take time off later for full pay. Faculty may not accumulate more than a semester at a time of course overload.

Phased Retirement Programs:

• Pre-Retirement Program is available starting from 55+ years of age and must work at least 50%+ assignment each year (50% both semesters of 100% for one semester and 0% the next) with reduced/prorated salary based on assignment and may stay for up to 10 years on STRS and 5 years on PERS not to exceed the 70th birthday. Or, in other districts, faculty may stay in the program for up to 5 years with mandatory retirement at the end.

• Pro-rata Employment for Retirees is an option for faculty members with 8+ years on Tenured/Tenure-Track, and they can work up to 30% assignment for up to 10 years.

• Voluntary Early Retirement Continuation of Service is available in other districts in lieu of the Pre-Retirement Program, and faculty 55+ years of age are eligible after 15 years of service for up to a 20% assignment to take place in one semester or spread over two semesters. Anything over 20% will then be paid at the part-time/overload hourly rate.

Overall, it appears that UCs have the most institution-wide family-friendly policies, and they are the only branch of institutions in the state that formally offers the Part-Time Tenure Track (PTTT) option in the books. However, while UCs seem to provide a larger range of family-friendly policies to their faculty, it is important to keep in mind that less women are employed at 4-year institutions than 2-year institutions, as previously mentioned. Thus, work-family policies do not necessarily directly increase faculty retention rates for women.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

With this research, I aim to explore how much faculty members work, what they work on and prioritize, what issues they face with their schedule, and how their campus policies assist or inhibit their overall sense of work-life balance. I am concerned with how these professionals balance their work lives and their family lives, and how the policies offered on their campuses affect their abilities to do so. I have included all three public institutional types in this study (UCs, CSUs, and CCCs) because the faculty members’ responsibilities, expectations, pay, and possibly even educational attainment can differ greatly, although expectations of educational attainment are more similar now since community colleges are increasingly hiring mostly PhDs for the tenure-track jobs. There are also varying campus and departmental cultures at every institution, which adds another layer of complexity and possible differentiation among institutions. While some departments have very positive work environments and encourage the use of family policies, and may also offer additional flexibility options informally beyond what the institution offers, other departments may not.

The sample for this study consisted of 8 tenured/tenure-track professors who consented to participate in the study. Table 1, listed below, details participant characteristics. Recruitment was aided via an email that was sent to professors I knew personally, who then forwarded the email to the professors that they knew, in hopes of producing a snowball sample. My recruitment was done indirectly in this manner as a result of IRB stipulations on how I may acquire these participants for my study. Since recruitment was conducted this way, recruiting faculty members proved to be very difficult for this study. Although low response rates are not unusual, I felt as though they could have been higher if I was doing the emailing myself, to both professors I know and don’t know (via public email addresses), because I could have then follow up with them. Whereas with this recruitment method, I had
no way of knowing which faculty members the professors that I know forwarded the email to.

To be eligible to participate in the study, the professors 1) must be tenured or on the tenure-track; 2) be employed in a discipline under the social and behavioral sciences; 3) be employed in a community college or university in Southern California; and 4) have children. I limited the sample to faculty employed within the social and behavioral sciences in order to control for the variation that may occur when comparing disciplines that may be too different from each other as a result of different research requirements, and subject matter to teach. The participants completed a short survey on background demographics and an in-depth interview, which are both included in the Appendix for reference. They were informed that the purpose of the study is to gain important insight into the schedules and workload of tenured and tenure-track professors, and that their participation and honesty are crucial to the study. We established consent and confidentiality, and I informed participants of the expected time commitment. Most interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. I took notes during the interviews, and also tape-recorded them with their permission, for transcriptions. Once the survey and interview were completed, I debriefed the participants on further details about the purpose of the study.

“Studying up” proved to be difficult at times, since I am in the “lower” status, specifically, younger and a student, studying professors. The implications of gender, age, and race or ethnicity are criteria that “sensitize us to ‘who’ the researcher is, in contrast to ‘who’ the researched are” (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006). I particularly felt this differentiation in status as a result of age and rank within the institution; the larger the age difference and the higher the rank of the faculty member, the more this differentiation permeated. Although none of my participants were condescending, I occasionally felt lectured at rather than spoken to at times. This may be a result of my younger age and gender, but it may also be because I am a student, and they were using their “teacher voice” that they have grown accustomed to. Additionally, this differentiation in status changed the way that I engaged with my participants. I found myself not approaching them as my research participants, but rather, my superiors (by calling them Dr. so-and-so, for example), unless they encouraged otherwise by acting informally themselves during the interview.
The information I obtained from the surveys and interviews allowed for the comparison of responses of tenured and tenure-track professors who are employed in community colleges versus those who are employed in universities. Collecting data both quantitatively and qualitatively on such a complex topic can prove beneficial in understanding the various factors that play into work-life dynamics for professors. The limitations of this study include the limited number of participants and the non-representative sample. Ideally, I would have liked to obtain more interviews from faculty across all three types of institutions that are featured in this study, and particularly more from UCs and CSUs, since they are the minority in this data collection. Additionally, a comparison between this interview data and either national or statewide survey data that addresses similar questions may have proved beneficial in exploring how significant these issues are when tested with a larger sample. Both of these limitations present opportunities for future research in this area. Lastly, I only used interviews and surveys, which are both based on self-reported information. When they chose to discuss the policy guidelines at their institutions, I could validate the accuracy, but this was not the case for all faculty members’ statements. Nonetheless, this study allows us to better understand the realities that working families face today, specifically those in academia, with an emphasis on how family-friendly policies affect overall work-life balance.

**Participants**

**Table 1. Participant Characteristics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type of Institution</th>
<th>Tenure/TT</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>University of California (UC)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessica</td>
<td>University of California (UC)</td>
<td>No, TT</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dana</td>
<td>California State University (CSU)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>California State University (CSU)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carol</td>
<td>California Community College (CCC)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vera</td>
<td>California Community College (CCC)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel</td>
<td>California Community College (CCC)</td>
<td>No, TT</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allison</td>
<td>California Community College (CCC)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

My main goals for this study were to explore any possible significant differences or patterns amongst tenured/tenure-track faculty employed in the University of California (UCs), California State University (CSUs), and the California Community Colleges (CCCs); to inquire about faculty members’ schedule, level of satisfaction, and overall perceived work-life balance to determine if there are major differences based on institution of employment; and to gain insight on what institutional structures and specific family policies aid or inhibit the sense of work-life balance of the faculty members at these respective institutions.

Three main themes emerged as faculty members discussed their lives in the academy and at home. The first theme centered on being stretched to new limits. It is well documented that faculty are overworked (Jacobs, 2004; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Mason, Wolfinger, & Goulden, 2013) but recent changes in the academy and the economy have made this phenomenon even more prevalent. Subcategories of their discussions of overextension include: frustration with their institutions’ changed missions as they deviate from the Master Plan of 1960, annoyance with increasing administrative work and bureaucracy at the faculty level, and qualms over tight budgets and fighting over resources. The second theme was the lack of adequate family policies and the struggle to find work-life balance. Subcategories that exemplified these issues are: the reality of academic life and timing childbirths accordingly, the desire to work less hours, and issues of female faculty who take on most or all of the second shift in their household. The third theme focused on institutional work culture. Subcategories that demonstrated these intricacies include: issues within administration and staff, the stigma of not embodying the ‘ideal worker’ of academia, as well as workload and workplace satisfaction.
STRETCHED TO NEW LIMITS
Themes of being overworked as a result of new changes within the various institutions were prominent in every single interview where the faculty member worked at the California State University, or the California Community College.

Institutions’ Changed Missions
In 1960, the Liaison Committee of the State Board of Education and The Regents of the University of California came together and created the “Master Plan for Higher Education in California,” that served as a model for the junior colleges, state college system, and the University of California, and was then published by the California State Department of Education. According to this report, the following provisions were made regarding the respective missions and purpose of the three types of public institutions of higher education in the state: the California Community Colleges “shall offer instruction through but not beyond the fourteenth grade level including but not limited to, one or more of the following: (a) standard collegiate courses for transfer to higher institutions, (b) vocational-technical fields leading to employment, and (c) general, or liberal arts courses. Studies in these fields may lead to the Associate in Arts or Associate in Science degree” (University of California Office of the President, 2009).

In contrast, the California State Universities “shall have as their primary function the provision of instruction in the liberal arts and sciences and in professions and applied fields which require more than two years of collegiate education and teacher education, both for undergraduate students and graduate students through the master’s degree. The doctoral degree may be awarded jointly with the University of California, as hereinafter provided. Faculty research, using facilities provided for and consistent with the primary function of the state colleges, is authorized” (University of California Office of the President, 2009). Lastly, the University of California “shall provide instruction in the liberal arts and sciences, and in the professions, including teacher education, and shall have exclusive jurisdiction over training for the professions dentistry, law, medicine, veterinary medicine, and graduate architecture. The University shall have the sole authority in public education to award the doctor’s degree in all fields of learning, except that it may agree with the state colleges to award joint doctor’s degrees in selected fields. The University shall be the primary state-
supported academic agency for research, and The Regents shall make reasonable provision for the use of its library and research facilities by qualified members of the faculties of other higher educational institutions, public and private” (University of California Office of the President, 2009).

However, through the years, the respective missions of these different types of institutions have deviated from their original purposes that were laid out in the Master Plan of 1960. The California Community Colleges have since been granted the ability to offer bachelor degrees in select campuses so long as the offerings do not compete with those of the universities; the California State University has since added a provision (SB 724, 2006) that authorized them to award a specific Doctor of Education (Ed.D.) in educational leadership, and many campuses are also placing greater emphasis on research amongst the faculty as they strive to become small research institutions with higher levels of research productivity; and the University of California no longer includes architecture as one of their areas of exclusive jurisdiction.

As a result of these changes, many respondents, specifically those employed at the California State University or California Community Colleges, discussed their frustration with their institution’s changed mission and focus, which in turn, created changes within their own workload, priorities, and daily schedule. Dana, a faculty member who has worked within the CSU for over a decade, said:

I think that the professors are mostly very committed to their teaching, but the university doesn’t value teaching in the way that it did when I arrived, or in the way that it should. And I feel like there’s a lot of pressure from the administration down, to prioritize research and grant writing and things that are associated more with Research I institutions than when I arrived, and certainly [more] than when it was originally contemplated for the CSUs. So I feel that the institution has changed its mission in a way that I’m not in support of.

Although research was one of the three tenets of faculty evaluation for tenure and promotion when Dana first began working there (along with teaching and service), the emphasis on research in some CSU campuses have exceeded that of the original emphasis of teaching, and research is now weighted more heavily in these processes than in the past, therefore removing teaching from the prime spot that it once held. For example, some of the CSU campuses that have moved towards producing higher levels of research productivity, have begun to create research clusters, in which faculty from across disciplines formally come
together to collaborate on research, and those hires have more research intensive positions with smaller course loads than other CSU faculty. So while all faculty that are employed within these particular CSU campuses are expected to produce more research as a result of an institutional focus of higher levels of research productivity, other positions are being created that have an even greater focus on research, with an even smaller emphasis on teaching. Dana believes that the CSU is moving away from their original teaching focused mission, as some of the campuses emphasize research more than in the past.

