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THE PART-TIME EXPERIENCE:
PROFESSIONAL WOMEN IN A COMMUNITY COLLEGE

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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The Ohio State University
2000

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore the nature of the part-time experience and the role and meaning of part-time professional work in women's lives and in the development of career. Within higher education, women are most likely to be employed in community colleges and also account for the highest percentage of part-time workers. Despite the heavy use of women in part-time positions by community colleges, little research examines the part-time experience. Using in-depth interviews, nineteen professional, community college women employed in non-faculty positions provided a rich description of a specific and complex context. From the interviews, the researcher drew conclusions and provided an interpretive account of the way the research participants made meaning of the part-time experience and the role of part-time work in the conceptualization of career. Three themes emerged under the category of differential treatment; namely, the distinction between full-time and part-time employees, the discounted status of part-time employees, and part-time professionals viewed as a "short-term" employee. Two themes emerged under the category of the meaning of part-time work; specifically, part-time work as a central life structure in women's lives, and the phenomenon of flexibility. And lastly, two themes emerged under the category of concept of career, namely, integration of multiple roles and career as a horizontal plane.
Although some findings may be true in other community colleges, it is not the intent to generalize these findings beyond the context of this institution. The major conclusion from this study suggests that part-time work is a strategy utilized by professional women to create a balance between their professional and personal lives. Flexibility, more than other factors, was the primary impetus for seeking part-time work. Yet, the participants were also keenly aware of the trade-offs as part-time work is not associated with career advancement. Thus, the participants conceptualize career, not as a vertical ladder, but as a horizontal plane that supports a holistic life structure that integrates both professional and personal lives. While part-time work provides the venue to balance these two components, the participants gave voice to differential treatment and a discounted status within the institution. Lack of involvement in decision-making roles, diminished participation in formal and informal information loops, and limited professional growth opportunities directly impacted the participants’ ability to function in their professional roles.
Dedicated to the women who have gone before me
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of friends, family, and colleagues. I wish to thank my advisor, Dr. Ada Demb, for her unwavering commitment to my progress over the course of my doctoral study. She not only provided intellectual support, encouragement, and enthusiasm, she was my friend. I am grateful to Dr. Leonard Baird and Dr. Robert Rodgers who stimulated my development as a scholar and provided valuable feedback.

I thank Dr. Lyndetta Schwartz for giving meaning to the concept of being professional and woman, Judith Klein for her warm hospitality, Renee Wittum for her listening ear, and Linda Merrell for widening her family circle.

Without the support and encouragement of my family, I would never have started or finished the journey. To my mother, Ardyce Morgan, who blazed the trail before, to my father, Herbert Morgan, for his unwavering commitment to provide for his family and to my siblings Randall Morgan, Nanci Morgan, Glenda Greaver, and Sherri Morgan—I am incredibly blessed.

And, lastly, my children and spouse sustained me throughout my course of study. Matthew, Jenifer, and Anthony unselfishly shared me with my scholarly work and my stepsons, Ethan, Darren, and Garrett, broadened my concept of family. My husband Stanley provided the medium to explore and become. We grew up together on this profound journey and without them this research would not have been possible.
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FIELDS OF STUDY

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Emphasis: Higher Education and Student Affairs
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

"Perhaps no area of social life has changed so profoundly for women in the United States during the last half of the 20th century as the area of employment" (Higginbotham, 1997, p. xv). Yet, professional women working in higher education are allotted a lower status than their male counterpart, supporting the position that after 150 years of participation in higher education, women still have not achieved a position of equity (Simeone, 1987). Furthermore, professional women working part-time in higher education experience an even lower status than their full-time female counterpart.

Prior to World War II, paid employment for women was the exception rather than the rule. Following the war, women were pushed out of war industries and other factories and back into the home and traditionally female occupations. The years following the war were characterized, however, by a dramatic influx of women into the labor force. This trend firmly established women's place in the labor force. According to the U.S. Department of Labor (as cited in Higgenbotham, 1997), 59.3 percent of women aged 20 years and older are working outside the home and account for 45 percent of the civilian work force, an estimated 54 million workers (Driscoll & Goldberg, 1993). Thus, women workers constitute a significant proportion of the labor force and this
strongly suggests the importance of occupational pursuits in the plans and lives of women (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1987). Despite the increased participation of women in the labor force and gains in educational attainment, women continue to experience inequality in terms of lower wages, concentration in relatively few female-dominated occupations, and dual responsibilities for home and employment roles (Sokoloff, 1980; Larwood, Stromberg, & Gutek, 1985; Higginbotham, 1997).

Long considered “women’s work,” part-time employment is a special, highly exploitive form of work (Beechey & Perkins, 1987). While initially driven by women and the young seeking voluntary part-time work prior to the 1970s, the rapid expansion in the U.S. part-time labor market, particularly in the form of involuntary part-time employment among prime-age men, may be seen as part of a broader pattern of growing inequality and deteriorating employment opportunities (Tilly, 1996). Part-time employment has grown to 19 percent of the U.S. nonagricultural workforce and is considered one of the major labor market developments since World War II (Meredith as cited in Tilly, 1996). Despite the recent influx of prime-age men into the part-time workforce, women still account for two-thirds of the part-time workers. Thus, part-time work is closely connected to women’s employment and labor markets.

Largely absent from theoretical analyses of work, part-time work appears marginal to those investigating the world of work. Human capital and dual and segmented labor market theories have provided few or unsatisfactory explanations of women’s work because they have applied a masculine model of the labor market to their research. Although it is well documented that women’s skills and training are
systematically downgraded and undervalued, gender has been absent from these models. When an analysis of gender, employers' attitudes and discriminatory practices are introduced into the framework of analyses, important new questions are raised and ideological constructions and social processes have to be introduced into the theory whose predominantly economic foundations are brought into question. Beechey & Perkins (1987) argue that gender enters into the construction of part-time jobs, and increasingly into the differentiation between full-time and part-time work. However, an analysis of gender alone, without considering the relationship to the domestic division of labor which is another important part of the explanation of why women's participation in the labor market is often part-time, would be simplistic. Deeply rooted in the ideology of domesticity, women's work, even though central to the economy, has been defined as marginal due to the middle-class reformers who provided moral justification for the form of job segregation that emerged during the industrial revolution.

Not only is women's work in general lower in status, professional women, in particular, are underrepresented in the uppermost levels of organizations. Statistically, there is a large pool of qualified professional women, yet they are glaringly absent from high-level positions (Driscoll & Goldberg, 1993). Closed out of many top jobs, professional women's level of authority and salaries are lower than men's even when they have comparable education, professional experience, and work in the same industries (Weber & Higginbothem, 1997; citing studies by McGuire and Reskin, Sokoloff & Woody). Thus, contrary to their popular image, professional women
experience lower status than their male counterpart and continue to face significant challenges (Moore, 1986).

While professional women working full-time are lower in status than their full-time male counterpart, both part-time professional women and men reported negative attitudes from colleagues regarding their perceived professional commitment, inadequate compensation, lack of benefits, no supervisory responsibilities, underemployment, limited upward mobility, and limited job security (Rothberg & Cook, 1985). Though often “invisible” within an organization, professional women working part-time provide critical support to the mission and goals of such. Yet, professional women working part-time are often judged solely on the numbers of hours worked each week rather than on the experience, expertise and skills they bring to the job. Found primarily in education, social services, and paramedical occupations, professional women working part-time are systematically concentrated in the lowest pay grades and are often bereft of any employee benefits (Beechey & Perkins, 1987). Thus, part-time professional work seems to be gender-specific.

Initially absent from institutions of higher education, women have gained access both as students and employees (Fullerton, 1993). While their participation as students, faculty and professional staff at all institutional levels has increased, women report experiencing a chilly climate in the classroom and a negative atmosphere for fulfilling professional roles on campus (Sandler, Silverberg & Hall, 1996). Few references have appeared in higher education literature regarding the professional’s role. Perkins (1973) makes reference to the importance of professional staff who fill the void between
individual and organization left by the impersonalism inherent in a faculty primarily concerned with the extension of knowledge. When discussing the administrative structure of institutions of higher education, however, Adams (1976) describes non-faculty employees as a large and diverse group of individuals that are not a recognizable entity. He subdivides them into office workers, librarians and student affairs workers and describes this staff as totally unenfranchised and existing in a state of serfdom. Citing institutional prejudice, coupled with women’s traditional socialization and construction of negative internal messages about advancement and leadership roles, Delworth and Jones (1979) found that professional women are underemployed in higher education, even in student services where they have made the most gains.

Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) discuss the countersystem of social order that women have devised to resist the prevailing hierarchical system currently functioning in institutions of higher education. One aspect of women’s professional countersystem is the insistent impulse to integrate a work life and a personal life. Currently in our society, the primary responsibility for maintaining shared living arrangements and nurturing falls on women. “If they want to engage in a demanding professional life, the usual understanding is that it is up to them to make the ambitious scheme work without jeopardizing the private arrangements for which they are responsible” (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988, p. 139). Most women struggle to lead this double life and often compromise their work lives in some way. One primary way to create balance between professional and personal commitments is a reduced work schedule in the form of part-time work (Rothberg & Cook, 1985).
Regardless of institutional setting, women have provided perspectives revealing subtle and overt discrimination reflecting, in part, the sociocultural environment in which higher education institutions operate (Townsend, 1995). Despite the importance of women's work in higher education and despite the fact that women comprise the majority of employees in higher education, the nature of their participation continues to differ greatly from that of men. This keeps working women economically disadvantaged, lower in status, and burdened with multiple role demands. Although women represent over half the employees in higher education, they dominate the non-teaching occupational categories: support, professional and technical staff. These categories, in turn, have the highest proportion of part-time employees (NEA Higher Education Research Center, 1997; Fitzgerald & Betz, 1987).

Professional women working part-time in higher education, like their part-time academic counterpart, are viewed as a "fringe" worker in a marginalized position (Bernard, 1964). These positions rarely provide professional status or benefits, comparable pay, or opportunity for advancement (Price, 1981). Although part-time professional women are virtually absent from the research on higher education and from the larger genre of literature on the labor market, informal conversations with faculty, staff and students suggests that few would deny their contribution to the institution. In a setting that has historically valued the role of the full-time academician over the full-time professional, the functions served by part-time professional women are likely to be different and more tenuous that those found in more highly routinized, organizationally focused, and hierarchically invested structures (Fullerton, 1993).
Importance of the Study

In great measure, the genesis of this research and the importance of this area of study emerged from my own work experience as a part-time professional, along with many interactions with other professional women working part-time who gave voice to their work experience, their role within the academic setting, and their thoughts about the future and the development of their careers. These interactions, coupled with my own experience, served as a basis for forming salient questions surrounding the part-time experience, career, and the meaning of work for professional women.

Despite their importance and their presence in large numbers within higher education, part-time professional women in non-faculty positions have been invisible in research on the nature of the academic enterprise. Little is known about the part-time non-faculty, professional role in academe and the meaning of work for women employed in these capacities. We have very little knowledge or understanding of their educational or work experience backgrounds, their career aspirations, their feelings about work, the function of the part-time professional role within the academic enterprise, or their perspective on the nature of the academy as a work environment (Fullerton, 1993).

While research on work has focused on the experiences of men with occasional unfounded extrapolations to women, these approaches have provided little understanding of the complex reality of women's work (Larwood, Stromberg, & Gutek, 1985).

In addition, women working part-time have generally not been considered in defining or articulating the concept of “professional.” “Generations of cultural history have shaped the professional role in the masculine image” which is equated with
engagement in full-time work (McBroom, 1986, p. 26; Bledstein, 1976). This represents a way of thinking about work that has excluded many women's experiences as they are influenced by the opportunities and constraints of the labor market as well as their divergent home/work responsibilities. This research provides an opportunity to reconsider the concept of professionalism and acknowledges work and life experiences of women who work part-time.

Finally, this research provides a view of the academic environment as perceived by women whose work supports the mission of the institution but who are effectively "invisible" within the academic enterprise. The part-time professional women, as a marginalized presence in higher education, offers a view of academe that is not presented in prior research. In addition, part-time work as a major enclave for women's participation in the labor force offers promise for further study (Fullerton, 1993).

Overview of the Methodology

The purpose of this research is to describe the work experiences of women employed as part-time professionals within the academic setting. Two broad questions will provide a framework for this research:

(1) What is the nature of the part-time experience?

(2) What is the role and meaning of part-time professional work in women's lives and in the development of a career?
Qualitative research methods utilizing semi-structured interviews will be employed to address these questions within the setting of a community college. Using purposive sampling, participants will be selected for inclusion, based upon the possibility that each will expand the variability of the sample and thus provide information-rich cases for in-depth study (Maykut & Morehouse, 1993; Patton, 1990). From a list of women working part-time in positions requiring a bachelor’s degree or higher, I sent out a Participant Background Survey with a cover letter inviting participation in the study. From the respondents, 19 women were selected for in-depth interviews, representing different stages of professional life and varying ethnic and social class backgrounds. Data was gathered from in-depth interviews and document analysis. The in-depth interviews were audio-taped and transcribed and the documents were analyzed with a written analysis.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

The purpose of this research is to describe the experiences of professional women working part-time within the community college setting. As such, it will expand the understanding of the nature and structure of work in an academic setting. It also serves to further the understanding of the division of labor and the culture of professionalism. The theoretical background for this research will be drawn from several bodies of literature.

First, research on the nature of the academic setting is necessary for understanding the larger context of the structure of work in higher education. This literature provides the foundation for understanding women working in higher education.

Second, research on the community college’s nature and structure is essential to understanding the specific research context as well as the impact of the academic setting on women’s experiences as professional, part-time employees (Fullerton, 1993).

Third, this research considers more broadly women’s participation in the workforce, beyond the boundaries of the academic setting. This body of literature enlarges the reader’s understanding of the constraints facing professional women working part-time (Fullerton, 1993).
Fourth, this research expands our understanding of women's career development as an aspect of socialization which serves a broader process of human development. As such, it will address the importance of occupational pursuits in the plans and lives of women.

Fifth, this research focuses on the impact of the masculine model of professionalism on women's work lives and expands our understanding of how women view themselves and how they experience their work.

Finally, this research highlights the lives of professional women working part-time and draws upon discussions of the nature and history of part-time work.

The Nature and Structure of the Academic Setting

Within the higher education literature on the academic workplace, part-time professional female staff have been virtually invisible. Adams (1976) describes non-faculty employees as a large and diverse group of individuals who are not a recognizable entity. He subdivides them into office workers, librarians and student affairs workers and describes staff as totally unenfranchised and existing in a state of serfdom. Bernard (1964) differentiates non-faculty women from faculty women and takes the position that the relatively large proportion of women in professional staff positions in student services is due, in part, to sex differences and role expectations for women as caretakers in society in general. Correspondingly, he also takes the position that faculty women are performing a “masculine” function. Thus, non-teaching roles are viewed as housekeeping functions which support the “real” work of the institution as performed by
a valued “masculine” faculty. More than thirty years later, Larkin (1997) researched middle management positions in higher education and found that women still occupy the majority of non-faculty positions while Breitenfeldt (1996), found that women, even when they held advanced degrees in higher education, held fewer leadership positions than their male counterpart. Non-faculty positions are allotted a lower status than faculty appointments in academe.

The Committee to Study the Status of Women in Graduate Education and Later Careers (1974) reported in their study *The Higher, The Fewer* that attrition of women was greater than men at each rung of the academic ladder. Specifically, women were distinctly disadvantaged in placement for academic appointments. They cited life cycle constraints, such as lack of mobility and child rearing responsibilities, negatively impacting academic appointments. Though referencing faculty women, part-time work and temporary withdrawal from employment represented potential solutions to the strain of combining children with careers. However, it was found that faculty who temporarily withdrew from active employment were seriously disadvantaged and reentry was next to impossible in the field. Additionally, Blair (1994) found that despite access to higher education, an academic career remains a relatively elite profession for women. Thus, despite a significant commitment to the principles of employment equity, women are substantially excluded from academic positions, from career advancement in non-academic ranks and from most senior academic, administrative and support positions (Bruce, 1996). Accordingly, men are overrepresented in the higher classification ranks and women at the lower. Significantly, the obvious inequities cannot be explained by
differences in age or years of service. While employment equity policies have elimination of historical inequities as their goal, documentation implies continuing discrimination. Such life constraints weigh more heavily against women in the academic setting than against men and potential solutions, such as part-time work, are potentially detrimental to their careers. While statistics are not available for professional women working part-time in non-teaching positions, it is known that women dominate part-time teaching positions, are employed primarily in two-year institutions, and account for only 18 percent of full professorships. Recent trends indicate that professional (teaching and non-teaching) employment for women has outstripped growth for men in almost every category. Yet, women faculty earned significantly less than their male counterparts and are less likely to be tenured suggesting that the status of professional women, and particularly part-time professional women, is lower than their male counterpart (Bruce, 1996; Larkin, 1997; Schneider, 1998).

Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) also referenced the non-faculty role of women and the commonality of their subordination along with faculty women in the social structure of the academic culture. Furthermore, women who take part-time positions are viewed as “inherently inferior” and not viewed as serious professionals. They refer to a gender-based division of labor as taking the form of a permanent underclass of heavily female faculty who often hold terminal contracts, teach part-time or in non-tenure track positions and fill temporary replacement positions. Bernard (1964) reported part-time faculty women as having different career motivation, reference groups, role conception, and levels of aspirations than full-time faculty women, stating the distinction between the
two groups is very real. Conversely, he also stated that part-time women faculty may be as committed to their work as their full-time counterpart, despite their distinctly lower status. Reiss (1983), who studied working mothers in academia, found that career patterns for women were characterized by prolonged part-time graduate study, as well as part-time employment and career interruption with geographic constraints as a primary career problem. As such, the family life cycle directly impacts women and their work. Thus, the lower status of part-time women faculty compared to their full-time counterpart suggests that part-time professional women also experience a lower status.

Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) found that women became deflected from their academic work by traditional societal expectations of men’s and women’s roles rather than by their own choices. They examined the role of women as “informed outsiders” in the academic culture and found that despite the fact they were informed about the world and society by their inclusion in the education/credentialing process, women seeking to use their knowledge in roles of serious responsibility still remained outsiders. “The common patterns consist of the play in all women’s lives of social norms that are constructed to cast women in subordinate, supportive roles in both their private and their public lives” (p. xii). Andriani (1995) found that women in administrative positions in higher education outside of the United States also reported that being a woman and having a career was difficult due to the difficulties of gaining legitimacy in the system, as well as the difficulties of role-conflicts. While men and women both reported similar obstacles in pursuing administrative careers in higher education, only the females reported having to deal with negative perceptions toward women in administrative
Thus, while marked by strong commonalities, women’s experiences within academe differ from that of men, as old norms are still powerful.

Aiesenberg and Harrington (1988) refer to the tension between old and new social norms as the “marriage plot” versus the “quest plot.” Central to the marriage plot is the idea that a woman’s proper role is marriage with the private, domestic sphere her primary responsibility. According to the marriage plot, what is natural for a woman, is to fulfill her instinctual capacities, to nurture children, to support husbands, and to immerse themselves in the private sphere. This is in direct conflict with the “quest plot” in which women would have to defy their nature in order to project themselves through their intellectual energy into the public sphere of ideas. This theme is carried forward to the academic setting where support for men or male-run institutions relegates women to subordinate and supportive roles to the central male figure. In an attempt to resolve the tension between the old and new norms, women may compromise their professional identities, without being cognizant of doing so, by the choices they make. Combining the marriage plot and the quest plot is extraordinarily difficult and choosing part-time work is often a compromise position. Part-time work is not always a bad thing, however, the disadvantages—little status, low salary, no benefits, no tenure—are serious. As such, the cumulative effect of choices made may be the virtual end of a woman’s career, or the serious restriction of it. Even for women who do attain administrative positions in higher education, the lack of guidelines for balancing multiple roles serves as a potential barrier to career advancement (Mata, 1993). Roesch (1996), who examined how female college administrators balance professional and home responsibilities, found that child care and
parent care were the primary issues. McElrath (1992) found that career interruptions were detrimental for female faculty seeking tenure. Though they were as productive as their male counterpart, work interruptions by female faculty were perceived as a lack of dedication to an academic career. When women interrupt their careers for childbearing or to further a husband's career, their seriousness as a scholar is called into question. McElrath also found that the pay inequity between male and female faculty members was due to the reward of males for education but not for females. Hensel (as cited in Watkins, Herrin and McDonald, 1998) found that while women suffer from higher attrition rates and slower mobility in higher education, they are as productive and scholarly as men. "Gender discrimination is prevalent and appears to be exacerbated by the perplexing responsibilities of university women attempting to balance family life and professional career" (Watkins, Herrin and McDonald, 1998, p. 3). Institutions continue to be paternalistic, with athletic and military overtones. While women are quietly breaking into the male-controlled echelons, they are required to utilize male rules and mores for successful integration. Juggling the demands of family and career and resolving conflicts surrounding priorities of family and career requires the greatest expenditure of energy by professional family women. In sum, the disparate reward structure and the greater proportion of female faculty members in less powerful positions sends a strong signal that combining marriage with an academic career has a detrimental effect on academic women's careers.

While the vocations of successful parenting and professional careers are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Holt as cited in Watkins, Herrin and McDonald, 1998),
research supports a history of limited success for academic women in higher education with families (Ezrati as cited in Watkins, Herrin and McDonald, 1998). “In fact, conflicts involving expectations and family obligations appear to run rampant in institutions of higher education” (Watkins, Herrin and McDonald, 1998, p. 1). Specifically, fewer married women achieve high academic rank compared to their male counterpart. The combination of family and career is the norm for men, not women. Administrators, and the majority of academic women remain childless in order to “climb the ladder.” For women, career advancement often means limiting family size (Holt as cited in Watkins, Herrin and McDonald, 1998). This is supported by Theisen’s study (as cited in Jenkins, 1997) that looked at the impact of pregnancy and child rearing on professional development for academic women. Theisen found that children are not welcome on campus. The women in her study reported they felt they could not mention the existence of their children for fear they would be viewed as less serious scholars, marginalized and viewed as on the “mommy track.” Despite paid sick leave, women reported they did not take the full paid leave and returned to work shortly after giving birth to demonstrate “that nothing in their lives has changed and that having a child will not affect work productivity” (Jenkins, 1997, p. 23). Theisen concluded that women faculty, in an effort to prove their worth in a male-oriented system, and to avoid the negative backlash if viewed as “less committed” to work, minimize the importance of their families. Though similar information is not available on non-faculty women, we could infer that their experience would be similar, given the nature of the academic setting.
Watkins, Herrin and McDonald (1998) believe there are many subtle restrictions that prevent women in higher education from professional advancement. They identify nine hidden issues in higher education's organizational culture that limit advancement for women. Namely, (1) geographic immobility, (2) limited bargaining power due to being confined to one location, (3) limited job market because most institutions are seldom in close proximity to allow convenient commuting, (4) nepotism rules and institutional inbreeding which forbid hiring of relatives, (5) inability to combine family and career as the ideal time to achieve quality professional status which coincides with the optimum years for bearing children, (6) public mindsets which declare that childcare is a women's issue, (7) housework for which women continue to bear the burden, (8) part-time employment, a choice that is often family-driven, often translates into lower salaries, fewer promotions, and reduced productivity, and (9) childcare provisions which are rarely available on-campus which restricts women who are attempting to combine family and career.

While obvious discrimination has been virtually eliminated, the issues have gone underground. Women know they must play by the rules laid down by a paternalistic system. Manning (1998), in her review of the book Higher Education Leadership: Analyzing the Gender Gap by Chliwniak takes the position that the chilly climate is still a critical dilemma in higher education for women. While women have been a substantial presence in higher education, the system continues to be paternalistic, dominated in numbers and style by male leadership. In contrast to the author who assumes that external forces are responsible for the lack of women in leadership roles in higher education.
education, Manning (1998) takes the position that both men and women support and re-create patriarchal structures, a phenomenon she refers to as the “collusion problem.” She views the mechanisms at work in paternalistic systems as circular and extremely difficult to interrupt because of the pervasiveness, widespread acceptance, and longevity of practice. Additionally, she is troubled by Chliwniak’s use of success stories where women gained leadership positions largely because they exhibited male characteristics; thus, demonstrating the complexity of the issues and the troubling irony of women’s leadership in higher education. The issues are complex and how to transform the attitudes, structures, and practices of academe to create effective support for all women employees is a challenge for the twenty-first century.

Women in higher education, regardless of role, experience discrimination in the form of lower status, lower wages, and lower rank. Women who work part-time in higher education in either a faculty or a non-faculty role experience lower status than their full-time counterpart. Thus, professional women working part-time confront a double negative — their gender status and their professional status.

The Community College as an Organization

The community college, as a unique American invention, dates from the early years of the twentieth century. Primarily responding to the need for trained workers to fuel the industrial revolution and the drive for social mobility via access to higher education, the community college movement reflected the growing power of external credentialing and the American middle-class belief that people could not be legitimately
educated and employed unless they were sanctioned by an institution. Built on the belief of access, community college have effected notable changes in American education. Considered untraditional and virtually ignored by writers about higher education until the 1980s, community colleges brought technical education, continuing education, remedial education, community service, and academic transfer programs to higher education. Enrolling 46% of all first-time undergraduates, community colleges have come of age (Cohen and Brawer, 1996).

The traditional models, bureaucratic, political and collegial, used to describe institutions of higher education, do not aptly describe the community college. Most closely aligned with the bureaucratic and political models, community colleges are organized hierarchically with a centralized structure (Cohen and Brawer, 1996).

The majority of employees in colleges and universities are women, yet they dominate only three occupational categories: clerical/administration, other professional, and technical/paraprofessional. These female-dominated categories also account for the highest percentage of part-time workers. Community colleges are more likely to use non-teaching staff in a part-time capacity than 4-year colleges and universities. Additionally, 65 percent of community college faculty teach part-time. Women are most likely to be employed in community colleges. The intense use of part-time workers by community colleges is reflective of enrollment patterns. Community colleges pride themselves on anywhere, anytime, education which means that evening and weekend operations must be supported by all workers (Somerville, 1996; NEA, 1997).
Women, however, face “invisible” barriers in community colleges (Loomis, 1978). A survey of the California Community Colleges (1986) found that despite efforts to increase representation of women in enrollment and employment, there was no increase covering the fifteen year period from 1970-1986. This suggests that invisible barriers continue to exist and discourage women from full participation in a community college setting. Somerville (1996) found that women were underrepresented in leadership positions and in faculty pools in community colleges when compared to state population and student enrollment percentages, despite the fact that women are most likely to be employed in community colleges. Additionally, Cox (1996) found significant remuneration differences between men and women in the administrative/professional category in a state community college system, with women clustered in the lower salary categories. Women in both faculty and professional/administrative positions perceived a glass ceiling with regard to promotion and advancement and felt they would have to leave their institutions in order to advance in their careers. They viewed the culture as being a closed, traditional system with a very strict hierarchical structure in decision-making and communications.

Rassi (1995) examined the barriers encountered by women in community college administration and found family commitments, college policies, the “good old boys’ network,” lack of access to power, and lack of quality opportunities to be barriers to their career development. Thus, the organizational structure and environment have the capacity to influence the behaviors and experiences of women within organizations, ultimately affecting women’s numbers, positions and power. Miller (1996) found that
even when women did achieve leadership positions in community colleges, the dominant
culture which places women in the private domain and men in the public domain
significantly influenced their career lives. Women in community colleges also
experience lower status, lower pay and limited advancement opportunities in comparison
to their male counterparts in community colleges, in particular, and to academia in
general.

Women's Participation in the Labor Market

Examination of the role of women working outside of the academic setting and
within the context of women's overall participation in the workforce provides a broader
understanding of women's experiences as part-time professionals in academe. While the
chief occupations for women were domestic service, factory work and teaching, paid
employment for women was the exception, rather than the rule, at the turn of the century.
During and after World War II, however, there was a dramatic influx of women into the
labor force to fill jobs vacated by servicemen. By the mid-1980s, 63 percent of
American women were working outside the home (Fitzgerald and Betz, 1987), a figure
that has remained steady throughout the 1990s. Even more interesting than the mere
growth in the number of women in the labor force is the fact that women continue to
work even when they have young children. The number of mothers with children under
six years of age tripled between 1950 and 1980. By the 1980s, mothers with preschool
children comprised the fastest growing segment of the labor force” (Marshall, 1986,
Women have firmly established themselves in the labor force, accounting for nearly one-half of all civilian workers (Driscoll and Goldberg, 1993). Accordingly, data strongly suggest the importance of occupational pursuits in the plans and lives of women. “However, while the extent of women’s labor force participation is approaching that of men, the nature of that participation continues to differ greatly from that of men, keeping women economically disadvantaged, lower in status, and burdened with multiple role demands” (Fitzgerald and Betz, 1987, p. 6).

The Wage Gap

The most serious problem facing women in the work force is the persistence of the large gap in earning power between men and women (Fitzgerald and Betz, 1987). Many studies have shown that women earn less than men, even with equivalent preparation and responsibilities, through discriminatory practices (Moore, 1986; Blau and Ferber, 1992). The major reasons cited for the gap are sex-based wage discrimination and occupational sex segregation. Women are paid less than men for doing the same job, “and the jobs in which women tend to be concentrated in are by and large low status and low paying, with few, if any, opportunities for advancement” (Fitzgerald and Betz, 1987, p. 7). The majority of women workers are concentrated in a small number of traditional female occupations. Even when women are in occupational fields shared with men, they are concentrated at the lower levels. Lemberger (1995) also found that occupations, in general, are segmented by sex with men two to three times
more likely to be found in high-status, managerial/administrative occupations, while women are twice as likely to be in low-status, service occupations. Thus, women are found primarily in female-dominated fields and are overrepresented in lower-level, lower-status, and lower-paying occupations and positions.

**Underutilization of Abilities**

Women’s intellectual capacities and talents are not reflected in their educational and occupational attainments as their career aspirations and choices are frequently far lower than those of males with comparable ability. Studies involving gifted students and valedictorians have consistently shown that sex was a better predictor of women’s occupational pursuits than were their capabilities as individuals (Fitzgerald and Betz, 1987). While women’s self-efficacy impacts their occupational choices, their *perceived* incompatibility with top management has resulted in the so-called glass ceiling which effectively impedes women's progress in organizations. Not everyone agrees, however, that women face an invisible barrier. Some believe it is a myth that women face barriers and explain the differences as merely a function of time in the work force. “Today, women are expected to work and men to be supportive and to share equally in household and child-rearing activities. Employers are expected to give equal consideration to both working partners for relocation and promotion opportunities; child care is supported by the firm, or, at the very least, is widely available at high quality and affordable cost” (Moore, 1986, p. 2-3.). The reality, however, is that women report that five or six years into their career, men with half their ability are passing them by. Women reported little
support, either emotional or financial, from employers and spouses for child care, maternity leave, and all the work-family conflicts inherent to dual-career couples.

Regardless of their age, career stage, organization, and industry, there is a commonality in the challenges faced by women in the work force. Some believe these problems are brought on by women themselves as a result of internal or psychological barriers, such as lack of assertiveness, the Cinderella complex, the superwomen syndrome, or the imposter syndrome; while others believe that a women’s lack of success has nothing to do with being a woman but is a result of the lack of support women face when they do attempt to achieve, particularly if they are combining a career and family. Others believe that despite the new management styles that are more participative forms of management, the organizational culture continues to be masculine in nature and that the cloning effect of managerial selection continually leaves women out of the picture. Thus, women face both internal and external barriers, and contrary to their media image, have not climbed as far as their male counterparts.

Role Conflict

According to Kessler-Harris, 1985, “at the core of the consensus that has shaped women’s labor market position is the family. To most historians it seemed self-evident that women’s relationship to their families accounted for their unique labor force position. Whatever our own predilections and lifestyles, historians of women understood that most women bore children, were responsible at some level for rearing them, and that they perpetuated the value systems of their communities in the home” (p. 142). Women
brought a more cooperative and relational attitude, said to be cultivated in the home when they entered the competitive and achievement-oriented work place. Consequently, women continue to be viewed as primarily child rearers, even when they work (Kessler-Harris, 1985; Gilligan, 1982). Thus, the focus and purpose of their work was to support and advance the family, not to fulfill themselves as individuals (Degler as cited in Kessler-Harris, 1985). Success in the workplace was viewed in direct conflict with family responsibilities, a role women were primarily responsible for. “For men, in contrast, responsibility for the families financial needs fostered a search for more options in the labor force, and this, in turn, enhanced the possibility of individual fulfillment” (Kessler-Harris, 1985, p. 142).