As a result, Dana is experiencing role conflict within her role of professor, as she struggles to make time for both the teacher role and the researcher role that her position requires, especially since the pressure for research has steadily increased at her campus over the years. While there are buyouts available that faculty may request to get a course release in order to focus more on research, the reverse is not available; there are no buyouts available that allow faculty the option to teach more and produce less research.

Another faculty member, Mark, who is also employed within the CSU expressed similar sentiments regarding the increased level of research productivity that some state universities are increasingly expecting of their faculty, despite maintaining the same teaching load, stating that, “They expect people to actually engage in more research, and yet, they haven’t really done much to facilitate that. That is to suggest that we are still a [large] student body, they continue to cut funding, so we don’t get much help.” Mark explains that while his institution’s mission has evolved and his workload has increased as a result of more research pressure, other aspects such as the large student body have not changed, and the budget cuts further complicate the issue. With more research to conduct, more manuscripts to publish, more students to teach, and less money to do all of this with, it is not surprising to hear that the lack of support has adversely affected his perception of his own work-life balance as a result of the increased work hours.

It is not just faculty within the CSU that have noticed a shift in priorities on their campuses, faculty within the California Community Colleges are experiencing their own complex evolution as well. Carol, a faculty member employed in the CCC, stated that:

Community Colleges are having an identity crisis regarding what population they’re supposed to serve. Is it a place for students who just graduated high school but couldn’t get into a university? Or for those who need a second chance after many years away from school? Or for very serious students who can’t afford to
attend a 4-year institution for the time being? Or for less serious students who
don’t know what they want to do, but whose parents are making them go to
college? Or is it a place for people who already have careers that take a few
classes to enhance their skills or credentials? Or for people who take classes on
things they’re interested in learning about, to explore their hobbies? This is what
determines where the money goes, what faculty teach, and how they structure
course content.

The student body in California Community Colleges is complex, and greatly differs from that
of universities. This different student body presents issues that are unique to community
colleges, and depending on what population is being focused on, funds are divvyed up
accordingly. For example, if the institution decides to focus on students who just graduated
high school but did not get into a university due to ineligibility or because their parents are
pressuring them, then more money is funneled into campus programming and fun activities
in class, in order to engage and retain students, in hopes that they stay long enough to
discover what they want to do, and then implement a course of action to meet it. If the
institution focuses on motivated students that couldn’t afford to attend a university, then
more transferrable courses need to be offered, and coursework must be rigorous. If the
institution focuses on students who are taking courses to enhance their skillset for a job, or
out of interest or a hobby, then the course sections offered must reflect those choices.

Community colleges most likely serve a mixture of all of these types of students that
Carol mentions, which makes this issue even more complex. Despite having such a varied
student body with very different and unique needs, the California Community College has
recently moved to focus on “success,” which is to say that students must choose a program of
study within a timely manner, and then move through the course sequence to either earn a
certificate, associate's degree, or transfer admittance to a 4-year university. This is reflective
of our nation’s 2020 goal to increase the number of college graduates in our country in an
attempt to meet California Community College’s proposed share, and is estimated to be one
million new graduates out of the five million that are needed from community colleges across
the states. Although this new focus on success may not seem like an issue at first glance,
many California Community College districts have begun implementing an “education plan”
procedure that students must complete within a certain time frame, declaring their certificate
or degree of choice, or else they will start receiving later registration dates in order to make
room for those who have a “goal” to meet. Before this change, registration dates were given
based on seniority, meaning that an earlier registration date was given with each semester, in order to allow students the opportunity to get better registration dates as they move forward. Traditionally, community colleges are places where anyone can attend and take classes, meaning that some students are there to take a class they’re interested in, or explore a hobby, or learn a new skill for pleasure or a job, and completing such a course is success within itself; success is not necessarily completing a certificate program or degree. However, this change is slowly eroding the commitment of open access to the members of the community that the community college system was previously more dedicated to. This new focus on success, or completion, is quite similar to the emphases of the California State University and the University of California, albeit with different student demographics and institutional missions.

As a result, more money is going towards this new focus, and faculty are having to do things differently under this new direction, which has added more pressure to perform in ways that contribute to this ideal of success, and has therefore increased the workload in an attempt to reflect the desired results. More funds are being allocated to hire academic counselors to assist in the all of the processes related to these new education plans for students, in hopes of increasing the graduation and transfer rates. Faculty feel immense pressure to ensure that all of their students contribute to these goals, by passing their classes and continuously move through their education plans until completion. CCC faculty also feel pressure to increase enrollments in their course sections, increase the number of majors in their departments, and therefore contribute more time and energy towards these tasks than in the past, as a result of institutional mission changes and our nation’s 2020 goal. This may result in even higher levels of role conflict as these faculty members find themselves adding advertising and recruitment to their job descriptions. Although this formal declaration of “success” has been made, the issues of ensuring that all of these types of students can still be served, as the Master Plan for the CCC originally intended, still remains and will prove a continual struggle for funding, programming, and faculty attention.

The changed missions within the California State University and the California Community College systems have created a change of institutional focus and have contributed to an increase in faculty workload. This has resulted in role conflict within the
workplace as professors struggle to balance their teacher role and researcher role in the CSU, and their teacher role and new recruiter role in the CCC.

**Administrative Work and Bureaucratic Overload**

In addition to teaching and research, service work is part of the triad for faculty work. The order of priority and importance for tenure may vary by institution and by career stage, but for public institutions of higher education in California, the priorities are as follows: for UCs, it is research, teaching, and service; for CSUs, it is teaching, research, and service, although research is becoming more and more important; and for CCCs, it is teaching, service, and optional research. Generally, service may include department meetings, committee work, membership and participation in professional organizations (by attending and/or presenting at conferences, peer-reviewing a journal article in your field, etc.), community outreach or advocacy, and administrative work.

Many faculty members expressed their dissatisfaction with administrative work, meetings, and bureaucratic processes, especially within the CCCs and CSUs. This is perhaps because the UCs generally have considerably more resources, and hire more staff that take care of much of the administrative work. This sentiment is echoed by Robert, a professor at the UC:

Here, we have staff that does everything. Like, how do classrooms get assigned? I don’t know, staff just tells me, you know. How is the schedule decided? I don’t know, staff just tells me…. The staff people at [CSUs] are what are called transactional, it means that someone else tells them what they have to do, and they actually implement it. Here, they have decision-making authority, and then they tell me what to do. We delegated huge swaths of responsibility to these people, so that we have both transactional staff who clump the buttons and enter in reimbursements and stuff, and also people who decide what the budget’s gonna be, and who’s gonna teach what, and how do you hire people…. there’s very little administration for the faculty, we have staff that do most of that…. the faculty orientation in a place like this is, we do not want to have any idea what you guys do. Our goal in life is not to understand any of it, we don’t want to fill our heads with it. We just want it to work, and you guys are all autonomous professionals—and they’re paid fairly well for it. You’re autonomous professionals, you make it work—which is not the way it is in the Cal State, cause there isn’t enough people.

As Robert discussed, the experiences for UC and CSU faculty are strikingly different when it comes to administrative tasks. Administrative staff engage in the inner workings of department and institutional operations, and the more staff that an institution hires, the less
administrative work the faculty need to engage in, and the more time they can spend on teaching, research, and service. Faculty at the UCs have numerous staff members in each department, and they take care of virtually every administrative task other than deciding who is qualified to join the department as an instructor or professor. For example, the CSU may have two or three staff members for a department, whereas the UC may have eight or nine for a department of the same discipline. These staff members manage the budget, personnel, recruitment, facilities, travel, disbursement, websites, alumni relations, advancement, compensation, and benefits procedures for faculty, managing all aspects of graduate programs, including admissions, employment, scholarships, academic advising, as well as overall administrative support. Some of these are generally tasks that CSU faculty either take care of themselves, or are at somewhat involved in before the staff take care of the rest, whereas UC faculty have little to no involvement in any administrative tasks since they hire enough staff to take care of these tasks from start to finish.

When asked if he likes his day-to-day schedule and whether or not he would make any changes to it, Mark, a CSU professor, revealed the following:

Yes and no. Yes, when it comes to something that actually gives me energy, and what gives me energy is a lot of the students when they respond in terms of the readings or the discussions, and just the kind of education—at the education level. That’s what I actually believe that—that gives me energy, I love it, at that aspect of it. The other aspect of it, to a certain degree, despise, is the bureaucratic nature of that. Sometimes I think I feel as though that, you know, the university has become so much bureaucratized and has become so much, kind of, reflective of the neoliberal—the market mentality that I feel is the university has turned to those kind of, you know, it has characteristics that reflect that. So I feel as though that faculty members are now doing a lot of redundant work, a lot of work that is supposed to be, like, administrative.... We have countless meetings that end up—we actually have meetings to talk about, you know, such minutiae, such irrelevant things, to a certain degree.... The changes that I would make to the schedule, first of all, would be, to get rid of 90% of meetings. Departmental meetings, these kind of official meetings, because a lot of times, these meetings really were not designed to truly engage the faculty members to get involved in what they call self-governance of the university, right, it’s almost kind of like just going through the motion as if our voices matter, and yet, it really doesn’t matter. So these are what I call, again, administrative meetings, they’re pretty idiotic.

Mark expresses his frustration with the manner in which educational institutions operate, that mirrors the way that businesses are managed. Institutions are attempting to do more with less,
emphasizing market ethics rather than emphasizing the quality of education, which generally requires lots of funds to maintain. However, he continues to say that this manner of operation has trickled down into the way that meetings are handled, which is in a bureaucratized fashion, where voices do not matter and the objective is to move along accordingly. Department meetings then become places where colleagues are not really interacting with one another to have meaningful conversations and get things done via consensus, the way that faculty self-governance was intended to do. As a result, he feels that most meetings are useless, and he prefers to get rid of most of them, aside from those where things actually get done. However, it is noteworthy that while minimizing involvement may save time, it does not get at the root of the problem that Mark originally posed, which is, “how do we operate in a less bureaucratic manner, and instead self-govern?” The reality is that self-governance, which may require more discussions among faculty members, can be more time-consuming, thus appearing to be a less desirable option to faculty members who are already juggling with multiple roles.

Carol, a professor at a CCC, mentioned her frustration with administrative work and department meetings as well:

I do hate the administrative stuff; I hate meetings and especially those high-level committees where you find out where the money gets spent…. But, we have been able to really cut down on the number of department meetings we have—we only have one every semester. An old faculty member hated meetings, so everyone started to only meet once a year, and now it’s twice a year; so once every semester. So we just send emails if anything comes up, it’s not like the olden days where we can’t communicate unless we’re in person. Department meetings usually become social gatherings where nothing gets done, so I’m thankful that we only meet once a semester.

There are several layers to unpack here: Carol’s feelings regarding administrative work, participating in committee meetings that may discuss sensitive information such as funding, and attending department meetings. In terms of administrative work, institutions that have the resources usually outsource these tasks to staff members that they are able to hire, which decreases the amount of administrative work that faculty must do. This may also reduce the number of hours that faculty must work on a weekly basis, therefore likely improving their overall work-life balance. In terms of committee work, Carol’s comments are reminiscent of Mark’s concerns. Carol does not agree with how the money is spent, which is why she
dislikes attending such committee meetings, especially if faculty feel that there is nothing they can do to change the systems when that is what is reflected in the meetings. It is difficult to practice self-governance if the institutional structure is not set up that way, or if the processes to make change are so bureaucratic, that it makes it difficult to make any real, lasting change, especially since faculty members have so many other responsibilities to attend to already. If faculty feel that their opinions do not matter, then they will question the necessity of their presence, and even the necessity of holding such meetings in the first place, as Mark expressed. And lastly, in terms of department meetings: although it is important to have face-to-face department meetings in instances where discussion is necessary, such as topics concerning the department mission, or the direction of a graduate program, and so on, there are other topics that can easily be handled via email in order to save time. With the rise of technology, meeting face to face is no longer the only option, and utilizing such technologies may make faculty schedules even more flexible, which may greatly benefit those who have young children or other family obligations, as well as those who may reside further from campus. Therefore, Carol is satisfied with the solution of minimizing the number of mandatory, in-person meetings should the faculty in a department desire to do so.

Additional staff member hires at the CSU and the CCC can help alleviate the excessive administrative work that faculty members feel they have, and may minimize the level of role conflict that faculty feel within their work realm, and may also likely decrease their hours of weekly work. A department forum on how the colleagues believe their meetings should be handled would help every department tailor those needs according to their faculty. Some departments may choose to take care of some agenda items via email; others may want to handle everything in person. Likewise, some departments may want to meet weekly, whereas others may want to meet less often, or only meet in the daytime rather than in the evenings, in order to preserve their time with their families. Practicing self-governance the way that institutions of higher education intended may help faculty feel more involved and productive during meetings, rather than merely a spectator that must succumb to the bureaucracy. Since service is considered less important than teaching or research in general and also can involve politics, faculty seem to be less interested in it. The triad of teaching, research, and service competes over faculty time, and my data shows that in this respect, service is losing.
Tight Budgets and Fighting Over Resources

As a result of the economic downturn, California’s public institutions have suffered numerous cutbacks where funding is concerned. Although the budget has begun to improve, it has not yet returned to pre-recession levels. In the 2007-2008 academic year, UC expenditures and general fund equaled to $3,257.4 (dollars in millions), whereas that amount was $2,793.4 for the 2014-2015 academic year. Similarly for the CSU, the general fund equaled $2,970.6 in the 2007-2008 academic year, and totaled $2,507.3 in the 2014-2015 academic year (Governor’s Budget, 2015). Lastly, the CCC system suffered budget cuts of $1.5 billion total, between the years of 2007 and 2012. While all three types of institutions saw substantial cuts, these reductions are arguably felt more strongly at the community college level because of the heavy reliance on state funds (Bohn, Reyes, & Johnson, 2013). This not only has consequences for students directly through the struggles of getting the courses they need to graduate in a timely manner, but it also affects them indirectly as a result of the hindrance of the professors’ abilities to enhance the overall quality of education via resources. Lack of funding can create issues within departments as faculty fight over resources, which causes unnecessary stress, and can adversely affect the way they feel about their jobs. Mark, a CSU professor, echoed this sentiment, and also indicated the effects that low funding has on the overall work culture of the institution:

The work culture at [my campus] is actually horrible, but I don’t think that is actually a unique experience at [my campus]. I think that the work culture at [my campus] is reflective of the work culture of academic institutions in the United States. And the reason I say that is because one of the ways that work culture gets improved, or actually gets worse, is fundamentally based on funding. And as you know, that for public institutions, funding has been cut every year, consistently for the past 30 years. So to be able to say that the work environment is actually positive would only mean that it may be positive just because you might run into nice people, and you might be talking about interpersonal culture, but not the work culture. You know, so, it doesn’t even matter if I have the most optimistic outlook in life personally, what they would call the objective reality of our situation is that the work culture is not something that is positive for the workers in a public institution, because of the cutting down of funding.

As higher education’s share of the state budget has been declining over the past 30 years, the corrections’ share of the budget has been increasing during this time period (Anand, 2012). Mark went on to cite specific examples of vital resources that he feels are currently lacking, including more faculty to accommodate the amount of majors in the department, and more
GAs and TAs to assist with research and teaching related tasks. Mark describes the impact that having to do more with less has had on the overall work culture of his department and campus as a result of the lack of resources, that has left faculty feeling compressed and overworked, and this has had negative impacts on the work environment. It is difficult to have a healthy and positive work culture when faculty feel overextended as a result of having to do more with less, creating more stress. Such feelings of scarcity may also make it more difficult to request time off, since there is little full-time faculty to begin with, meaning that they cannot afford to lose another member even temporarily.

Allison, a CCC professor, said that access to resources is what she feels her college system is lacking right now:

I would like to have more resources, that’s kinda the only thing I can think of…. [And the English Department has] SDICCCA interns that come in, work with them, and they have some kind of set up with San Diego State, where they’re like bringing people in. It’s really well run, but in Social Sciences, we do not have any TAs…. It would be nice, I think, to have maybe a little grading help. It probably would be nice to have, sort of, designated tutors, for [my specific discipline] which we don’t have. We have general tutors, and we send them to the tutoring center if they need help with writing, but I think it would be nice to have [someone to help] with [my specific discipline]. But in general, I can pretty much handle it.

Professors at the CCC have a large teaching load of five courses per semester, which can make grading and assisting students quite difficult at peak times of the term. Although TAs and tutors for specific disciplines are generally more utilized at the university level, they may prove beneficial to CCC faculty and students as well. Rachel, a professor within the CCC, sees the impact that low funding has had on hiring professors, stating that “there are many more part-time [faculty] than full-time. It shouldn’t be that way, but it is, with crappy budgets. Which is not good for students, because you don’t have office hours, you’re not as available to help students, and you can’t serve on committees.” Carol, another CCC professor, discussed her experiences with her department regarding resources:

The downside is that there are only so many resources, so it’s hard to split up. For instance, the Psychology department usually tries to argue that they have more majors than us, so they should get more funding. But a lot of our students transfer to [name of university located nearby], and there’s many more Sociology majors than Psychology majors there. There’s this hubris that’s present, and I don’t like that. Plus, many people change their majors, so how much weight should that actually carry?
Another CCC faculty member, Vera, chimes in on how the lack of resources has affected her colleagues and work environment, stating, “We’re constantly fighting for resources…. when funds and resources are very limited, you’re gonna have more contentious situations whereas when resources are plentiful, then everyone gets along a little bit better.” These anecdotes demonstrate that limited funding and resources can cause problems within departments over who gets what, and overextends faculty as they try to cope with limited colleagues to divide the workload with, and few or no TAs that can assist with grading, teaching, or research.

Resources allocated at the departmental level may include supplies for classroom activities, laboratories, technology, travel expenses, and more. Limited funding and resources not only affect collegiality and create stress, but also impact faculty workload, making it more difficult to balance family obligations on top of work. These issues of funding proved to be very prominent within the CSUs and CCCs, and the funding priorities of the state must be shifted if we hope to see any improvement.

The findings from this section demonstrated the many ways that faculty are being stretched to new limits, by way of the changing missions of their institutions, administrative work and bureaucratic overload, and tight budgets and fighting over resources. The data indicated that these issues are prevalent among CSUs and CCCs, but not UCs. These issues resulted in much role conflict for faculty members who are trying to balance their rising workloads and competing duties in the workplace.

**Lack of Adequate Family Policies and the Struggle to Find Work-Life Balance**

Issues with insufficient family policies and flexibility options were a consistent theme throughout the interviews, particularly amongst CSU and CCC faculty, with the UC standing out for providing an array of programs for faculty.

**Academic Life and Timing Childbirths**

Female faculty at all types of institutions struggled with having children, or the idea of having children on the job. Six of the eight interviewees had two children and were all already tenured, and the remaining two interviewees each had one child and were contemplating having a second while still on the tenure track. Several faculty members, especially those employed in CCCs or CSUs, reported poor maternity leave policies. As a
result, Vera, a CCC professor, had to time her pregnancies so that she could have her children at specific times of the year:

I think one thing that’s difficult as a full time instructor, you know, whether you’re a female or male, of childbearing age, like if you’re a young couple, or young professional, in academia, especially at our campus, maternity leaves are not really—the Family Leave Act, which is 12 weeks of unpaid leave, but the catch is that it’s really difficult to leave the classroom for that extended period of time. So even though we’re entitled to it, it’s tough to do that because of what you end up having to do is get someone to fill in and that’s never easy for students in terms of the transition, so as funny as it sounds, my husband and I both planned our children to be born finals week [laughs] and I didn’t come back. So my first child was born [mid December], so it was during finals, and when I came back to work, it was that spring semester, so I almost had 3 weeks at home with him before I went back into it, and I could have utilized the 12 week leave without pay, and it wasn’t necessarily the without pay that turned me from getting that, it was that someone was starting my courses, you develop that rapport with your students and the expectation, and I didn’t wanna come in, you know, February, March, and take over. So we don’t have a lot of great policies in place that help…. thank goodness for winter and summer babies.

However, not everyone is so lucky as to time their pregnancies with such precision. Rachel, another CCC professor, wasn’t able to. She tried to time her son, but it took a while for her to get pregnant, and she ended up giving birth when she still had several weeks of the semester left. As she thinks about having another child, she expresses her concerns:

The tricky thing though with teaching is, if you give birth in the middle of the semester, it’s not like another job where someone else just covers your shift or something, there are no other people to take your class, so it would be a big problem. So I feel—I’m thinking about having a second child or not, so I feel tremendous pressure to time it so that it happens in between semesters, which is impossible…. That’s pretty remarkable [for those who are able to] because you only ovulate once a month, so you have like one shot at getting pregnant. That’s where the practicality of it becomes really difficult.