In the past, women combined their work and family roles sequentially, that is, they interrupted their careers while rearing children. “However, such discontinuous participation is often detrimental to one’s career, and many younger women are beginning to see disadvantages in the sequential work-family strategy” (Marshall, 1986, p. 4302). Thus, the home/work tension as identified by Epstein (1970) impacts women regardless of educational attainment and social class. As such, women’s talents are underutilized and they find their place is at the lower end of the occupational range.

Oppenheimer (1982), who conducted a study to explore family strategies for coping with family-cycle stages, found that one strategy was reliance on income from women. However, women who opt to work intermittently, as opposed to continuously, face inherent uncertainties regarding job opportunities when they return to the labor force. While families rely on the income generated by women, Statham (1988) found
that women more than men confront the need to balance work with family or home responsibility, resulting often in a “double day” for women who are employed outside the home.

Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) also found working women retain the greatest majority of the household and child care tasks performed by their counterparts who do not participate in paid employment. In contrast, “women who work appear to be at a psychological advantage compared to their non-working counterparts, particularly when they work because they wish to do so. This advantage translates into increased power and influence in their marital relationships and into higher levels of self-esteem” (p. 208). They conclude that involvement in both career and family roles is very difficult given current cultural conditions and suggest that the perceived primacy of women’s biological roles is the most salient barrier to their career adjustment. Even for dual-career couples, it appears that dual-career problems are primarily women’s problems. Thus, child care issues and career permanence in face of spouse’s transfer remain women’s issues. In general, employed women are less successful than employed men, making considerably less money and concentrated at the lower end of the organizational hierarchy. Women must also cope with attitudinal biases of co-workers, supervisors, and subordinates which impedes their professional achievement. Despite this situation, preliminary research suggests that women perceive themselves as being no less successful in personal terms than their male counterparts.

In a recent study, Lemberger (1995) found that while women’s participation in the work force has changed, women’s careers continue to be constrained by getting
married and having children after obtaining a professional education. They are less likely to take time off for childbearing, more likely to return quickly if they do and more likely to have considerable responsibility for household income than their predecessors.

A recent study by the U.S. Department of Labor (1994), *Working Women Count!* found that women want decent pay and benefits, support of their family responsibilities at different stages of life, and to be treated with fundamental fairness and respect. At a deeper level, the report spoke to the need to challenge, and change, deeply held views about women and the value of their work. The respondents care about quality of the jobs available to them and the quality of the work environment. Ultimately, they care about equality and dignity. Thus, wage differentials, role conflict, and underutilization of abilities are universally experienced by women who work, regardless of context.

**Women's Career Development**

"Career development approaches encompass perspectives from multiple disciplines that provide windows into both the structure of and the longitudinal changes in career behavior" (Herr and Cramer, 1988, p. 97). While initially focusing on career readiness and decision-making attributes, by the 1980s the influences upon and outcomes of career development as an aspect of socialization in the broader process of human development became more closely connected. Career development for women, however, has largely been ignored by theorists and researchers until recently. This lack of attention to women in theoretical frameworks is largely explained by the underlying assumption that women did not work, as their place was in the home. It was also
assumed that when women did work that theories of career development based on males were sufficient for understanding women’s vocational experiences. The past twenty years, however, have been characterized by widespread growth of interest in women’s career development, paralleling the dramatic increase in women’s participation in the work force (Betz and Fitzgerald, 1987). Research has repeatedly demonstrated that women’s career development is much more complex than those of males.

It appears that women face not only the usual difficulties in vocational adjustment, but these difficulties are exacerbated by the presumed incompatibility of their sex role with their work role. Women face externally imposed barriers such as formal and informal discrimination. These barriers appear to be unique to women workers. Evidence suggests that women master general career developmental tasks at the same rate as men, however, women require additional coping mechanisms to address the perceived sex role/work role conflict. Thus, due to that combination of attitudes, role expectations, behaviors, and sanctions known as the socialization process, career development for women is infinitely more complex than men’s (Fitzgerald and Crites as cited in Fitzgerald and Betz, 1987).

The earliest studies of women’s career development in the 1950s focused on whether or not and why women pursued careers, not on vocational choices. They attempted to differentiate and study the characteristics of home-making versus career-oriented women. Eventually, the assumption that women must choose their home or work was replaced with how women could combine family and career roles, shifting the emphasis to the nature and degree of career orientation. While studies in the 1960s
suggested that the majority of women did not plan to work outside the home, studies in the early 1970s strongly suggested that the majority of young women planned to combine marriage and career (Fitzgerald and Betz, 1987).

Theorists have attempted to explain women’s career development in varying ways. Traditional career development theorists, such as Super and Ginzberg, based their studies almost exclusively on male subjects implying that the male life was the norm. These early theorists gave primacy to women’s homemaker role and even later when they tried to take gender into account took the position that career development for women was not markedly different from men, except for concerns about marriage and childbearing (Diamond, 1987). While the idea that career development was a result of a process rather than being a point-in-time was a significant contribution, the male career development model is not sufficient for explaining the interruptions and frequent shifts between home and work that women experience (Minor, 1992). Furthermore, it fails to account for the experience of women working part-time.

Other theorists, such as Holland and Roe, view vocational choice as an expression of personality, reflecting the individual’s motivation, knowledge, and ability. They also take the position that no one escapes his or her life history, with individuals suited for some groups of occupations and not for others. They posit that congruence between personality and working environment determine vocational satisfaction. While this approach explains existing phenomena, it disregards underlying sociological processes or causes. This approach views personality as somewhat static and unchanging which implies that women are not likely to change in terms of career orientation, interests, and
goals and ignores the catalytic role that various kinds of career development interventions might play (Diamond, 1987).

Another group of theorists, such as Krumboltz, incorporates both the content and process aspects of career development using behavioral methods which deal with overt, explicit behaviors that can be measured and on which progress can be charted (Osipow, 1973; Minor, 1992). It is assumed that rather than developmental processes, genetics, environmental conditions and experiences, learning experiences, and skill sets determine career selection and development. Importantly, Krumboltz and his colleagues address the intersection of these factors on career development (Herr and Cramer, 1988).

Several models have been developed which incorporate variables that have been shown to influence women’s career decisions.

Hackett and Betz in 1981 (as cited in Minor, 1992) developed a model to explain how women view their ability to perform certain task and be successful in certain activities. They believe women are socialized to feel successful in different tasks than men in three ways. First, young girls are encouraged to have more involvement in domestic and nurturing roles and less in sports and mechanical activities. Second, the majority of role models for young women are women in traditional female roles and occupations. And, third, women of all ages face a lack of encouragement or active discouragement from engaging in non-traditional female roles and occupations. Thus, Hackett and Betz take the position that an explanation of socialization mechanisms would enable us to predict that generally women will choose traditional female roles and occupations.
Astin (as cited in Minor, 1992) proposed a career development model in 1984 that included the influence of work motivation, sex role socialization, and the structure of opportunity. She takes the position that basic work motivation is the same for men and women; however, women make different choices based on early socialization and structure of opportunity which includes the distribution of jobs, sex typing of jobs, discrimination, job requirements, the economy, family structure and reproductive technology. While Astin's theory has been applauded by some as a major contribution in the field of women's career development, others have criticized her for failing to address the schism between current institutional roles and the demands of family roles. "Even when men and women make the required changes in traditional sex-role beliefs and behavior and expect a career to include active participation in both occupational and family roles, the problem of societal structure still arises" (Diamond, 1987, p. 20-21). Specifically, this conundrum is seen when women attempt to combine family life with a career when the common belief among colleagues is that working 90 hours per week is required to be professionally successful. Herein lies the tension and devaluing of professional women when they work part-time in an effort to provide equity between their family and occupational roles. Thus, this model fails to address the concept of career as embodied in a patriarchal society which values and rewards full-time work.

Farmer developed a career model in 1984 (as cited in Minor, 1992) that looked at the level of occupation chosen, the motivation to accomplish short-term tasks and the degree of commitment to realize long-range career goals. She suggested three factors -- personal attributes, such as academic self-esteem and homemaking orientation;
background variables, such as sex, social status, race, and age; and environmental variables, such as family support, influence women's motivation to pursue a career. While these are important factors, this model does not address the tension between multiple role demands and compromises that many women attempt by working part-time.

Another group of theorists describe the processes of both career choice and adjustment. In 1963, Tiedeman (as cited in Minor, 1992) added perspectives to Super's (1957) propositions. While Super viewed the life stage processes as repeating themselves in the sequence throughout life - initial, trial, stable, and decline, Tiedeman viewed career development as part of a continuing process of differentiating ego identity. Building on Erikson's staging constructs, Tiedeman's model is not limited to formulation of a choice, but also considers what happens when one attempts to implement that choice. He views this process as a constant reciprocity between the person's self-concept and the environmental expectations as decisions are made and implemented. "If the individual's ability to take on role expectations as defined by the environment is not stretched beyond tolerance, the person will stay in the position and integrate these expectations into the ego concept" (Herr and Cramer, 1988, p. 143). Tiedeman's later work emphasized the power of the individual to create a career with self-empowerment as the central proposition to career development. He posits that how an individual views decision making is a function of how far the individual has advanced in his or her career and an important way of measuring this advancement in the career process is the language the individual uses to describe their career. Thus, Tiedeman supports the
The theory of work adjustment, introduced in 1964, was one of the few career development theories that focused on the prediction and process of adult career adjustment rather than solely on occupational choice. A fairly elaborate theory of work adjustment, with two conceptual components: a prediction model and a process model, looks at success and satisfaction on the job. Central to the concept of prediction of work adjustment is the relationship between what the individual worker brings to the work environment and what that environment has to offer in return. The worker typically brings certain types of knowledge and competencies to her job, while the work environment includes working conditions, benefits, relations with co-workers and superiors, and the day-to-day tasks. In order for the relationship to continue, both the individual and the organization have certain minimal requirements. The worker, for instance, expects to be rewarded for good performance in the way of increased pay and opportunities for advancement. It follows that when a part-time employee’s performance is not rewarded in a tangible way or rewarded differently from their full-time counterpart, then job satisfaction and tenure are impacted (Fitzgerald and Rounds, 1994, p. 339).
The process of work adjustment, on the other hand, looks at the amount of mismatch that employees will tolerate before they leave the work environment. Four adjustment styles, flexibility, activeness, reactiveness, and perseverance are used to explain this component. A flexible person is more willing to tolerate increased dissatisfaction than a less flexible person who would attempt to seek a better adjustment or leave the organization. The less flexible person would either actively attempt to change the work environment to gain a better fit or reactively change the expression of the work personality to improve adjustment. And finally, perseverance is the tolerance level individuals have for dissatisfaction while they attempt to bring about adjustment. This theory, however, fails to adequately explain important influences on women’s working lives. Despite the “large body of data indicating that the interface between work and family considerations is critical to women’s vocational satisfaction, such considerations are largely absent from theoretical statements concerning women’s vocational adjustment” (Fitzgerald and Rounds, 1994, p. 339).

Lastly, Derr (1986) developed a model that looked at diversity among career orientations. Built on Schein’s earlier work in the early 1960s, Derr (1986) identified five career orientations as an alternative to the idea of a singular career ladder which was viewed as too simplistic. One of the patterns he identified was the “getting balanced” orientation. Relevant to this research, the getting-balanced careerist juggles career, self-development and relationships with others. Each arena has equal value and gets an equivalent amount of time. Derr posits that “getting-balanced is a relatively new phenomenon in the work force” and considers it unique in that individuals who have
"chosen it as a conscious and long-term yet alternative to what they would consider their real career success map" (Derr, 1986, p. 146). The getting-balanced orientation involves trade-offs and Derr found both men and women with a getting-balanced orientation engage in addressing the complexities of balancing career alongside other equally balanced roles. Derr speaks to the idea of internal career transitions prompted by either a change in their personal lives or an external shift in career and found that men and women with a getting-balanced orientation are often considered "not productive," a label that permanently removes them from the fast track in an organization. While this theory may explain, in part, professional women working part-time and the trade-offs they negotiate as they construct a viable life structure, it does not differentiate the issues uniquely faced by women in the work force.

In sum, the career development theories as they now stand do not easily account for women’s work situations, goals, and problems. Specifically, they do not address women working part-time, despite the fact that two-thirds of all part-time workers are women.

Women and Professionalism

To gain a better understanding of women working in professional occupations, it is important to understand the development of professionalism within the United States. Moore (1970) identified a professional as an individual engaged in a full-time occupation, who demonstrated a strong commitment to a calling, possessed an esoteric body of knowledge, exhibited a service orientation, and functioned autonomously.
Primarily emerging from the middle classes' conceptualization of the “American dream” as sought by the “ideal” citizen, an individual could obtain “professional” status via a vertical career that would provide a vehicle for social mobility (Bledstein, 1978; Baritz, 1989). This “ideal” citizen was ambitious, self-disciplined, competitive, bold, brave, industrious, and, above all, a “rational” male. While men viewed their occupations as a tool to gain membership to the middle class, women viewed their work as contingent or supplementary (Epstein, 1970). Underlying this phenomenon was the belief that individuals were bound by their “true” nature. Accordingly, women were “naturally” restricted by the physiology of sex, the inner space of the home, and the time schedule of children.

This construction of professionalism, based on a male model, has impacted women’s work in significant ways. Primarily gained through formal education, professionalism was directly linked to language acquisition and mastery of a body of esoteric knowledge which gave individuals expert authority. Though initially denied access to higher education, women gained entry to colleges and universities with the cultural expectation that they would use their education in their role as mother and wife. There was a persistent denial of the need for professionalism because women were viewed as having an option to retreat to the private domestic sphere. This underlying belief in the traditional feminine role has been problematic for women entering the professions in a variety of ways.
Role Conflict

Women face a conflict in the hierarchy of their multiple role demands, particularly when they participate in the professional world. Professionals are especially expected to channel a large proportion of their emotional and physical energies into work as reflective of the traditional Protestant work ethic (Epstein, 1970). LaMarre and Hopkins (1984) in a study looking at the “work ethic” commitment of college graduates determined that those with a “strong” work ethic would be willing to work more than 40 hours per week. According to their operational definition of strong work ethic, males demonstrated a stronger work ethic than their female counterparts in terms of number of hours per week worked. They also found that individuals that prefer to take additional rewards in the form of a reduced work load or more time off are viewed as having a low work ethic. Looking at tradeoffs individuals would be willing to make in regards to other priorities in their lives, they reported that while overall there was support for the dual-career family, the majority of participants felt that at least one parent, usually the wife, should give up their career while the children were young. In contrast, they found strong disapproval for paying women less than white males for comparable performance in comparable job, however, there is no discussion on the impact of time off on women’s career development. The work environment creates an expectation that putting in excessive work hours is valued. Solomon (1985) reports that while a professional career demanded a full-time commitment, society considered such a commitment as antithetical to marriage. Thus, from its inception, the culture of professionalism, as defined by the legacy of the Euro-American middle class patriarchy, has been problematic for women as
issues surrounding production and reproduction fuel the contradiction between the changing aspirations of educated women and preservation of traditional female roles (McBroom, 1986; Fury, 1991).

McBroom (1986) also found that promotion is given to those who show commitment in terms of hours worked and effectively strip the professional of any other significant activity in life, i.e., home and family, hobbies, community service, etc. The work ethic has been defined by men who could, through their money and status, purchase the humanizing relationships they didn’t have time to develop. However, women who bear children, forfeit at a profoundly different level. While American society is no longer segregated by sex, women have carried the primary responsibility for integration, largely at the cost of their reproductive lives. The low reproductive rate of professional women can be explained, in part, by the ethics and practice of the workplace which is heavily patriarchal and supportive of a radical separation of gender spheres. Men put their careers first and some women have followed and adopted the same ethos when they become professional. This dichotomous split between feminine and professional identities (which will be explored in the latter part of this section) has resulted in a loss of reproduction for those women who maintain the masculine ethos as a ruling system as they tend to reject motherhood and sometimes marriage. McBroom, who looked at the mass movement of women into professional roles, reported that professional women have far more difficulty achieving a family life than does their male counterpart. While Tomlinson-Keasey (1990) reports that combining work and motherhood is socially sanctioned and overt occupational discrimination against women has plummeted,
allowing women to expand their professional opportunities, Chester (1990) found that mothers who attempt to do so are faced with social and economic realities that make this a difficult choice. While the media portrays images of the well-dressed, successful professional woman kissing her smiling baby goodbye as she leaves for work, little institutional support exists for such a lifestyle.

Despite increased occupational opportunities, there has been no reduction in the responsibilities of motherhood, supporting Epstein's position that the obligations attached to family status are first priority for women, while for men the role demands derived from the occupational status ordinarily override all others. Thus, professional women face a seemingly insurmountable problem of role strain. While a man's duties and obligations fall primarily in the occupational sphere, professional women, on the other hand, must deal with two conflicting priority systems. Accordingly, the man's status set is complementary and reinforcing and the woman's is not. Currently, the American conjugal family system heavily weights the obligations of the woman's role in the family beyond those of the man resulting in the "superwomen" syndrome as identified in Bridges' study (as cited in Tomlinson-Keasey, 1990) in which women are pursuing multiple work patterns and several identities with a vengeance. Gray (as cited in Tomlinson-Keasey, 1990), however, found that professional women who work and have children often feel they are not meeting either sets of responsibilities.
Identity Conflict

The lack of consensus on role behavior expected of professional women results in tension between the traditional female status and the professional status (Epstein, 1970). Baruch, Barnett, and Rivers (1983) posit that a woman's mental and emotional well-being are directly linked to her ability to develop a sense of mastery -- feeling important and worthwhile -- and a sense of pleasure -- derived from close relationships. They identified six patterns of marital/work/motherhood combinations and found that employed women in all categories ranked higher in mastery than homemakers. Additionally, the highest sense of well-being (mastery and pleasure) was experienced by married women with children in professional positions.

This was further supported by Josselson (1996) who found that women's identity formation resides at the intersection of competence and connection. Major life events often prompt a shift in how a woman grapples with competence and/or connection. Not occurring in specific stages or sequences, Josselson identified four predictable patterns in how women adapt to work roles and the demands of marriage or motherhood. A fluid process, identity formation is revised throughout the life cycle and realigning the emphases of life permit women to move among their multiple roles. Adult crises in identity among the women studied most often involved the struggle to keep the experience of competence and connection in balance.

While the themes of competence and connection are often connected to the Freudian poles of work and love as the pillars of human life, Josselson (1996) posits they are broader and more inclusive of what women are at their core. "For women,
competence goes beyond but may include their work; connection transcends partner and children and doesn’t necessarily imply either sexuality or motherhood” (Josselson, 1996, p. 178-179). Thus, “[a] woman’s identity rests on her sense of how she is effective in the world and how she is linked to others” (Josselson, 1996, p. 179). These are overlapping and interlaced themes and growth and revision in a woman’s life involves rethinking her competence or her connection or weaving them together in an altered way. Shifts in expression of competence and connection are seen in changes in jobs, ambition, projects, friendships, and the advent and challenges of children. Josselson (1996) posits these shifts do not occur in a fixed sequence or definable “stages.” While some women grapple with competence first, others wrestle with connection or attempt to work on them both simultaneously. A period of revision maybe instigated by a major loss or crisis or simply as a result of obtaining a goal. Regardless of their path, women want a sense of connection and competence -- to “be someone,” and to “do something.”

Josselson (1996) reported, however, that women struggle to translate their longings into realizable goals and are often unable to identify their own desire. Women doubt their choices, often wondering if they are their own. The process of figuring out what they desire is complicated for women because of the multiple layers to their nature. Women struggle to make space for all these strands that form their identity. For example, Josselson (1996) found that women who spent their twenties and thirties learning to adapt to work roles and the demands of motherhood or marriage found they had shelved their creativity and this became their quest during their forties. Striving to keep all these segments in balance often produces dramatic tension in women’s lives.
Josselson (1996) found that women who seemed most content in her study were those who realized themselves in multiple ways, “who had work and relationships and interests and involvements, who recognized differing aspects of themselves at different times, and who resisted definition in unitary categories and found ways to express their own diversity” (p. 244).

Thus, women's identity formation resides at the intersection of competence and connection. A fluid process, identity is revised throughout the life cycle. Realigning the emphases of life permits women to move among their multiple roles and achieve a feeling of coherence and a strong self.

This was further supported by Levinson (1996) who found that sharp division between feminine and masculine permeates every aspect of human life, a concept he refers to as gender-splitting which creates domestic/public, female homemaker/male provisioner, women's work/men's work, and feminine/masculine dichotomies. Levinson further posits that patriarchal societies in which women are generally subordinate to men encourage gender-splitting in order to maintain society.

Sheehy (1974) built on Levinson's earlier work as well as the pioneering work of Frenkel-Brunswik who linked psychology and sociology, concluding that every person passes through five demarcated phases. While Levinson's work was based solely on male subjects, Sheehy studied both men and women together with the goal of locating the individual's inner changes, comparing the developmental rhythms of men and women. Sheehy found that women face more outer restrictions and inner contradictions the first half of life, while the reverse is true in the second half of life. She categorized
women in five ways in their twenties and found that by mid-life the women were seeking balance between their personal and professional lives. For example, the caregivers had gone back to school or were looking for jobs and the nurturers who deferred achievement were seeking professional connection only to find they were severely disadvantaged in the work place. All women, regardless of category, faced unanticipated questions urging review of roles and options. As women seek integration, those issues not resolved as young adults, demand attention.

Sheehy (1995) completed a follow-up study and posits that age norms had shifted by ten years and are no longer normative as there has been a revolution in the life cycle. Identifying a second adulthood, Sheehy (1995) found that women have a strong inner push toward authenticity. “The critical work of shaping an authentic identity for women comes after her biological imperative and most of her obligations to others have subsided” (Sheehy, 1995, p. 152). It becomes imperative for women to find their way back to the truest things they know and to compose a more authentic self. In order to do this, women must find a way to assemble the parts of their nature into one whole. This is a period of time when women stop pretending to be the person they have been and begin to accept who, or what, they are becoming. Sheehy (1995) refers to letting go of this “false self” as the little death of first adulthood, a process of recognizing that the time and energy required to maintain this persona is counterproductive to uncovering authenticity. The intenseness of the dissonance between the false self and the real self generally occurs during the forties. This passage is a turning point and marked by a
revision of personal narratives. Women had the accrued experience, judgement, self-knowledge and confidence to create a firmer identity.

By their fifties, the women in Sheehy’s (1995) study reported a strong sense of being the people they want to be. They experienced a great deal of emotional and social liberation, were more accepting, more outspoken, and less self-conscious. Sheehy (1995) concluded there is a dramatic shift in what women value. In their twenties, women value independence and romance and by their fifties, while they still rank commitment above all else, are most interested in power and in their potential for creating social change. Thus, according to Sheehy, women ultimately seek authenticity, finding the core self that embodies the values and loyalties for which individuals stand, a process that is developmental in nature.

While women seek authenticity throughout the life cycle, the “corporate life cycle superimposes its own stages over the stages of individual growth and development” and is not conducive to individual well-being (Sheehy, 1974, p. 34). Sheehy categorizes the corporate life cycle in three stages: (1) the learner stage, occurring in the late twenties or early thirties, is characterized by the individual busily working toward joining the professional tribe (i.e. tenure) which requires doing whatever is necessary to gain membership; (2) the doer stage, characterized by increasing responsibility and being under the gun to make one’s mark, consumes a great deal of energy; and (3) the diplomatic stage where maturity in the corporate life cycle is reached as individuals are admitted to top management where work and play are one, seventy-hour weeks are expected, and travel may be extensive. The corporate life cycle reflects the male life
cycle, despite years of lobbying by the women's movement. As such, the prime
cchildbearing and child-rearing years collide with the corporate life cycle often creating
an agonizing choice for women. Many professional women forfeit childbearing to pay
homage to the demands of the corporate life cycle. The corporate life cycle assumes that
individuals are willing to be married to the corporation first and foremost. Thus, the
corporate life cycle, based on the male life cycle, assumes that workers are men who
have wives and has failed to acknowledge the high cost in terms of lost reproduction and
intimacy that women often pay when they adhere to the imposed patriarchal model.

One adaptive response women often make to the male-dominated organizational
culture is to don a professional mask with a set of more or less common behavioral traits.
This mask is mingled with masculine identity and creates serious conflicts for some
women, requiring many to split off or submerge their feminine identity because it
conflicts with the roles required at work. Reducing awareness of feminine identity is
necessary for those women intent on gaining professional recognition and power. These
women not only don a professional mask, they also adopt the clothing and behaviors of
the men as a "suit" is tied to authority, control, and rationality. McBroom (1986) used
the term, "the third sex," to describe a professional woman who has subsumed her
feminine identity in order to be professionally successful.

Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) referred to the identity crises women experience
as they wrestle with the tension between their personal and professional identities as the
"marriage plot" versus the "quest plot." The marriage plot which exemplifies women's
role as primarily in the private and domestic sphere is in direct contrast to the "quest for
meaningful work plot" which reflect contemporary values that have moved women into
the public, occupational sphere. McBroom (1986) analyzed female identity to see the
links between the different ideas of femininity and the choices women make and found
that women who ventured into the professional world often did so by sacrificing
reproduction. The low reproductive rate of professional women can be explained, in
part, by the ethics and practice of the workplace which are heavily patriarchal and
supportive of a radical separation of gender spheres. Men put their careers first and some
women have followed and adopted the same ethos when they become professional.
Thus, this dichotomous split between feminine and professional identities, as an adaptive
strategy, has resulted in a loss of reproduction for those women who maintain the
masculine ethos as a ruling system as they tend to reject motherhood and sometimes
marriage.

Grossman (1990), who studied professional women who did have children, found
that their professional and personal identities were in a constant state of flux during their
transition to motherhood. There was a "quest for self-definition and self-worth as
evidenced by the ways that many of the women changed essential aspects of their work
during this period" (p. 72). For example, many of the women left full-time work for part-
time work and found this a dramatic change that prompted a reexamination of their
career and their sources of identity. Many of the women questioned the relative value of
motherhood and their work. One of the significant issues they faced was whether the
standards to be used as a basis for defining the relative value of motherhood and work
reflect male or female values. Thus, "the quest and validation of self-worth are important parts of the process of redefining one's identity" (p. 72-73).

Furthermore, Garey (1993) found that despite the large number of working mothers, that images of "mother" and "worker" exist in the culture as incompatible. "In both popular and academic discourse, women are presented as being either 'work-oriented' or 'family-oriented,'" however, Garey takes the position that employed women with children construct integrated identities as "working mothers." (p. 3889). Women often facilitate a construction of themselves as mothers who are available to their children by working part-time. Simultaneously, they value their identity as a worker, however, they distanced themselves from the concept of a "career." "Many women are not looking for ways to mother less but are looking for work structures that will let them be the kinds of mothers they want to be by themselves performing a self-defined portion of the work of mothering" (p. 3889). Thus, part-time work is an adaptive strategy women use to construct dual identities that are compatible.

The need to construct a dual identity may suggest that identity formation is more complexly constructed for women than for men. This is supported by Ornstein's study (as cited in Tomlinson-Keasey, 1990) of academically talented women in which "even spectacular achievement in college did not guarantee professional success for women because women faced a set of relationship issues that men did not have to address" (p. 237). Ornstein's finding supports Horner's earlier study (as cited in Dowling, 1981) that examined the conflict between achievement and femininity, concluding that fear of success lead many women to sabotage themselves professionally even when they were
intellectually talented. Homer posits that professional success for women jeopardizes their personal relationships, therefore women may sabotage their success in order to give precedence to relationships. Dowling (1981) built on Homer’s study in her development of the Cinderella Complex – a theory that posits that it is “a network of largely repressed attitudes and fears that keep women in a kind of half-light, retreating from full use of their minds and creativity” – waiting for something external to transform their lives (p. 21). Additionally, Gilbert (as cited in Tomlison-Keasey, 1990) reported that women, even when they outperform men, do not believe they are as competent or as successful as men.

This is further supported by Bell and Young (1986) who reported that even when bright, capable women are professionally successful, they often downplay or dismiss their abilities and accomplishments, a debilitating syndrome they referred to as the “imposter” syndrome which ultimately impacts women’s productivity, effectiveness, and advancement potential. One of the primary factors contributing to this syndrome is the male-oriented nature of the work world, a system that devalues women’s work as evidenced in hiring, salary, and promotion inequities. Furthermore, the imposter syndrome may be a reaction to the traditional view that professional women are the antithesis of the feminine women and a reflection of Epstein’s (1970) position that professional women face an inherent conflict surrounding the core of masculine attributes found in most professional and occupational roles. And lastly, Bridges’ study (as cited in Tomlinson-Keasey, 1990) identified the “superwoman” syndrome in which women pursue multiple work patterns and several identities simultaneously and with a
vengeance often resulting in not meeting the expectations and responsibilities in any arena satisfactorily. Thus, women, in an attempt to deal with two conflicting priority systems and identities respond by creating coping mechanisms that are often debilitating and support the underutilization of women's abilities.

By mid-life, however, women are in a stronger position to integrate their multiple roles and dual identities. Marcia's study (as cited in James, 1990) of employment and mid-life satisfaction for women suggests that "the most complete form for identity resolution comes about as a result of exploring options, examining the 'shoulds' embedded in social mores, making conscious choices and then committing on one's chosen path" (p. 117). She posits that women who adopt the cultural prescription of the day would be foreclosing on identity issues, thus suffering some developmental consequences. "Identity concerns are not resolved once and for all, but are often re-worked throughout the life cycle" (James, 1990, p. 117). The women in Marcia's study were in the process of re-working some identity issues in midlife. Thus, given the wisdom of their age and experience, women, by midlife, have the potential for much richer identity resolutions than they do during earlier phases of life, supporting the fluidity of the identity formation process.

In contrast, Crittenden (1999) takes the position that modern women face a reversal of the identity conflict from previous generations. She posits that while women of previous generations were raised to believe they could only realize themselves within the roles of wife and mother, women today have been taught that their full potential and worth as human beings can only be realized outside of these roles. New mothers who
have spent years climbing the corporate ladder are thrown into a full blown identity crisis when confronted with the decision to keeping working or to quit their jobs and stay home. Crittenden takes the position that “working mothers who attend stress seminars or take up aromatherapy . . . that teach them to ‘let go’ are the modern-day equivalent of the depressed housewives of a generation ago, who were criticized for not being able to manage their boredom or take enough satisfaction in doing the laundry and who eventually found their way into therapy and lithium addiction” (p. 130). She posits that regardless of the barriers that have been taken down for women, the last remaining barrier—the love for their children— is the stubborn one that hasn’t been able to be pushed through. As a result, women live in a perverse, schizophrenic habit of separating their identity as a mother from their identity as a worker. The tension between the demands of child-rearing and realizing their full potential as citizens and workers does not lend itself to an simple solution for women. Crittenden (1999) takes the position that if identities are defined only in terms of work and the needs of children are secondary, women will continue to feel torn, dissatisfied, and exhausted.

If identity formation resides at the intersection of competence and connection and the life cycle of women demands a fluid shift between emphases, then organizations, whose formal and informal practices are based on patriarchal values, will continue to collide with societal expectations surrounding motherhood and child-rearing unless they recognize that women need help getting time away from the workforce to be with their young children and shift the valuing of only productive work to an inclusion of reproduction work as well (Crittenden, 1999).
Thus, professional women respond to conflict between their work lives and private lives in various ways. The literature indicates one response is to split their identity between the two worlds. This suggests that reducing awareness of feminine identity is necessary for professional women intent on gaining professional recognition and power. Yet, when women forfeit their feminine identity to gain power, they provide de facto support for the attitude that the way men have been doing it all along is the correct way, suggesting that women, if given the power, cannot do it any differently. Thus, many women will be continue to be at war with themselves, facing a double agenda, as they seek to integrate their personal and professional identities despite adoption of various adaptive strategies. On the other hand, as women enter the middle years, they often have the potential for identity resolution.

Lower Status

Professional women also experience lower status then their male counterpart. Epstein (1970) contends that “[f]ewer women hold high-ranking jobs not only because of overt discrimination and exclusion, but because their sex status places them disadvantageously in the structure of the profession (p. 192). They are routed into less visible positions and the specialties in which they dominate are typically regarded as the less important and less demanding ones and are correspondingly less lucrative. Women’s low professional status is also recognized in sociology by the fact that they typically define teacher, social worker and nurse as semi-professional occupations in contrast to lawyer, physician, accountant, and judge which are viewed as professional
fields (Sokoloff, 1980). This was supported by Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) who found that professional occupations are sex-segregated by specialty, rank, and/or industry, with three-fourths of all women professionals either teachers, nurses, or allied health workers which are lower in status than male-dominated fields. Even when men enter into female-dominated occupations, they are primarily in the higher-level and decision-making positions.

Grossman and Stewart (1990) contend that women have had greater access to the “helping professions” because these careers are defined, like motherhood, in terms of circumscribed interpersonal power supporting Epstein’s (1970) position that, on a more subtle level, professional women often define their work as “helping” and therefore fulfilling a feminine role. As such, helping professionals are expected to be caring, fair, wise, pragmatic, and self-sacrificing. Additionally, there are cultural norms demanding that the helping role take precedence in most situations. In contrast to high-status, male-dominated occupations which are characterized by the quality of exhilaration, personal aggrandizement, or individual initiative, the principle gratifications experienced in the context of helping professions are relational. Though women are entering managerial or professional positions in growing numbers, Baruch, Barnett and Rivers (as cited in Grossman and Chester, 1990) reported there are striking absences of women in positions of power and policymaking. The fact remains that most women are concentrated in relatively few, relatively low-status occupations.
Professional Networks

Professions are also marked by informal interaction between members. Epstein (1970) referred to this interaction as the “good old boy’s club,” taking the position it is difficult for women not equipped with a set of appropriate statuses to enter this inclusive society and participate in its informal interaction, to understand the unstated norms, and to be included in the club’s casual exchanges. Furthermore, women aspiring to membership in this group face many obstacles as they often do not have the rank, seniority, money, or charisma necessary to penetrate this professional environment. This is significant in that professionals group in informal networks to have access to the established knowledge of their professions, as well as acquisition of new knowledge.

While women are not actively excluded from professional networks, they often limit interaction themselves. This behavior results largely from the image of a profession as a society of men, convincing women that they do not belong and should not want to belong. Interestingly, the more informal the professional context, the more willing women seem to concede the rightness of their exclusion. Women, however, are forming their own formal and informal networks in order to “gather new information that is helpful professionally, to exchange job information, and to meet people who might be useful to them in some way later on” (Keele, 1986, p. 60). Women can gain status through building a network of relevant people. Yet, these do not necessarily provide access to the “old boy” networks where power is held. Accordingly, it is important for women to penetrate male networks if they wish to become sufficiently visible to secure high-level positions of influence. While women generally have less power, particularly
financial, they can trade information for information and thus become the most "knowledgeable" person in a given area. This strengthens their position, allowing them to bring about change on issues that matter to them. Thus, a variety of tactics are necessary to successfully lower barriers professional women face as they build networks (Keele, 1986; Parker and Fagenson, 1994).

Career Paths

Moore (1986) posits that exclusion from informal networks directly impacts women seeking top management roles. While women are increasing in numbers in middle-management positions, the decision about who is put in key positions is more subjective than decisions dealing with lower- and middle-level jobs and are made by older men who don't feel comfortable with women. Top positions are given to those who are perceived as trustworthy and women, even when they possess the same skill set and characteristics as their male counterpart, are perceived not being a good "fit" with the top management team. This phenomenon is referred to as a glass ceiling, an impenetrable barrier that is specifically place above a women's head by males in leadership. Landau and Amoss (1986) also found that while professional women's starting salaries were comparable to their male counterparts and promotions were as rapid the first two or three years, that men began outpacing the women, particularly in terms of salary. They referred to women hitting a barrier within eight to ten years, an "invisible" ceiling. While men were making bids for top positions, women were getting stuck. Thus, the big payoffs were proving to be elusive for women. They were
technically well prepared, they had the credentials, the grades, and the experience. Landau and Amoss found that women construct success different from men, tend to expect more from a job, and do less career planning. This was explained, in part, because of the double burden women shoulder when they combine career and family responsibilities. Others decry the claim of the glass ceiling, stating that women simply are not being promoted because they haven’t been in the work force long enough to gain the experience needed to move into top management positions. Yet others believe that the barriers women face are in fact created by women themselves — the Cinderella complex, the super women syndrome. In this context, women are not doing the right things to make themselves succeed.

In contrast, Driscoll and Goldberg (1993) take the position that the “glass-ceiling” concept is outdated and hides the real issues at stake for professional women. They take the position that women are overcoming corporate bias toward women in professional positions and have moved into the exclusive circle of economic leaders, citing the importance of women’s professional networks as leadership training grounds for women at all levels and how women are bringing powerful “rainmaking” strategies to the corporate work. Importantly, Driscoll and Goldberg (1993) identify a subtler form of bias, the “comfort zone,” in contrast to the glass ceiling, as simply a safe haven for those who belong there. This describes the organization that gives lip service to the importance of advancing women, tries to recruit women, and is bewildered when they leave. The corporate environment still sends subtle messages that the men are “us” and the women are “them.” “Penetrating and changing the comfort zone so that it welcomes
all executives is a challenge" admits the authors, however, is essential if women are to be effective professionals (Driscoll and Goldberg, 1993, p. 4). This zone creates a professional culture that impacts women negatively, excluding them from arenas of corporate, civic, and economic power. They posit that it is possible for women to enter the comfort zone by using rainmaking strategies, increasing visibility, and via relationships, in addition to hard work and excellent performance. Rainmaking strategies are those that generate revenue, clients, and profit. They found that women are successfully negotiating barriers through the use of collaborative power and professional networks.

Having pierced the comfort zone, women are now participating in the most powerful institutions in their communities and have become members of "The Club" which has often been described as an inner circle of male senior-level executives and professionals who have a shared past from school, the military, or their professions. The Club, viewed strictly as a men's hut, is undergoing a significant shift thanks to economic restructuring of the business community. Women who are joining The Club have the energy to become visible beyond the confines of their jobs and the confidence to contribute in a predominantly male environment. The ability to raise money carries clout, thus, women who want to join The Club must command the same economic resources others do. Membership rarely happens overnight; patience, energy and perseverance are required.

In contrast, the 1991 study by the Fund for the Feminist Majority found that only 2.6 percent of corporate officers were women, calculating it would take 450 years to
reach equality with executive men. Though we have increasing numbers of women in the "pipeline," many, having reached senior management levels, opt to leave to start their own consulting business or to pursue a totally different dream which raises a host of questions about why women bail at this critical moment.

In summary, professional women find themselves primarily in patriarchal institutions where the roots of a radical separation of the gender spheres run deep and where, historically, a profound devaluation of feminine work and ability has shaped policy and practices. Men have generated values that in many ways are antagonistic to the creation and maintenance of life. Organizations create an environment where it is natural to be excessive about work and exclusively focused on achievement and performance. Thus, women face inherent tension between their "work ethic" and their "ethic of care."

The Nature of Part-time Work

Part-time work is not a new phenomenon. Historical studies have shown that work in agriculture and service occupations have often been done on a part-time basis (Beechey and Perkins, 1987). The part-time labor force in the United States was minuscule until after World War II. With the dramatic influx of women into the workforce following the war, the number of part-time jobs burgeoned. The inclusion of women as part-time workers was done to cut costs, to maintain women at low wages, and to incorporate women as a readily available reserve of labor (Sokoloff, 1980). By 1957, 13 percent of the workforce was part-time. Over the past 40 years, the part-time work
force has gradually grown and now accounts for 25 percent of the U.S. workforce. While only voluntary part-time employment outpaced workforce growth between the 1950s and early 1970s, involuntary part-time work simply kept pace with the workforce growth.

Since the 1970s, however, this trend has reversed as the ranks of involuntary part-timers grew faster than overall workforce expansion. In fact, involuntary part-time employment has grown as the economy has expanded (Tilly, 1996). While women’s participation in the part-time workforce has been constant, in contrast, the rise in involuntary part-time employment has been primarily among prime-age men. The voluntary part-time workforce has been made up primarily of women, however, many have joined the ranks of the involuntary workforce in response to the decline in full-time work and expansion of part-time as part of a more general process whereby the working population is changing. Still, most men engage in full-time paid work and very little else, while most women combine paid work with unpaid housework and caring work. In fact, women’s actual hours of work are often more than full-time, but only a portion of that is paid labor. Yet, even with the influx of men into the part-time workforce, women still account for two-thirds of the part-time workforce. Women’s disadvantaged status in the labor market can be explained, in part, by whether they are employed full-time or part-time. Part-time work has long been considered “women’s” work and highly segregated from full-time work. Thus, “part-time work is overwhelmingly women’s work” (Beechey and Perkins, 1987, p. 2).

While most authors treat part-time workers as an undifferentiated mass, several have concluded they are not a homogeneous group. Goldberg (1981), in her study of
permanent part-time workers, compared those working fewer than 35 hours per week with those working between 35 and 39 hours and found those working fewer hours tended to be voluntary part-time workers while those working more hours were primarily involuntary part-time workers. And, as such, differed in terms of employment conditions, demographic conditions, and correlates of overall job satisfaction. Tilly (1996) based his categorization of part-time workers, not by the hours they worked, but by the type of job held, either secondary or retention. Secondary part-time employment occurs in secondary labor markets and are characterized by low skill, low pay and fringe benefits, low productivity, and high turnover. Secondary part-time work is explicitly designed for secondary workers, as opposed to breadwinners and includes a substantial contingent of involuntary part-timers. Retention part-time jobs, on the other hand, are created to retain or attract valued employees whose life circumstances prevent them from working full-time, particularly women with family responsibilities.

Found primarily in primary labor markets, retention part-time jobs tend to be relatively skilled, offering high compensation, high productivity, and low turnover. Tilly views secondary part-time employment as “bad” and retention part-time employment as “good” part-time jobs and readily admits that few retention part-time jobs exist. By its nature this category is an exception, while secondary part-time jobs make up the majority of part-time employment. Tilly believes that secondary and retention part-time jobs are the way they are because they occur in particular internal labor markets and are good or bad for the same reasons that full-time jobs are. There is nothing that dictates that part-time jobs must have low productivity and compensation. It is the secondary labor market
embodied in the part-time jobs, not their shortened hours, that labels them as inferior. Thus, part-time work, already segregated from higher-status full-time work, is further segmented with distinct differences and varying statuses.

**The Wage Gap**

There is widespread discrimination in pay for part-time workers. While Beechey and Perkins (1987) report there is little difference in hourly pay rates for part-time workers when compared to full-time workers, they also state additional components of pay, other than the base rate, negatively impact part-timers, such as overtime and bonus pay. In contrast, Tilly (1996) found that regardless of the reason for part-time work, the median hourly wages of part-timers is 38 percent below those of full-time workers, a wage gap that has remained stable over the past 20 years. Part-time workers account for two-thirds of all people working at or below minimum wage (Mellor and Haugen as cited in Tilly, 1996). Accordingly, the part-time worker tends to be at economic risk and suggests a broader pattern of growing inequality and deteriorating employment opportunities.

While the U. S. generated 32 million new jobs between 1973 and 1989, the growth was primarily among low-paid jobs, the majority of which are part-time. In searching for a reason for the growth in part-time jobs, Tilly (1996) takes the position that neither women’s expanded participation in the labor force, nor higher unemployment, nor a widening part-time/full-time wage and fringe benefit differential account for the increase in part-time work. Rather, he accounts for the increase as a
response to two major changes. First, the U.S. economy is moving toward trade and
services, which have long depended on large numbers of part-time workers.
Traditionally, these industries have organized much of their workforce in a secondary
labor market, resulting in low-wage, low-skill, high-turnovers jobs. Second, virtually all
industries have switched from full-time to part-time work, thus, expanding the secondary
workforce. For a variety of reasons, companies are creating part-time jobs even when
workers do not want them. Thus, part-time work is generally lower-level, lower-status
and lower-paying than full-time work.

The Benefit and Promotion Gap

Part-timers receive fewer fringe benefits than full-timers. Beechey and Perkins
(1986) found that part-time workers were frequently excluded from sick pay, paid
holidays and retirement plans. This was further supported by Tilly (1996) who found
that only 18 percent of part-timers receive health care benefits, while the probabilities of
having sick leave, paid vacation, and pension are significantly decreased for part-timers.
Additionally, part-time workers stay at jobs for shorter periods of time compared to full-
timers. High turnover is problematic for secondary workers, however, part-time
employment is used to reduce turnover of retention part-timers. Thus, part-time workers
often do not receive comparable benefits compared to their full-time counterpart.

Promotion is a special barrier that part-timers face as part-time jobs are seldom
linked into career ladders. Additionally, professional development and on-the-job
training is generally not available to part-timers (Beechey and Perkins, 1986). Tilly
(1996) found that secondary part-time jobs are designed to exclude advancement, while retention part-time jobs are generally located part of the way up a promotion path. “In both cases, promotion beyond a certain limited span means moving to a full-time job” (Tilly, 1996, p. 61). Thus, professionals working part-time generally forfeit promotion and are barred from top management positions.

**Part-time Work as Solution for Role Conflict and Identity Conflict**

One strategy often used by women to solve the role conflict when they combine paid work with childbearing is part-time work. The U.S. Department of Labor (1992), however, conducted a longitudinal study to track the transition of women into and out of part-time work and found that following the birth of a child, women were more likely to move into full-time as opposed to dropping out of the work force. However, women with children under the age of 5 were most likely to remain as part-time workers. The authors concluded that transitions from part-time work were only very loosely tied to changes in the presence of a young child.

Garey (1993) found that despite the large number of working mothers, that images of “mother” and “worker” exist in the culture as incompatible. “In both popular and academic discourse, women are presented as being either ‘work-oriented’ or ‘family-oriented,’” however, Garey (1993) takes the position that employed women with children construct integrated identities as “working mothers” (Garey, 1993, p. 3889). Women often construct an identity of themselves as “mothers who are available to their children” by choosing part-time work. Simultaneously, they value their identity as a
worker, however, they distanced themselves from the concept of a “career.” “Many women are not looking for ways to mother less but are looking for work structures that will let them be the kinds of mothers they want to be by themselves performing a self-defined portion of the work of mothering” (Garey, 1993, p. 3889). Thus, part-time work is a strategy women use to construct dual identities that are compatible.

This was further supported by Mueller’s (1995) finding that college women with an orientation to occupational-family integration who anticipated working full-time interrupted by a period of no work chose careers that were significantly more traditional than those anticipating working full-time interrupted by a period of part-time work. This suggests that part-time work is often viewed as a solution for combining multiple life roles for women.

**Professional Women and Part-time Work**

Professional women also consider their choice of part-time work as the best compromise for maintaining careers while rearing children, despite the job-family strain resulting from their part-time work schedules. They experienced particular role strain as part-timers, however, they maintained their professional self-images despite little support from their full-time colleagues. Significantly, most women experience marginality as part-time professionals (Leo, 1987). While part-time work may be a viable compromise for professional working mothers, part-time professionals are marginalized from their full-time counterpart.
Milner (1990) who identified three worlds of work and family for college-educated women; the “home world” occupied by full-time housewives, the “work world” occupied by women working full-time and the “between two worlds” occupied by women working part-time found that each category was characterized by distinct dominant themes, goals, domains of control, and principal tensions. In contrast to the U.S. Department of Labor study (1992), Milner found that women’s childbearing beliefs and practices were major determinants of their employment status. Women who believed it was essential to be home when their children came home from school either continued as housewives or worked part-time. Thus, women working part-time are between two worlds — the professional and personal/private.

Tilly (1996) found that institutions also categorize professional women by shunting them into either the “mommy track” or the “fast track” depending on the likelihood that a given woman will have children and want to take off time to care for them. Those on the full-time “mommy track” earn less than those on the full-time “fast track.” In contrast to other research, this study found those working part-time in the “mommy track” earn more than those working full-time on the “mommy track” because they successfully negotiated a more lucrative contract. While the Tilly study is an exception in terms of pay, generally, women are disadvantaged in terms of advancement and pay when they attempt to combine family and professional responsibilities by working part-time.

In sum, women working part-time face similar barriers to their full-time female counterpart. Namely, wage discrimination, promotion barriers, role conflict, identity
crisis, and marginalization. However, the literature suggests that women working part-
time are doubly disadvantaged as they not only face discrimination as women, they also 
face discrimination as part-time workers. As women face dual societal expectations in 
the world of work and family and voluntarily and involuntarily work part-time, they are 
penalized for sustaining both reproductive and productive processes.

In Summary

This literature review examined women's participation in the general labor force, 
in the part-time labor force, in the academic workplace, and in the community college. 
Specifically, it explored the role of professional women in these contexts. Women work 
primarily in patriarchal institutions where the roots of a radical separation of the gender 
spheres run deep and where, historically, a profound devaluation of feminine work and 
ability has shaped policy and practice. As I traced the development of women and work 
in various bodies of literature, the commonality of the discrimination against women in 
the work force at all levels smacks of deeply embedded sociological beliefs. Women are 
disadvantaged even when they make their professional commitment foremost by 
forfeiting marriage and childbearing and doubly so when they choose to provide the 
critical societal role of childbearing, particularly if they work part-time.

While women make up approximately one-half of the civilian labor force, they 
are found primarily in sex-segregated fields where they experience a large gap in earning 
power, underutilization of their abilities, and role conflicts in their personal and work 
lives. Women tend to be assigned caretaking and custodial roles that require a high level
of interaction with others, while men are assigned mechanical and technical activities involving direct authority over others. Thus, "[d]espite dramatic social and economic changes, work arrangements tend to reinforce gender stereotypes and to perpetuate a system wherein men are better able to claim money, authority, and prestige on the basis of their work roles" (Hochschild as cited in Anderson, 1988).

In addition to facing the barriers shared with their sisters in the general working population, some professional women report an intense identity crisis that necessitates they “split” their identity between their personal and professional worlds suggesting it may be essential for women to forfeit their feminine identity to gain professional recognition and power. Professional women who choose to combine motherhood with their professional work are often shunted into the “mommy track” and are often disadvantaged in terms of advancement and pay. Professional women also face significant obstacles in gaining entrance into the informal professional networks where access to established and new knowledge is critical for advancement. Professional women in higher education face the same barriers as their professional counterparts in non-academic settings, despite the fact that employment of professional women in higher education, in roles other than faculty and administration, has outstripped men in almost all categories.

Part-time work, long considered “women’s work” is high segregated from full-time work. Women working part-time in all segments of the labor force reported similar issues. Marginalized from their full-time counterparts, part-time workers experience widespread discrimination in pay, fewer fringe benefits, and lack of access to promotion
and decision-making positions. Thus, women working part-time are doubly disadvantaged as women and part-time workers.

The summary matrix (Table 2.1) indicates obvious gaps in literature on women working in community colleges in any capacity. These women may be included under the general category of “women in higher education” but they are not identified as such. There is also a dearth of literature on part-time professional women in non-faculty positions. The majority of studies cited in the matrix on professional women in non-faculty positions referenced women in full-time administrative positions and implied they have moved up from the faculty ranks. Little or no mention was made to women whose careers were strictly in the non-faculty ranks.

Given the gaps in the literature, this study seeks to understand the nature of the work experience for women working part-time in professional (non-faculty) positions in community colleges. It will also look closely at the community college setting and the disempowering and generally unhealthy work environment for part-time professional women.

This study will provide direction for further research in a number of venues. If the academic environment is unhealthy for part-time professional women, the nature of their experiences raises questions about the overall health of the academic setting for any of its members, but particularly for women. Future research on how to transform the attitudes, structures, and practices of the academy to create effective support for women as employees is critically needed. Additionally, investigating how to make the workplace more accommodating for women so that institutions can fully utilize the
talents and abilities of both men and women may be crucial to the survival of higher education.
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lower Pay &amp; Status</th>
<th>Role Conflict &amp; Identity Crises</th>
<th>Underutilization of Abilities</th>
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<td>Larkin</td>
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Table 2.1: Summary matrix of major themes by author
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<td>Jenkins</td>
<td>Bruce</td>
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<td>McElrath</td>
<td></td>
<td>Watkins, Herrin &amp; McDonald</td>
<td>McElrath</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schneider</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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| Professional women in Community Colleges (faculty) | |

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<th>Part-Time women in workforce</th>
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<th>Garey</th>
<th>Beechey &amp; Perkins Tilly</th>
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<th>Fury</th>
<th>LaMarre &amp; Hopkins</th>
<th>McBroom</th>
<th>Milner</th>
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Table 2.1: Summary matrix by major themes by author (continued)
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Table 2.1: Summary matrix by major themes by author (continued)
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<tr>
<th>Job Category</th>
<th>Full-Time</th>
<th>Part-Time</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Higher Education Employees</th>
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<td>Faculty</td>
<td>542,155</td>
<td>565,942</td>
<td>1,108,097</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical &amp; Secretarial</td>
<td>347,987</td>
<td>84,659</td>
<td>432,646</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Professionals</td>
<td>349,332</td>
<td>68,8806</td>
<td>418,138</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service &amp; Maintenance</td>
<td>188,468</td>
<td>39,647</td>
<td>228,115</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tech/Paraprofessional</td>
<td>142,291</td>
<td>40,584</td>
<td>182,875</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>133,174</td>
<td>5,895</td>
<td>139,069</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Crafts</td>
<td>60,957</td>
<td>3,040</td>
<td>63,997</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,764,364</strong></td>
<td><strong>808,573</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,572,937</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average Percent</strong></td>
<td><strong>68.6%</strong></td>
<td><strong>31.4%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NCES Fall Staff in Postsecondary Institutions, 1993

Table 2.2: Summary of employment by job category
CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction and Statement of the Research Question

The general purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the experiences of professional women working part-time in community colleges. While hundreds of books and articles dealing with work have been published, surprisingly few provide us with rich descriptions of the work experience itself (Jacobs, 1994). By listening to women speak, understanding women’s membership in particular social systems, and establishing the distribution of phenomena accessible only through sensitive interviewing, this study seeks to uncover previously neglected or misunderstood worlds of experience (Reinharz, 1992). Two broad questions will form the basis of my inquiry and will frame the discussion of results in later chapters. The research questions this study will seek to explore are:

1. What is the nature of the part-time experience?
2. What is the role and meaning of part-time work in women’s lives and the development of a career?

Different methodologies allow us to know and understand different views of the world. Selection of research methodology is defined by the research question, in
conjunction with the researcher's personal view of seeing and understanding the world (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992). Qualitative methods lend themselves to research that attempts to uncover the nature of persons' experiences with a phenomenon, can be used to uncover and understand what lies behind a phenomenon about which little is known, or can be used to gain a fresh view on a known phenomenon (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). Quantitative "studies of risk, safety, or health hazards on the job; attitudinal surveys; and studies dealing with the formal organization of work offer little assistance to those who require good descriptions of work. Such descriptions require, among other things, the extended face-to-face interaction of the researcher and the researched, both in and out of the work setting" (Jacobs, 1994, p. 1). For the purpose of this study, qualitative methodology will be used to make meaning of women's lived work experiences. Given the heterogeneity of women in this culture, quantitative methodology masks the variability of their experiences. Thus, qualitative research may provide more sufficient answers regarding women and work (Bright, 1996). Conducted in an academic environment, specifically the community college, the research approach for this study is exploratory and will utilize in-depth interviews.

Qualitative research encompasses a "wide range of epistemological viewpoints, research strategies, and specific techniques for understanding people in their natural context" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, Introduction). It is multimethod in focus and occurs on a continuum for which the lines of demarcation between different theoretical orientations are blurred. Some approaches utilize an inductive strategy whereby the researcher discovers concepts and hypotheses and generates theory grounded in day-to-
day experience; other approaches focus on interpretation as a process of making sense out of social interactions derived from the connections individuals make between events as a means of understanding their lived experience (Patton, 1990; Glesne and Peshkin, 1992; Fullerton, 1993). In general, “qualitative methods are supported by the interpretivist paradigm, which portrays a world in which reality is socially constructed, complex, and everchanging” (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992, p. 6). The task of the qualitative researcher is to understand and interpret how the various participants in a social setting construct the world around them. They seek to make sense of personal stories and the ways in which they intersect. “The openness of qualitative inquiry allows the researcher to approach the inherent complexity of social interaction and to do justice to that complexity, to respect it in its own right” (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992, p. 7). As such, the purpose of qualitative research “is not the generalization of results, but a deeper understanding of experience from the perspectives of the participants” (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, p. 44).

Emergent by design, qualitative research needs to remain sufficiently open and flexible to permit exploration of the phenomenon under study (Patton, 1990). In the early stages of data analysis, important leads are identified and pursued by asking new questions, observing new or previous situations with a slightly different lens, or examining previously unimportant documents. This broadening or narrowing of the lense and the consequent sampling of new people and settings is anticipated and planned for in qualitative research (Maykut and Morehouse, 1993). As such, pursuing important
or salient early discoveries undergirds qualitative approaches to inquiry (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

The most compelling strength of qualitative research, however, is the assumption of the value of context and setting that searches for a deeper understanding of the participants' lived experiences (Marshall and Rossman 1995). "The advantages of qualitative portrayals of holistic settings and impacts is that greater attention can be given to nuance, setting, interdependencies, complexities, idiosyncrasies, and context" (Patton, 1990, p. 51). Thus, qualitative research methods, using rich descriptions, provide the opportunity to engage in research that is reflective of multiple realities as contextual. Additionally, they also make use of the tacit knowledge gained from lived experiences, enlarging the understanding of social phenomenon as experienced by individuals (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bogdan and Biklen, 1992; Fullerton, 1993).

According to Corbin and Strauss (1994), interpretive work "must include the perspectives and voices of the people whom we study" (p. 274). As such, it is important to "open our ears to the voices and perspectives of women so that we might begin to hear the unheard" (Belenky, 1986, p. 11) which, in turn, will enable us to hear women's experiences and understand them in their contexts (Reinharz, 1992). Gilligan refers to the concept of a "different" voice for most, but not all, women in response to the contextual setting. When basic assumptions "are reexamined through the lense of women's perspectives and values, new conclusions can be drawn and new directions forged that have implications for the lives of both men and women" (Belenky, 1986, p. 8-9).
Through the use of narrative, women can explain who they are, why they belong, and what principles define them (Jamieson, 1995). Personal accounts show the limits of existing knowledge and create an emotional stance that is critical to seeking linkages and connections. Accordingly, "to reconstruct what we know, we begin with the experiences of those who have been excluded" (Anderson and Collins, 1995, p. 9).

This research utilizes a phenomenological approach that focuses on the structure and essence of an experience of a particular phenomenon. A phenomenological study "focuses on descriptions of what people experience and how it is that they experience what they experience" (Eichelberger, as cited in Patton, 1990, p. 71). It is a way to explain and to gain an understanding of the meanings that individuals hold about the complexity of colleges and universities. The phenomenon may be an emotion, a relationship, a job, an organization, or a culture. It is assumed there is an essence or essences to shared experience which are the core meanings that can be understood through a commonly experienced phenomenon. Through the use of semi-structured interviews, individual narratives emerged as each participant told her story of how she came to work part-time and the essence of being a part-timer. Each woman's story itself is an interpretation of those aspects of her life that are self-identified as meaningful (Fullerton, 1993). The experience of the different participants were coded, analyzed, and compared to identify the "essence of the phenomenon" (Patton, 1990, p. 70).
Site and Sample Selection

Utilizing a phenomenological approach, the research study was conducted in a single community college setting. The community college, located in the Midwest, has an average enrollment of 20,000. The roots of the college date back to the late 1800s, with official recognition gained shortly after WWII. Its tie to the state and community were formalized in the 1960s. With strong historical ties to the community, it is a major employer with 2,300 faculty and staff; 800 full-time and 1,500 part-time.

Initially viewed as expanded secondary schools or truncated colleges, community colleges now occupy a central place in higher education, due, in part, to their great number, openness to nontraditional students, and key role in occupational training (Cohen and Brawer, 1996). Enrolling 5.3 million students, 36.9% of all college students, community colleges account for over eighteen percent of all higher educational institutions in the United States, numbering 1220 in 1997 (NCES, 2000). Beyond their number, community colleges known for their “open door” admissions policy and commitment to occupational training, reflect their commitment to access to higher education which assumes that the drive for social equality is enhanced by academic credentials and entrance into the labor force.

The majority of community college students attend part-time as supported by a recent study conducted by the National Education Association (1997) which reported that two-thirds of community college students attend part-time, due in part to “a decline in eighteen-year-olds as a percentage of the total population, an increase in students combining work and study, and an increase in women attending college” (Cohen and
Consequently, the off-hour enrollment means that evening and weekend operations must be supported by all types of employees, particularly part-time employees. Accordingly, the intense use of part-time employees reflects the enrollment patterns typical of community colleges (NEA, 1997).

Community colleges depend on a part-time work force more than other sectors of higher education (NEA, 1997). The reasons they employ sizable numbers of part-time faculty is (1) they cost less; (2) they may have special capabilities not available among the full-time instructors; and (3) they can be employed, dismissed, and reemployed as necessary (Cohen and Brawer, 1996). Overall, however, colleges depend on low-cost labor to balance the budget. Often viewed as migrant workers, lower paid part-time faculty will continue to be the mainstay of the community college work force, providing the law or collective bargaining agreements do not stop them. Sixty-five percent of all faculty in community colleges are classified as part-time. In community colleges, half of all employees work part-time. Nationally, twenty-two percent of part-time professional staff work part-time in community colleges and, as the particular focus of this research study, will provide us with a deeper meaning of part-time work (NEA, 1997).

"In qualitative research, participants are carefully selected for inclusion, based on the possibility that each participant will expand the variability of the sample" (Maykut and Morehouse, 1993, p. 45). I used a purposive sample as this increased the likelihood that variability common in the part-time work experience will be represented in the data. "The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in-depth" (Patton, 1990, p. 169). Information-rich cases provide the researcher an
opportunity to learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research. From a list of women who work part-time in positions requiring a bachelor’s degree or higher, I sent out a Participant Background Survey with a cover letter inviting their participation in the study. From the respondents, I selected 19 women for a single in-depth interview. These participants represented women in different stages of their professional life and from different ethnic backgrounds. As an insider, negotiating for entry required submission and approval of a research proposal. Gaining access to various documents involved the cooperation from the personnel department and establishment of good will (Fullerton, 1993).

The Participants in the Research

The nineteen female study participants are varied in their ethnic and marital statuses. There were fifteen participants who are Caucasian and four who are African-American; fourteen are married, while five are single. When comparing the ethnic and marital statuses of the participants, twenty-five percent of the African-American participants are married, while eighty-seven percent of the Caucasians are married. A more detailed description of the study participants is provided in Table 4.1. The nineteen study participants have various professional roles; however, the majority are professional counselors. The others represent such diverse roles as program coordinator, program director, counselor, technical writer, information resource specialist, researcher, and public relations officer.
The Researcher's Role

Given that qualitative research design is focused on understanding a given social setting and demands that the researcher stay in the setting over time, contextual inquiry demands a human instrument since context is so heavily implicated in meaning. The researcher becomes the research instrument (Janesick, 1994) and, as such, builds upon his or her tacit knowledge through the use of interviews, observation, and document analysis (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Accordingly, there is no value-free or bias free qualitative design. Playing several key roles in the qualitative research process, the researcher early on identifies his or her biases and articulates the ideology of conceptual framework for the study. As the researcher tries to make sense of the world and give meaning to the phenomenon under study, it is paramount that the researcher continuously raise awareness of their own biases. Through the use of a reflective journal, the researcher, from the beginning moments of informed consent, to other ethical decisions, to the completion of the study, will wrestle with and allow for the possibilities of recurring ethnical dilemmas and problems (Maykut and Morehouse, 1993; Janesick, 1994).

As an insider in this research setting, inherent constraints were encountered. Seidman (1991) speaks to the perils of "easy access," a term the author uses to depict conducting research in one's backyard. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) and Siedman (1991) caution the researcher in regards to selecting individuals to interview that they know in a personal or professional nonresearch capacity. Depending on the prior relationship, particular attention needs to be given to be certain the principles of an equitable
interviewing relationship are maintained, that the interviews occur in a different setting if appropriate, that the “other” relationship with the participant does not slant or somehow distort the interview, and that the researcher does not “assume” they understand the interviewee based on their friendship. It is important to define the researcher role so as to avoid confusion for both parties.

While there are inherent constraints to conducting insider research, there are also inherent strengths. First, and foremost, my insider stance provides intimate knowledge of the setting and the institutional culture. As a professional women with a wide variety of full-time and part-time work experiences spanning the past twenty years, I bring the sum of my own experiences, attitudes, and beliefs. My most salient work experience in terms of this research, however, involves my recent part-time position. In order to pursue doctoral studies, I resigned from a full-time administrative position and took a part-time job in a community college setting. What began as a vehicle to support my educational endeavors became a platform for consciousness-raising. As I was assimilated into the part-time culture, I encountered a world of work distinctly different from my full-time work experience. This work experience provides a rich backdrop for my understanding of the community college setting, in general, and, the part-time professional experience, in particular. My work experience, however, cannot be separated from my life experience which involves the role of spouse and mother. Likewise, as I listened to women’s voices, I came to understand the impact multiple roles have on their daily lives. My awareness of the complexity of balancing these roles in women’s lives, coupled with my own experience, has heightened my sensitivity to how individual each script is and how
delicate the balancing act. Recognizing that my position as an insider is a source of potential bias, I kept a journal as an important component throughout the entire study, particularly as a means to avoid superimposing or filtering the data via my own experience.