Since it is so difficult to build rapport with students and then leave or return mid-semester, it is best if maternity and paternity leaves for faculty members are at least one whole term, whether that be a semester or a quarter. That way, another faculty member, whether tenured/tenure-track or adjunct/instructor, can take up that extra class for the entire term, and not have to worry about coordinating with the faculty member on leave, or fret about how the students will handle the change once they enter or leave. As we discussed all of the current options for CCC faculty, she brought up the Load Banking/Course Overload policy.
Although some faculty members teach an overload of courses for several semesters or summer sessions in order to accumulate a load of five courses, so that they could then take a full semester off, Rachel explained how that may not be feasible for her:

The difference is, when you do that, when you bank it and you have overload, is that you’re getting paid an hourly rate only instead of your salary, which is an adjunct rate, which is about third of what we get paid full-time...or half, depending on what school they work at, our money is all a little bit different from school to school.... I mean, maternity leave is, you know, pretty crappy here in the US and California is pretty crappy. And we’ll say things like ‘we’ll protect your job, you can’t get fired if you take it,’ but we don’t say ‘and you can continue to earn your salary.’ So my husband and I, we still have a mortgage to pay. If I cut my—and I have to pay for school for my son because he’s not in public school yet, so if my salary got cut down to a third of what it is now, even if I banked and did that, that wouldn’t be manageable for us, it’s not even possible.

Faculty members who are paid the adjunct hourly rate for using their accumulated overload courses to take a semester off, are essentially penalized for using this policy. Although the faculty union contracts of some districts clearly outline the terms under whether faculty receive the adjunct hourly rate versus release time with full pay, other contracts are not as clear about the compensation rates. It is vital to ensure that those who use this policy in order to spend a semester on leave are paid their usual salary for the semesters’ worth of work that they put in to be eligible to take this time off. Additionally, even for those who could afford the pay cut, since it would take several semesters or summer sessions to accumulate a full semester load by teaching two overload courses for two semesters/summer sessions, and then teaching one overload course for the third semester/summer session, the advanced planning of a year to a year and a half is not a possibility for those who have an unplanned pregnancy. It is also important to note that many of the CCCs do not offer maternity leaves, and certainly not paternity leaves, which means that the gendered division of labor is not challenged. This leaves all of the childrearing to women and such policies perpetuate gender inequality, making women susceptible to falling behind at work as a result of taking on most or all of these responsibilities at home. The CCCs that offer maternity leaves do so for very brief periods of up to six weeks, and are generally unpaid or allow the use of paid sick leave until it runs out, leaving any remaining time as unpaid. Thus, for CCC faculty, the state and federal policies of CFRA, PDL, and FMLA, respectively, are the only options that faculty have if they would like to take a leave. However, since all three of these leaves are each
shorter than a full term, the overload banking option remains the best current method for receiving a full term off, and comes with either adjunct/overload pay or the faculty member’s usual full pay, but requires advance planning which is not always feasible.

Dana, a professor within the CSU, expressed similar issues with policies surrounding pregnancy and childbirth: “I know some people can parlay that [brief maternity leave] into a semester by doing certain work while they’re gone, but it’s pretty poor. I mean, at UCs you just get a semester, and—or a quarter. And a lot of private schools, it’s the same. So, the maternity leave is pretty bad.” Her statement was accurate; UCs have much better policies, since their faculty get the quarter that they’re going to give birth off, as well as the next one, as Jessica, a UC professor explained: “I think it’s good. It’s much better than what I had expected, and it’s much better than what I’ve heard about other places…I was debating it [having kids] even more before I found out about the policies.” Although UC policies have made the decision to have another child a little easier on Jessica, she still hasn’t been able to make up her mind about it. When asked why, she responded:

It’s just about being a working mom, like ‘can I have another kid and still work’ is kinda the feeling…you know, cause it’s just a lot, a lot, a lot. And it’s also—I mean, my son now, he is potty trained, he sleeps through the night, he can feed himself. Like do I really wanna start over with another one and be writing a new book?

When asked what would make her decision easier, in addition to the policies the UCs already provide, she said:

I mean, I guess maybe if I could have like a year off, you know?...because working when a kid is 3 months old is a lot different than working when a kid is a year old. You know, because when they’re 3 months old, they’re still breastfeeding all the time, they’re not necessarily sleeping through the night, so I guess, like you know—I had a friend who was working in Canada and had a baby as an academic, and she had 8 months off, which is essentially the—you know, so she had the academic year off. So if—yeah, if I could have that, that would be—that would make my decision easier.

Having the academic year off would mean having three quarters off instead of two, which is the current UC policy. Receiving this additional quarter off for parents who are the primary caregivers for their newborn would help close the gender gap, in terms of the impact that pregnancy and childbirth have on women, that men do not necessarily experience.
In contrast, when asked how he feels about the family policies regarding childbearing and childrearing on his campus, and whether or not they are adequate, Robert, a UC professor, explained:

I think good, in that—so you get one year delay on the tenure clock for every child, up to two children that are born or adopted while you are an assistant professor, including for men. If you either adopt or birth a child or primary responsibility for such child, you get a certain amount of your teaching removed for the first year and you get out on what’s called something like ‘modified service something something,’ but you know, you’re still paid your whole salary, so essentially they’re making you work like two-thirds time. So I think it’s actually as universities go, it’s actually quite generous.

Robert went on to explain that although those are the formal policies, departments may grant faculty additional flexibility. While his statement about the generosity of UC policies when compared to other institutions is indeed accurate, it is no surprise that women find themselves wishing that they received more time off, even with these policies, since they are the ones giving birth and breastfeeding, and they may or may not also be doing more of the childcare as a result of possibly stringent gender ideologies, especially in the early years. Male faculty in institutional systems such as the CSU, with much less generous and varied policies, also responded similarly. When asked about whether or not the family policies on his campus are adequate, Mark, a CSU professor, responded:

Family policies are actually not that bad, because I think on this campus, we have both a maternity and a paternity leave. And the department also—it depends on the department, rather than giving somebody just 6 weeks off for paternity leave, I think they could work it out where they could teach let’s say an extra course and take an entire semester off, you know, so that’s usually based on departmental things. For me, I can’t complain whenever I’ve had my children, I felt as though that our family policies weren’t that bad. Now, that’s of course within the context of family policies in the US. Right, it pales by comparison to family policies in European countries where you get to get off for 18 months and so on…

As previously mentioned, the CSU offers thirty days of paid parental leave, and up to twelve months can be taken as unpaid leave. Or, CSU faculty may combine their paid parental leave, accumulated paid sick leave, and unpaid leave in order to take a full quarter or semester off. A positive work culture in the department not only makes faculty more likely to request the use of the available family policies, but may also provide additional flexibility or further accommodations to the existing policies, especially if funds are available.
Although the leave policies may be perceived as adequate to the male faculty, female faculty everywhere seem to be questioning the feasibility of having children on the job. They feel pressured to time their pregnancies out so that they give birth during winter and summer breaks, although that is not always be possible, and question whether the time off is enough. This relates to the family life course theory because of the significance of age (measured by career stage) in this respect, since the childbearing and childrearing years run concurrent with the probationary period for tenure, meaning that women and men in their early careers are saddled with extra stress during this time. Gender is also significant, since women are likely to suffer even further disadvantages as a result of pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding. However, it is important to note that the policies at the UCs are much more generous than those of CSUs and CCCs, which would really benefit from having a whole semester off, either the semester they give birth, or the semester right after, if they have their child towards the end of the semester. This would allow female and male faculty the opportunity to avoid leaving the semester too early, or entering too late as a result of their pregnancy or childrearing responsibilities. A semester off would benefit faculty who have unplanned pregnancies or financial strain and therefore could not utilize the Load Banking/Course Overload tactic. With stories such as this, it is not difficult to see why fertility rates amongst faculty are lower than those of the general population.

**Desire to Work Less Hours**

Several faculty members reported feeling overworked, and noted that they wish they could work less. “I’d like to work part time,” said Dana, a CSU professor who increasingly found it difficult to balance work and family responsibilities, and she isn’t alone. There are more than 8,000 Part-Time Tenure Track individuals today, and these positions can “enhance faculty satisfaction, career success, and retention over the long run.” These positions are not only beneficial for faculty, but also beneficial to the institutions they serve, since “faculty success promotes institutional effectiveness, and institutions can therefore be well served by providing this option” (Herbers, 2014). Vera, a professor within the CCC said that she likes being able to be both a professional and a mom, but she feels like her workload is more than she can handle, stating:
I think most of us, it wouldn’t be unusual to work 50, 60 hour weeks, but with great flexibility. So, and I’m probably including weekends hours. Again, our contract says that we’re working 35 hours but the majority of us go well above that in a week. And some weeks are slower than others, I mean during finals and midterms, we’re obviously busy, the first week of the semester we’re busier, so I’d say maybe about 50 hours a week. Our hours have been creeping up unfortunately, because when I was in school, if I needed to contact an instructor, I’d have to go to office hours, but now, students have the ability to contact us via email very easily, anytime of the day. Our workload and work commitment has really increased as a result.

The rule of thumb in academia regarding the number of hours that faculty should spend prepping is two hours for every hour of lecture for classes they’ve taught before, and up to four hours per hour of lecture for classes that are new preps (American Faculty Association, 2012). With everything that goes into creating and implementing courses, it is no wonder that faculty generally work such high hours. Vera goes on to explain that she’s thankful for online instruction because of the greater amount of flexibility that it gives her, but that because of the nature of online instruction, she feels like she’s “always on,” admitting that “unfortunately, it’s always hanging over our heads, to be honest, I’m always quite stressed.”

PTTT is an alternative for faculty members who would like reduced appointments, either temporarily or permanently. When asked about her thoughts regarding Part-Time Tenure Track (PTTT) positions, Jessica, a UC professor, said: “I think that’d be great [laughs]…two classes a year would be fantastic. I feel like I could be a better teacher if I was only teaching one class right now, as opposed to two.” She was referring to what would be the workload of a 50% PTTT position at a UC, which would mean a 1-1-0 load instead of 2-2-0, and about half of the usual research and publishing requirements required of traditional full-time, tenure track faculty, with pro-rata pay based on the percentage of the appointment. However, what Jessica may not know is that UCs already offer PTTT appointments, and it’s been on the books for years.

Although PTTT appointments may be an ideal option for men and women who would like to both maintain a professional career and their family life by working less hours, particularly when raising young children, that may not always be financially feasible as a result of the pro-rated pay that is based on the percentage of the appointment. Taking such positions may unfortunately also come with a flexibility stigma, a perception that any accommodations made to the job signal that the faculty member is not fully dedicated.
However, this is less likely to occur in departments with a more positive and flexible work culture, where perhaps PTTT appointments are not as rare.

Faculty who choose to work the traditional full-time tenure track positions may benefit from programs such as the Faculty Success Program, which aims to help faculty better balance their work and family lives by learning and implementing the empirically tested methods that the program teaches through their virtual boot camp. Jessica, a UC professor, described her experience in the program so far:

I’m actually in this program called the Faculty Success Program…it’s through the National Center for Faculty Development and Diversity, and [my campus] has an institutional membership, plus they sponsored a lot of faculty to do this faculty success program, and they teach you all about, like, work-life balance, and time management, and kind of strategies for making sure to prioritize things that are gonna get you tenure, and not prioritize things that are not gonna get you tenure. And so one of the things that they kind of teach you how to do is build this daily writing practice, with the idea that even if it’s small chunks, you can actually move forward a lot faster with your research than if you do, like, one day out of the week, or—I mean, I have the quarter—one quarter and a summer to focus on [research].