Knowing that my insider role brings both strengths and weaknesses, I relied heavily on my formal training and experience as a professional counselor, a role that requires the ability to anticipate and process personal biases, without projecting them into the counseling setting. This same stance was used during the in-depth interviews, as my goal was to provide a framework within which participants could respond comfortably, accurately, and honestly to my questions (Patton, 1990). Additionally, given the large size of the institution, only a small number of the participants in the study did I know in another capacity. Clarification of my researcher role was necessary for those I knew in a nonresearch capacity.

In addition to the researcher’s role as researcher, the researcher is also a learner. This perspective leads to reflection on all aspects of research procedures and findings. While in the researcher role, the research is expected to speak with authority, in contrast, as a learner, the researcher is expected to listen. It is importance to be cognizant of the differences between these two roles throughout the research process (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992).
Data Collection Methods

For the qualitative researcher, data collection and data analysis occur simultaneously. Soon after data collection begins, the researcher reflects on the data by writing memos or keeping a reflective field log to capture analytic thoughts when they occur. Data collection is entirely directed toward the emergent model. The researcher seeks repetition in the information obtained and confirmation of previously collected data. Additionally, the researcher seeks negative cases to enrich the emergent model and to explain variations (Morse, 1994). As qualitative researchers are interested in understanding people's experience in context, the natural setting is the place where the researcher is most likely to discover, or uncover, what is to be known about the phenomenon of interest (Maykut and Morehouse, 1993).

One of the most difficult parts of data collection is entering the research setting. As an insider in my research setting, my accessibility to data was maximized as many of the barriers experienced by an outsider were not an issue (Marshall and Rossman, 1994). On the flip side, conducting research in my own backyard also presented challenges. One challenge involved role switching. Because I had established professional nonresearch relationship with some of the participants in the study, it was imperative that I clearly articulate the expectations surrounding my role as "researcher" with these participants. Another challenge involves ethical and political dilemmas. For example, it was necessary to determine what I would do with information obtained as an overt observer. Additionally, interviews frequently uncover "dangerous knowledge" that is politically risky or problematic to hold, particularly for an insider. During the course
of this study, however, the participants did not reveal any controversial or illegal activities. If they had, I would have explored ways to communicate the knowledge so as to maintain the anonymity of my sources (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992).

"The quality of the information obtained during an interview is largely dependent on the interviewer" (Patton, 1990, p. 279). As such, it is important for the researcher to have a deep and genuine interest in learning about people and understanding their experience and the meaning they make of that experience (Patton, 1990; Seidman, 1991). It is imperative that the researcher keep their egos in check and that their actions indicate that others' stories are important. Furthermore, it is important to recognize the limits on our understanding of others and to acknowledge the bias and basic assumptions we bring to the research process. Conducting research in your own backyard has inherent risks and payoffs.

The data most often sought by qualitative researchers is people's words and actions. Thus, data collection methods that allow the researcher to capture language and behavior will be used (Maykut and Morehouse, 1993). While observation provides access to behavior, "interviewing allows us to put behavior into context and provides access to understanding their action" (Seidman, 1991, p. 4). As such, I gathered data from in-depth interviews and document analysis. The in-depth interviews were audiotaped and transcribed and the documents were analyzed with a written analysis.
The Process of Data Collection

Data collection consisted of in-depth interviews with study participants using an interview guide, consisting of 29 questions, adapted from Fullerton (1993). All of the participants, with one exception, were interviewed at the "college." The interview sessions ranged in length from one hour to one and a half hours. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed in their entirety. Participants were assigned a pseudonym to provide confidentiality. Slight modifications were made in direct quotations to insure anonymity and extraneous expressions were eliminated.

The documents analyzed for this research were collected during the course of the study from various sources. The analyzed documents included official handbooks, online communiques, newsletters, brochures, campus directories, an inauguration program, and other written communication.

Data Management

Given the open nature of qualitative inquiry, the fieldwork will generate a considerable amount of data. The sheer volume of "fat" data will require a methodical system for organizing the material. Keeping up with data management throughout the study made the data collection process less intimidating and easier to manage. I created a system for organizing the data and utilized word processing for data analysis which required an efficient way to transfer my raw data into table form. My journal notes were typed up and saved on the computer. The in-depth interviews were also transcribed on the computer. These were integrated and formed the basis of my data analysis.
Additionally, documents were collected during the research period, cataloged and analyzed.

**Data Analysis**

One of the defining characteristics of qualitative research is its inductive approach to data analysis (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). Due to the emergent nature of qualitative research, "what becomes important to analyze emerges from the data itself, out of a process of inductive reasoning" (p. 127). Data analysis is not a stage in the research process, rather it is a continuing process (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992) that begins "when one has accumulated a subset of the data, providing an opportunity for the salient aspects of the phenomenon under study to begin to emerge" (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, p. 46). Pursuing these initial leads will help illuminate the phenomenon of interest. "In other words, there is a broadening or narrowing of the focus of inquiry as the data suggest it" (p. 46).

My goal was to provide a discussion of the interview narratives in a way that is richly descriptive, what Geertz (as cited in Denzin, 1994) terms "thick description," providing an opportunity for women's voices to be heard in bringing tacit knowledge to the question of women's experiences as part-time workers in academe, and specifically, to the two broadly stated research questions (Fullerton, 1993). Thick description "gives the context of an experience, states the intentions and meanings that organized the experience and reveals the experience as a process" (Denzin, 1994, p. 505). It moves the researcher beyond mere description and enables them to interpret and analyze the written
representation of an event for meaning-making (Janesick, 1994). Interpretation opens up the possibility of multiple meanings of an experience; it is transformative by nature and illuminates experience (Denzin, 1994).

My goal was to provide an opportunity for each participant to tell her story in context and to speak about the circumstances surrounding her current part-time work experience at her institution, her actions and the decisions that formed the basis of those actions, her feelings, and her perceptions about the experiences of women who work part-time in higher education. Using the text of each women’s story, I identified common threads and constructed themes relevant to each research question. These themes offer insights and interpretations constructed from the collective interviews. As such, they do not represent “findings” or “results” in the tradition of positivistic, quantitative research, nor do they serve as the “truth” about women in part-time positions in community colleges. Rather, they are summary statements based on my interpretation of the emergent themes and are intended to lay the groundwork for a discussion or illumination of the basic social processes and relationships that reflect the nature of women’s experiences as part-time workers in academe (Fullerton, 1993). This study increases our knowledge of professional women working part-time in one particular community colleges. Not every women working part-time in community colleges will act as these women have, however, what we have learned may be applied to similar contexts.
Preliminary Identification of Key Issues and Events

The constant comparative method of data analysis as developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and built on by Lincoln and Guba (1985) will serve as the framework for "making sense" of the data in ways that will facilitate the continuing unfolding of the inquiry. The constant comparative method as described by Glaser and Strauss (as cited in Wilson, 1998) utilizes joint coding and data analysis to generate theory or to examine the variety of patterns in the data. It provides a useful structure for analyzing data as its goal is to generate and suggest many categories, patterns, properties, and incidences about general phenomena. The constant comparative methodology begins by coding each incident in the data into as many categories of analysis as possible. This was done by noting categories on the margins of the narratives. This lead to the generation of properties of the category and the development of a code table. The constant comparative method requires saturation of data rather than considering all available data as the goal of the researcher is not to prove theory, but to develop a rich description. When no new categories can be generated from the data by adding new participants, saturation has occurred.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) described the steps of the constant comparative method in the following manner: (1) initiated when incidents applicable to each category are coded and compared; (2) data is integrated with other categories of analysis to form a smaller set of categories; (3) categories are further reduced as the analysis of incidents becomes more select and focused; and (4) categories and properties of accumulated knowledge are collapsed into major themes. The first step involves "coding each
incident in the data into as many categories of analysis as possible, as categories emerge or as data emerge that fit an existing category” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 105).

Coding continues in the second step, but the units of comparison change from incident with incident to comparison of incident with properties of the category that resulted from initial comparisons of incidents. In the third step, the coding and analyzing of incidents becomes more select and focused, resulting in a smaller set of categories. The final step is the development of major themes that emerged from the constant comparative method.

Initial coding of the interview transcripts yielded 323 categories. As the coding and analyzing became more select and focused, the initial categories were collapsed into 33 categories. From these 33 categories, 7 themes emerged and served as the basis for analyzing the interplay with the interview narratives, leading to a understanding of the phenomenon being studied in this particular context (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Key issues and events that emerged from the pilot study provided for the initial categories and direction for the literature review.

**Developing Themes from the Narrative Text**

My next step was to identify major insights from the interview text relative to each research question, making connections between the narratives. These insights then became the source of further analysis on a given theme. Similarly, I reviewed the interview text and noted passages relating to specific categories. The passages from the interview text fell into multiple categories for analysis and provided insight into several categories simultaneously (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992; Fullerton, 1993).
After identifying broad categories for further analysis, I focused on each category, identifying relevant themes. Once a theme emerged, it provided me with a starting point to analyze other participants' discussion of a particular theme. In this manner, I continued to identify common themes and to articulate the nature of those themes, using narrative text to support and provide a description of each theme. This involved identifying a theme, looking for supportive and disconfirming examples, refining the theme, and continuing to look for supportive and disconfirming examples or variations (Fullerton, 1993).

I employed the use of axial coding as outlined by Corbin and Strauss (1990) whereby data are put together in new ways after initial open coding, by making connections between categories and identifying major themes that are more contextual in nature. Axial coding utilizes a model that involves the causal conditions or events that lead to the development of the phenomenon, the context in which these events or happenings occurred, the strategies devised to manage and respond to the phenomenon, and the outcome or consequences of these strategies. This model permits the researcher to think systematically about data and to relate them in complex way.

This approach to analyzing a given theme provided a rich portrait of each part-timers' experience that I used as a basis for identifying and describing common patterns and themes. The process of engaging in axial coding and the resulting analysis was self-reflective and involved the internal process of questioning (Fullerton, 1993).
Establishing Trustworthiness

Establishing trustworthiness depends on the ability of the researcher to establish that the findings of the inquiry are worthy of attention (Fullerton, 1993). Within the positivist paradigm, the criteria used to establish trustworthiness are internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Correspondingly, in the interpretivist paradigm, Lincoln and Guba suggest four alternative criteria for establishing trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

**Credibility.** Credibility, a criterion parallel to internal validity, refers to the extent to which the findings and interpretations of the research establish the match between the constructed realities of the participants and those realities as represented by the researcher. Techniques for establishing credibility include: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, negative case analysis, progressive subjectivity, peer debriefing, and member checking.

Substantial involvement at the research site immerses the researcher in the context's culture, allowing him or her to establish rapport and build the trust necessary to uncover constructions of reality.

Sufficient observation supports and adds depth to the prolonged engagement enabling the researcher to identify relevant characteristics and elements of the phenomenon under study.
Negative case analysis is a process of revising working hypotheses in light of hindsight. Negative cases do not necessarily negate a given hypothesis, rather they add variation and depth of understanding.

Progressive subjectivity is a process of monitoring the researcher's own developing constructions. Prior to engaging in any activity, the researcher records what he or she expects to find prior to conducting the study, archiving the record. At regular intervals throughout the study, the researcher again records his or her developing construction, using a debriefer to challenge the researcher's constructions. This was particularly important, given my professional involvement at the research site.

Peer debriefing permits the researcher to discuss in detail, with a disinterested third party, their findings, conclusions and tentative analyses. As this study is emergent by design, this provided opportunity for the researcher to search out the next methodological steps, while also reducing the psychological stress normally associated with field work. One structured way in which I secured this external check was through discussions that took place in person, on the phone, and via e-mail with my advisor regarding emerging findings.

Lastly, member checks provide an opportunity to test hypotheses, data, preliminary categories, and interpretations with participants to verify that the researcher's constructions of multiple realities are those that have been offered by the participants. This was achieved by providing the opportunity for participants to review the transcribed interviews to verify for accuracy and/or to clarify or amplify further the context of their response. Additionally, one participant read a copy of the full draft,
providing opportunities for clarification of points and confirmation that I had captured the meaning of the part-time story. Of all the techniques used to establish credibility, member checks are the most crucial (Lincoln and Guba, 1989, Corbin and Strauss, 1990).

**Transferability.** Transferability may be thought of as a parallel criterion to external validity or generalizability. Lincoln and Guba (1989) make the case that transferability is always relative. Thus, generalizing from one context to another is limited by the extent to which the salient conditions overlap or match. The object in making transferability judgments is to set out all the working hypotheses for this study, and to provide an extensive and careful description of the time, the place, the context, the culture in which those hypotheses are manifested. The major technique for establishing the degree of transferability is thick description. Accordingly, the researcher’s task is to provide the widest possible range of information for inclusion in the thick description. Adequate opportunity for extensive and careful descriptions of the research context and setting will be provided by the proposed methodology.

**Dependability.** Concerned with the stability of the data over time, dependability is parallel to the positivist criterion of reliability (Lincoln and Guba, 1989). Due to the dedication to increasingly sophisticated constructions by an emergent design, methodological changes and shifts in constructions are expected. Such changes and shifts are planned for in a maturing and successful inquiry and are not viewed as threats.
to dependability. It is important, however, to track the changes and shifts so others can explore the process, judge the decisions that were made, and understand what salient factors in the context led the researcher to the decisions and interpretations. This is accomplished through the use of a dependability audit, a technique for documenting the logic of the process and method decisions. The dependability audit relies on the process — the extent to which the process is established, trackable, and documentable. While a prescribed audit did not occur, it was accomplished by regular communication with my advisor regarding methodological changes and shifts in construction of emergent themes and interpretations.

**Confirmability.** Confirmability, viewed as parallel to the conventional criterion of objectivity, is concerned with assuming that data, interpretations, and outcomes of inquiries are rooted in contexts and persons apart from the researcher and are not simply figments of the researcher's imagination. Assurances of integrity of the findings are rooted, not in the method, but in the data themselves. This means that constructions and assertions can be tracked to their sources, and that the logic used to assemble the interpretations into structurally coherent and corroborating wholes is both explicit and implicit in the narrative of a phenomenological study. The confirmability audit and the dependability audit can be carried out together.
CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The participants in this study are women working in professional positions, part-time. The experience of part-time as told by the participants is rich and complex. The focus of this chapter is to provide a “thick” description of women’s experience working part-time in a community college setting. For purposes of this study, part-time is defined as a position officially classified as “part-time” for which the employee is expected to work less than 40 hours per week in a given position.

Of the married participants, nine [Abigail Benson, Betty Carter, Cindy Dennison, Debbie Edwards, Gina Harvey, Ilene Jacobs, Leslie Morris, Pamela Quale, and Stella Taylor] are working part-time voluntarily, while five [Francis Garrison, Janice Kloster, Karen Logan, Mary Nordstrom, and Nancy Ogden] are working part-time involuntarily. Of the single participants, four [Ellen Fraley, Helen Ippish, Quinta Reynolds, and Rachel Stokes] are working part-time voluntarily and one [Olivia Perkins] is working part-time involuntarily. Thus, thirteen of the nineteen participants are working part-time voluntarily. Part-time work for five of the voluntary workers is a strategy to balance child rearing and family responsibilities with work. There were three participants [Ilene Jacobs, Rachel Stokes, and Stella Taylor] who had adult children; however, their reasons
for choosing part-time work was different. Ilene has worked part-time intermittently while raising a large family and wanted to continue the same balance between professional and family life. Rachel chose part-time work as a strategy for reconnecting with people following the premature death of her spouse, while Stella desired a shift from working full-time for twenty-two years to creating an opportunity for volunteerism and social commitments. Of the four voluntary workers, Abigail and Helen chose part-time work following retirement from full-time work; however, one is primarily working to maintain her strong career-orientation and the other to supplement her retirement income. Cindy, also a voluntary worker, chose part-time work as a strategy to take care of a sick family member, while Quinta’s own health-related issues required a reduced work load. And Ellen works part-time to supplement wages from a full-time professional position.

There are six participants [Francis Garrison, Janice Kloster, Karen Logan, Mary Nordstrum, Nancy Ogden, Olivia Perkins] who are working part-time involuntarily. Olivia, who is single with no children, sought part-time work as a vehicle to make a career shift to higher education. Francis, who has high school and college-aged children, has actively been seeking full-time work in her field for the past several years. When Nancy’s full-time job was eliminated, she took her current part-time position because it was ideal in terms of the job responsibilities; however, she has petitioned, unsuccessfully, for a conversion to full-time status. Mary just completed graduate school, has grown children, and desires a full-time commitment to a position that will provide opportunity for an administrative role. There were two participants [Janice
Kloster and Karen Logan] who began working part-time on a voluntary basis; however, they now consider themselves working part-time involuntarily as they desire a full-time commitment. Karen has voluntarily worked multiple part-time jobs for almost two decades while raising a family. The jobs, however, have expanded in terms of hours and responsibilities and now encompass more than full-time hours. As such, she desires a full-time job, which would represent a reduction in weekly work hours. And Janice has worked ten years part-time voluntarily, but her life circumstances are changing and now she is seeking full-time work.

In sum, approximately one-third of the participants are working part-time involuntarily, with eighty-three percent of the involuntary workers married. Overall, approximately one-fourth of the participants are not married. The reasons for working part-time are varied, but generally are categorized as a desire to maintain or foster a professional connection and/or the need for family income.
### Table 4.1: Marital, ethnic & voluntary/involuntary statuses of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abigail Benson - Caucasian</td>
<td>Ellen Fraley - African American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betty Carter - Caucasian</td>
<td>Helen Ippish - African American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cindy Dennison - African American</td>
<td>Quinta Reynolds - African American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debbie Edwards - Caucasian</td>
<td>Rachel Stokes - Caucasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gina Harvey - Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ilene Jacobs - Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Leslie Morris - Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamela Quale - Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stella Taylor - Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Garrison - Caucasian</td>
<td>Olivia Perkins - Caucasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janice Kloster - Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen Logan - Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Nordstrum - Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nancy Ogden - Caucasian</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Involuntary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Francis Garrison - Caucasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janice Kloster - Caucasian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karen Logan - Caucasian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mary Nordstrum - Caucasian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nancy Ogden - Caucasian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Early Influences on the Concept of Work and Education**

The participants developed their concept of work either from their family of origin, extended family members or from other role models. There were four participants who developed their concept of work and career from their parents. For Francis Garrison, it was “always expected” that she should go to college. She was the second person in her family to obtain a college degree. She immediately enrolled in
graduate school and completed a master’s degree; however, she “didn’t know what [she] was going to do with the degree because [she] didn’t want to teach.”

For women like Debbie Edwards, whose parents graduated from high school but did not attend college, the major influence was the dialogue during her school years revolving around the limited mobility her father had because of his lack of credentials. Debbie shares, “I think it was always kind of a, almost a stigma for him that he didn’t go to college.” Her mother worked full-time and deeply resented the fact she could not be home with her children, particularly after school. For Debbie, attending college was assumed. She worked two and three jobs, took student loans and, along with family support, graduated from college. Debbie combined full-time work and motherhood for ten years like her mother had, but found her 60 hour work week and on-call status were negatively impacting herself and her family. Thus, she decided to seek part-time work with flexible hours. Like Debbie Edwards, neither of Pamela Quale’s parents had a college education, but “they made it very well known to [their children] that it was something that they very much desired for [them] and that they were more than willing to make sure that it was an opportunity that [they] had.”

Karen Logan also came from a family where it was expected that everyone would go to college. She was the youngest of five children and her mother did not work outside the home. However, as Karen explains, “believe me, she worked in the home, more extensively than I had ever imagined until I became a parent myself.” Because her father traveled extensively, in many ways Karen felt she came from a single-parent home as her mother maintained the home base. Because everyone in her family went to college, it
was assumed that she would go too. But, Karen quit college and this caused a furor in her family. She immediately entered the workforce, later returning to college as an adult and completing her bachelor’s degree in middle adulthood. Karen is uncertain if her work ethic came from her parents; however, as a child she had “chores around the house” and things that she was “required do to.”

There were three participants who identified with their fathers in terms of work and career. For example, Abigail Benson grew up in an academic family where both her parents were professionally trained teachers. Abigail’s mother stayed home to raise a family, but entered the workforce during the second World War. Abigail was surrounded by both professional women and “traditional homemaker-type” women, but, when she voiced to her father that she wanted to be a secretary or a nurse, he was adamant that Abigail was not to strive for traditional female vocations. Abigail comments, “certainly professional women were greatly admired in my family and there were lots of models in my little hometown.” Abigail followed in her mother’s path, obtained her college degree, married, stayed home and raised a family, returned to school to obtain a master’s degree, then entered the workforce full-time and held an academic appointment for 22 years before retiring and making a commitment to part-time professional work. While Abigail mirrored her mother’s pattern of stopping out of the workforce to raise a family, she did choose psychology, a non-traditional field of study for women. Abigail, from a young girl, always knew she wanted a career and shared:
I just could not imagine staying home and doing that kind of stuff all day and I knew that I wouldn’t be content to, and I’m not putting that down, but I was not going to be content to play bridge and do that kind of thing as my only activity. Volunteer work was wonderful, but I did that anyway . . . and that life wasn’t for me. I knew that I wanted to work, so I’ve always been career-oriented.

Both of Olivia Perkins’ parents are professionals and her mother worked in both part-time and full-time positions. Olivia identified more closely with her father, however, she credits both parents with having “a lot of influence” on her decision to attend college. There was an assumption that “the children are going to do a little bit better than the parents” so Olivia planned on having a “major career yet still have a husband and two children.” Ellen Fraley, the one participant for whom part-time work is a second job, credits both her parents with instilling a strong work ethic; however, it was her father who always worked a second job. Both her parents are professional educators and “because of that hard work” and her mother always instilling in her “that you don’t get anything for free and you need to work hard to get it” that Ellen holds a full-time and a part-time job.

There were three participants who identified with their mothers. For example, Ilene Jacobs came from a family that valued education, despite the fact her mother never attended college and was a full-time homemaker. Her father had a bachelor’s degree and was the sole source of support for the family. Ilene explains, “both of them were very interested in education and very focused on the fact that their children should be educated and go to college even though my mother didn’t have it herself.” Ilene stayed home full-time to raise her children and believes she “internalized” that “mothers stay home with their children” as modeled by her own mother. Ilene believes she would have
been a rarity of the times (the 60s) had she thought in terms of working full-time with children at home. Consequently, Ilene was almost 40 before she took her first paid, part-time position. When she graduated from high school, Ilene only envisioned marriage and children and nothing past that and comments, “I mean really, to be honest with you, I honestly did not think in terms of a career. I thought in terms of marriage and raising a family as a career.”

Betty Carter developed her concept of work from her mother who worked part-time while raising children. In fact, Betty does not “ever remember a time when [her mother] didn’t work.” With the divorce of her parents, Betty’s mother became the primary provider. Her mother launched a successful second career and Betty credits her with instilling a strong work ethic. Rachel Stokes, the youngest of six children, was raised by a single mother who worked to provide for their large family. This provided a strong role model for Rachel who worked full-time following graduation from college until she married. Rachel worked in a variety of temp and part-time jobs while raising her family. Eventually she went into business with her spouse until his pre-mature death.

There were nine participants who were influenced by other family members, mentors, employers, and their own experience in terms of work and career. For example, Helen Ippish came from a family that believed that no matter what you do, you “had to get an education,” despite the fact that both her parents only completed third grade. As one of six children, Helen’s oldest sister provided a critical role model when she went away to get a college education. Initially her mother “didn’t believe women should go on because all you’re going to do is have a family and that’s it;” however, when Helen
enrolled at college and was told she did not have enough money when she went to the window to pay, her mother quietly withdrew to a corner and began pulling money from various pockets and asked Helen to count it. Helen’s mother worked as a domestic and money was very scarce and the sacrifice enormous. This made a profound impression on Helen and she knew she must do her best. She almost quit college, but her mother encouraged her “to try it one more day.” Again, the enormous sacrifice the family made was an impetus to continue. Helen relates that both her parents worked hard and all six children were expected to do the same and comments, “it’s just in our genes, work, work, hard workers.” She worked multiple jobs during college and has continued that pattern most of her adult life, taking a temporary break when her children were born. With two master’s degrees, obtained while working full-time, Helen has held various teaching and administrative positions throughout her career. Because her part-time job was secondary to her full-time position, it needed to be flexible. With her recent retirement, Helen’s part-time job provides supplemental income for her retirement pay.

Cindy Dennison is one of six children and considers herself raised by an entire “village” as the values and morals instilled in her while growing up in a small midwestern town have remained with her throughout her life. Her older brother was “college-bound” and she simply followed his example by going to business school 75 miles from home following graduation from high school. For Cindy, this was an opportunity to experience the “big city” and have an adventure before getting married and “settling down.” Like Cindy, Gina Harvey credits her older sister with having a “big influence” on her in terms of choosing to attend college and choosing a career. Her sister
majored in psychology, so Gina took courses in high school in psychology and sociology because she knew she wanted to pursue some “facet of psychology or counseling” in college.

Neither of Janice Kloster’s parents attended college, yet she credits her parents with instilling a strong work ethic as she “grew up in a home where people always worked.” While the work was not the kind Janice wanted to do, she “was always well aware that one had to work to survive.” Janice’s mother was a “frustrated” housewife and as soon as children were old enough, started working part-time in the retail industry. There was an assumption on the part of Janice’s parents that you graduated from high school and immediately entered the workforce. Though she did not have familial support for attending college, mentors and other adults supported and nurtured a belief in her ability to succeed in her chosen career. Janice, however, was “very career-oriented” from a young age, showed signs of early success, and was able to get scholarships to fund her undergraduate and graduate degrees from an Ivy League university.

Leslie Morris credits role models in her home and, in particular, the first employer she had following high school graduation with instilling a strong work ethic and a desire to pursue higher education. Coming from a family of nine children, it was expected that you either found a job or went to college when you turned eighteen. Leslie elected to go to work, but her first employer insisted she agree to take a course at the local community college to enhance her technical writing skills. She met with success and eventually part-time enrollment became full-time enrollment as she worked her way through an undergraduate and graduate degree.
Mary Nordstrum developed her concept of work from her own workplace experience and the time period in which she grew up. Entering the workforce in the late 60s with the rise of the civil rights’ and women’s movements, it did not take Mary long to experience discrimination and to perceive that “women’s abilities were not being used to the fullest.” Mary’s father, who did not have a college education, did not support her wish to attend college despite the fact she had done well in the college preparatory curriculum. Instead, he insisted she attend secretarial school. It would be ten years before Mary enrolled in college and “innately” did what she wanted to do. Mary credits an aunt, whom she admired very much, with instilling a desire to get a college degree. Mary knew she would never be “satisfied” until she completed it.

Nancy Odgen credits a cousin whom she esteemed with instilling a desire to attend college. Her cousin attended a large state university and from an early age Nancy started talking about going to college, so it just never occurred to her that she would not attend college. While she was an average student in elementary school, Nancy completed high school in three years and entered college at the age of 16.

Quinta Reynolds credits her high school experience and a scholarship to attend a historically Black college as having a major impact on her decision to attend college. She also credits an academic dean from her undergraduate college for providing the support necessary for successfully applying for a fellowship to attend graduate school. Stella Taylor was greatly influenced by her grandfather who immigrated to America as a result of the Irish potato famine. Stella was raised on a farm with a large extended
family where she worked hard. As a result of her upbringing, she has always been goal-oriented.

The participant's concept of work and career was developed at a young age. Approximately one half of the participants mirrored the role of either one or both of their parents, while the others were influenced by siblings, other family members, or adult role models.

**Career versus Family Orientation**

There were eight participants who envisioned a career following graduation. For example, Debbie Edwards imagined she was going to “storm Broadway” and become a famous actress, dancer or singer. Changing her major, though, took her in a different direction. Career was a major focus for Debbie for a decade until her first child was born. Gina Harvey always envisioned herself as working and had specific ideas of moving up the hierarchy in a vertical career ladder. Gina completed a graduate degree and was actively engaged in her career in her twenties and did not marry until her thirties. With the birth of her children, however, Gina was not as “motivated” to stay on the career ladder.

Helen Ippish envisioned herself as going almost immediately into an administrative post following graduation from college. Instead she took a series of short-term and long-term teaching commitments, taking off a short period of time following the birth of each child, until she completed two graduate degrees, after which she took a professional staff position that lead to an administrative appointment. Helen maintained
a career focus throughout her adult life and even in retirement is working part-time in her current professional position.

Janice Kloster imagined she was going to be “this wonderful professional.” She was not “going to get married” and was not “going to have kids.” Janice set out to accomplish this goal by immediately enrolling in graduate school upon graduating from college. She took a break from graduate school to study abroad for a year as a Rhodes Scholar and returned to complete a graduate degree from an Ivy League school. For the next twelve years, Janice pursued her career as a self-employed professional, during which time she married and began a family. Janice returned for a second graduate degree and made a major career change ten years ago. During the 20 years of raising her children, Janice’s priorities have shifted. She comments, “my priorities have changed in terms of what’s most important to me in life, whereas I would have thought career was most important. I think family’s most important.”

Stella Taylor viewed herself following college graduation as “goal-oriented.” Her goal was to “climb the ladder of success in the hierarchy of some educational facility.” Because of her spouse’s frequent geographical moves, Stella worked at 11 different institutions over the past 22 years in addition to contracting freely for large corporations. Until securing her current part-time position, Stella worked full-time, often putting in 50+ hours a week. After Stella turned 45, however, her career-oriented focus “shifted totally.” She cannot explain “when it happened,” but at some point she became more focused on being certain her spouse finished his career and on spending more time in
pursuing leisure and volunteer activities with the possibility of getting involved politically.

In contrast to the participants who had a career-oriented focus as they entered adulthood, six of the participants were family-oriented. Cindy Dennison completed a year of business school, married and “settled down.” When in her thirties, however, Cindy, who had been full-time a mother and homemaker, decided to return to school. She comments, “I decided that maybe it was time for me to do something . . . I’ll just start taking maybe a class at a time and see how that works out.” For Cindy, attending college was “an awakening” and one thing lead to another. She began part-time work, then full-time work, during which time she completed a graduate degree. For Cindy, who envisioned her future as “nothing but getting married,” her life unfolded very differently.

Ilene Jacobs only imagined “marriage and children and nothing past that” when she graduated from high school. She comments, “I honestly did not think in terms of a career. I thought in terms of marriage and raising a family as a career.” Though she went to college, Ilene is quick to explain that in her generation, getting “trained for something” was a backup in “case you didn’t find anybody.” She is also quick to add, “I can’t believe I felt that way. . . I was an intelligent, educated young woman and I still felt that way.”

Leslie Morris knew she “wanted a family,” and if she wanted to work she could, but did not envision that her wages would support the family. Leslie had a high level of involvement in varied activities and it “really didn’t matter” whether it was paid or
unpaid. However, Leslie’s life unfolded differently than she anticipated. Because she married later in life, Leslie had an unexpected strong career focus in early adulthood, a focus that would shift after she married and began a family. Leslie comments on the shift:

You know, in the long run, I’m really glad it happened but at the time it was a tough decision to make because I had married later and I had my children later and half my life I’d been working full-time or more. It was just who I was. I was very driven and I had to rethink some choices... I don’t normally set my sights that I want to be X by Y time... I’m not driven in that way anymore. Maybe at one point in time I was, I’m sure, but that’s been a long, long time ago.

While Leslie views herself as making a decision to shift her career focus to “raising a family,” her family depends on her wages and she has to work. Leslie comments, “I don’t have the choice. The economics of the family don’t permit that. That’s probably the big difference.”

Mary Nordstrum imagined either “getting your education” or “being married.” She did not think specifically about having children, it was just assumed “that your life would unfold that way.” Mary married and had children, yet she was “never satisfied” until she “went ahead” and did what she “knew innately” she wanted to do, obtain a college degree and pursue a professional life.

Quinta Reynolds “always wanted to go to college” but she “never expected to do anything” with her degree. She simply wanted the “experience of being a college-educated woman” and expected she would “graduate and get married... and have children.” Quinta’s life unfolded quite differently as she never married. Though she did
not have "a professional dream," Quinta has led a full professional life, in addition to being a single parent.

Rachel Stokes attended secretarial school immediately following high school graduation and worked full-time until she married. While rearing her children, Rachel held various temporary and part-time positions. She completed her bachelor's degree in her thirties and Rachel felt a strong sense of responsibility to serve as a role model, particularly to her granddaughter.

There were four participants who imagined both a professional and a family commitment in their early twenties. Abigail Benson knew she was "going to work" but "didn't know what that would be," but she also knew she "wanted to get married and wanted to have a family." Abigail's life unfolded almost exactly as she imagined it. She married and started a family, but pursued graduate school while they were young. After raising her family, Abigail made a long-term, full-time professional commitment (22 years) to her profession. Even in retirement, Abigail plans to "continue to work as long as I can." She also wants to continue involvement with her family, especially her grandchildren, along with community activities.

Betty Carter "always knew or assumed" that she would be "married and have children." She comments, "that was just always part of the equation, but I always thought I would work. I was one of those people that tried to do ... everything."

Attaining goals is important to Betty and it validates her as a person. She recalls that in college she planned to "have a BMW, a gardener and a nanny" by the time she was 30. In actuality, she has managed 500 gardeners professionally and does not need a gardener,
a BMW is no longer on the top of her list, and she does not “want somebody else raising” her children. While her personal life has unfolded the way she imagined, her professional life has not. Betty never envisioned part-time work and stepping off the vertical career ladder she was pursuing.

For Olivia Perkins there was an assumption that she was “going to emulate” her female role model, her mother, who had a “husband and a job and two children.” Only she set “higher goals for herself” as there was the expectation that children would “do a little bit better than the parents.” Olivia planned to have a “major career” yet still have a husband and two children. She never thought, however, about how she was going to “do all this.” While she envisioned herself as a “career woman,” the family commitment was more hazy. Olivia has remained single and made a significant investment in terms of her career; however, she would “never have guessed” she would find herself embracing her unmarried status at age thirty.

When Pamela Quale graduated from college, she was focused on starting her professional career and beginning her marriage. As she and her spouse looked to the future in terms of a family and a home of their own, Pamela was contributing financially to “help provide those things” for themselves and their future family. Pamela found that marriage and raising a family were not “as simple” as she thought. She concluded that her children needed “a mother that is home some of the time” and did not need a “mother that’s a full-time worker.” Additionally, Pamela knew she could not stay home all the time because she found it “intellectually stifling.” Her professional aspirations revolved around teaching and did not envision obtaining a graduate degree; however, Pamela
completed a graduate degree that ultimately lead her out of the classroom to a related career.

For one of the participants, the idea of career or family was vague. Francis Garrison did not imagine anything beyond going to college which she was “programmed to do.” She did not have any particular idea what she wanted to do as far as professional work and figured she could make a commitment to marriage “if it came along,” but it was not a particular goal. At that point, however, she did not want to have children. Francis graduated as valedictorian from high school, yet never received any guidance about career options. As she shares, “it was all pretty vague to me.” Even after completing a graduate degree, Francis did not know what she “was going to do with the degree.” She worked in various jobs full-time for almost a decade until her first child was born. Unable to find satisfactory daycare, Francis stayed home to raise her growing family. After her oldest child reached junior high age, Francis began working part-time. Francis perceives that the various positions she had held do not “add up to a career,” especially in terms of a specific well-defined career path. She further comments on how her life unfolded, “I hadn’t imagined it, so it just unfolded on its own.”

Thus, slightly less than half the participants had an initial career orientation, while a third of the participants were family oriented and did not plan to pursue a career. Slightly less than a quarter of the participants envisioned combining career and family commitment. The initial orientation may or may not have changed as their lives unfolded.
**Purpose of Part-time Work**

There were eight participants who were working full-time prior to taking their current part-time position. Abigail Benson sought part-time work following retirement from a full-time academic appointment. She taught part-time for three years immediately following retirement and was invited to serve on an ad hoc committee. As a result of serving on the committee, Abigail was asked to coordinate the program that was developed. For Abigail work is a “very organizing” part of her life. It is important for her to be able to do something that is “productive and very useful to the community.” It has also allowed her the opportunity to “do something fresh . . . and creative.” As a result, Abigail is “pretty satisfied” with her work but with a view of what could be improved.

Betty Carter worked full-time in a fast-paced, professionally challenging position until her second child was born. She began to “itch” for a professional connection, six months after quitting her full-time position. Betty taught part-time before committing to a permanent part-time professional position. Being very “goal oriented,” Betty views her part-time position as “good vehicle” for setting herself up professionally in a new city. Concurrently with her part-time work at the institution, Betty also serves as a consultant for a limited number of clients. For Betty, work fits “around” her life and that is very important to her. She only takes on projects that are important to her and will work for her children and her spouse. Her part-time job means that she can be with her children and “still have a professional presence.” Betty comments: “it gives me the best of both
worlds and it helps me to grow.” Thus, she views it as a win-win situation because she has exceeded the expectations of the department and at the same time her work has been good for her “ego.”

Cindy Dawson held a full-time position for the past 18 years at another institution before making a commitment to part-time work. She sought part-time work as means to providing care for a family member who was hospitalized. Cindy was able to continue her professional presence and finds her work deeply satisfying in terms of working with students. She gets a “high” from helping others and consequently loves her work and feels amply rewarded when students succeed.

Debbie Edwards was working full-time, but was looking specifically for part-time professional work in order to “be home more.” For Debbie, her job means she can stay “in touch” with the business and professional community; it means contacts, networking, and maintaining communication with other professionals. Because she works in a department that addresses community and business needs, Debbie feels positive about her work and finds it satisfying to “see a project or a training program go from start to finish” and know that she was part of making it happen.

Leslie Morris held a full-time position before committing to her current part-time positions at the institution. She sought work at the college because she had a “wonderful experience” as a former student, she “loved the atmosphere” which was very “energy driven, and the people were very nice. Leslie’s role is to help students successfully navigate the system and connect them with the program and services they may benefit from. For Leslie, her job means “giving back” and helping people find direction in their
lives, in addition to providing an income for her family. For the most part, Leslie feels good about the work she does.

Nancy Ogden was working full-time before taking her current part-time position. Nancy is an involuntary part-time worker but had been unable to find full-time work in her field. Nancy considers her current position ideal professionally. She reports directly to a vice-president and considers her role vital to the institution. Nancy’s work is “very important” to her and, having been the “victim of funding cuts,” she likes the security her current position offers her. Though she has a “wonderful family [and] a terrific son,” Nancy bases a lot of her “self-worth” on her job. Because her role is vital to the organization, Nancy “feels good” about her work.

Pamela Quale was teaching full-time before making a commitment to part-time work. She wanted to change professional roles and was specifically looking for part-time work because she still had a “son and daughter at home.” For Pamela, part-time work has provided a “nice balance between meeting the needs” of her family and her personal need for “intellectual stimulation.” Her professional role requires that she assist others in obtaining the resources they need. Pamela’s desire is to “be of assistance to other people,” thus she finds her work rewarding and fulfilling. However, her work, “first and foremost . . . [is] an opportunity to be intellectually stimulated.”

Stella Taylor has worked full-time at 11 universities in 22 years as her spouse took professional transfers. This is the first part-time position she has held and she actively sought it as a means for providing more leisure and volunteer time for herself. For Stella, this represents a major shift in her focus. Being very service-oriented,
however, her role as a “helping” professional is providing “fulfillment” and “a lot of inner peace.”

There were three participants who held down more than one part-time position. Francis Garrison came to the institution as a result of her spouse’s relocation. She currently has three part-time positions at the institution; two part-time professional positions and a part-time faculty position. When asked what her jobs mean to her, Francis replied: “all it means is, all three put together, they mean about $17,000 a year which we have to have to survive.” Francis feels her abilities are underutilized and she could do “significantly more” in her professional staff position, however, she enjoys her teaching and the “opportunities to use process education” in the classroom. Despite her enjoyment of teaching, Francis considers teaching a “dead end” and an “interesting sideline,” which reflects her perception that she would not be “hired as a full-time person.”

Karen Logan also holds three part-time jobs concurrently. She currently teaches part-time and holds a part-time professional staff position at the institution. Additionally, she teaches part-time at another institution which she has done for the past 19 years. Karen was recruited to teach part-time at the institution and later added the part-time professional position. All three of her positions allow her to have “frequent contact with students,” however, Karen believes her greatest asset and biggest strength is her teaching ability. While she loves her work, the autonomy and flexibility of being part-time and being her “own boss,” Karen has found that she is working 50+ hours a week and it is infringing on her personal life. As such, Karen is currently re-evaluating her career goals
with the possibility of working one, full-time job, in an effort to "channel" her best qualities and abilities into one position. [During the course of this study Karen resigned from her two part-time positions at the institution and made a full-time commitment to teaching at the other institution.]

Olivia Perkins has two part-time jobs at the institution, both professional staff positions. The various jobs have meant experience and an educational process for Olivia as she is seeking to facilitate a career shift to higher education. As a professional in a student support position, heavy computer usage is required. With limited exposure to computers in her former career, this has provided an opportunity for Olivia to get in up to her "elbows" and has meant a lot in terms of "confidence building" in regards to technology usage. Olivia knew nothing about higher education and little about computers nine months ago, thus, has found her work challenging and "feels really good about it." [During the course of this study Olivia made a full-time commitment to the institution in a professional staff position.]

There were three participants who were unemployed prior to making a part-time work commitment. Ilene Jacobs, who completed her college degree while raising a family, took a five year hiatus when a prior part-time job deteriorated, to launch her children into adulthood. During that period of time she was heavily involved in volunteerism with her church, playing bridge, being on a bowling league, and sewing. Boredom with her life and a sense that she was wasting her talents motivated Ilene to develop her career. In retrospect, Ilene perceives that having a spouse with a professional income had a "negative affect" on her career aspirations because her income
was not needed for economic survival of the family. In her 40s, however, Ilene went through a crisis when she realized that “all the good things” were behind her and she had “nothing to look forward to.” Thus, she began working on a consulting basis for the institution and eventually was offered a permanent part-time position. For the past six years, Ilene has been heavily involved in amassing and developing computer expertise in numerous software packages as a vehicle to display and manipulate large amounts of data. Ilene works extensively on projects that excite her and provide “reinforcement” of her intellectual capabilities, something she does not get from her children or spouse. It is important for Ilene to be “productive” and to accomplish goals. The teamwork and working relationships she has developed with professional colleagues provides an important “social” link for her. Though her spouse has retired, Ilene has “no intention of leaving” because she is really just “at the beginning” of her career. The institution has offered to upgrade her position to full-time status, but Ilene declined. She does not need the benefits and does not want to decrease the six weeks of vacation she takes each year.

Quinta Reynolds was unemployed after her prior part-time position was eliminated due to budget cuts. While looking for employment she decided to take a course at the college and saw a notice on a bulletin board for a leadership program looking for volunteers. Participating as a volunteer provided a professional contact that lead her to her current part-time professional position where Quinta has heavy student contact. Working with students in a “helping” capacity is “very important work” that Quinta has developed a love for because students’ needs are so great.
Rachel Stokes had been unemployed prior to making a commitment to a part-time professional position. She sought employment as a vehicle for reconnecting with life following the pre-mature death of her spouse. Rachel works extensively with data, but also has student contact primarily through electronic medium. Though she had part-time status, Rachel was working more than full-time hours, an arrangement she did not like. Her job was meaningful to her and she felt good about the work and her contribution to the department, however, she became burned-out and resigned during the period of this study. Rachel has no plans to return to the workforce, but if she did it would be in temporary, non-professional capacities.

There were two participants who worked full-time in a primary professional position and their part-time professional position is a secondary job for them. Ellen Fraley has consistently worked a second job throughout her professional life. Ellen first began working part-time at the institution in a teaching role and later transitioned to her current part-time professional staff position. Ellen has direct student contact, but also serves in a leadership/coordinator role. Her part-time position means primarily “extra income” for Ellen, however, she really enjoys her work and finds the variety challenging.

Helen Ippish also has consistently held a full-time position, along with a part-time position throughout her career. When she began her part-time work at the institution, she was working full-time at another institution. Though she has been in her current part-time position for the past nine years, Helen recently retired from her full-time position and now only works her current part-time position. With her impending retirement, Helen was specifically looking for a position that would give her an opportunity to
explore new things and to find something she might enjoyed doing in her retirement years. Her position has heavy direct student contact and Helen likes the people-connection and the helping role. Her work stimulates her, provides a focus to her day and keeps her intellectually stimulated.

There were two participants who attended school prior to making a part-time work commitment. Janice Kloster returned to school for a second graduate degree when she was no longer able to pursue career. She viewed her part-time position as a “very easy transitional way” to combine her prior career with her new focus but did not envision the position as leading to “any kind of profession.” However, ten years later, Janice had made a significant investment with her academic division and a second career. Her position requires heavy student contact and Janice “enjoys tremendously working with students, helping them formulate their goals and how to attain those goals.” With her first career, recognition of her success was of “utmost importance,” however, it is now more important that Janice feels good about what she does rather than getting “credence” from other people. [During the course of the study, Janice’s position was upgraded to a full-time position and she made a commitment to full-time work.]

Mary Nordstrum recently completed a graduate degree which she pursued after her children were grown. During her graduate work, Mary completed an internship at the institution and pursued both full-time and part-time professional openings following graduation. She made a commitment to a part-time professional position that has given her “personal freedom” to travel and pursue additional schooling. She has direct student
contact and derives a “great deal of personal satisfaction” from knowing that she is helping someone.

Thus, slightly less than half of the study participants were engaged in full-time work prior to making a commitment to part-time work. The remaining half were either working multiple part-time jobs, unemployed, working full-time in addition to part-time or attending school prior to their current part-time position.

Institutional Culture and Part-Time Work

There were thirteen participants who perceive that the institution is a positive place to work in general. Abigail, Debbie, Francis, Nancy, and Karen use such phrases as a “great place to work,” “very nice culture,” an “unusually nice” place to work, where the employees function as a “family” and, in general, are “very nice,” “responsive,” “really wonderful,” “remarkably sane and professional” to describe the general work environment. Nancy perceives that “everyone seems to be happy here” and credits the “salary levels” as having a lot to do with her perception of employee satisfaction. As a part-time professional, this is the “best money” Nancy has made professionally. As such, she perceives that the institution has “a very satisfied staff.” She also perceives that the institution is careful in its hiring practices and hires individuals that will “get along.” In contrast, Abigail perceives that the pay is significantly less when compared to the full-time rate and, as such, interprets this to mean that part-time employees are not highly regarded by administration.
Three participants who perceive the institution as a positive place to work voiced a strong desire to work in an educational setting. Ilene described working in an educational facility as her "favorite place" to be, while Gina enjoys the "atmosphere" and the "type of professionals" that work in an educational setting. And Janice cannot "envision working in any other environment." Janice, along with Betty, also describe the setting as "efficient," and being run more like a "business" than other educational institutions.

Cindy Dennison, who came from a four-year university setting, has found the community college philosophy "totally different" and very student-centered. Not only has she found the philosophies different, the student population is markedly different from the one she worked with previously. Cindy believes that, across all divisions, the institution has found the secret to supporting students — working closely with them to direct and counsel them throughout their entire educational experience. While Cindy resonates with the community college philosophy, Debbie Edwards likes the community's positive perception of the college. She enjoys going out in the community and working with people who "already think so highly" of the institution for which she works.

There were five participants that found the institution, in general, to be a negative environment in which to work. For example, Leslie Morris who was a former student at the institution, perceives that, in general, "there isn't that positive energy that there used to be." While the institution is "very innovative and future-oriented" there is a lot of "apathy." Leslie finds it discouraging and difficult to find positive people who are
not “cynical.” She perceives that administration has “poisoned” the minds of some colleagues with the idea that part-time employees are “dispensable.” Leslie perceives that administration “speaks out of one side of their mouth” equity but when it comes down to it, “it’s just lip service.” She has tried many different approaches over the years but feels “there is no recourse” regarding the “discriminatory” practices that continue.

While Olivia Perkins considers the institution, in general, to be a fun, frustrating and political place to work, the “political stuff” and all the “rules” and exceptions to the rules, particularly frustrate Olivia. She describes it as “being on a tight rope all the time.” For example, “you can take a couple of steps forward and then, at any moment, you’re doing the wrong thing.” She has also found that trying to move forward on a project may result in “stepping on someone else’s toes.” When that happens, the individuals may get upset and refuse to be supportive on future projects. Olivia does not like to “worry” about whether disagreeing with someone will come back later to haunt her at a later date.

Janice Kloster perceives that there “is a real distinction” at the institution “between those who have full-time jobs, and if you’re not one of those, you’re not treated with the same respect” by the college-at-large. From Janice’s perspective, the institution “uses and abuses part-timers.” She believes the institution primarily uses part-time workers as a financial strategy. And if she were to “walk away” the institution would find somebody else willing to work part-time. Janice comments: “the college atmosphere is one of really supporting the full-timers, and supporting, but using, the part-timers.”
Karen Logan also perceives that part-timers are not highly regarded by the institution in general. That is “troublesome” for Karen because of the large numbers of part-time employees and the institution’s dependence on them. As such, she perceives that if the part-timers quit, the institution would face a serious crisis. Stella Taylor describes part-time employees as “isolated” within the institutional setting. She perceives part-timers having various work schedules that often include fewer, but longer work days. She comments: “I think we are coming, fulfilling our seven, eight, or ten hours a day and leaving with no outstanding involvement” in the college family. Stella believes that part-time employees need “more socialization amongst the divisions, so they would feel free to call someone and ask their advice.” While part-time players are “good team players,” Stella believes their creativity is not being utilized. And Quinta Reynolds perceives that the institution is the “worst place” to be part-time employee, and indeed, she wishes she was working elsewhere. To her knowledge, it is the “only place in the world” that “does not provide benefits for people who are part-time.” Quinta comments: “working at [this institution] is terrible. I have never felt so unhappy about a position, being in a position. It’s like you’re nothing... when you get hired, you don’t get a name thing, you don’t get a booklet, you don’t get anything.” This has resulted in Quinta feeling “unappreciated as a part-time employee.” In general, Quinta perceives that administration “doesn’t value part-time workers.”

None of the participants perceived a negative environment within their immediate work area. For example, Abigail, Cindy, Debbie, Janice, Karen, Leslie, Olivia, and Quinta used the following phrases to describe how they are perceived within their
immediate department: “a person of good will” who has creativity and imagination “to get the job done,” regarded “pretty well,” regarded “quite well” by others, regarded as “professional” and “dedicated,” regarded as “personable” and someone who gets the job done, regarded with “respect” in terms of capability and intelligence, regarded “highly” at the institution, regarded as “hard worker,” regarded “very well.”

Abigail, Betty, Debbie, Ellen, Ilene, and Quinta used words such as “felt a lot of support” from director and vice-president, found “very supportive folk,” “very supportive” director, “pretty close-knit group,” director “very supportive,” everyone is “very cooperative” and “friendly,” everyone is “really terrific,” “people care for each other” personally and professionally, to describe their perception of support within their immediate department. While Leslie Morris perceives the college, in general, to be a negative work environment, within her specific department, Leslie considers herself lucky to work with “quality individuals” who are top notch. The colleagues in her immediate office environment have always treated her very nicely. Leslie perceives that she has strong credibility as she often gets referrals and is consulted on professional matters. In regards to the perception of faculty, staff, and students of a part-timer’s professionalism, Leslie has found that students do not differentiate.

Janice Kloster, who also perceives the college, in general, to be a negative work environment for part-time professionals, has found her immediate work environment that was newly remodeled to be a “very warm environment,” conducive to her work with students. She perceives she is regarded with “respect” in terms of her capabilities, intelligence, and what she brings to the college. And Karen Logan has had a “good
experience” in her immediate work area and feels fortunate to work with people who are supportive.

Francis Garrison shares office space with employees not in her department simply because they had a “cubicle available.” While they are “nice people,” there is little “professional-type interaction” because they “talk a different language.” Francis does not know how others regard her professionally as she “gets very little feedback.” In general, she perceives that her contribution as part-time faculty is valued and, as a professional staff person believes that many people assume she is a full-time. Francis has not experienced any differential treatment because she is part-time.

Nancy Ogden works independently as her supervisor is in another building. Nancy finds the arrangement “very satisfying” as she does not like to be micro-managed. Nancy, because of her oversight role, finds that employees often view her visits with a “little trepidation” yet she is able to have a “calming influence” on people as she tends to be a “big diffuser of conflict.” In general, Nancy does not perceive any problem with how part-time workers are regarded by students, faculty and staff. Nancy is up-front about her part-time status because of the nature of her job. However, Nancy also lets people know that she works “directly for the vice-president” as a strategy for enforcing program requirements.

Within her immediate department, after a period of adjustment, Gina has found everyone to be “really terrific.” She believes she has an ideal situation as she has a 9-month position that enables her to spend the summers with her school-aged children. Gina does not get “a lot of feedback” so she is not certain how others regard her. She
hopes she is viewed as responsible, with good “follow-through skills.” Additionally, she does not know how part-time professionals are viewed in general by faculty, staff and students.

Within her department, Helen Ippish has found her colleagues friendly and caring. She is often called in with little notice, but wonders if she is really appreciated. Helen does receive email messages stating that her flexibility is appreciated. She has found that her part-time status does not matter to students as long as you meet their needs. Faculty, on the other hand, do not necessarily come to her if they have a question. They are more likely to seek out a full-time staff member with whom they feel more “comfortable.” As a whole, Helen perceives that she is valued by faculty, students, and staff.

Olivia has found her immediate work environment to be “exciting” and fast-paced and she is amused when others complain about the work pace because she has found it significantly less stressful than in her prior career. She would like to think that others regard her as a “hard worker.” Colleagues are more likely, though, to question why she is pursuing work in a higher education setting given her professional background and training. Additionally, Olivia has found that students “don’t know the difference” and “don’t care” if you are part-time, provided you can “help them.” Olivia has had so little contact with faculty she is unaware of how they regard part-timers. And she has never experienced any negative responses from colleagues. In fact, Olivia sometimes does not think of herself as part-time because she works two part-time jobs and has not really paid attention to how people regard her as a part-time employee.
While Quinta Reynolds considers the institution to be the "worst place" to be a part-time employee, she also considers it a wonderful place to work because she has a private office with the latest technology in terms of computers. While the "policies of the college in terms of its part-time employees" are negative, Quinta has found working in her immediate office area "great" as her director is "very supportive." Quinta perceives that she is regarded "very well," particularly by students and that her contribution and experience are "valued" by her department.

Stella Taylor, who perceives that part-time professionals are isolated, has "no idea" how she is regarded professionally by others. She thinks she is "well respected" and students like her. In general, however, Stella believes that part-timers are highly regarded by faculty, students, and staff, particularly because ninety percent of the students deal with part-timers and do not know the difference.

In summary, approximately three quarters of the study participants consider the institution a positive place to work. In contrast, one quarter of the participants consider the institution a negative work environment. It should be noted, however, that none of the participants perceive their immediate work environment to be negative.

Perceptions of Differences and Similarities

When asked to describe similarities and differences between full-time and part-time work, the participants gave a variety of responses.
Similarities

There were three participants who view full-time and part-time professionals the same. For example, Ellen Fraley perceives that part-timers and full-timers both have a responsibility and they both work to their fullest capacity to complete their assignments, though Ellen, who works full-time at another institution, states that she gives priority to her full-time job over her part-time job if she has to make a judgment call. Mary Nordstrom perceives that the job descriptions are “pretty much the same” between full-time and part-time professionals, at least in her division. Regarding similarities, Janice Kloster perceives that full-timers also “feel neglected in many areas;” such, as pay, benefits package and workload in particular. Leslie Morris perceives that full-timers and part-timers are similar in terms of their numbers at the institution. She also cited equal educational credentials between part-time and full-time workers. Though she cited differences, Nancy Ogden perceives that in many ways part-time faculty and staff are not viewed differently. She attended an open forum and expressed her view on lack of sick leave for part-time employees and felt that the “concerns of part-time people were very well supported by the whole group” which consisted of both full-time and part-time workers.

Differences

There were thirteen areas of perceived structural differences reported by the participants. There were six participants who cited pay as a difference. Abigail Benson, who earns less than half her former full-time hourly rate, believes the pay for part-time
professionals is "miserable" and a "disgrace." For Betty Carter "pay is an issue" as she perceives the pay scale for faculty and staff is not competitive. She comments: "you really have to be committed, if that’s what you want to do." Janice Kloster spent a lot of time early in her tenure at the institution, doing research and working with a committee not officially sanctioned by the institution, trying to "get the college to recognize that part-time [professionals] were equal to full-time [professionals] in terms of the kinds of responsibilities" they held, and, therefore, should be on the same pay scale. Janice and the committee were successful in that regard because the part-time professionals in her category of workers are now on the same pay scale as full-timers, however, they do not have the opportunity for promotion and movement up the scale. Janice comments: "I’ve been here 10 years and I stay at the lowest end of the pay scale . . . I’m at 80% of the mid-point. My [full-time] counterparts are at 100+ of the mid-point."

Pay is also a "real sore subject" with Leslie Morris. Even though she receives "verbal accolades" for an outstanding year, the "system doesn’t acknowledge" what the part-timer should be getting. Leslie comments:

There is no way to move up, off of dead center bottom and that’s wrong. Everybody else gets incentives. We had the levy and accreditation. I worked on that. I gave my part. I give my part everyday and then some and I still am never recognized. . . Just because I’m part-time doesn’t mean I just give part of me in terms of the service that I provided, and information that I hold or whatever else it may be . . . I’m very appreciative of the base pay I get. It’s a very good salary. The problem is that there is no way to move upward within that scale and that’s the wrongness of it. I could do jack, I could be wonderful, it doesn’t matter. Everybody will still always get the same, we are treated the same, and that’s not right.
There were six participants who perceived the major difference between full-time and part-time involved not receiving “all the benefits.” Quinta Reynolds perceives the institution is the “worst place to be a part-time employee” and if she had her “druthers” she would work “someplace else as a part-time[r].” To her knowledge, “it’s the only place in the world that does not provide benefits for people who are part-time.” Janice Kloster comments: “there are no benefits whatsoever,” although there is prorated holiday pay which she refers to as “throwing a few bones” to the part-timers. And Nancy Ogden has found that not being eligible for sick leave has been a “wild card” that negatively impacts her paycheck unexpectedly. She considers vacation a “planned” leave, but sick leave is not. Both Gina Harvey and Debbie Edwards were aware they would not qualify for the same benefits that full-timers get, but it has not been an issue because their spouse provides medical coverage. On the other hand, Olivia Perkins was negatively impacted when she was unable to get medical insurance, however, when she left full-time work to seek a career change, she expected that she would not qualify for benefits as a part-time employee.

Abigail Benson and Debbie Edwards cite the inability to have direct deposit as a difference between full-time and part-time. While Abigail perceives not having direct deposit of her wages a minor “inconvenience,” Debbie considers not having direct deposit a barrier for her, particularly because she does work part-time. On payday, she has to drive to the institution with her children, pick up her check, and take it to the credit union. Debbie does not consider direct deposit a “major” benefit and believes she should be “able to take advantage” of it.
Not having an employee identification card was also cited as a difference between full-time and part-time. Leslie Morris perceives that not having an employee ID as differential treatment. Simply because she is part-time, Leslie “cannot have a picture ID to use the library or... other facilities.” While Mary Nordstrum anticipated she would not get medical benefits, she was surprised at not getting an employee ID card. And Quinta Reynolds comments: “when you get hired you don’t get a name thing, you don’t get a booklet, you don’t get anything. You get nothing.” Janice Kloster, however, was persistent in regards to get an employee ID card. She comments:

I pushed and pushed and pushed and found the person that would make me an ID card, but for the longest time I wasn’t allowed to have an ID card. I wasn’t a student, I wasn’t a faculty, I wasn’t a staff, so to get books from the library was difficult.

In addition to Quinta, Janice also cites being excluded from new employee orientation as a difference between full-time and part-time at the institution. Janice was negatively impacted because she did not participate in a new employee orientation, nor did she meet with a “human resource person.” Therefore, she was “never told that [she] had the ability to put [money] into a retirement [account].”

Janice Kloster and Leslie Morris perceive having to park in the student lot and not being able to park in the faculty/staff parking lot as a difference. Janice comments: “my secretary has to apply for me to get a parking pass every quarter so that if I’m asked to show it, I’m not treated as a student in terms of the rate.” Janice further comments: “therefore, I’m struggling with students to find available space.” And Leslie considers having to park in the student parking lot as a discriminatory practice. Though she is okay
with parking in the student lot, not being able to get a parking pass and paying double what the full-timers pay to park annually, she considers wrong.

Ilene Jacobs and Janice Kloster perceives a difference between full-time and part-time in regards to promotion. Ilene considers it a potential barrier that part-timers have the inability to move to a higher level without having to make a commitment to full-time work and a 60 hour week. And Janice views the ineligibility for promotion as directly tied to staying on the lowest end of the pay scale. Though Debbie Edwards considers the pay good “for a part-time employee, not receiving written notice of her pay issue was problematic for her. Despite not being eligible for promotion, Debbie would like the opportunity to set goals and know what the expectations are and then determine what her raise should be. Debbie found it irksome to have to “look it up on the Web site” and to have no idea how it was calculated. Thus, ineligibility for performance appraisal and promotion was viewed as a difference.

Closely tied to performance appraisals and promotion is exclusion from specific professional development opportunities on-campus. Leslie Morris has encountered institutional practices that have excluded her based solely on her status as a part-time professional. She perceives an environment that is “very anti part-time.” There has been some change in attitude in recent years that has supported inclusion of part-timers in various sponsored activities; however, until recently, “it was very blatantly written” that only full-time employees could participate in certain activities. Leslie comments: “when you’re at a professional staff level and you have the same or more qualifications than your counterparts” it is important to be acknowledged and included. Pamela Quale also
perceives a difference in access to professional development between full-time and part-time professionals. For example, she cannot attend conferences that require out-of-town travel because that has been “reserved” for full-timers. This has not created a barrier for Pamela because, though she considers herself a professional person who is interested in being professionally knowledgeable, she does not consider herself a “career person” who is actively pursuing upward mobility and a full-time commitment. Thus, not having access to the networking and professional contacts via involvement in professional organizations, is not an issue for her. And Leslie, along with Nancy and Mary, consider it discriminatory that they are not eligible to take a class free and has to pay “full fare” unlike their full-time counterpart. Nancy also assumed her child would be able to attend free when it came time to go to college, however, Nancy does not get that “benefit package” and it has been “frustrating” for her.

Mary Nordstrum and Pamela Quale perceives there is a difference between full-time and part-time in terms of formal and informal communication practices. Mary considers it “absurd” that part-timers are not sent The President’s Bulletin which is the official informational piece of the institution. Very often she finds she is not getting important information she needs to function in her position. She finds it is not unusual that she is not informed about decisions made on her day off. It is particularly disconcerting when students inform her of a major change in policy. Mary believes the responsibility of keeping her informed as a professional should not be based on her employment status. Pamela comments:
I’m not always included in staff meetings because I’m the one who stays and watches the desk and sometimes I feel a little omitted from the professional loop and it’s like, you’re the expendable person because you’re not full-time. All the full-time people have to be knowledgeable about what’s going on but I guess my personal opinion is I’m here enough of the time that if I’m not knowledgeable it negatively impacts on how we as a group function and how I personally can function with that group.

There were six participants who perceive that the difference between full-time and part-time workers involves a lower status of the latter. For example, Debbie Edwards perceives there is a “perception problem” regarding part-timers. She feels part-timers are perceived as “not as dedicated” or “not being a real person.” If you are a part-timer, you “don’t really count.” Gradually, over the past four years, Debbie has developed her belief that being part-time has a “stigma” attached. For Janice Kloster, the difference between full-time and part-time professionals involves the perception by full-timers that part-timers have not paid their dues. She perceives that full-timers believe that once an individual has “arrived at full-time” status, they are “superior” in lots of ways, thus, part-timers may not “get the respect” they deserve. Janice perceives that the “rift” between full-timers and part-timers “boils down to communication.” While the college “likes to affirm” that communication is going on, Janice believes it is not. While Karen Logan has not experienced it personally, she perceives that part-timers do not get the respect they deserve. And Leslie Morris perceives that part-timers are not given the recognition due them for their high levels of productivity. However, she is most troubled by the way part-timers are spoken about and referred to. She finds it particularly difficult to handle because her research and reading has shown that the productivity level of part-timers to be “very high” because they are not “wasting time.”
She comments: “you have a job to do, you do it and get it done and everybody’s always in awe of that, and yet... they don’t give you the recognition nor the compensation for it.”

There were five participants who cited a difference between full-timers and part-timers in the area of responsibilities and committee involvement. Gina Harvey perceives that full-timers are “involved in more committees and projects” than part-timers. In her prior full-time position at the institution, Gina served on a lot of different committees and found their was “more room... for creativity.” Helen Ippish also perceives that full-timers have “more duties” and responsibility for committees and reports. Pamela Quale has experienced that there are “certain responsibilities that are designated to full-time people” that would never be designated to her, as a part-time professional, because of the “nature of the responsibility.” For example, as a part-time professional, Pamela would never be given the responsibility of serving on state-wide committees. This policy “bothers” Pamela, however, “intellectually” she recognizes why the institution has set this standard.