When asked if she has found the program helpful, she responded:

It’s been huge. Yeah, the program is absolutely wonderful. And actually, I had heard about it from other faculty here, and basically they said, people who had been here for a while, even people who did the program post-tenure, and they said that it was totally a transformative experience; it changed how they experience their work, how they do their—just their daily schedule.

Policies such as Part-Time Tenure Track appointments and faculty programs such as the Faculty Success Program are valuable options for faculty to choose from depending on their needs, and both should be made available across institutions. Currently, however, only the UCs have Part-Time Tenure Track appointments in the books, and although nine of the ten UCs have institutional memberships to the Faculty Success Program that is hosted through the National Center for Faculty Development and Diversity (NCFDD), only one of the twenty-three CSUs has an institutional membership to the program. Additionally, only three of the twenty-three CSUs currently sponsor individual participants to the Faculty Success Program, whereas six of the ten UCs do so. The NCFDD also offers on-campus workshops that are designed for pre-tenured faculty, tenured faculty, and campus leaders, and currently, two of the ten UCs host such workshops on their campuses, whereas none of the CSUs do so.
None of the California Community Colleges have memberships to any of these programs, but the NCFDD may be beneficial for community college faculty as well, since the goal is to learn how to better balance work and family. The NCFDD programs and Part-Time Tenure Track appointments would certainly be a valuable addition to the current policies of the CCC system, as they would help with improving faculty work-life balance, and perhaps help offset the impacts of role conflict among the demanding roles of the profession.

**The Second Shift**

Of the six women interviewed, two of them performed the vast majority of the second shift, one of which hires outside help; two performed a sizeable amount more of the second shift than their husbands, with one of them hiring outside help; and two reported having an equal share of the second shift with their husbands, one of which hires outside help. Both of the men interviewed reported having an equal division of labor with their wives, with one of them hiring outside help. Women who did a little more than their husbands wished that their division of labor was a little more equal, but still felt pretty satisfied with it, whereas women who did significantly more than their spouses were unhappy about it and significantly more stressed out with their overall workload. Overall, four of the eight interviewees have outsourced their home labor by hiring help, most of it on a bi-weekly basis.

Women who shouldered the brunt of the second shift justified this inequality in different ways, such as the different “wiring” of men and women, or on wanting to keep the peace in the household. Vera, a professor within the CCC, shared:

> You know, I hate to say it, because you know, before marriage, I was very much a feminist in a lot of ways, but when it comes down to it, the division of labor is very stereotypical in terms of our gender…as much as you wanna fight it, it really falls on the female plate mostly because of the way we’re wired…men just aren’t burdened the same way. So they [men] kinda can do it all. They can have their professional life, and their family life and I think just the characteristics of a female and a mom are so different, that they are able to balance it a bit better. When the kids are sick, it’s mommy they want. You know, they don’t want daddy, they want mommy. It’s a lot more of a demand on your time and the responsibilities and we’re told we can have it all, but it’s very unrealistic.

Dana, a CSU professor, revealed the struggles she has had with her husband regarding the second shift, and having a more equal division of labor:
It’s a lot of negotiation, and conflict and giving up. So we used to have a lot of conflict over it and then I—you know, you have to decide are you gonna keep fighting for equality and what you think is right, or are you gonna try to have a peaceful household? I mean, his dad didn’t do anything, he definitely does way more than his dad does, he does more than my dad did.

She went on to say that she has never had an example of how to manage a household when you’re a part of a dual-earner couple:

I also think that people have a much more—that it’s easier to have—you know, to avoid conflict in a relationship when people have defined roles, so I think that both people working, you know, creates—I mean, I’m in support of both people working, but I think it creates a lot of negotiations and sometimes conflicts over who should do what. You know, my sisters who are stay-at-home moms or my mom who was a stay-at-home mom didn’t have that kind of—like, I didn’t really have a role model for that, my mom stayed at home when we were small. She only started working when the last—when my younger brother who’s 7 years younger was 6, so only when I was a teenager was she working, and only part time, so she was definitely in charge of the house…

In some cases, gender ideologies are still prevalent, which makes it even more difficult to negotiate the division of labor, because it may go against the way we were raised, or what we believe to be true about men and women. Although Dana has attempted to negotiate the division of labor with her partner, she has yet to be successful in sharing the second shift, instead opting to keep the peace within her household. However, this has come at a cost. She shared that aside from her struggles with doing most of the second shift, her husband’s new job is stressful for him, and her dedication to her daughter’s schooling has put her in an even bigger time crunch and there may be repercussions to her professional career as a result of trying to balance it all. Both Vera and Dana perform the vast majority of the second shift, and although both feminists, they have reverted back to traditional thoughts on gender roles, which has perhaps made it easier to cope with their reality and maintain the peace in their households. Otherwise, it is evident that neither of these women are satisfied with their division of labor and both wish that their husbands would do more, but have given up and instead try to rationalize their predicaments.

Half of the overall faculty members interviewed reported having an equal division of labor, and the way they split the second shift with their spouses varied greatly. Robert, a UC professor, explained how he and his wife split the division of labor:
We developed a militantly egalitarian version of work, where we essentially split up childcare and household tasks, to like 30-minute increments. That meant that each of us would do an equal share, of this work. And we’re recognizing that some of us have more interest or specialty in some of things than in others. But, the way that we decided to do this, was—you know, I have always woke up very early, and worked, typically leaving home before anyone gets up, and not seeing the children at all. My wife did the mornings, getting the kids ready originally for daycare, eventually school, and everything like that. And then I was the afternoon shift, and I leave work early, typically around 4pm, and I would leave at 4pm, pick up the kids from school, daycare, or wherever, it’s changed over the years. I would be the one to take them to soccer practice, the park, and everything else. And then, like, 6ish, my wife would finish work—so we had these two different shifts, and then dinnertime forward, there was no work, and it was just family time…. luckily, one of the things that with the privilege we have is that we end up hiring people to clean up our house, which is a good thing, because we have different notions of what clean means. And so, around the house, I’ve always done my own laundry, so I do my own laundry, my wife does her own laundry. I wash all the dishes; my wife cooks. We both pick up, I fix everything, you can say I do more of the homework with the kids, which is the big time suck. I pay the bills, I do the finances, I fix the computers…. she spends more time buying food, grocery shopping and stuff, and so I try to make up for that, recognizing that she’s probably doing more with that, I do a lot more of the driving [the kids around].

However, while Mark, a CSU professor, and his wife, also do an equal share of the division of labor, they split it very differently than Robert shared above:

The division of labor actually—I wouldn’t say there is really that that big of a division of labor. We both cook, we both help with cleaning, we both are very involved with our children’s education and lives, so when my child has a fieldtrip the days that I’m off, I go, when she’s off, she goes. But it is a juggling act, obviously, so, I guess we’re both constantly tired [laughs]…. It wasn’t decided by sitting down and saying let’s do this or that, it was more decided almost on an organic kind of basis. It happened organically in the sense that sometimes, when I come home, if I’m home earlier than she is, then I would prepare dinner. Right, if she’s home early, then she would prepare dinner. Or sometimes, we’d call each other and say ‘hey, you know what, today I would like to cook even if I come a little late,’ you know, and so on and so forth. So it’s a lot of communication. You know, so there’s no real like decision kind of thing where we sat down and said let’s try to do this or do that.

As both Robert and Mark demonstrated, there are numerous ways to share the second shift, whether it is based on completing the tasks most enjoyed, splitting tasks based on availability to complete them, or even based on the time it takes to complete each task. There especially may be more consequences to the careers of faculty employed at the university level that find themselves in a time crunch, than to those at the community college level,
because of the research and publishing requirements. There is a heightened sense of pressure and stress that results from research and publishing because of its time consuming and unpredictable nature, and the lack of accountability for daily progress that is otherwise already built in for teaching and service. Although community college faculty teach a larger load and may also experience consequences to their careers as a result of time crunches or adverse life events, teaching is more predictable than research and publishing are, which is what may make university faculty more disadvantaged in this regard. This again points to the findings that community colleges may afford female faculty more of an opportunity to maintain a work-life balance than other types of post-secondary institutions as a result of these dynamics (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008) although as this data demonstrates, the policies offered at UCs are more family-friendly than those of CCCs and CSUs.

Additionally, university faculty go up for tenure/promotion twice: from assistant to associate (up to seven years for UCs and six for CSUs), followed by another promotion from associate to full, whereas the tenure process for faculty members at community colleges may differ greatly. Some go up for tenure just once, in which they become full professor right away after passing their four year probation for assistant professor, and other CCC districts mimic a two step tenure process similar to universities, with a four year probation to achieve associate professor, and then another four years to achieve full professor. Those who have to go up for tenure/promotion more than once, especially in research universities, may incur more consequences to their careers as a result of not being able to maintain a high level of research productivity throughout all those years.

The findings in this section regarding the lack of family policies and the struggle to find work-life balance reflect the perspectives of both the family life course theory (Bengtson & Allen, 1993) and role conflict theory (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), especially for female faculty who struggle to balance work and home. It is women who are at more of a disadvantage in the workplace as a result of bearing children and breastfeeding, and they are at an even greater disadvantage if they take on all or most of the childrearing and the second shift, which aligns with the underlying assumptions of family life course theory. The two participants who stated they would like to work part-time were both women; one that shouldered almost all of the second shift, and another who has a young child that she provides most of the childcare for in these early years. Both of the men in the study shared an
equal division of labor, whereas several women shouldered the bulk of it. Gender and placement within the family proved to be very important, and although both men and women experienced some role conflict, women reported such issues at much higher levels.

**INSTITUTIONAL WORK CULTURE**

Every single faculty member interviewed agreed that academic life, although demanding, is very much flexible in terms of when and where you complete your work. This flexibility has helped offset the impact of the long hours that they put into the job, and allows them to do things like pick up their kids in the middle of the day, teach some online classes so that they can work partially at home, and so on. However, there are other aspects of the academic work culture that could be improved, and some institutions may indicate a wrong “fit” for the faculty member as a result of a teaching-to-research ratio or set of expectations that may be different than what they would otherwise prefer. The more positive the work culture, the more satisfied the faculty members, and therefore, the less stress that contributes to work-life balance issues.

**Issues With Administration and Staff**

There are bound to be collegial issues that come up every now and then, whether in a specific department, or across the institution. However, some issues are severe enough that they do not allow for the proper functioning of the college or university. Out of the eight interviewees, two of them cited such intense problems, and they both come from different institutions. Vera, a CCC professor, discussed her take on the campus divide that has plagued the college repeatedly over many years: “The morale of the institution fluctuates with the administration, who we have in power in terms of administration. I’d say the culture is very, unfortunately, segmented where faculty are very united, and administration is very united and so sometimes we butt heads a lot.”