Quinta Reynolds has experienced “some leeway in responsibilities” as a part-timer. She assumes most, but not all, of the responsibilities of a full-timer. Olivia Perkins perceives that the responsibilities that fall to the part-timers are the things that “other people don’t want to do.” There is an expectation by the full-time employees in her department that the “part-timers will pickup the slack” while they take an “hour and a half for lunch.” Mary Nordstrum perceives that the part-time professionals are being underutilized and that there is an overall perception by the college in general that part-
timers are not considered “quite as professional” as full-timers. Stella Taylor perceives that part-timers are more “student-oriented” because they are not involved in outside commitments. And Ilene Jacobs believes that part-timers are more “focused” on their job and “free” actually do the kind of work they want because they have fewer outside commitments.

In summary, a small minority of participants saw no difference between full-time and part-time roles. The majority of participants reported at least thirteen areas of perceived differential treatment that negatively impacts professional women working part-time.

Part-Timers’ Belief of How They are Perceived by Full-Timers

There were five participants who perceived that their full-time counterparts view the part-time role with equal respect and appreciation. For example, Abigail Benson perceives that part-timers are “treated with equal respect” within her department. Additionally, across-campus, many individuals do not know her position is part-time and have shown acceptance, appreciation, and respect for the program she coordinates. Abigail feels “very good” about being perceived as “an equal” by her full-time counterpart.

Karen Logan perceives that her full-time colleagues “appreciate” what she does; however, one time a full-time colleague voiced that Karen did not understand the full-time situation at the college which Karen interpreted as meaning that she [Karen] “didn’t do a whole lot” as a part-timer.
Nancy Odgen has not been “treated any differently” from her full-time counterparts in terms of staff meetings and budgetary concerns. They are very inclusive and her departmental concerns are equally considered. It has had a positive impact on Nancy and she considers it “great” that she fully participates in meetings.

Olivia Perkins was “surprised actually at how highly regarded the part-time role is by the full-time [professionals],” despite the part-timer being viewed as the “clean-up” person. She perceives that the part-time professional is viewed as “being equal” to the full-timers. If there is something the full-timer forgot to do, there is an “assumption that the part-time [professional] can do it. This view has been very positive for Olivia and she feels the full-timers “trust” her.

Pamela Quale feels she is treated as much a part of the team as the full-timers are which is one of the things she likes about the environment. She feels they “count” on her to carry her load. Pamela is aware of other part-timers who are not considered “equals.”

There were five participants who perceived that part-timers are viewed by full-timers as a back-up, the extra help, and the gap filler for unwanted tasks. When Cindy Dennison was first employed, her full-time counterparts were not “pulling their entire load” and dumping the duties they did not want on the part-timers. The issue has been resolved, primarily through a series of meetings, though, at the time, Cindy “didn’t like” the full-timers “putting those responsibilities” on the part-timers.

Helen Ippish perceives her full-time counterpart views her as a gap filler because she “covers the hours . . . beyond their regular hours.” She does not mind the evening
hours and feels they have a "jewel" in her because her children are grown, she is retired, and is willing to work off-hours.

Stella Taylor perceives that the part-timers are considered the "backbone" for serving students and the intent is that they will see students non-stop. She feels, however, that the full-timers have "lost sight" of the creativity and the "added benefit" that part-timers could bring if they took the opportunity to ask the opinion of part-timers. For Stella, the full-timers have lost the "value of the part-time person."

There were four participants who perceived that the part-time role is not viewed as important as the full-time role, thus, it carries less status. Betty Carter perceives that "within the college" the part-timer is viewed as "not as important;" therefore, they must not be "as committed" as full-timers. This is "frustrating" for Betty and has made her "more cognizant" of her outside consulting which she turns to validate her professional commitment. The work Betty is doing for the college is not any different from the work she does for outside firms. Yet, when she "walks through the doors as a consultant and meets with the vice-president" there in an "innate sense of respect" that she does not experience at the college. Not that colleagues are unkind or cruel, but there is a "wall" and Betty perceives what she has to say "is not as important" as her full-time director who keeps reminding colleague to "listen to Betty" because she is the one with the expertise.

Ilene Jacobs has found that some colleagues do not differentiate at all between part-time and full-time workers. However, others are more "status-oriented" and consider themselves "above part-timers" and they expect part-timers to "defer to them."
If Ilene does not present "enough of a status," she is not taken seriously. Sometimes Ilene has to "go to her boss and have her do a request" because it carries more "weight." Ilene finds this perception "juvenile" and not an "adult way to handle things." Additionally, it is a "disadvantage" to have to work through someone else to get things done.

Mary Norstrum was very surprised to find the attitude that the part-time worker was considered "not quite what the full-time person was" given the college's heavy reliance on part-timers. Mary perceives the college could not run without the part-time professionals, and believes the institution recognizes that part-timers are "very important to getting the job done" despite the lack of respect they are given.

Leslie Morris noted that her full-time counterparts often attach the label "part-time" to her title when introducing her or other part-time employees. Leslie feels very angry when they use the "part-time" label and she wants to scream, "why was that important to label that person?" She perceives that part-timers are "held to a higher standard" and must prove themselves as "better" in everything than their full-time counterpart before they are accepted.

Janice Kloster perceives that full-timers "have a real need to keep part-timers in their place" and restrict their involvement for fear that the part-timers may "outshine them." She has observed that in "many instances" part-timers who are hired are of a "higher quality" than the full-timers who "sit back on their laurels and take "advantage of the environment." She cited two hour lunches and coming in an hour late as behaviors exhibited by full-timers as examples of taking advantage of their full-time status. The
part-timer is then "left to pick up the pieces and see the students" while the full-timers are gone.

There were three participants who were not aware of the perception of their full-time counterparts. For example, Francis Garrison has "no idea" how the role of the part-time employee is perceived by her full-time counterparts. Gina Harvey does not know how the role of the part-time professional is perceived because she has "never had a conversation" with her full-time counterpart. Because she has never asked them, Stella Taylor does not know how her role is perceived by full-timers. She does perceives that part-timers are considered the "backbone" of the department in terms of serving the students. As such, the intent is that the part-timers will only process students, "one right after the other." Stella feels that this perception does not tap into the "creativity" of part-timers and, as such, the institution has lost the value of the part-time person.

In summary, slightly more than one quarter of the participants believe they are equally respected, while approximately one half of the participants believe they are not equally valued. A minority were unaware of how they were perceived.

Support and Non-Support from Administration

There were six participants who perceived that administration has been supportive of part-time employees. Abigail, Cindy, and Ellen used such phrases as "wonderful support from the vice president," "wonderful" support from administration, and "full support from administration" to describe their perception of administrative support. Abigail does work with administration and it has always been "very smooth
and very supportive.” Administration’s view of her part-time role has created a perception by Abigail that her contribution is important to the college. Cindy perceives administrative support is a result of the respect they afford part-timers as she has experienced administration going “out of their way” to acknowledge her contribution, while Helen feels supported as a part-timer from administration because they have always worked with her in terms of her schedule. And Betty Carter perceives that administration is “tacitly supportive” because they really do not know how she works. Despite the fact that Nancy Ogden’s request to convert to full-time status was denied by administration, she felt her question was given due respect. She explored the possibility of becoming full-time, but was told there was no budget to support her request. Administration did not just say “no,” but explained there were other departments that were growing very fast and these departments would be given priority if funding were available.

There were five participants who do not know if administration is supportive or not primarily because they do not interact directly with them. Francis, Gina, Karen, Mary, and Debbie reported they have “no contact” with administration. Thus, they are uncertain if administration has been supportive or not.

There were seven participants who perceived that administration is not supportive of part-time employees. For example, Janice Kloster perceives she has “received no support whatsoever from administration.” In the ten years she has worked at the institution, she has “never met any of the higher administration.” She comments:
I’ve always been aware with our previous president (who recently completed a 22 year tenure) that he would walk down the hall and he would know everybody by name and he would never recognize or acknowledge me at all and I had been here longer than a lot of those full-time people.

In terms of her immediate supervisor, he has been “very supportive from a distance” because she has had little direct contact with him. Her contact is “through” her full-time counterpart and Janice would have preferred being “treated as an equal” in her work environment by having direct contact with supervisors which has not been the case. This view by administration may or may not affect Janice. She is fueled by student success, but on those days when she is not feeling good about work, she is “very aware” of the inequality despite being respected, thanked, and appreciated.

Leslie Morris also perceives that there has been no support from administration for the part-time professional. She comments:

In fact, when we did go to administration, went through the channels and we wrote this proposal a number of years back, they hated when we showed up on their door step. They hated it because they didn’t want to have to deal with it.

Leslie cited the refusal to allow part-timers to have their paychecks directly deposited in their bank accounts as an indication of administrative non-support. Administration told her because she was part-time and her hours were varied, she could not have direct deposit. When she pointed out that full-timers take leave without pay, that was considered different. Leslie, however, does not consider this principle any different and concluded that administration just does not “want to change.” She tries hard not to let administration’s view of her role affect her. Occasionally, though, “it will rear it’s ugly head” and there are times when she will question, challenge, and point out discrepancies.
and discriminatory practices. Leslie is truly convinced that administration does not “always know who their people are,” nor the contributions they make. She considers it a “double standard” because the part-timers are expected to give but administration is not.

Pamela Quale reports that she has never had direct contact with anyone above her immediate supervisor in the six years she has been at the institution. She comments:

I’ve never been introduced to anyone on the above executive level, and, in fact, I wasn’t every informed of what the administrative structure of the school was when I was hired. I was kind of like, I had to figure it out on my own.

She compared her experience here with a former institution where all employees, full-time and part-time, went through the same employment and introductory process where they are introduced to all the administrative personnel in their department. Pamela found it “very unusual” when she was hired by the institution that she was only formally introduced to those in her immediate work environment. She further comments: “so you really don’t have a full awareness of how the whole school is run.” Regarding the effect of this view by administration, Pamela has found it “hard to believe that an institution that employs as many part-time people as [the college] does . . . would not be more actively involved in the hiring and awareness of all the part-time people that they do employ in the same manner that they are about the full-time people who they employ.”

On the other hand, Pamela reflects that maybe the anonymity is an advantage because “nobody knows” her, therefore, “nobody can be too critical” of her. While she has not experienced problems so far because her work has not required administrative involvement, Pamela is quick to point out that part-time professionals who want an opportunity to move up the “career ladder” would be disadvantaged by being “totally cut
off " from the administration level without the opportunity to network with other individuals on campus. She has experienced feeling “out of the loop” particularly when full-time colleagues mention issues of which she is totally unaware. Pamela comments: “I think you can miss out on an awful lot as a part-time person because there isn’t a lot of information fed to you.” She interpreted not getting *The President’s Bulletin* as sending a message that part-timers “don’t really need to know.” Pamela takes issue with being left out of the official institutional communiqué because if she is supposed to be a “functional employee” whether she is full-time or part-time, she needs to be informed about what is going on in order to be effective. She is challenged by the practice of keeping the part-timers in the “dark” but wanting them to contribute effectively to the institution.

While Ilene Jacobs has actually had no indication that upper administration has treated her as anything but a professional, Ilene has experienced differential treatment by the payroll and human resource development offices. She referred to payroll as having a “different attitude” and formed this perception because payroll was not too concerned about her as they assumed she would only be at the institution a “short time.” And she has not always gotten the cooperation she needed from human resources and has had to have her full-time supervisor initiate requests in order to get things done.

Olivia Perkins has experienced support from the vice president for student services, but not from the president, the vice president for instruction or the academic dean. Olivia does not have as much contact as her full-time counterpart in her part-time academic position because she works on fewer projects. On the other hand, in her
student services' position, Olivia is treated the same as her full-time counterpart. At times, she has had to remind them that she is not a full-time employee and that she does not have the time for all the projects they would like her to be involved with. [Olivia made a full-time commitment to a position on the student services' side of the house during this research project.]

Thus, roughly one third of the participants consider administration supportive of part-time employees, while another third view administration as non-supportive. However, the remaining third had had no contact with administration, thus, they were uncertain if administration had been supportive or non-supportive.

Committee Participation

More than half of the study participants reported serving on committees, however, seven of the participants do not serve on any committees. For example, Abigail Benson has not been asked to serve on any committees, however, she was recently approached about serving on a team that is planning strategies for the student population with whom she works. She was not initially invited to join the group, but it became apparent that the team needed representation from her program, so she was approached to join.

When Cindy Dawson was told she could not serve on committees because she was part-time, she was disappointed. She is unaware, however, who made the decision that part-timers could not participate. Debbie Edwards has never served on a committee, but likes to think she would have something of value to offer. Ilene Jacobs has “never
been asked to be on a committee,” however, if she were asked, depending on the situation, would probably accept. She is not, however, overly fond of committee work and considers it “one of the disadvantages of full-time work.”

There were four participants who served on departmental committees. Betty Carter serves on departmental committees, but not on any college-wide committees. Her role is to “lay out the marketing plan and ask the questions.” Betty perceives that her contribution to the committee is viewed as important.

Leslie Morris has served on search committees, chairs a 15-member task force, and serves on a leadership team. Her role on committees has varied from active member to chairperson. Regarding how her contributions are viewed by others on the committees, Leslie perceives that her participation is vital to the leadership team. She was told that if she had not been on the committee, they would not be as far along as they are. The “huge strength” she believes she brought to the committee involved her “outside” perspective because of prior professional experiences outside of education.

Olivia Perkins has served on three departmental committees. Her role on one was “more of a consultant” than anything else; however, she did produce a document for the committee because she had more time to commit to it than her full-time colleagues. Another committee had members “dropping out like flies” so Olivia found herself picking up the slack and doing a lot of work, creating documents and graphic presentations. Regarding how her contributions are perceived, Olivia has received verbal feedback that may she was “taking on too much” responsibility and needed to involve others more. Olivia’s overriding concern, however, involves any negative impact on
students if the work is not done. She believes her overall role has been viewed positively, though she may have taken on too much responsibility. Rachel Stokes has served on several committees, one of which she considered a joke. Her contributions were valued, however, along with the other committee members.

There were six participants who served on college-wide committees. Though Gina Harvey serves on a college-wide committee, she does not always feel like she fits in because her professional role is different from others on the committee. She finds it helpful to “know what [others] are doing” because it helps her in her professional role. Because her role is different, she does not feel that she has much influence on the committee. Gina is uncertain how her contributions to the committee are viewed. She has found it difficult to contribute and wishes she would contribute more, but, again, references the difference in her professional role. Gina did complete one project, creating a model the committee is now using and felt good about her contribution.

Janice Kloster has served on a college-wide committee for the past 10 years with varying levels of involvement. She has “pulled back a little bit” recently in terms of attendance and committee work, though she is asked to do things, because she has never been allowed to be a “voting member.” When that issue flares up and starts bothering her, Janice questions why she bothers “putting forth the energy and effort to do work that’s equal to what they [the full-timers] are doing” when she does not have a say as to the direction the work takes. Janice, on the surface, feels very much appreciated and supported, but the “overall feeling of the college of not treating part-timers like full-timers wins out in the end.” She perceives that her contributions are viewed as equal to
the full-timers, yet it is the “bigger picture” more than anything else where she feels that she is not an equal. For Janice, the idea that part-timers are not equal to full-timers begins with administration and trickles on down. She also serves on advisory committees for various departments within her division because of the professional “respect” the departments have for her.

When Karen Logan serves on a committee, she feels she is expected to “donate” her time on a volunteer basis and does not receive any remuneration for doing so. Recently she was asked to participate in an extensive committee that would require a substantial amount of time. After considering her other part-time jobs and over-commitment, Karen decided not to participate. However, she is concerned about negative repercussions down the road because she believes that the institution “likes when people volunteer for those kinds of things.” She does serve on another committee, but it has not required much of her time. Karen’s role on this committee is to represent her division. Karen felt she was wasting her time initially because the committee was unfocused, however, it has become more focused recently. Her division is supportive and Karen felt she could resign from the committee if it were no longer a viable link for the division.

Mary Nordstrum serves on a college-wide committee in the role of observer only. She can attend but is not a voting member. This makes Mary feel she is “not accepted as a professional person.” After months of observing committee members [full-timers] behaving in an unprofessional manner, Mary is uncertain whether or not she would like more involvement on the committee. Nancy Ogden served on a short-term college-wide
committee and was responsible for leading a workshop and designing a display. It was a large committee and everyone was expected to do their part, thus, Nancy felt she was a contributing member. Quinta Reynolds has only served on two college-wide committees and her role was the same as the other committee members. She perceived that her contribution to the work of the committees was viewed positively, as she often had to remind the committee members that she was part-time when it came to determining meeting times.

In summary, although more than half the study participants serve on one or more committees, their roles vary. For example, one participant has served as chairperson, while the majority have served in a consultant or observer role. Generally, their participation is not at the same level as their full-time counterpart.

Concept of Career

There were three participants who conceptualized both a professional career and a career as a mother. Abigail Benson and Cindy Dennison view these two career options as occurring simultaneously, however, Abigail combined these roles after her children were older. On the other hand, Cindy Dennison experienced them as two separate and distinct careers, occurring at the same time.

Abigail Benson described career as “an orientation to work that is meaningful . . . and would make a difference.” The concept of career would have more of a “global” or holistic view of the work that needs to be done rather than being geared to the bits and pieces of a specific job. In her current part-time position, Abigail is “able to do
something that is productive and very useful to the community” which brings her a sense of satisfaction. While Abigail considers the 22 years she held various full-time academic appointment as defining a career, Abigail also considers she had and continues to have a “career as a mother.”

Cindy Dennison defines a careerist as someone who “attempts to do well” at something they make a “time commitment to.” As such, Cindy conceptualizes “motherhood as a career.” Cindy believes she has held two careers simultaneously -- her various professional jobs combined with a “career of being a single mom.” While combining the roles is challenging, Cindy has experienced it as “very rewarding.”

Leslie Morris also perceives motherhood as a career, yet she does not conceptualize it occurring simultaneously with a professional career. Leslie defined a career as “a paid position irregardless of the number of hours that you work” that you have been “trained adequately in.” Prior to marriage and motherhood, Leslie was “very driven” and “aspired to many things.” However, when she left full-time work for part-time work, Leslie perceives she “made a choice in terms of what was important” to her. Leslie was “consciously choosing not to continue that route” because her “career as a mom and wife . . . take precedent over my job.” For Leslie, her job was no longer a “career” in her mind, as her career “now is raising a family and passing on those values.” While Leslie perceives that her professional career ended when her career as a mother began, she also believes that part-time professionals can have careers. For Leslie, in certain situations, part-time professionals “may still be doing that same career path but it’s on a part-time basis.”
There were two participants who conceptualized career for part-time professionals as a horizontal, rather than a vertical track. Betty Carter experienced inherent tension between her conceptualization of career and motherhood. When describing how the concept of career fit with the various jobs she has held, Betty Carter gave voice to the conflict:

It's kind of in conflict right now. I guess my original vision was that you just kept stepping up and because of my children which I didn't expect until they were actually here, I've had to change that concept. And at the very beginning that was really hard for me. It was really hard for me to go from being a well-respected professional to being a mom at home and what did that mean and what was I supposed to be putting on these applications that I was filling out at [the grocery store] when it said what occupation was to get my membership card. It really threw me for a loop and so it's a very different definition of career that I thought it would be. I always imagined that I would by this point in my life or within the next two or three years be a vice-president, be working 60 hours a week or even be an executive director of a small non-profit.

Betty describes her original view of career as a vertical ladder prior to having children. Following the birth of her first child, Betty maintained her full-time career and the traditional vertical ladder of mobility while her spouse was the primary care-giver. When they reversed roles, however, Betty resigned from full-time work to become the primary care-giver to two children, but discovered a strong desire to maintain a professional presence. Part-time work provided a vehicle for Betty to balance her role as a mother and her role as a professional. Betty describes the shift in her thinking of career from vertical to horizontal: “Now I see it as more of a horizontal situation. And instead of taking pride in the title and how many hours I work, I take pride in the project that
comes as a result. I take pride in what they are paying me now. For me, that’s always been a measure of what people believe you’re worth.”

Ilene Jacobs also does not define career as a vertical “track” that “pulls you up and up, so that you wind up as the CEO at some corporation.” Rather, she defines career as being engaged in “meaningful work” for which you are trained and have expertise. The two professional jobs Ilene has held were both in the same field and part-time. Thus, they have formed the basis of her career.

There were two participants who defined a career in terms of having specialized training and maintaining and adding to that knowledge-base. For example, Helen Ippish defines career as a “profession” in a “particular area” that you have “abilities in” and “enjoy doing.” She conceptualizes it as a dynamic process that you continue to add to, to move on to “another one” until you retire. Helen believes that part-time professionals may or may not be functioning in the “mode of career.” For example, women may work part-time in the “mode of career” while raising a family with the intention of returning to a full-time commitment when “the children get a certain age.” On the other hand, retirees and others may not be goal-oriented, or may be searching. For Helen, the various job she has held, though in different venues, have built a particular career in the same area.

Pamela Quale differentiates between a job and a career. For Pamela, a job is “just a place you go, you do something, you earn money and you come home.” On the other hand, a career is something that creates a “sense of credibility in terms of what you do.” There is a constant seeking for new knowledge and for growth in order to stay...
"well informed" about what you are doing. All of the jobs Pamela has held she considers part of her career, as she was "constantly growing" and learning new things. She has held more part-time positions than full-time positions and perceives that part-time work has been a "major part" of her career as she has continued to grow and learn.

Quinta Reynolds also conceives a career as "more than a job." Quinta views career as a "vocation" that you have specialized training in. She considers herself as having three careers and all the positions have all fit with her concept of career. Part-time work has provided a vehicle for "practicing" her profession.

There were two participants who conceptualized a career as making a contribution to society. Karen Logan defines career as "contributing somehow to make things better or to make somebody happy." Karen views her various professional roles as helping others "improve their lives." Karen perceives she is impacting "future generations" and, thus, is making a contribution to society.

Stella Taylor defines career as a "chosen" field that makes a contribution to society. For Stella a job would be tied to a dollar figure, whereas a career is focused on improving someone's life. The field of education, regardless of the positions held, fit nicely for Stella in terms of making a difference. Her part-time job has allowed her to continue the role of helping others.

And lastly, two participants view as career as a long-term commitment and a lifetime goal. For example, Mary Nordstrom views career as a "long-time commitment" that is not "just a job." She comments, "it's a chosen field that you are willing to commit your time and your training" to. Mary does not consider the years she worked in a
secretarial role as part of her career. For her, it "was a job" and "not a career" because it was not something she wanted to commit her life to. Part-time work has allowed Mary to gain "experience in the field . . . I want to be in."

Nancy Ogden perceives career as "pursuing a lifetime goal in the world of work." All the positions she has held have been working toward holding a position like her current one.

In summary, three quarters of the participant responses varied from conceptualizing career as having specialized training or making a contribution to a lifelong commitment in their field of study. Motherhood was viewed as either a distinct career or as an integrated component of their professional career by one quarter of the participants.

Part-Time Work and Career Development

There were fifteen out of nineteen participants who perceived that part-time professionals have careers. Helen Ippish, however, believes that it depends on the individual and the focus they may or may not have on career. And Mary Nordstrum is not certain if part-time professionals have careers. She has the impression that part-time professionals have "already done a career" and now are just doing something as a filler following retirement. Yet, part-time work is providing Mary with a platform to gain experience following completion of a graduate degree and launch a career into an administrative role. The role part-time work has played in the career of part-time professionals is varied.
For six of the participants, part-time work has allowed them to continue their career. Abigail Benson, who is retired, comments, “I think part-time work allows me to continue my career. I couldn’t, would not, do this full-time, but it enables me to move ahead in my career.” Cindy Dennison, who left full-time work to care for a family member, found that part-time work came “at a good time” in her life as it allowed her to do something that she wanted to do that was satisfying and enjoyable, while meeting her family obligations. For Debbie Edwards, part-time work has played a “very crucial role” in her career as it has allowed her to continue her professional connection while raising children. Regardless of whether she works part-time or full-time, Debbie has been engaged in the same type of work. She views her career as long-term focus and after raising her children, she may return to full-time work. Ilene Jacobs has held two jobs, both part-time in the same field. For Ilene, who raised her children before pursuing a career, part-time work has made it possible for her to have a career. For Pamela Quale, part-time work has been a “major part” of her career as she has been employed part-time longer than she has full-time. Quinta Reynolds, who held full-time positions until she was required to reduce her hours for health reasons, found part-time work provided a way of “practicing” her profession as well as a way to “earn money.”

There were seven participants who found that part-time work provided opportunity to experiment and expand their career options. For Betty Carter, part-time work has allowed her to try things that she might not otherwise have tried. In her prior full-time positions, Betty had been narrowly focused. Her part-time position, however, has allowed her to “flip” to the other side of the field, greatly expanding her breadth of
knowledge. She comments, “I really viewed part-time opportunities as my chance to figure out what I wanted to do with the rest of my life and to really expand my horizons.” Ellen Fraley’s part-time job has served as a “directive path” for her next career move. It has served as a vehicle to make a transition to a different professional role. For Francis Garrison, part-time work has allowed her to “develop lots of different skills,” from writing, to teaching, to public speaking. Part-time work has allowed Karen Logan to pursue interests she had on both the “personal and professional level.” Karen Logan believes part-time work has allowed her the “flexibility” to pursue interests on both a personal and a professional level. If not for part-time work, Karen perceives that she would not have grown in certain areas as much as she has. Additionally, part-time work provided Karen with exposure to a wide range of people. For Mary Nordstrum, who recently completed a graduate degree, part-time work has provided critical experience in her area of interest. Part-time work is providing her the opportunity to learn and build a foundation for future professional goals. Olivia Perkins used part-time work to facilitate a career change as it gave her the opportunity to get in and show what she could do. Olivia perceives that the part-time opportunity was more effective than an interview and a resume in giving her the opportunity to show her capabilities.

For four of the participants, part-time work allowed them to reduce their commitment to career while they focused on motherhood. For Gina Harvey, who had a full-time career prior to motherhood, it was important for work to fit into her family life. If part-time work was not available, Gina would not have worked while her children were young. Part-time work provided an opportunity to her to do both and it has been a
“healthy” combination for her mentally. Because Janice Kloster has worked part-time her entire career, she would never have had a career had it not been for part-time work. Leslie Morris also had a full-time career prior to motherhood and she chose part-time work in response to her shift in focus to family matters. Part-time work provided her with the opportunity to have a family and combine it with her career. Rachel Stokes became interested in part-time work when being a full-time mother did not provide her with intellectual stimulation.

For two participants, part-time work provides extra income and retirement benefits. For Helen Ippish part-time has allowed her to continue in a professional capacity while supplementing her retirement pay. For Quinta Reynolds part-time not only has allowed her “a way of practicing” her profession, it also is a “way of earning money.”

Thus, more than three quarters of the participants perceive that part-time professionals have careers. Participants reported that part-time work provided an opportunity to continue their career development, to explore new career options, to combine motherhood and a career, and to continue professional involvement following retirement.

Ideal Work and Personal Life Structure

When asked how they would design their ideal professional and personal life, one third of the participants view their current situation as ideal. Abigail Benson believes she has the “best of all possible worlds” because of the flexibility of part-time work. The
parameters of part-time work allows her to decide when she wants to work. Debbie Edwards commented that if she could design her work and life however she wanted to, it would look similar to what she is currently doing. She would have the flexibility to work from home when and if she needed to, while still allowing her to do the things professionally that she wants to do. For Gina Harvey, it would also look “pretty similar” to what she is currently doing. She comments, “I would be working a few days a week and . . . would [be] able to do the other things that are important to me — my family or whatever else it may be because I enjoy having the freedom of just having some free time.” Ilene Jacobs views her ideal work situation as doing something over which she had some control. She comments, “I certainly wouldn’t want to be heavily supervised. I want to be autonomous and I’d want to have projects that have a beginning and an end . . . [to] do something that accomplishes something and that is intellectually stimulating.” Ilene, who works voluntarily, believes she has the “luxury” of being able to be “very selective” about what she chooses to do. And her current job provides all that. Pamela Quale is “pretty happy” with the way things are right now. She is the primary care giver for her children and the primary person maintaining the home environment, yet also is pursuing a professional career. She comments:

If I weren’t doing all three of those things, somebody else would have to be doing them for me. . . I don’t think I have to be superwoman like some of these women who want to work a 40 hour week and then they want to have perfect children and they want to have a perfect home and they are having a nervous breakdown doing it. Each one of those is valuable contributions to society and to your family and I guess I personally feel that I’m better off in having a balance of the three of them than taking on more than I can handle and in some way negatively impacting on another part of my life.
For Quinta Reynolds part-time work is ideal, given the health limitations she has. She would rather be in private practice, however, instead of working for an institution.

For two of the participants, their ideal work situation would permit them to have the same days off as their children. Betty Carter designed what she thought was her ideal, however things do not always work according to the plan. Because of her interest in developing a program, she committed almost full-time hours for several months not knowing that her spouse would have to travel unexpectedly during the same time frame. So, they had to hire a babysitter, something that is not in the plan. Betty comments on her ideal plan, “my ultimate [plan] would be to have August off, between Thanksgiving and Christmas off, [and] work only when my children were in school.” Betty is hoping to shift from working for an institution to being a free-lance consultant which would give her the total control of when she works. Leslie Morris also views part-time as her ideal, however, she would like to have the summers off to spend with her children. She would also like to contain her work hours between 9am and 2pm to accommodate her children’s school day.

There were three participants who specifically desired self-employment from a home-based business. Ellen Fraley wants the freedom to determine her own schedule and definitely wants to work from home. She comments, “I would not like to be locked up in one place where I have to report at a certain time.” Ellen is exploring options for making a career change that would allow her to work from her home. For Francis Garrison, ideal work would involve utilizing her creative talents in a consulting capacity.
Janice Kloster would like to have her summers off and return to being self-employed. Financially, however, it is not feasible for her.

There were four participants who designed their ideal work in terms of flexibility. Helen Ippish would like to work whenever she wanted to during the week. She would like to set up her own appointments because having the ability to come in on her time frame is important at this point in her life. For Janice Kloster full-time work would regiment her more than she personally wants. Thus, part-time work would be "ideal" as long as she was able to support herself financially. For Karen Logan, "being able to work part-time" three days a week would be her ideal, as this would allow her "time off during the week to pursue other interests." Olivia Perkins would like not only flexible hours, but flexible responsibilities. She comments, "I enjoy doing numerous, different things, all with one vision in mind." The two part-time jobs she is currently holding provide the variety in responsibilities she seeks.

For two of the participants, having more hours in the day would be their ideal. Nancy Ogden wishes there were four more hours in the day so she would have time in the evening to do homework with her child and make sure they are getting everything they need. She desires not only more time, but more energy. Nancy comments she would like to "take a pep pill on the way home." Stella Taylor also wishes she had "more hours in the day" to do what she wants to do. Additionally, she voiced a desire to be more involved as a part-time professional in her position as her creativity, along with other part-timers, has been "untouched."
In summary, one third of the participants consider their current employment status as ideal. The remaining participants wished for work schedules that coincide with their children's school schedules, self-employment in a home-based business, more flexibility in work schedules, and finally, more hours in the day.

Professionalism and Part-Time Work

There were ten participants who defined a professional as an individual with advanced training, specialized knowledge and a commitment to maintaining their knowledge-base. For example, Abigail, Betty, Gina, Ilene, Mary, and Quinta used words like "someone who has advanced training," someone with "specialized knowledge, education, and training," an individual who has "tons of experience and knowledge," to describe a professional (Table 4.2). Additionally, Betty and Abigail view a professional as someone who has a "very broad perspective" and a "vision of how to carry the project or the department or the institution forward in their area of expertise." Pamela and Helen consider an individual professional if they "maintain their knowledge of their job," "continue to show growth and development in their knowledge of their field of expertise," "continue to seek schooling in their profession" and stay up-to-date with new trends. These study participants also do not perceive any difference in the professionalism of part-time and full-time professionals and used words like part-timers are "just as committed" and put forth "as much energy" on projects as full-timers, the responsibility of part-timers is "equal to full-timers" and of "equal importance," to describe the professionalism of part-timers. Mary, Quinta, and Pamela perceive the
“number of hours” worked, and Betty and Gina perceive a “preference for flexibility” as the only difference between full-time and part-time professionals and do not view these differences as a reflection of a lesser professional commitment but rather view them as professionals “having made a choice,” as someone who is in “control of their own life.”

There were five participants who defined a professional as taking pride in their work, being organized, responsible, precise, dependable, credible, dedicated, and enthusiastic. Debbie Edwards defines a professional as not only holding a college degree, but more importantly someone who is “dedicated to their job,” does what needs to be done, and is always thinking of more ways to better themselves and better the institution that they work for. Debbie does not think there is any difference between a part-time and a full-time professional, however, she realizes that others do not necessarily “see it the same way.”

Leslie Morris perceives that a professional shows initiative, is approachable, communicates well, has good follow-through, good ideas, and is dependable. In short, “they have a lot of credibility.” Leslie believes the only difference between full-time and part-time professionals is “ten hours” a week.

Cindy Dawson defines a professional as “someone who really does their job well and doesn’t shirk their duty.” She does not perceive any difference between full-time and part-time professionals because they work with the “same clientele” whether they work 20 or 40 hours a week.

Karen Logan views a professional “needs to feel responsible for the job that they are hired to do and that they should take pride in what they are hired to do.”
Additionally, a professional should be “organized about the way they go about [their work.]” Karen views part-time and full-time professionals the same and believes they are equally “dedicated” to their jobs.

Olivia Perkins agrees with a former boss who defined a professional as “someone who does the things they don’t like about their job with as much enthusiasm as things they do like about it.” Olivia terms this definition as a “professional attitude.” She defines a professional as “somebody who takes a job seriously and respects the people that they work with and who they work for.” For Olivia, there is no difference between part-time and full-time professionals except the “amount of time” they work and the “amount of money” they agree to work for. She comments, “part-time people are hired to do a job professionally.”

In contrast to the other participants, Nancy Ogden perceives there is a difference between the professionalism of full-time and part-time professionals. She defines a professional as “anybody that does something for pay.” However, in regards to part-time professionals, she comments: “I would think of a part-time person as someone who’s on their way somewhere else. . . . either waiting for a full-time job to come open in the same place, or more of a casual worker.” Nancy was quick to add that she felt her attitude was “very bigoted,” however, even at this point, she perceives part-timers as “being less serious” about their profession.
Table 4.2: Professionalism frequency chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEFINITION</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advanced training</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pride in work</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does job well</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintains knowledge</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad vision</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Something for pay</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table 4.2, the majority of participants defined professionalism as an individual would have advanced degrees and/or training. Thus, they consider the professional commitment of part-time workers who hold equivalent credentials and have comparable experience as equal to full-time employees.

How Others Regard the Professionalism of Part-Timers

There were six participants who did not know how they were perceived in terms of professionalism. Gina Harvey indicated that she did not know because she has “never asked people directly” about their perception. She hopes, however, that they feel “positive” about the professionalism of part-time professionals. Gina comments: “all I can say is that when I interact with faculty and staff for whatever reasons ... they are very responsive and helpful. ... I don’t feel they are reacting to me any differently because I’m part-time.” Helen Ippish also indicated that she does not know and “can’t
say” how others regard the professionalism of part-timers. She perceives that students do not “see a difference,” however, when counseling a student who was having a problem with a faculty member, the issue of part-time came up and the student questioned whether the part-time faculty member really knew what they were doing. Helen interpreted that remark as indicating that the student might be feeling that maybe part-time faculty are not as abreast in their particular field as a full-time faculty member.

From limited feedback, Mary Nordstrum perceives that part-timers are regarded as a professional person but she is “not sure” how she could go any further with their perception. While she “doesn’t know how the faculty would perceive the part-time person,” she believes that students “don’t see any difference” and often “don’t really know” she is part-time. The faculty chairpersons, for the most part, have been “very nice,” however, Mary has little contact with them. Mary attributes her limited contact with faculty as a result of her part-time role.

Nancy Ogden does not “really know” how others regard the professionalism of part-time professionals. She perceives that people take encounters with others on a “case by case” basis and often individuals she interacts with do not know she is part-time. While she does not really know their perception, Nancy believes that because of the heavy use of adjunct in her department they are “pretty much viewed the same.”

Olivia Perkins considers herself “pretty ignorant” about how others perceive the professionalism of part-time professionals, however, she perceives that the faculty, staff, and students at the institution regard the professionalism of part-timers highly. Stella Taylor does not know if part-timers are regarded one way or another as there is “no
feedback for the part-time person.” For Stella, lack of evaluation and assessment of part-timers means she does not know where she stands in terms of her professionalism. She perceives that faculty view part-timers as less professional because they have never met them, therefore, they do not know what the part-timers’ role is.

There were six participants who perceived that the professionalism of part-timers is regarded both positively and negatively. Betty Carter’s experience has been that it “depends upon the part-timer and the person they are interacting with.” She interacted with a former administrator who was always complimentary, very willing to listen, and very interested in what Betty thought the vision of creating a high profile for her project would be. In general, however, Betty perceives that people view part-timers professionally at the institution as “somebody who’s busier doing other things” as this may not be their “first priority.” This assumption may lead to individuals not calling Betty because they perceive she does not have the “time to deal with whatever it is they are calling” about as opposed to calling and asking if she can handle the situation.

Cindy Dawson perceives that faculty, staff, and students generally regard part-timers professionally “quite well overall;” however, there are several full-time professionals that “tend to look down on the part-time” professionals and think that they do not have as much “professionalism or knowledge base.” While Ellen Fraley perceives that others do not regard part-time as a profession and view it as a “means to an end or a supplement no matter what it is,” she still believes that faculty, students, and staff generally regard part-time professionals positively. Ilene Jacobs perceives part-time professionals are viewed as being “a little less committed to advancement” but does not
think they are viewed as “less professional.” She believes, in general, that faculty, staff
and students perceive part-time professionals as “less career-oriented,” but not
necessarily “less professional.”

Karen Logan has experienced limited discrimination in regard to her
professionalism as a part-time professional in several instances, however, as a part-time
faculty member, she has never encountered a concern from students and is not aware
they view her differently because she is part-time. Pamela Quale perceives that students
are not aware of the distinction between part-time and full-time, however, with faculty
and staff it varies depending on where you are and who you are interacting with. Pamela
believes “individual attitudes about part-time and full-time people” drive the interaction
as there is not a “universal attitude” among employees about part-time.

There were four participants who perceived that the professionalism of part-time
professionals is viewed negatively. Debbie Edwards perceives that “some people believe
if you are part-time, you aren’t professional” regardless of what you are doing. She has
perceived this from “little comments” made about “only” working part-time and the
inference from the Human Resources Department that direct deposit is not available to
part-time people because of high “turnover.” Debbie considers this an unfortunate
perception because she has been at the institution for four years. While she does not
know the perception of students, Debbie perceives that faculty and staff have a
“negative” regard for the professionalism of part-time professionals and that they do not
“necessarily have a real positive image or feeling about part-time people.”
Janice Kloster describes a negative “climate” across campus in which, for the past 10 years, she is always introduced as a “part-time” professional. She has been “dismayed” that while she is respected and treated as an equal in her immediate work environment, she continues to be “introduced across campus as a part-time professional.” Janice perceives that “part-time” means something very different from office to office.

Leslie Morris perceives that students do not “really know the difference” as many students have had “pathetic service” from full-timers. For Leslie, the negative perception comes from her full-time professional counterparts. She believes that you have to “walk the walk and talk the talk” to be accepted, in addition to challenging a full-timer when they have misinterpreted policy. Leslie has found that eventually they understand that they do not always have to view you as a “part-time” professional in terms of your credibility.

Ellen Fraley does not know the perception students have of the professionalism of part-timers; however, she perceives that faculty and staff have a negative view. The only exception, in Ellen’s opinion, would be part-time faculty.

There were four participants who perceived that the professionalism of part-timers is regarded positively by others. Abigail Benson perceives that part-time professionals and part-time faculty are held with “high regard,” however, she believes that part-time faculty are not treated “particularly wonderful” in terms of remuneration which she considers a “disgrace.” Abigail perceives that pay for part-time professionals is not “quite so miserable.” In Olivia Perkins experience, the professionalism of part-
timers is “very highly” regarded. Quinta Reynolds has not experienced any distinction because of her part-time status in terms of professionalism. She perceives that individuals value the profession regardless of the number of hours worked. Francis Garrison perceives that the professionalism of part-timers is valued and viewed positively. She supports her perception with the evidence that she continues to be re-hired to teach courses. Francis comments: “just the fact that they continue to want people to work part-time tells me that they value [their professionalism].” She has received “very little feedback” in terms of her professional part-time position and has never heard students say anything “deprecating” because she is a part-time faculty member.

In summary, approximately one third of the participants perceived that others view the professionalism of part-time employees both negatively and positively, while another third are not aware of how they are regarded professionally. A fifth of the participants believe they are perceived with positive regard, while the remaining fifth perceive that their professionalism is viewed negatively by others.

Impact of Being a Woman

For five of the nineteen participants, being a woman has had no negative impact on their work. Helen Ippish attributes this to the fact she works in a female-dominated field and, as such, it is much “easier” being a women. She comments, “I don’t think it’s been too much of a problem because . . . I’m not in a high level position. . . . I don’t think it’s had much of an impact.” Leslie Morris also perceives that because the professional
staff at the college are dominantly female, she is “part of the fold” and, thus, does not “feel any different.” Pamela Quale views her choice of a female-dominated field as positive in that she has not been held back in terms of her career. In contrast, she is quick to reply that she does not think in terms of “being a woman [and] not a man.” Pamela comments, “I just figure if I want to do something, I’m going to apply myself and give it the best shot... I’ve never worried too much about the fact that... that’s something that a man would do and that’s something that a woman would do,” though she is quick to acknowledge that “other women struggled a lot more with career choices.” Rachel Stokes also does not perceive she has been negatively impacted because of her gender. She has always done what the wanted to do from going to bars alone to working in a non-traditional field with her spouse. Though she has not been negatively impacted as an adult, she was very impacted when her mother, a single parent to six children, was terminated from her job and replaced by a man because of her high salary. Olivia Perkins tends to ignore the impact of her gender and attributes it to the “androgynous” view she has developed of herself. She comments:

I’m very close to my father and tomboyed a lot with him and although my mother is somebody I emulate when I was hanging out with my dad... I’d see the stuff my mother was doing and I’d think, ‘I don’t want to do that.’... I never think of myself as male or female. I think of myself as [Olivia] and I want to do what I want to do and tend to ignore the impact my gender has on whether people hire or how much responsibility they give to me.

There were two participants who perceived that being a women has had a positive impact. Francis Garrison perceives it has been a “help” in many instances, particularly in one case, when she taught a course specifically for women in a prior position. Regarding
her current position, she comments, “there are a lot of women part-time here at the college. . . . I don’t think there is any sort of discrimination.” While Karen Logan perceives that being a women has been a definite “plus” because she teaches about women’s health issues in her other part-time job outside of the college, she also maintains that most people assume that “females run the household.” However, she does not allow those perceptions to weigh her down or affect the way she does her job. Yet, because of that perception, individuals do not perceive Karen is always on top of her game.

For eleven of the participants, being a woman has had a negative impact on their work in various ways. For example, three of them reported being impacted by the “good old boys’ network.” Betty Carter comments on the “dramatic impact” gender had starting with her first position following college graduation: “I had to learn quickly what part of the old boy network I was willing to accept and what part I wasn’t willing to accept and what I needed to do in order to have those people accept and respect me.” Betty also perceived that pregnancy had a “huge impact,” as people are uncomfortable when women are “very pregnant and working.” While she does not feel she has been passed over for something because she was a woman, Betty does feel she has had to prove herself “a little bit more” and it has taken “a little bit longer for people to trust” what she says as true or as documented. As such, Betty has found that the positives outweigh the negatives, however, she had “really good mentors” that assisted her with understanding the issues. Quinta Reynolds describes working “in a man’s world” in a prior position, where she was working with men in “power positions” who “always
reminded” her somehow that she was a woman. This was done by either sexual advancement or expecting her to get the coffee. Regardless of how powerful she felt in their presence, they always found a way to let her know she was only a woman. Ilene Jacobs works in a field populated with an equal number of men to women. Initially, however, she was shunted into a female-dominated field and believes she was not able to choose freely because she was a woman. In her current position, she has not been affected by her gender, except on those occasions when she must deal with a man who has a “prejudice against dealing with women” and does not deal fairly with women. As she has gotten older, Ilene has figured out “how to work around that” and believes if you are “good with people” you can accomplish much, particularly if you are a woman. Ilene perceives that women have intuitive abilities and conciliatory approaches that give them an advantage. For Ilene, being a woman, combined with an outgoing personality and high verbal skills have been an advantage to her career.

There were two participants who perceived they have had to work “extra long” and “extra hard” because they are women. Ellen Fraley comments, “being a minority female, it’s even more demanding, I think.” She has handled this with good record keeping, planning and communication. Mary Nordstrom also perceives that “women have to work harder” in the workforce. She comments, “I think they have to prove themselves.” While she believes the gap has narrowed since she entered the workforce, she still believes gender discrimination persists. For example, Mary has observed that more men than women hold administrative positions, board appointments, and additional sought-after outside contracts. Mary describes it as a “general inference” that “women
[have] their place” and men should have the “ultimate responsibility” for decision-making.

There were two participants found that being a woman made them vulnerable to safety and sexual advancement concerns. In a prior position, Ellen Fraley worked with primarily men and “had a little fear of all the men” that were constantly around her, particularly because meetings were scheduled in the evenings. She termed it a “fear of moving around by myself.” Additionally, she has experienced unwanted sexual advancements that caused her real concern. However, nothing became of it and she “survived it,” going on to do an “okay job.” Quinta Reynolds also experienced what she termed “sexual harassment” and either “ignored it” or said “leave me alone.”

There were four participants who experienced hiring discrimination based on their gender. Mary Nordstrom moved successfully from a teaching position to a professional staff position, despite the fact that few women held those positions. She observed however, that women were non-existent in administrative or school board positions. Quinta Reynolds first experienced hiring discrimination when she completed graduate school and the male graduates got administrative positions while the women who had the same training, degree, and credentials were hired in non-administrative roles, making less money. Janice Kloster applied for a position at the institution as an internal applicant with nine years of experience and was made aware, after the fact, that the position was targeted for a minority male. Helen Ippish believes she was unable to get an “administrative job” because she was, not only a woman, she was also short of stature. The message Helen internalized was that she was not “tough enough” to be an
administrator. After nineteen years in the public school system, a white male, without a master’s degree, was promoted over Helen, despite the fact she had two master's degrees. For Helen, the more salient issue was her minority status, rather than her gender, in terms of her perception of why she did not get the position.

Thus, one quarter of the participants believe being a women has had no negative impact on their professional work, while over half the participants perceive being a women has had a negative impact on their work in various ways. For example, they reported having to work harder, to be concerned about safety, and discrimination in hiring practices.

**Impact of Race**

There were four study participants who reported their ethnic background as African-American and fifteen, Caucasian. There were two African-American participants [Cindy and Ellen] who reported that race had no impact on their work, while Helen reported she was negatively impacted in the past, but not presently, and Quinta is uncertain if she has or has not been negatively impacted because of her race. For example, Cindy found that race has not been a factor at all. Her education and credential provided an “intro” to almost any professional setting. She believes she transcended racial boundaries as often she was the first African-American to hold the position. Cindy perceived that her credentials and personal qualities were the major factors in hiring decisions, not her race. She comments, however, that “there well may have been positions that I didn’t get because of my race, but I didn’t know about them.” And Ellen
perceives that "racism has always been an outlying issue at some point," as her father moved the family from the South when she was young to protect the family from exposure to racism. However, she has "overcome" racism and doesn't consider it an "issue" anymore. While Helen did not consider herself negatively impacted by race in her current position, she experienced racial discrimination in a prior position when a white male was promoted over her. She had 19 years of experience with the organization and two master's degrees, while the new incumbent did not hold a master's degree. Helen perceives she was not promoted because, "they couldn't see a minority in that position." Helen also was transferred for "racial balance" and was the first African American in the setting. Quinta perceives she has either been hired because she was "Black" or hired in spite of being "Black." The biggest impact for Quinta was in terms of having to "deal with people, white people, who've never known a professional [African American] person." She perceived that Caucasians only knew African Americans who "worked in kitchens or in their kitchens," thus, did not know how to relate to a "professional Black person." Quinta has been in the position of having to "teach other races about how to deal with cultural differences, " She has a strong belief in the "brotherhood of all mankind" and views herself as a "unifier." Quinta comments: "I fight Black folks because they hate white folks. I fight white folks because they hate Black folks." Quinta was not always a unifier, however. When Martin Luther King Jr. was killed, she "hated all white people" so she went to work at a historically Black university. From there she discovered, "this is not about race, it's about consciousness." Quinta comments: "a Black person can have the consciousness of a two-year old or no
awareness of the world and a white person can have a very high level of consciousness.”
She hates racism with a passion and will not allow it. Quinta takes a strong position when she sees it and will continue to take a strong stand, even if it means “going straight to the top” to deal with it.

Slightly more than half of the fifteen Caucasian study participants reported that race has not had a negative impact on work. For example, Abigail Benson, active in civil rights work, has a strong belief in the “equality of human beings.” While she has not experienced discrimination based on race, she was unable to resolve a “resentment” issue on the part of an African-American colleague regarding “white people in general.” Betty Carter, has not had “any specific instances where there has been a difficulty or a problem,” however, because of her work in an integrated institution and the target population of her project, she has “been exposed to a lot more” diversity which has been a positive experience for her.

Debbie, Leslie, Mary, Pamela, and Rachel made comments such as: “I don’t think [race] had any impact on my work,” I feel “very fortunate [that] race has not been a factor,” I have never experienced anything where there was any kind of “racial consideration” to describe how race has not been a factor in their professional life. While Pamela considers herself “oblivious” to things like that, she knows people who have experienced racism. Ilene Jacobs, has worked with people of “all races” in high level positions and has “never been treated badly” or never lost a job because she was not a “minority person.” While she perceives that race has had no impact on her work, she comments that “being white is an advantage.” She further comments, “I think very often
to white people, race is not an issue if you live in a white society. If you lived in a Black society or an Asian society, it might be an issue, but I've always felt that it wasn't an issue for me.”

In contrast, slightly less than half of the Caucasian participants perceived they have been impacted negatively in the hiring process because of race. Francis Garrison comments:

I think there are some jobs that I haven't been considered for because I was white. There was one that I applied for and I personally dropped off the application because it was close to the deadline when I found out about it and when I walked in, everyone there was Black and I never heard from them even though, to me, it looked like my qualifications... would get me an interview.

Gina Harvey perceives that race has had minor impact in terms of hiring. While it has not happened very often, she has been impacted when applying for a job when a hiring decision has already been made.

Janice Kloster has been “tremendously” impacted by race in terms of her work. She is pursuing a full-time commitment, after a 10 year tenure as part-time in her department and is concerned that race may impact her bid for the job. Janice comments:

I'm very aware that there are no minorities working in the office and I would not be surprised if, at the last minute, even with 10+ years of commitment and respect in this job, if something may come down from higher up that a minority needs to be in the job. I would not feel comfortable [that] this job is due me because I'm aware of minority issues and male issues.

Karen Logan perceives her race has had an impact on her work. Specifically, she applied for two positions and found out, after the fact, that they were filled by a minority. Though she was equally qualified, Karen views hiring on the basis of race or sex as “part
of work.” For Karen, it is about being fair. Karen perceives that race and gender impact individuals in all aspects of life, not just work.

For Olivia Perkins, being a Caucasian, impacted her prior career positively in terms of being hired. She was working within the Appalachian culture and because of the built-in cultural structures, the clientele she served simply would not have utilized the agency’s services had it been staffed by individuals from a minority population. In contrast, Olivia, within the current setting, picked up that there were positions she would not apply for simply because “racial balance” was being held and her being hired would not “hold the racial balance.”

Stella Taylor perceives she is a “white minority.” The last three positions she has held at the university-level were a result of using her married name which is Hispanic. When applying for positions, she simply did not fill in her ethnic background and allowed herself to “pass” as Hispanic. Stella comments:

I think being white and woman today, we fight for every place that we want to go into. Surprised when we are hired. May get interviewed, may not. Might be the best candidate, but never get the opportunity to even get the interview. We are struggling.

Nancy Ogden gave voice to experiencing a “hostile” working environment when she held a position at an “all Black institution.” Caucasians were in the minority and she was told by an top administrator that they “don’t like white people and don’t like white people working for them.” While she was impacted by her race in that setting, Nancy had not been impacted in other settings. And the current setting is “quite integrated” and she does not perceive there is “any difference at all.”
In summary, of the four African-American participants two reported that race had no impact on their work, while one reported past but not present discrimination and the other is uncertain. In contrast, slightly less than one half of the fifteen Caucasian participants reported racial discrimination had negatively impacted them in the hiring process, while the remaining Caucasian participants reported no impact.

**Proposed Changes**

The response from the participants in regards to desired changes that would positively impact part-time professionals fell into two broad categories; namely, a desire for pro-rata pay/ benefits and recognition. If given the opportunity to make one monetary change, eleven of the participants would increase pay. Abigail Benson would “pay the part-timers at the same rate that the full-timers are paid and would provide more benefits.” Ellen Fraley would “increase the pay for teachers that do [our] programs. [I] want to make sure that you keep quality teachers and you get teachers that are willing to go the extra mile because that's what makes the program successful is those kind of teachers.” While Debbie Edwards is satisfied with her pay rate, she is aware other part-timers at different levels and doing different jobs may not be. She would want to determine what was “equitable” for the majority of part-time people. Francis Garrison who came from out-of-state, wishes that the institution would give pro-rata benefits like her former employer, so an individual would “get whatever portion of a full-time person’s salary that a full-time person would get” for a lighter load. Janice Kloster would have “part-timers treated with the same respect in terms of ability to move up in
pay based on their quality of work and contribution, not just because they are on a certain pay scale.” Karen Logan would “increase pay to really reflect the hours that part-time people do put in here because it definitely is not considered.” Leslie Morris would be certain that part-timers would be “open to all incentives” and would have the “opportunity to be evaluated, to move upward [in the pay scale].” Pamela Quale comments:

I would like to see part-time people get some sort of merit pay or bonus recognition... some sort of remuneration based on how they have contributed to their particular department. I think that part-time people contribute very effectively and that they deserve some sort of financial reward for what they do. So, I guess I would reward people financially in that manner that are part-time.

Quinta Reynolds would put part-timers on a “pay scale equal in salary to their counterparts and reduce it by the numbers of hours.” Thus, these participants wish primarily for pro-rated salaries in terms of a desired monetary change.

There were six participants who desired pro-rated benefits which varied from professional development opportunities to sick leave. Abigail Benson would give both pro-rated pay and “provide some more benefits.” Gina Harvey would “provide work benefits on a pro-rated basis” in addition to a childcare center. Ilene Jacobs would provide the opportunity for “professional development.” For example, having the option for part-timers to attend conferences. Nancy Ogden would “like to have sick leave for part-timers.” Olivia Perkins would “make some availability of insurance that is affordable.” In addition to pro-rated pay, Quinta Reynolds would provide “benefits” for part-timers. Francis Garrison would provide “adequate office space, access to resources,
and computers” for part-timers. Helen Ippish would provide support for part-timers to “take classes” or provide professional development opportunities. Thus, the benefits desired by the participants include health care coverage, sick leave, access to resources, adequate office space, computers, professional development, and the option to take classes.

The non-monetary benefits cited as desirable were varied. There were four participants who indicated a desire for basic employee services; namely, direct deposit of paychecks, access to the full-time employee parking garage, the ability to have an employee ID card, the opportunity to participate in the new employee orientation process. Mary Nordstrom believes there should be no differentiation between full-time and part-time in regards to having an employee ID card and parking. She comments that it would “add to the morale a great deal” and would “make a big difference.” Additionally, she would do anything in her power to “make a person who was part-time to feel that they were just as much a part of the institution as anyone was.” Quinta Reynolds believes that part-time professionals should be afforded “new staff orientation” and given a brochure, at least, about the college.

There were three participants who spoke to issues involving communication. Karen Logan would like to start the process of “open communication” amongst administration and everyone on campus, possibly in a forum format. Pamela Quale would like to see “part-time more fully introduced within the institutional environment.” She comments:
The fact that I’m part-time should not keep me from being a part of the total network. I’m as essential a component and I mean if you stop and think about it, it’s my understanding that 60% of the employees on campus are part-time. You take those 60% away and the institution would come to a screeching halt. I mean, they are that dependent on their part-time employees to keep the system running. Why not keep all of those part-time people a little better informed and a little more integrated within the system so that they can contribute at their most effective level. Probably one of the most detrimental things for any individual functioning in a group environment is not really understanding the environment in which they are working and to unintentionally handicap 60% of your employees by not really keeping them fully informed of what is going on around them.

Stella Taylor would like the opportunity to network with her full-time counterpart in her division and other divisions, to exchange creative ideas and to determine if students are being best served by current practices as a method for “regenerating” enthusiasm for the job.

There were nine participants who would increase respect for part-timers, provide recognition and accolades, involve them more fully in decision-making and would remove the part-time label. Debbie Edwards, would like to be “looked upon more as an equal” and respected. Janice Kloster wishes that “across campus everybody would treat part-timers as equals” and not given the label “part-time.” She comments: “just . . . treat us with the same respect that full-timers are given. Ellen Fraley believes “everybody should be given accolades when they do a good job” however, she does not think that occurs for part-time people. For Ellen, it would be important for part-timers to be shown that their work is appreciated just as much as a full-timer. Helen Ippish also believes part-time people should be recognized for their years of service to the organization. For Helen, it would be important to tell part-timers how they are valued and for the institution to recognize formally their contribution to the success of the college. Quinta
Reynolds would give part-timers a “recognition dinner” for years of service. She considers it a “slap in the face” to those part-timers who have served for 13, 14, and 15+ years and have not been recognized for their contribution. Quinta comments:

I think that part-time professionals make a significant contribution and that needs to be highlighted more and more. It has nothing to do with the number of hours worked, [rather] it has to do with what they do when they’re here.

Cindy Dawson would “take the [part-time] title off of part-time professionals” because it is not “relevant or pertinent” to this group of professionals. For example, she would remove it from the college catalog and from official minutes. For Cindy, the part-time label is negative because the official committee for her category of professionals makes “this great big difference” between full-time and part-time professionals in terms of participation and voting privileges. Abigail Benson would “try to capitalize on [part-timers] talents by including them more fully in the decision-making process.”

In summary, increased pay and other related human resources issues were most often reported as areas for proposed change. It should be noted that one half of the participants indicated a desire for equal respect and recognition, increased involvement in decision-making and more importantly, the removal of the part-time label.

Document Review

A review of the documents collected over the course of the research from varying sources reveals the following:
(1) Handbooks: (a) *Full-time Employee Handbook*; and (b) *Part-time Faculty Handbook* — the institution does not publish a handbook for part-time professional staff.

(2) Newsletters: (a) Full-time Staff Newsletter, *Staff Communicator*, 1998 - April, May, August, September, October, 1999 - April; (b) Full-time Faculty Newsletter, *Faculty Forum*, 1998 - Winter, 1999 - Winter, and (c) Part-time Faculty Newsletter, *Class Notes*, 1998 - Winter, Spring — the institution does not publish a newsletter for part-time professional staff.

(3) *Tuition Reimbursement Plan*, 1997 — only "regular" full-time employees, not adjunct faculty or grant-funded positions, are eligible for tuition reimbursement.

(4) *Campus Directory*, March 2000 — quarterly notices requesting updated directory information are directed specifically to full-time employees.

(5) New Employee Welcome, February, 2000 — an announcement in *The President's Bulletin* specifically designated a recent hire as "part-time" counselor replacing a "part-time" counselor.

(6) *Levy Lines*, May, 1998 — Dr. Terry O'Banion, President of the League of Innovation in the Community College, described the research site as a "truly a world-class college" and that it may be the "best community college ever."
In summary, these sample documents illustrate how the part-time role is addressed by the institution. In some instances, the part-time role is absent from various documents and in others it is treated as an exclusive category.

Conclusion

These voices represent, in part, the nineteen participants and their experiences as a part-time professional. The issues are complex and varied, but themes emerge as will be discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 5
EMERGENT THEMES

This chapter focuses on how professional women experience the part-time role within the community college in general and in their department specifically. There are three facets of the part-time professional role discussed: first, the perception of differential treatment; second, the meaning of part-time work; and, third, the conceptualization of career. In the following sections, these aspects of the part-time professional role are explored through the presentation of emergent themes constructed from the participants’ experiences as interpreted by them in the telling of their stories.

**Differential Treatment**

All of the participants shared that their contributions were valued within their specific department. However, participants also described a devaluation of their role by the college in general. Participants attributed the devaluation of the part-time role within the college to its low status in relationship to the preeminence of the full-time role. This is consistent with Beechey & Perkins’ (1987) position that part-time work, long considered “women’s work,” is highly segregated from full-time work. The study participants described the informal categorization of employees as “part-time” and the
use of that term in connection with their formal title. This distinction was seen as divisive by many of the participants, resulting in a two-class social structure within the college and parallels Aisenberg and Harrington's (1988) reference to a similar gender-based division of labor among faculty. Taking the form of a permanent underclass of heavily female faculty, these women often hold terminal contracts, teach part-time or in non-tenure positions and fill temporary replacement positions. This also seems to agree with Tilly’s (1996) finding that part-time jobs are labeled inferior to full-time jobs, not because of the shortened hours, but rather as a result of the secondary labor market being embodied in part-time jobs.

**Theme: Part-time versus full-time distinction**

It is assumed that full-time professionals have met specific educational and credentialing requirements associated with their area of expertise. Likewise, it is assumed they are expected to maintain their credentials and keep abreast of changes in their fields. Beyond the distinction in the number of hours worked, there is also an assumption that full-time professionals are in decision-making capacities as they are allotted committee assignments and voting privileges. According to two study participants, full-time professionals are viewed as being on a career ladder for which evaluations, feedback, and professional growth opportunities are essential components of their work life. There is also an assumption that full-time professionals, by the nature of their full-time status, are committed and dedicated to their profession, whereas, part-time professionals are viewed as less committed and less serious about their professional role.
as perceived by two study participants. Additionally, another study participant perceives that full-time professionals are generally given the opportunity and encouraged to explore and develop their creativity in an effort to fully utilize their abilities, whereas, the institutional structure discourages full utilization of part-time professionals' talents and creativity. From the vantage point of many of the part-time professionals, the institution solely applauds and recognizes the productivity of full-time professionals by conferring awards, recognition ceremonies, merit pay and advancement and echoes Tilly's (1996) position that part-time jobs are designed to exclude career advancement. Thus, incentives are built into the structure of the institution that specifically reward and value full-time commitments. This formal recognition and rewarding of the full-time professional engenders high value and respect for full-time work. This work model, however, does not acknowledge the role and contributions of the part-time professional.

Like full-time professionals, part-time professionals are held to the same educational and credentialing standard in order to function in their respective roles. They are also expected to maintain their professional credentials and stay abreast of changes in their fields. Full-time faculty and staff are eligible for mini-sabbaticals and funding up to $850 per year from the Staff Development and Innovation Committee (SDIC), in addition to $200 per year in funding to attend workshops and seminars. The SDIC also sponsors on-campus staff development activities that part-time employees may or may not be permitted to attend. SDIC-sponsored activities are announced in *The President's Bulletin* which is only provided to full-time staff. This communique contains a schedule of meetings on campus, announcements of interests to employees, directory
changes, and notices of special events. [During the course of this study, The President's Bulletin was put on-line, so is now available to all employees with computers.]

While the expense of maintaining their credentials or attending professional conferences is generally funded by the institution for full-time professionals, part-time professionals, with few exceptions, have to pay out-of-pocket expenses to maintain professional certification and attend professional meetings. And on-campus staff development opportunities may be restricted to full-time employees. There were four study participants who perceived the exclusion from and non-support of professional development options for part-time professionals as an indication of a "very anti-part-time" attitude that sends a strong message that "as long as you work, nobody really cares." These participants reported being blatantly excluded, in writing, from specific SDIC-sponsored activities, having to pay out-of-pocket expenses for CEUs, not being permitted to attend professional conferences, and not being able to take courses free of charge like their full-time counterpart. Written announcements of professional development programming that specifically excludes part-time employees seems to support the notion that career advancement and professional growth are solely the domain of full-time professionals. Thus, the institution has allocated budget dollars to encourage and assist full-time professionals in maintaining their credentials and developing professionally. Part-time professionals do not receive the same support and generally must find alternative sources of funding and mirrors Beechey & Perkins' (1986) finding that professional development is generally not available to part-time workers.
In any organization, committee involvement gains recognition for someone outside their department, demonstrates commitment to the job, and brings an individual into formal and informal communication channels. Overall, the study participants perceive that committee participation is different for the part-time professional. While the majority of participants reported serving on committees, more than one-third of the study participants do not serve on any committees. Two study participants expressed disappointment when they could not serve on committees as they believe they had something of value to offer a committee. Yet, they are not certain who made the decision that part-time professionals could not participate. In contrast, another participant, who also has “never been asked to be on a committee,” views committee participation as “one of the disadvantages of full-time work” which supports her perception that part-time professionals are more productive than their full-time counterparts because they are relieved from such duties as committee work.