Although the issues that Vera cites come from issues with mostly high-level administrators, Allison, another professor within the CCC, revealed that issues on her campus hit a lot closer to home—in her own department, and with the staff that she has to interact with everyday:

In my particular department, we have had real problems with our chair. So, there’s been a lot of political drama, anger, frustration, us against him. We
actually voted him out of office, and it was a surprise, and he did not take it well, cause he assumed that he was pulling the wool over everybody’s eyes, and so, there—in this past year, there has been drama, which is kind of stressful… and makes it harder to come to work…. There’s definitely a sort of division between staff and faculty, and there are few people that can bridge that gap, but not everybody is interested in doing so. And so, I think that that contributes to some resentment in the staff side of things, and there are certain people that are like the gatekeepers, to all the stuff that you need to do in terms of the staff, and if the staff are frustrated by the faculty, sometimes they can make things challenging for you. So I just try to treat everybody with a lot of respect, and really nicely, but sometimes it’s beyond what you can do, they’re just sort of angry in general.

As Allison revealed, such issues add a lot of unnecessary stress, which in turn lowers the overall faculty satisfaction level. This may also impact faculty work-life balance as a result of the draining nature of the work environment and the time that is used up to resolve conflicts within, or having to work around roadblocks that may be created regularly as a result of unresolved issues. This may result in role conflict as faculty members may feel obligated to act as peace keepers as Allison explains, because of these departmental issues with administration and staff, adding yet another role to their repertoire that compete with all of the existing demands for their time and energy at work. Unsupportive work environments may make it more difficult to request for and utilize leave policies, and this serves as an important reminder that collegiality and mutual respect are vital at all levels of the institution in order to maintain positive work environments that contribute to satisfaction and overall work-life balance.

**Stigma of Not Embodying the ‘Ideal Worker’**

One of the major issues in academia is the cherished norm of complete devotion to the job, which results in an almost cultish sort of dedication. This lends itself to “all or nothing” type of thinking, and departments that exhibit this behavior tend to create a flexibility stigma—meaning that unless you’re fully committed, then you’re not committed enough. Thus, faculty become hesitant to utilize family policies, or ask for some flexibility, out of fear of this stigma, and even more so if they have not yet received tenure. For those who utilize the policies despite this risk, they may sometimes receive backlash from their colleagues. Allison, a CCC professor, shares the following about another colleagues’ experience in her department:
There are some people who have the same position as I do in other departments, who have had spouses die...and they have taken off a semester, I believe, of like emergency leave, or whatever they call it. But, they were sort of trash talked behind their backs, which I can’t really understand, but…I think it was mostly admin, but I think there was some faculty grumbling, for people who had to step in and take those classes, things like that. I don’t know how long they’d be cool with that.

A professor from the CSU, Dana, has utilized one of these policies herself, by working part-time for a semester:

I mean, in terms of other family [policies]—the ability to work part time, I feel like it’s—there are, there was one semester where I did work part time, one semester where I took one course off, but I don’t feel like it’s very—I feel like it’s looked down upon. It’s not that—it’s possible, but it’s not like a regular thing. It’s not—it’s certainly not part of the culture and I don’t know how bureaucratically it—how easy it would be bureaucratically.

The work culture at Dana’s institution emphasizes productivity, and it is unheard of for a tenured/tenure-track faculty member to work part-time on a regular basis. The CSU has no Part-Time Tenure Track appointment options in the books, nor do they have the Active Service-Modified Duties options that UC has. Other than a few policies for pre-tenure probationary faculty, there are no formal reduced workload policies available to tenured faculty members at the CSU, meaning that it may not be bureaucratically possible to work part-time for an extended period, as Dana would like. Additionally, supportive work cultures within departments and institutions are necessary in order for such leave policies to be utilized by faculty members once they are made available to them.

Another CCC professor, Rachel, shares her experience from when she had her baby as a part-time professor at another CCC in the area, before she got her current tenure-track job:

I never got it [maternity leave] as an adjunct, so I had a C-section and was back in the classroom 10 days later...cause I couldn’t drive, it was horrible.... I felt incredible pressure to not miss a beat at school. Particularly when you’re part-time, there’s no job security and if you create a problem for a department because they have to come in and sub for you, you don’t want to be a problem, you know? .... So I was coming back, you know, still on meds, having my mom drive me, like having to breast-feed my son quickly during breaks from the classroom.... and was praised for it by my deans and stuff. And I think that was wrong. Like I don’t think we should praise people for being workaholics, I don’t think we should
praise people for, you know, pushing their bodies to the limit that could injure them. But culturally, and socially, we do that…. And I will not be a part of perpetuating that…. I’m a conscientious objector of that.

Rachel was expected to return to the classroom as soon as possible after giving birth, even though it wasn’t very safe for her to do so. Not having job security can be a breeding ground for exploitation since faculty members feel reluctant to push back against unfair expectations for fear of losing their jobs in this extreme ideal worker culture. As discussed in a previous section, CCCs and CSUs should consider giving faculty members the whole term off in order to avoid having to leave mid-semester, or return mid-semester, trying to build rapport with students who have already grown accustomed to a different professor. However, changing policies is a lengthy battle, so for the time being, a pool of money should be set aside to offer overload pay to faculty members who step in for a partial term, or to hire contingent faculty to do so if there are no willing and able faculty members to take over in the department.

It is also important to note that faculty who trained at institutions of high research productivity may be socialized to expect these heavy work weeks, and are therefore likely to exhibit ‘ideal worker’ tendencies without questioning those expectations since they have become accustomed to them. However, the UC campuses, which are high research producing institutions, have implemented flexible family policies for their faculty to use. But what may be even more difficult than changing policies, is changing the work culture. For example, as Anne-Marie Slaughter discussed in her article “Why Women Still Can’t Have It All,” after Princeton University established a tenure-extension policy for assistant-level faculty who have or adopt a child, studies found that only three percent actually used the policy, likely because of the ideal work culture. However, when the policy was made automatic over 30 years later, the number of professors who received a one year tenure extension almost tripled (Slaughter, 2012). So while good policies are imperative for work-life balance, a supportive work culture is too.

All of the examples detailed above from my participants demonstrate the problematic issues that arise as a result of pushing faculty to be ‘ideal workers’—professors that are overextended, overworked, and never stop to come up for air, personal crisis or not. However, this is neither sustainable nor healthy in the long-term, and institutions should make a conscious effort to avoid promoting this damaging culture, and to instead promote
reasonable and flexible accommodations that faculty members are free to use, without
judgment, when the need arises. Otherwise, academia stands to perpetuate the “lock step life
course,” which occurs in jobs that do little to nothing to assist their workers in
accommodating various entry and exit points over the course of their career, and instead
demand unwavering commitment over the years, failing to acknowledge the other aspects of
faculty’s lives (Moen, 2003). Perpetuating ‘ideal worker’ ideologies creates more role
conflict, and worsens faculty work-life balance.

Workload and Workplace Satisfaction

When asked if they would like to be employed in a different type of institution of
higher education, three out of four CCC faculty said no, whereas three out of four CSU and
UC faculty said yes. Reasons for preferring to work elsewhere usually centered around
preferring missions that fit the faculty member better, or for access to more resources. Carol,
a CCC professor, explained that although she loves being at a community college, there are a
couple of things she wishes she could have that are more reminiscent of universities, which is
why she has considered what it would be like to work elsewhere:

On some days, yes; but not UCs or Ivy Leagues—I wanted CSUs…. We get no
class reassignment here for research…. and I wish we had that. Because I like
doing a little bit of research, it keeps me on my game…. I wish there was funding
for conferences here, because that’s a big part of what it means to be a
professional, especially in our discipline.

In other cases, however, the institution may not be a good fit for the faculty member. A CSU
professor, Dana, said: “Yeah, I’d rather be at a liberal arts, small liberal arts school, I think. I
mean, I’d rather be somewhere where there was more support for community-based research
where it was small classes were the norm, although you know, I like the student body here.
So, there’s definitely benefits of being here.” Other faculty members expressed the desire to
have more resources, such as Mark, a CSU professor:

Most people might wanna work at Stanford, UCLA, or UC San Diego for that
matter, and so on and so forth, is for the level of prestige. I don’t believe in that,
so the only reason I would say I wouldn’t mind working at an environment like
Stanford is because they probably have 15 billion dollar…endowments. Which
means that they are able to actually then provide faculty members with the proper
kind of equipment, not only being the computer kind of thing, techserv, but also
GAs and TAs, and classroom sizes that are 18, so that we have—we can, uh,
engage in a dialogical type of education. So I actually—if [my campus] would be
able to offer those kind of things, I wouldn’t actually want any other place, work at any other place.

Overall, university faculty reported working 50-70 hours a week whereas community college faculty reported working 40-50 hours a week. In terms of overall satisfaction with their work-life balance, tenured and tenure-track faculty members at UCs report being most satisfied with their work-life balance, followed by faculty at CCCs, with CSU faculty reporting the lowest level of satisfaction, on average, as shown in Table 2 below. It is interesting that CCC faculty report a relatively high level of satisfaction, given their less accommodating and flexible work policies when compared to those offered at universities. It is also important to note that the overall satisfaction average for CCC faculty was dragged down by one participant’s rating, which she reported was mostly her own doing. Allison, a CCC professor, is currently writing a textbook and also manages several online forums related to her discipline, on top of her full-time teaching load of 5-5, and her service to her department and campus community. She says:

I would prefer to have a little more downtime, a little more life, and a little less work. Some of that is my own doing, right, so I love to be—I love to have my hands in every pot, especially when I think they’re things that can make a difference. And I am sort of compelled to do things like that I think they’re gonna be positive and affect people in a good way. So I tend to have a lot of projects. It’s a hard question, actually, because I’m not sure that I would do anything differently. I wish I could add some hours to the day, but then I’d probably fill them with work.

Allison is not compensated for her extra work, since research and publication is not a part of the job description at CCCs. However, research and publications do allow her to move up the salary schedule, and she considers the online forums she manages as a hobby, rather than part of her formal job. Otherwise, without her low work-life balance rating, the overall satisfaction with work-life balance average for CCC faculty would be almost identical to that of UC faculty, with the CCC average having been slightly higher.

It is also important to note that research shows that faculty who are employed at research intensive universities (such as the UCs) tend to be more content with their jobs earlier in their careers, and less content later on, whereas faculty who are employed at teaching intensive institutions tend to be less content earlier on, and more content later into
Table 2. Satisfaction With Overall Work-Life Balance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type of Institution</th>
<th>Hours/Week</th>
<th>Balance Rating 1-10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>University of California (UC)</td>
<td>50-59 hrs/wk</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessica</td>
<td>University of California (UC)</td>
<td>40-59 hrs/wk</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dana</td>
<td>California State University (CSU)</td>
<td>40-60 hrs/wk</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>California State University (CSU)</td>
<td>70 hrs/wk</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carol</td>
<td>California Community College (CCC)</td>
<td>40 hrs/wk</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vera</td>
<td>California Community College (CCC)</td>
<td>50 hrs/wk</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel</td>
<td>California Community College (CCC)</td>
<td>40-49 hrs/wk</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allison</td>
<td>California Community College (CCC)</td>
<td>40-49 hrs/wk</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

their careers (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). This declining satisfaction may be a result of the high research productivity that faculty at Research I institutions must maintain throughout their careers. However, the UC has adopted generous family-friendly policies on their campuses, which may be why their overall work-life balance satisfaction rating is considerably high. Still, the most challenging aspect of the life of an academic, is trying to balance it all. Robert, a professor within the UC system, said it best:

I’ve always felt that the only way to mentally survive being a professor is to punch the clock. If you—because with one of these jobs, in principle, there is no limit to it. You know, you could always be doing more, and it’s endless, and so therefore, you have to set boundaries around it, and the best way to set boundaries, is to set time boundaries.

He says that one of the reasons why he, among other faculty members at UCs, are able to have a semblance of work-life balance is because they are treated well—not just in terms of policies, but also in terms of pay.

UC faculty are paid a lot more, and therefore, I don’t work—a lot of people work extra jobs, you see professors work extra, not so much jobs, but things to make money. You could be the person to grade AP exam things, or you could be the person to evaluate the written parts of the GRE exams, things like that, and I just never considered doing anything like that. I don’t need the money. I could always use money, but there are people who—there are Cal State faculty who are on the verge of being on food stamps, you know? And so part of the reason I have this
luxury of being able to create this distinction of work-family balance is relatively well treated…. So, people in the UC have the ability to generate offers from other schools that are trying to recruit them away, therefore, you get offered a raise, to match the offer, to keep you. Whereas, in general, after a certain number of years in the Cal State, because of the work conditions, your chances of getting outside offers are exceedingly low. And so basically, that’s what happens. So, the people who have not gotten any outside offers, are paid here more like Cal State faculty. I mean, the Cal State faculty—it’s called compression. So, the Cal State faculty, technically, get hired in more than we get paid, that’s all mythological, but in theory, they get paid slightly more when they’re hired. But if that is even the case, the paths diverge…essentially immediately.

His statements are in line with the California Faculty Association’s four-part series, “Race to the Bottom” that was released this spring. The first installment, “CSU’s 10-year failure to Fund its Core Mission,” reveals that the average CSU faculty salary on every single one of the 23 campuses has lost purchasing power, while the average UC faculty salary on every UC campus has increased (California Faculty Association, 2015a). The third installment, “Losing Ground and Losing Faith,” documents CSU faculty’s stories of struggling to live the middle class life that they deserve instead of receiving such insufficient salaries that qualify them for public assistance programs (California Faculty Association, 2015b). As a result of having to pick up extra jobs to support themselves and their families, CSU faculty are even more overworked than their formal workload would indicate, and therefore struggle the most with their work-life balance. Additionally, because CSU faculty have a relatively larger teaching load and generally lengthier terms (for those on the semester system versus the quarter system), they are left with even less time to conduct research, on top of the limited resources that they are given to conduct it with. This especially affects the CSU faculty members that are employed within the institutions that are striving for increasingly high levels of research productivity. As Robert indicated, their ability to garner offers from other institutions which result in raises is also limited because of their constrained resources and time to conduct such research. From my sample, it appears that CSU faculty are the most overextended, the least satisfied with their work-life balance, and perhaps also the group whose salaries have been most affected by the budget cuts in recent years. This deeply affects faculty’s work-life balance as they struggle to maintain both their teaching and research expectations, which have increased over the years as a result of greater institutional commitments to research, and larger class sizes. This is further exacerbated for faculty members who struggle with
maintaining a living on their salary, and therefore take on other side jobs to make more money, further impeding on time they would otherwise be able to spend with their families.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study is to gain insight on how family policies affect the work-life balance of professors in the Social and Behavioral Sciences who are employed within the various public institutions of higher education in the State of California. Conducting in-depth interviews with these faculty members allowed me to extract as much information as possible about their daily lives as academics, parents, and spouses. Including faculty members from all three types of institutions gave me further insight on how institutional structures and policies can help shape and improve faculty work-life balance.

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP, 2001) adopted the “Statement of Principles on Family Responsibilities and Academic Work” in November of 2001, which laid out policy recommendations to encourage educational institutions to offer greater support for their faculty. Their statement emphasized that “the goal of every institution should be to create an academic community in which all members are treated equitably, families are supported, and family-care concerns are regarded as legitimate and important.” Among them, the AAUP recommends the following: 1) to offer paid disability leaves for pregnancy; 2) to go beyond the minimum coverage prescribed by FMLA and provide some form of paid family-care leave, such as allowing faculty to use their paid annual or sick leave concurrently with their unpaid leave; 3) to extend sick leave to include leave to care for an ill family member in cases of short term illnesses not covered by FMLA; 4) to recognize rearing children or caring for an ailing family member as appropriate reasons for unpaid leaves of absence; 5) to offer active service-modified duties that allow for appointments with reduced loads for short-term periods at full pay, irrespective of tenure status; 6) to allow tenure-track faculty to stop the clock or extend the probationary period, with or without taking a full or partial leave of absence, if they are a primary or coequal caregiver of a newborn or newly adopted child, for one year for each child, no more than
twice; 7) to have access to quality childcare facilities and either subsidized on-campus care or through a benefit plan; 8) to consider affording financial support for family members of faculty to attend existing centers and programs for elder care or special needs; and 9) to consider faculty members’ needs when scheduling classes, meetings and other faculty obligations, and to provide substitute care in the event of professional conferences (AAUP, 2001).

Of the three types of public institutions of higher education in California, the UC system most closely mirrors these AAUP policy recommendations, most notably for leading the way with two quarters off for maternity or paternity leave, as well as part-time tenure track (PTTT) appointments for temporary or permanent use. On the other hand, the policies within the CSU and CCC systems are both lacking when compared to the AAUP recommendations. Although the CSU offers extensions of the tenure clock and a reduction of the teaching load for the first two years of probation, as well as a reduction in teaching load in lieu of parental leave for one semester or quarter, they do not offer an active service-modified duties option or part-time tenure track appointments to reduce the workload at anytime else, either temporarily or permanently. In comparison, the CCC system does not offer extensions to the tenure clock, perhaps because faculty evaluations are based on teaching and service, with no research requirements. However, some districts offer a reduction in service leave that is similar to how PTTT appointments operate, which CSUs do not offer. Additionally, the CSU offers the option to combine a 30-day paid parental leave along with paid sick leave and unpaid leave to try to take the whole term off, but it can be difficult to accumulate enough days to equal a full quarter, and especially a full semester, and this makes using this policy difficult because it is challenging to teach a partial term. Teaching a partial term requires having to come in or leave mid-quarter, or mid-semester, after students have already built rapport with the professor, and have adjusted to the professor’s expectations, manner of conducting lecture, and the course requirements and deadlines. In comparison, the CCC also offers the option to use paid sick leave (both full and half salary sick leave accrual) for maternity and paternity leave, and the rest is unpaid. Similar to the CSU, it can be difficult to accumulate enough days to be able to take the entire semester off. However, the load banking/course overload option allows faculty to work overload (maximum of two courses of overload during the semester) in order to accumulate
the five courses of overload needed in order to take the semester off, with either overload/hourly pay (adjunct rate) or with full pay, but this would require planning of at least one year (two semesters and a summer) or one and a half years (three semesters) in advance in order to make this option a possibility. Additional policies are needed in order to help improve the work-life balance of faculty members at the CSU and CCC.

The AAUP policy recommendations have made a valuable contribution to how institutions shape the policies on their campuses, but they too can be improved, in order to assist in the recruitment and retention of talented faculty members that may otherwise look over or leave academia in lieu of other sectors of employment. I recommend the following additions to the AAUP policy recommendations to help increase institutional commitment to faculty and their families: 1) to ensure that maternity and paternity leave for faculty is at least one semester or two quarters long, for each event of birth or adoption, and consider longer leaves such as one full academic year for breastfeeding mothers or for the child’s primary caregiver; 2) to consider offering teaching tracks with a teaching emphasis and less research, and a research track with a research emphasis and less teaching in order to maximize faculty strengths and preferences; 3) to offer part-time tenure track appointments that allow for reduced loads such as base times of 2/3, 1/2 or 1/3 for long-term periods (whether temporarily or permanently), at modified pro-rata pay; 4) to offer assistance with spousal hires via internal and local networks to keep families within geographic distance; and 5) to consider institutional or individual memberships to faculty support programs, such as the Faculty Success Program offered through the National Center for Faculty Development and Diversity, or workshops that faculty may attend on or off campus, on topics regarding the most prominent work-life balance challenges they experience at their institutions. These additional policy recommendations would improve the work-life balance of both men and women in academia, and they would also help close the gender gap among female faculty, since many women experience disadvantages as a result of childbirth, breastfeeding, and gender ideologies that contribute to their performance of a larger share of the childrearing and/or housework.

As discussed earlier, although flexible and family friendly policies are indeed extremely important, faculty may be hesitant to utilize them in extreme ideal worker environments where the flexibility stigma is persistent. Therefore, it is imperative that the
university administration, as well as department deans and chairs, work to encourage their faculty to utilize the policies that are available to them. It may also be beneficial to make some of these policies automatic, so that even if faculty are reluctant to ask for fear of repercussions, they are nudged towards learning to taking advantage of the policies on their campuses, such as the case with Princeton University’s automatic one year addition to the tenure clock for assistant level faculty who adopt or have a child (Slaughter, 2012).

Additionally, it is important to note that while the policies and policy recommendations in the U.S. regarding parental leaves are generally geared toward regaining physical strength in order to get back to work, such policies in other countries provide more extensive leaves since the purpose is to spend time bonding with the newborn child, or newly adopted child. Thus, the policy recommendations from the AAUP, as well as the additions I recommend, may perhaps be perceived as generous in our country, but pale in comparison to the family policies offered in other countries across the world.

The UCs offer all or most of the AAUP policy recommendations, in addition to those I recommended above, and the availability or absence of these policies was reflected in the level of faculty satisfaction within the various types of institutions. Faculty interviewees from the UCs reported having better, and more varied family-friendly policies than both CSUs and CCCs. The UCs not only offer lengthier leaves, they also offer an array of “reduced effort” options, the opportunity for spousal hires, and lots of faculty support programs. Such programs that help faculty navigate academic life, as well as their personal life, are necessary to ensure that both faculty and the institution are making the most out of their collaboration.

Workshops that address issues that are most common amongst faculty would be beneficial, and institutions could tailor these based on the faculty they serve. For example, it is evident that faculty have many competing demands for their time and attention, and dual-earner couples who have not had role models for how to split the division of labor, may need some guidance to get started. A workshop that academics and their spouses could attend that provided examples on possible ways to split the second shift, could positively impact their work-life balance.

One of the most important findings in this study is the need for improved maternity and paternity leaves for all faculty members, but especially those employed in CSUs and CCCs as their policies are currently lacking. Options for extended or permanent part-time
employment are necessary as well, such as Part-Time Tenure Track (PTTT) appointments, which are an option and have gained much rapport. The most popular reasons for taking PTTT appointments are for early career faculty with family constraints, mid career faculty who enter from other work sectors or who pursue extramural activities, and late career faculty phasing into retirement. As discussed earlier, many institutions may be unaware of this possibility, or unsure of how to put it into practice. However, some institutions already have it on the books, such as the UC system, and publications such as Herbers’ “Part-Time on the Tenure Track” provide great detail on how to implement such programs.

Not only will such options provide the reduced appointments that some faculty desire, but PTTT implementation will also provide more permanent faculty within the institution, which has great outcomes for students since they generally remain in one place, and have a lot of more time to dedicate to their students via office hours, mentorship, projects, and overall involvement in the campus community. Currently, the ratio for contingent faculty, which includes instructors, adjuncts, and graduate teaching assistants, is at an all-time high of 76% of all instructional staff appointments in American higher education (AAUP, 2015). All of those positions are short-term contracts with no guarantee of continuous employment as well as considerably lower pay than that of permanent faculty. This high level of contingent faculty members affects full-time faculty in several ways, such as increasing levels of administrative work since part-time faculty generally don’t serve on committees, meaning that there is more work to go around for a smaller number of full-time faculty members. Additionally, since the openings for full-time positions are decreasing with the rise of contingent faculty, it makes entry into these permanent jobs even more competitive (Jacobs, 2004). PTTT appointments can help remedy this issue by adding more permanent faculty who are dedicated to a particular institution and its students. This type of arrangement is very similar to reduced appointments that are made for professional development or any type of modified duties appointments. However, it is important to note that PTTT is not without its downsides. Shifting from a full-time tenure track appointment to a part-time one may come with a flexibility stigma, and career trajectories may be affected by part-time status. With these positions, departmental culture is very important, but the good news is that PTTT faculty are able to eventually go back to, or begin, full-time positions and the data shows that the majority successfully do so (Herbers, 2014). The best ways to improve faculty work-life
balance are to relax the tenure clock and modify the duties of faculty following parenthood, and veer away from ‘ideal worker’ mentality, which makes PTTT an attractive solution to many who want to either work part-time for a given period of time, or indefinitely.

This study demonstrated that faculty who were part of the sandwich generation (taking care of both parents and children) such as Mark, those who shouldered most or all of the second shift such as Dana and Vera, or those who had young children such as Vera and Jessica, were more stressed and had more difficulty with balancing work and home, which is consistent with family life course theory (Bengtson & Allen, 1993). However, there were several significant differences or patterns that emerged regarding the work-life balance of the faculty employed in various institutions in addition to these.

Professors employed within the CSU and CCC reported being overworked as a result of changes at their institutions and a lack of resources. Both faculty members employed in the CSU and the CCC have undergone a change in their institutions’ missions, and are struggling to adapt or keep up with the changes. There is a significantly higher level of administrative work that faculty at CSUs must perform, because they do not have the resources to delegate that work the way that UCs do. Tight budgets have resulted in fighting over resources, with CSUs and CCCs mostly affected.

Faculty members at all types of institutions reported a lack of adequate family policies and a struggle to maintain work-life balance, although this was mostly concentrated at the CSU and CCC level. The lack of adequate leaves for pregnancy and childrearing has greatly impacted CSU and CCC faculty, who currently do not receive at least one full term off, whereas UC faculty receive two full terms off and this affected female faculty the most as a result of childbirth, and breastfeeding responsibilities. Some faculty reported a desire to work part-time, either for short or long terms, and although the UC offers that option, the CSU and CCC do not. Not surprisingly, female faculty who did all or most of the second shift struggled to maintain work-life balance compared to their counterparts who shared the division of labor, and this proved to have consequences to their careers.

Institutional work culture also had an impact on faculty work-life balance in terms of their levels of stress as well as whether or not they felt comfortable requesting and utilizing family policies. CCC faculty reported having issues with their administration and staff, and faculty members within the CSU and CCC systems reported exceptional pressure to embody
the characteristics of ‘ideal workers,’ who are fully committed to their jobs, and set family obligations aside for it. Overall, faculty members at the UC and CCC reported having better work-life balance than their counterparts at the CSU. Incorporating data collected from postsecondary educators all of three types of public institutions in California, which includes community colleges, provided a deeper understanding of the similarities and differences of faculty members’ perception of their work-life balance, and the role that institutional policies and work culture have on these dynamics.

Perhaps the most significant contribution from this study is that related to role conflict theory (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Although most studies that use the role conflict framework address the pressures that people experience within one role that are incompatible with the pressures of one or more other roles, the results from this study revealed that faculty members may experience role conflict within one role, specifically their work role. Faculty members employed at universities have both a teacher role, and a researcher role, and while their teaching generally informs their research, and their research informs their teaching, some faculty members reported that they feel role conflict between the two. As previously mentioned, one of the two CSU participants, Dana, discussed her frustration with the increasing research expectations on her campus, as she struggles to make time for research amid all of her teaching and service requirements, which she takes very seriously. She also revealed that she would much rather engage in community advocacy and community research instead of academic publications such as peer-reviewed journals. However, community advocacy generally falls under the umbrella of outreach and service, and is therefore not as heavily weighted for tenure and promotion purposes, which poses additional issues for her. The other CSU participant, Mark, explained that more resources are necessary in terms of additional full time faculty, and more GAs and TAs, in order for faculty to be able to achieve the higher research expectations that are increasingly required of them. Otherwise, the working conditions make it very difficult to balance the triad of roles (teaching, research, service), which increases role conflict and end up pushing one or more of the faculty roles to the bottom.

Additionally, half of the community college faculty specifically reported that they are glad that they are not required to conduct research for their jobs because of the endless pressures of it, which include conducting experiments and working with participants, having
to publish a certain number of times within a specific timeframe, with only certain types of journals and publishers that are perceived as prestigious enough, and stressing out about funding and writing grants. However, CCC faculty members who wanted to conduct research stated that they liked that they could do so only if they wanted to, rather than because they had to, and that they liked the freedom they had regarding which journals they could publish in, rather than worry about the level of prestige.

It is noteworthy to mention that these sentiments did not occur with either of the participants from the UC, and that is likely because research is the primary endeavor expected of these faculty, and they apply for these jobs with full knowledge of this. The UCs also have ample resources that allow faculty to conduct the research that is expected of them. These anecdotes demonstrate how faculty members at various types of institutions are finding different ways of disseminating and utilizing knowledge, rather than adhering to notions of research as limited to academic journal articles. The findings that emerged from my data indicated that not only did faculty experience role conflict between work and family, but also within the role of work, and within the role of family, and the role conflict between the teacher role and the researcher role proved to be somewhat prevalent. The triad of faculty roles is in conflict for faculty members, who have a limited time for work, and seemingly non-stop demands for their time and attention. However, in theory, the teacher role and the researcher role have traditionally been understood as complementary rather than competing forces, and this may be a question for future research.

Overall, the results from my data set indicated that faculty agency and a menu of flexibility options is what proved to aid the work-life balance of faculty members at these respective institutions. The policy recommendations of the American Association of University Professors, as well as the additions I recommended, help provide that. Institutions that adopt these policies are likely to have a more satisfied workforce with faculty members that more successfully balance work and family life, and are more likely to recruit and retain faculty to their campuses. Institutions that offer these policies extend the highest level of support and commitment to faculty and their families.
REFERENCES


California State University. (2013). *Profile of CSU employees, fall 2013.* Retrieved from http://www.calstate.edu/hr/employee-profile/


APPENDIX

OVERVIEW OF QUESTIONNAIRES

Survey

Those being asked to participate in this survey are tenure/tenure-track professors in the social and behavioral sciences. Participation in this survey is completely voluntary. No names or personal information are attached to this survey and all answers are completely anonymous. This survey includes 13 questions.

1. What is your gender?
   - Male
   - Female
   - Prefer not to answer

2. What is your age?
   - Below 30
   - 30-39 years
   - 40-49 years
   - 50-59 years
   - 60-69 years
   - 70+ years
   - Prefer not to answer

3. What is your race or ethnicity?
   - American Indian/Alaska Native
   - White/Caucasian
   - Black/African American
   - Latino
   - Asian/Pacific Islander
   - Other_______________
   - Do not know
   - Prefer not to answer

4. Are you married or have a live-in partner?
   - Yes
   - No

5. Do you have children?
   - Yes
6. How many children do you have?
☐ 0
☐ 1
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5+

7. Which of the following best describes where you are employed?
☐ Community College
☐ CSU
☐ UC
☐ Private university
☐ Other (please explain) ________________

8. Which of the following best describes your current position/rank?
☐ Assistant Professor
☐ Associate Professor
☐ Full Professor
☐ Other (please explain) ________________

9. How long have you been employed at the institution where you currently work?
☐ Less than 5 years
☐ 5-9 years
☐ 10-15 years
☐ 15-20 years
☐ 20+ years

10. On average, how many hours do you work per week? Please round up to the nearest whole hour.
☐ Less than 20 hours
☐ 20-29 hours
☐ 30-39 hours
☐ 40-49 hours
☐ 50-59 hours
☐ 60+ hours

11. In an average week, how many hours do you spend with your spouse or partner and/or your children? Please round up to the nearest whole hour.
☐ Less than 10 hours
☐ 10-19 hours
☐ 20-29 hours
☐ 30-39 hours
☐ 40-49 hours
☐ 50-59 hours
☐ 60+ hours

12. Mark an “X” on the line that you feel most describes how satisfied you are with your work-life balance.

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<th>Not Very Satisfied</th>
<th>Very Satisfied</th>
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Interview Guide

Those being asked to participate in this interview are tenure/tenure-track professors in the social and behavioral sciences. Participation in this in-depth interview is completely voluntary. No names or personal information are attached to this interview and all responses are completely anonymous. These questions are broad and open-ended, with the intention that faculty have freedom in what they want to talk about in relation to these questions.

1. How was your day today? Or yesterday?

2. Describe your typical day/week.

3. Describe your typical weekend.

4. Do you like your day-to-day schedule? Would you make any changes to it?

5. What responsibilities are associated with your position? How many hours of work a week do you think are necessary in order to fulfill these responsibilities?

6. What is the organizational structure like on your campus?

7. What is the work culture like on your campus?

8. Why did you choose to work at this campus?

9. Would you rather be employed at a different type of academic institution? (i.e. community college, CSU, UC, private school, etc.)

10. What are the family policies like at your campus? Do you utilize them?

11. How did you decide when to get married? Have children? Do you think it was timed well with your career ambitions?
12. What is the division of labor like in your household? What responsibilities do you take care of at home? What does your partner do? How was it decided? How do you feel about it?

13. Is there anything you want to do better at work and/or at home?