When part-time professionals do serve on committees; however, their contribution is valued. Their roles vary from observer to active participant to consultant to chairperson. There was one participant who participated solely as an observer, without voting privileges, however, feels she was not accepted as a professional person. And another, who has been part-time at the college for ten years, has pulled back intentionally from service on committees. Namely, because she is not a voting member of a key committee for professional staff. Her contribution to the committee is valued and on the surface she is supported; however, it is disheartening to put “forth the energy and the effort to do work that’s equal to what they (the full-time members) are doing if I
don't have a say as to the direction that work goes.” Thus, being a non-voting member of a committee is perceived by the part-time professional as an indication that the organization does not equally value the contribution of part-time professionals when compared to their full-time counterpart.

Additionally, part-time professionals may or may not be compensated for their participation on and contribution to committees. There was one participant who reported being asked to volunteer hours on an extensive committee that was developing a workshop for the upcoming quarter. The time commitment would be significant and she declined because she is working 50+ hours a week in three part-time jobs. However, she was concerned about possible negative repercussions in the future and the possibility of being overlooked for something else later because she knows “[the] institution likes when people volunteer for those kinds of things.”

Thus, part-time professionals are in a double bind. On one hand, the institution values committee participation. On the other hand, part-time professionals may not be permitted to serve on committees, or when they do serve on committees, they may not be full-fledged, voting members, or may be expected to volunteer their time and talent. Indeed, not serving on committees may permit the part-time professional to be more productive than their full-time counterpart as committee work may or may not be a time-waster. However, part-time professionals generally do not participate on committees at the same level as their full-time counterpart, thus, find themselves disenfranchised from formal and informal communication channels and decision-making opportunities.
In addition to limited committee participation, part-time professionals often do not receive formal communiques, thus, must rely on others to communicate information and happenings within the institution to them. There were two study participants who reported being negatively impacted when they are not given information necessary to function effectively in their role. For example, one of them shared:

I'm not always included in staff meetings because I'm the one who stays and watches the desk and sometimes I feel a little omitted from the professional loop . . . All the full-time people have to be knowledgeable about what's going on but I guess my personal opinion is, I'm here enough of the time that if I'm not knowledgeable, it negatively impacts on how we as a group function and how I personally can function within that group.

Additionally, not receiving *The President's Bulletin* means that part-time professionals must rely on others to keep updated on current events, critical dates, important changes, and announcements.

All part-time professionals are excluded from the new employee orientation where critical information is shared verbally and in written form. Though the *Full-Time Employee Handbook* does not have an official policy regarding new employee orientation, this is a scheduled event for full-time employees and is by invitation-only. Despite having twice as many part-time employees as full-time employees, the institution does not officially provide a vehicle for sharing important information about the college and opportunities for involvement in tax-sheltered annuities, for example. Thus, it may takes years for the part-time professional to garner this information secondhand. There were three participants who perceived being negatively impacted by not being included in the new employee orientation. There was one participant who expressed it this way:
I wasn’t even informed of what the administrative structure of the school was when I was hired. It was kind of like, I had to figure it out on my own . . . [Y]ou really don’t have a full awareness of how the whole school is run . . . I find it hard to believe that an institution that employs as many part-time people as [institutional name] does that they would not be more actively involved in hiring and awareness of all the part-time people that they do employ in the same manner that they are about the full-time people they employ.

And another long-term, part-time employee reported not being aware she could contribute to a retirement fund.

Not only do they not participate in the new employee orientation, part-time employees are not acknowledged when they leave the institution. The institution has an official exit interview policy for full-time employees which they consider a “valuable source for obtaining information to assist the College in improving employee morale, job satisfaction, and working conditions.” When Human Resources is notified of a separation of a full-time employee, an exit interview is scheduled. A former long-term, part-time employee, included in the pilot study, reported being denied an exit interview upon separating from the institution. Additionally, a study participant who left the college during the course of this study, did not have an exit interview. As such, separating from the institution, turning in keys, discussing retirement, and final pay issues is left to happenstance for the part-time professional.

Additionally, full-time employees receive an identification card request form during the new employee orientation to present to Registration and Records for issuance of an identification card. There were four study participants who perceived not having an identification card as differential treatment. There was one participant who shared, “I have never felt so unhappy about a position, being in a position. It’s like you’re nothing.
When you are hired, you don’t get a name thing, you don’t get a booklet, you don’t get anything. You get nothing.” And another, who has been part-time for ten years, did not have an identification card for the longest time; however, she “pushed and pushed and pushed” and finally found someone who made her an identification card. She comments: “I wasn’t a student, I wasn’t a faculty, I wasn’t a staff, so getting books out of the library was difficult.”

Limited access to formal and informal information loops impedes part-time professionals in their job function and in their ability to serve optimally as a team player, and promotes a sense of isolation and invisibility. Though the literature does not speak directly to part-time issues, this may support the more general finding that professional women face obstacles in terms of gaining entry into informal and formal professional networks and even more so when they work part-time.

Closely tied to professional development is performance evaluation. None of the study participants were involved in goal setting, performance evaluations, and promotion, thus did not receive valuable feedback necessary for confidence-building and professional development. This echoes McBroom’s (1986) finding that promotion is given to those who show commitment in terms of hours worked. As such, the part-time professional is effectively stripped of the opportunity for feedback and promotion because of their decision to engage in other significant life activities. There were two study participants who expressed a desire for evaluation and feedback. There was one participant who talked about the connection between evaluation and promotion — “[p]art-time employees do not get evaluated so therefore I’ve been here ten years and I
stay at the lowest end of the pay scale where my counterparts as full-timers . . . are at 100+ of the mid-point.” And another, a ten year veteran, spoke of her desire to be evaluated because she wants to see growth and wants people to see the value of her contribution to the institution. Thus, part-time professionals in this setting perform their jobs in a vacuum without the critical feedback necessary for optimum personal and professional growth.

The study participants reported they do not receive the same benefits and remuneration as their full-time counterpart which is consistent with other research that shows these experiences are a result of an underlying assumption that benefits and wages are provided by some “other” full-time worker and that part-time wages supplement the “other” income. However, part-time professionals may be the primary or sole income and/or benefit provider for their family unit. Particularly for those participants that have worked in other settings, the pay rate is problematic and mirrors Tilly’s (1996) finding that regardless of the reason for part-time work, the median hourly wages of part-timers is 38 percent below those of full-time workers. There were six study participants who considered the part-time rate of pay an indication of differential treatment and directly linked to the low regard administration has for part-time employees. There was one participant who shared, “I don’t know how much longer I will be at [program name] . . . My consulting fee is almost six times higher than the hourly pay that they are paying me to do the local [program name] work. So, that’s a barrier.” And another participant commented:
If you’re in a part-time situation the money just isn’t there, unfortunately, and you can be just as equally as talented as a full-timers, if not more so, and I think very often we are not recognized in regards to pay scale.

While another one spoke to the relationship between pay and recognition:

Pay is still a sore subject with me because even when you know for a fact you’ve had an outstanding year work-wise, and have all kinds of verbal accolades given to you, and maybe even have a letter written on your behalf, it’s still not enough. The system doesn’t acknowledge what you should be getting.

There was one participant, retired from a full-time position, who reported that her part-time hourly rate was less than half her former hourly rate. She shared that the part-time pay “is significantly less than it would be if we had the same ranking as a full-time[r].” From her perspective, the part-time rate of pay is directly linked to the low regard administration has for part-time employees.

In contrast, one participant, who is using part-time work to facilitate a career change, considers her part-time salary wonderful. [During the course of the research, she made a full-time commitment to the college.] Thus, depending on your perspective, the pay may or may not be satisfactory. Overall, however, the rate of pay for part-time professionals is approximately 80% of their full-time counterpart within their job classification and does not take into account years of service.

Not having the opportunity for pro-rated benefits negatively impacts part-time professionals who are responsible for providing health care coverage for themselves and family members. There were five participants who cited lack of benefits an indication of differential treatment. There were two single participants who cited lack of health care
coverage as problematic; however, only one of them expected to receive health care coverage as a part-time professional.

Another benefit for which part-time professionals are ineligible is prorated sick time, vacation days and “snow” days. Holiday pay was recently granted for employees if the holiday fell on a regularly scheduled workday. There was one study participant who viewed the lack of sick leave more problematic than lack of vacation pay because being sick is not a planned event, a “wild card.” She comments:

I have no idea when it might happen or how much it’s going to cost me . . . We got back from a ten day vacation and I was back to work one day and got sick and was out the rest of the week, so those paychecks were nothing.

The study participant’s experience of being excluded from sick pay, health care coverage, paid holidays and vacations is consistent with both Beechey & Perkins (1986) and Tilly’s (1996) finding that part-time workers are frequently excluded from sick leave, paid vacation/holidays, and pension plans.

In sum, part-time professionals must meet the same credentialing qualifications as their full-time counterpart; however, the institution only supports continuing education and professional development opportunities for full-time professionals in the form of tuition reimbursement, tuition waivers, mini-sabbaticals, and funding for professional memberships and activities. As such, part-time staff are held to the same professional standard, but not equally supported, thus, must rely on their own resourcefulness to maintain professional growth. Equally challenging is to function long-term in a position without performance evaluations and goal setting. The institution’s performance
management plan is tied directly to the pay for performance compensation management system and only full-time support and professional staff are eligible to participate.

Committees serve as a decision-making mechanism, as well as a source of formal and informal information within the institution. Part-time professionals may or may not serve on committees and be included in formal communication loops. When they are not included, they must develop informal, and often faulty or spotty, mechanisms for obtaining information. As such, part-time professionals, and those whom they serve, are negatively impacted when they do not have access to important or critical information. Being excluded from new employee orientation and exit interviews, part-time professionals often do not get important information in regards to taxation and retirement issues. And lastly, remuneration and lack of benefits are major areas of concern for part-time professionals and often have a detrimental effect on their quality of life. The potential consequences of this type of differential treatment to an institution engaged in transformation to a learning college concept may be enormous and will be discussed in Chapter VI.

_theme: Discounted, second-class status_

The discounted status of part-time professional staff was expressed overtly and covertly and mirror the findings of Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) who found that women in part-time positions are viewed as “inherently inferior” and not viewed as serious professionals. There also appears to be an assumption that full-time work is a
sought-after goal for all workers. And, in fact, those who attain full-time status have in some special way “arrived” or paid their dues. For example, one participant shared:

I think there’s a real feeling by a lot of full-time [professionals] here that part-timers are supposed to pay their dues because after all they all had to do it and so there is a feeling that once they have arrived at full-time that they are superior in lots of ways.

This perception is particularly frustrating for part-time professionals who have chosen to work part-time as a strategy to create balance in their lives in the areas of connection and competence. Their professional commitment is questioned, in general, and further reinforced by institutional policies that exclude them from formal networks and professional development opportunities.

There were three study participants who view it as a perception problem or a subtle attitude, the idea that “you’re just part-time,” therefore, you are not as dedicated and “you don’t really count,” because you are the “back-up” or “extra worker.” There was one participant who considered this view unfortunate because she is a professional doing a professional job, while another shared that full-time colleagues have made such comments as “thirty hours, you might as well be full-time. You’re not full-time? I thought you were full-time. When are you going to be full-time?” In response, she questions, “why do I have to be full-time? Why does it matter . . . everybody has this standard that if you’re not full-time, you’re not worthy or you’re not good enough, you’re incompetent.” Another participant shared she generally does not tell people she is part-time because it is not useful information. While she does not hide it, she does not volunteer the information and comments, “I’m sorry I have to do that because I think
it... ought to be a choice, some people work full-time and some part-time and that should really be nobody else’s business.”

The language used by the full-timers is discriminating as it assumes full-time status is a more valued, therefore, more sought-after status. Thus, verbally there are many subtle and not-so-subtle messages from full-time colleagues that assume the full-time work is “the” standard and, thus, the goal of part-time professionals. This bias on the part of full-timers seems based on the assumption that all part-time professionals are involuntary part-time workers. Yet, the majority of participants in this study are voluntarily working part-time and give voice to making a definitive decision to work part-time for various reasons, not the least of which is to produce, nurture, and care for the next generation.

There were six study participants who experienced their role as being lower in status. For example, one participant, who formerly held a full-time position for 22 years at the college, perceived her part-time professional status as lower. She comments: “I know that people respond to me differently as a part-time coordinator... compared to being acting vice-president. They just, they will respond to requests less quickly.” Another participant shared that her full-time counterparts make a distinction between full-time and part-time and voice this by saying, “oh, she’s just a part-time faculty, a part-time counselor,” while a third participant expressed it this way, “[i]t does put me in kind of a schizophrenic position you know, but I’m fairly high up on the food chain but I’m part-time so there is a sense that a part-time employee has less authority than a full-time
employee.” And another participant, who formerly worked full-time at the college, spoke of her experience:

It’s the way we’re spoken about and referred to which I think, of all of them, really gets me the worst because . . . I’ve done tons of research myself in reading over the years and every article I’ve ever read says that the productivity level is very high with part-time employees because you’re not wasting time. You have a job to do, you do it, and get done and everybody’s in awe of that and yet . . . they don’t want to give you the recognition or the compensation.

And lastly, another commented, “you’re talking to somebody and then they sort of like fade away. You get the idea that . . . you as a person are not important to them.” She attributes her perception to episodes she has internalized, but wonders if the lack of valuing she has experienced is tied to her part-time status or her gender. Prior community college research found women generally experience differential treatment in terms of attainment of decision-making roles and remuneration within an institution, two common ways to frame value within an institution, thus suggesting that the participant’s devalued status may be a result of being female as well as part-time.

There were two participants who perceived the college looks highly on part-timers because of the money they save. There was one participant who succinctly commented, “all they do is pimp us” when referring to the heavy use of part-timers and how much money the college saves by doing so, while another perceives that part-time employees are critical to the operation of the college, despite an attitude that the part-time person is not quite what the full-time person is.

The discounted status of part-time professionals is expressed via the informal attachment of the label “part-time” with their official title. There were two participants
who were particularly frustrated by the title "part-time" and consider it a negative label. Being listed in directories and the college bulletin with the part-time label after your name is perceived as a negative label implying that you are not as good as or committed as your full-time counterpart. In the current college bulletin, some divisions list their part-time professional staff as part-time, others do not list them at all, while others list them and do not reference their part-time status. There was one participant who perceived the label as part of the entire system that denies part-timers the opportunity to participate and vote on matters important to them, while another was particularly frustrated by the practice of introducing colleagues with the term "part-time" attached to their title and questions why it is important to label them as "part-time." The practice not only frustrated her, but made her angry. She commented, "I just want to scream at them, you know. Yet, what's very interesting, we're held to a higher standard. We have to prove ourselves, more, better, everything, than our full-time counterparts." And only by attaining the higher standard are part-timers accepted. While this participant believes she no longer has to prove herself, she comments:

At one point in time, I recognized what was going on and what makes me angry about it is that it has never stopped and everybody else has to go through [it] and the ones that are really good stay and they are then brought into the fold and you're one of us now. It's very interesting, but you have to . . . to be a go-getter. You have to get on the right committee, even though we're not supposed to be on committees.

She made a conscious decision to involve herself in committees, to pay her dues, because she believed she had talents she could utilize and insight she could bring to the table with her background that would contribute to the mission of the institution. Yet, she credits
her inclusion into the "club" because she had formerly been a full-time employee at the college which provided her with connections, the respect, and the credibility necessary for gaining entry in the right circles. This participant views herself as a "mother hen" to the newcomers and makes them very aware what they are facing and offers support and assists them with getting on the right committees and making important connections. She laments, however, that sometimes she cannot help with the intensity of the socialization process.

For three of the study participants, the discounted status of part-time professionals is an "attitude" problem. Part-time professionals are viewed as not being dedicated or "not being a real person." After four years, one study participant perceives that part-timers "don't really count," are viewed as the back-up or the "extra" person. This attitude is frustrating for her because she is a professional person working at a real job, making a real contribution. This was further supported by another participant's perception that part-time professionals are viewed as "not as committed" as full-time professionals. This attitude is particularly frustrating for her and she finds herself more cognizant of her consulting work and how she turns to it to get the positive reinforcement and respect she does not get from her position at the college. She further explains:

The work I'm doing for the [college] is not any different than the work I'm doing for [firm name] on the consulting side of things, but when I walk through the doors as a consultant and meet with the vice-president of marketing, there is an innate sense of respect there.

This participant also described the lack of respect she has experienced at the college in general. It is not that people have been "cruel or unkind," rather there is a sense that
what part-time professionals might say “must not be as important” as what a full-time professional might say.

And another participant found that some individuals do not differentiate at all in regards to full-time or part-time status while others are “more status oriented and so they consider themselves above part-timers and they more or less expect you to defer to them.” She further comments:

[if] you don’t present enough of a status person to them . . . they don’t take you seriously. You get a feeling that you can’t get through to them. You can’t get the kinds of things you need from them because they aren’t taking you seriously. Sometimes I have to go to my boss and have her do a request because it has weight on it.

Using her full-time vice-presidential supervisor to gain legitimacy was a strategy used by one study participant. While she is “very up front about being part-time” and explains to individuals that one of the challenges of running her project is her part-time status, she is quick to add that she reports directly to a vice-president. Thus, she legitimizes her part-time status role and commands compliance and cooperation by aligning and identifying herself with a full-time administrator.

Another reinforcement for their discounted status is the lack of recognition given to part-time professionals for their contributions and inability to qualify for incentive pay which recognizes these contributions. There was one study participant who commented, “I think everyone should be given accolades when they do a good job,” but acknowledges this does not occur for part-time professionals like it does for full-time professionals. And another spoke of her contribution to a recent successful levy campaign and re-accreditation and the frustration of not having her contribution recognized:

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I worked on that [the levy and accreditation]. I gave my part. I give my part everyday and then some and I still am never recognized. Yet, a part-time faculty member, and I'm glad that they are, they have more recognition than I do and I'm working 12 months of the year, 30 hours a week, and I think there should be different levels of acknowledgment and reward system for the different levels . . . I mean, I don't give part-time . . . just because I'm part-time doesn't mean I just give part of me in terms of the service that I provide and the information that I hold.

Additionally, she perceives the productivity level of part-time professionals is very high because they are focused on what needs to be done. Yet, they are not given the recognition.

From another participant's perspective, the individual part-time professional is highly regarded across the college. However, she takes the position that “the administration does not show the same regard in that our pay is significantly less than it would be if we had the same ranking as a full-time.” For her, the lower rate of pay is directly linked to the discounted status of part-time professionals.

Thus, the discounted status of part-time professionals is evidenced by the use of the “part-time” label in formal communiques and in combination with formal titles. The part-time label is viewed as a stigma and has come to mean a lack of valuing, that part-time professionals “don’t really count,” and are not as dedicated or committed as their full-time counterpart mirroring Bernard’s (1964) finding that part-time women faculty are ascribed a lower status, despite being as committed to their work as full-time faculty women. This lower status translates into having less authority and makes it necessary for part-time professionals to “borrow” the status of their full-time counterpart or superior to get things done. Part-time professionals find they are not given the same attentiveness as their full-time counterpart and what they say is not as important because they are “only
part-time.” The discounted status of part-time professionals may explain, in part, why they perceive they are held to a higher standard and have to prove themselves, whereas their full-time counterpart is assumed competent and given the benefit of the doubt. And lastly, despite the significance of their contribution to the institution, the accomplishments of part-time professionals are not recognized.

Theme: Part-time as “short-term” employee

Episodes of structural differential treatment reported by study participants are found primarily in formal policies and procedures enacted by the college. These practices may or may not have a budgetary impact. For example, the practice of not permitting part-time professionals to have their paychecks directly deposited in their bank accounts presents a hardship for those individuals that do not work on payday. Debbie Edwards, one of two participants who reported this as a barrier, comments: “that sounds like a minor thing but for someone who works part-time and isn’t here everyday, that means on payday, I have to drive down here with my children and pick up my check and drive it to the credit union.” This practice supports the notion that part-time professionals are viewed as “fly-by-night” employees, even though the average tenure of the participants is five years at the institution.

This view of part-time employees may also support the parking and identification card policies. Only issuing temporary quarterly parking passes for the student garage sends a message that part-time professionals are viewed as short-term employees. There were three participants who identified this as an example of differential treatment.
however, it seems to send a broader message that the institution views part-time professionals in 10-week, temporary increments, which may suggest the overarching influence of the faculty role; in this instance, the part-time faculty role. There was one participant, a 10-year part-time veteran, who commented: “as a part-timer, I have to go into student parking, so therefore, I’m struggling with students to find available spaces [and] my secretary has to apply for me to get a parking pass every quarter so that if I’m asked to show it, I’m not treated as a student in terms of the rates.” And not issuing identification cards not only supports the notion of short-term but also sends a message that part-time professionals are expendable. Quinta Reynolds, one of three participants who viewed not having an identification card as problematic, expressed her frustration by stating, “when you get hired, you don’t get a name thing, you don’t get a booklet, you don’t get anything . . . it’s like you’re nothing.” And part-time employees may or may not have their name listed in the college directory or catalog and may or may not have the designation “part-time” indicated beside their names in official publications.

Though specifically tied to the discounted status and directly related to their disempowered status within the power structure of the organization, the practice of not providing access to information also supports the view of part-time professionals as short-term. This idea of excluding part-time professionals from informal and formal information loops seems to be predicated on the view that resources should not be wasted or squandered on integrating part-time professionals in routine structural activities because it is assumed their tenure will be short. Exclusion begins at the point of hire when part-time professionals are not permitted to attend the new employee orientation
and ends when they are not permitted to have an exit interview at the point of separation. As such, important information is not provided for the part-time professional, such as the ability to participate in tax-sheltered annuities.

Part-time professionals must rely on others to share information about the goals and mission of the institution, as well as introduce them to key individuals within the institution. There was one participant who was negatively impacted by being excluded from the orientation process and stated:

I have had no real contact with anyone above [my supervisor] in the six years that I have been here. I was never introduced to anyone on the above executive level and, in fact, I wasn’t even informed of what the administrative structure of the school was when I was hired. It was kind of like, I had to figure it all out on my own . . . And I found it awkward because you really don’t know the ins and outs of the administration and who you’re really actually working for and who’s doing what . . . you really don’t have a full awareness of how the whole school is run.

Denying access to information in other venues also impacts part-time professionals. For example, another participant reported frustration when important departmental information is not shared with her that directly impacts her ability to function in her position. The fact she works part-time does not diminish the need for the information in order to perform her job in a responsible and professional manner.

[During the course of this study, the participant resigned as a result of the impact of structural differential treatment and the negative “part-time” institutional culture and plans to take a year off to reassess before looking for another professional position.] And another participant also feels omitted from the professional loop as she covers the office during staff meetings. She comments, “it’s like you’re the expendable person because you’re not full-time.” While it is assumed that the full-time staff need to be
knowledgeable, Pamela believes that if she is not knowledgeable, it negatively impacts how the department functions as a group and how she personally functions within that group.

The breakdown in the communication flow is also evident in the college at large as part-time professionals are not sent the official communique from the President's office. Often part-time professionals have more front-line contact with students and customers and not having important institutional information inhibits their ability to function fully in their role and further supports the belief that part-time professionals are short-term employees.

Part-time professionals do not receive written notice of pay grade changes. Even pay increases were reported en masse on the institutional Web site. There was one participant who reported that she was disheartened when she did not receive written notice of her pay increase or any information about the criteria used to determine the amount. Unlike her full-time counterpart who participates in a formal evaluation process, the goals and expectations for part-time are not articulated to them, other than how they appear on the position description. Another participant views this isolation of part-time professionals as inherent within the formal structure of the institution, while another comments, "[t]he problem is that they lump regular part-time people with student workers which is a category. The student workers definitely are temporary and they are out of here. I've been here six years and I don't consider that temporary." She also perceives that part-time employees have no bargaining power because of their small numbers at the institution. The mistaken understanding that part-time employees are
small in number at the institution despite their 2 to 1 ratio to full-time employees may result from isolation and being left out of the formal and informal information loops.

The consequences of excluding part-time professionals from formal and informal loops for institutions may be significant and will be discussed more fully in Chapter VI.

**The Meaning of Part-Time Work**

The importance of occupational pursuits in the plans and lives of women is demonstrated by the participants' involvement in part-time professional work and echoes Levinson's (1996) finding that the life structure is made up of two major components -- family and occupation. Yet, they conceptualize career in a different way mirroring Bernard's (1964) study of part-time faculty women in which career motivation, reference groups, role conception, and levels of aspirations were different than full-time faculty women. While either engaged in part-time work voluntarily or involuntarily, the participants gave voice to shared themes. The primary differences between the full-time and part-time work models involve the number of hours worked and the flexibility to choose when to work those hours. Full-time and part-time work are similar in one very important respect, as they both serve as a central life structure providing the individual with intellectual stimulation, wages, a vehicle to make a meaningful contribution to society, social contact, and a career identity.
Theme: Part-time work as central life structure

Like full-time professional work, part-time professional work provides intellectual stimulation and mirrors Josselson’s (1996) finding that women express their need for competence through paid work. There were two study participants who spoke to this issue. For example, one participant, who left a full-time position to raise her family because she “realized that it was too big a conflict” for her, found she needed “to do something that’s stimulating for me,” so sought part-time work to give her the balance she needed between connection and competence. She further comments, “it’s meaningful for me to have something productive to do... so it’s being able to do something for other people and do something for myself at the same time.” For another participant, who entered the workforce when her children were high school age, part-time work keeps her “alive intellectually” because it did not take her long to realize that she was stagnating intellectually. She also gave voice to the structure that part-time work gave her life. Work is the most important thing in her life on an everyday basis because it provides a “structure” and a focus. This idea of providing structure was also supported by two study participants, for whom part-time work is a “very organizing” part of life. There was one study participant who shared it is important to “have someplace to go, something to do, to feel that my time is being used in a worthwhile manner,” supporting the societal assumption that “homemaking” is not important or worthwhile and demonstrating the schizophrenia of American culture.

Part-time professional work, like full-time work, provides financial support for families. For four study participants, the income from their part-time positions is
important. For one participant, who is working part-time involuntarily, her wages provide critical income in order to “survive” as she is focused on getting her children through school without “terrible debt.” The income from another participant’s part-time work supplements her retirement pay and provides the “extra” needed to make ends meet. Another participant provides more than 40% of the family income and is a “strong reason” why she works. For another participant, who works part-time in addition to her regular full-time job, the wages from her part-time work have provided the necessary funds needed to purchase a home for herself and her child. Thus, wages from part-time work may be the sole source or supplement another source of income for the family.

Making a contribution to society is another aspect of part-time work considered important to four participants. There was one participant who felt her time was being used in a “worthwhile manner” when she was engaged in part-time work and provided her with “a real sense of accomplishment and satisfaction” when she was able to help people. Another participant works to express the talents and gifts that she has and to share them with others in a meaningful way. Contributing something to life is important to another participant and is an integral part of her self-concept as a worthwhile individual. This parallels Baruch, Barnett and Rivers’ (1983) finding that paid work often provides a vehicle for developing a sense of mastery and a means for making a significant contribution to society. And for another participant, who worked full-time at the institution for 22 years, part-time work means she is “able to do something that is productive and very useful to the community.”
The social contact provided by part-time work is another important facet for professional women as mentioned by one participant. For example, she cannot imagine her life without part-time work as it provides critical social contact. Thus, components of part-time work are similar in various ways to full-time work, yet with two distinguishing characteristics; namely, flexibility and the number of hours worked. For professional women working part-time voluntarily, these two distinguishing characteristics are critical. Yet, it is these two characteristics and how they are viewed within society at large and the college as a whole, that contribute to the discounted status of part-time professionals in academe.

Theme: Flexibility

Key distinctions between full-time and part-time work involve flexibility and number of hours worked. The participants reported a desire for flexibility as a strategy to combine personal and professional responsibilities or to combine solely with other full-time or part-time professional commitments. This parallels Reiss' (1983) finding that the family life cycle directly impacts women and their work as career patterns for working faculty mothers in academia were characterized by prolonged part-time graduate study, as well as part-time employment and career interruptions. Part-time work provides a strategy for gaining flexibility needed to integrate connection and competence as discussed by Josselson (1996). For example, two study participants sought a part-time professional commitment shortly before and after retirement from a full-time professional position. There was one participant who desired a continuing professional
role and became project manager of an important initiative of the institution, but negotiated reduced hours, a flexible schedule and summers off, while another sought part-time work and reduced hours because she needed to be available to care for her seriously ill adult daughter and grandchild. She was unable to negotiate reduced, flexible hours in her long-term, full-time position, however, her part-time professional position has provided the flexibility necessary to provide care for family members. And another plans to continue working part-time provided work does not interfere with her being able to spend quality time with her adult children. Caring for and spending quality time with adult children at this stage in life is important to both these participants. The full-time work model generally does not allow for the flexibility needed to do so, however, part-time professional work provides these participants with that option.

For two study participants, flexibility in their professional work schedule is very important as they actively parent young children. Both participants worked full-time, with heavy professional commitments, after their children were born; however, both actively sought a strategy that would allow them to connect with the family and actively parent their children as well as maintain a professional role and provide a financial contribution to the family unit. Again, this supports Josselson’s (1996) position that women grapple with balancing a sense of connection and competence. For each of these participants, the flexibility and professional income level offered by their part-time positions were perfect for this stage in their lives as they needed the freedom to be able to leave early or come in late if necessary.
The flexibility of part-time work is essential for two study participants as they have other professional commitments. While they also actively parent, adjustable, flexible hours were essential in terms of committing to a second job. As a single parent with a full-time professional commitment at another institution, one participant needed the extra income in order to purchase a house, but also needed the ability to schedule her work around her child’s needs and her full-time job. And another, who is currently working three part-time jobs and 50+ hours per week, comments: “I initially liked working part-time because it allowed me the flexibility to be with my family, my kids, and to pursue some of the other areas [of interest] that I had.” However, as her responsibilities and hours increased, she no longer felt she was reaping the benefits of part-time work and after eighteen years of working multiple part-time teaching and professional positions, questions her desire to continue working in a manner that infringes on her family and personal time. As such, she is currently reevaluating her professional life, however, is very ambivalent about seeking full-time work as she fears the loss of autonomy and flexibility she has had with part-time work.

Thus, flexibility is a central theme in part-time work and serves as a major impetus for women who carry significant responsibilities in other life roles. This is consistent with Leo’s (1987) finding that professional women consider their choice of part-time work as the best compromise for maintaining careers while rearing children. Flexibility is closely tied to the idea of balance which is discussed later. More than reduced hours, flexibility is a prime motivator for choosing part-time work.
The Concept of Career

Part-time professionals perceive that they are viewed as having voluntarily or involuntarily removed themselves from the vertical career ladder. There appears to be an underlying assumption that work is not a priority for part-time professionals, as they are engaged in other responsibilities and roles. The study participants, however, talk about career and the relevance it has in their daily lives and in their internal construction of self. Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) take the position that when women seek to resolve the tension between personal and professional roles by choosing part-time work, they may compromise their professional identity without being cognizant of doing so, resulting in serious restrictions or an end to their careers. Milner (1990), on the other hand, found that professional women working part-time conceptualize dominant themes, goals, domains control and principal tensions distinctly different from those who work full-time. Significantly, women’s childbearing beliefs and practices were a major determinant in choosing part-time work and mirrors Sheehy’s (1974) categorization of women’s life patterns in which she found that women, regardless of life pattern, have a strong inner push toward authenticity and seek balance between their personal and professional lives.

Theme: Integration of multiple roles

Almost half of the study participants envisioned a career orientation in early adulthood, however, experienced a “shift” in their orientation once they became mothers which parallels Josselson’s (1996) finding that major life events often prompt a shift in
how a woman grapples with connection and competence. For example, one participant who was actively engaged in her career in her twenties and did not marry until her thirties, found that following the birth of her children, she was not as “motivated” to stay on the career ladder. And another participant who was going to be “this wonderful professional” did not plan to get married or have children, however, during the 20 years of raising children, in combination with her career, found that her “priorities” have changed in terms of what is most important in her life. Whereas career was most important, family is now most important. And a third participant who had a strong family-orientation in early adulthood and an unexpected career focus in early adulthood because she married later, views herself as making a decision to shift her career focus to “raising a family.” This also supports the earlier work by Baruch, Barnett, and Rivers (1983) who found that women’s sense of well-being is strong when they have developed both a sense of mastery — generally found in work — and a sense of pleasure — generally found in close relationships.

One third of the participants were family-oriented as they entered adulthood and developed a career-orientation in later adulthood. For example, one participant returned to school in her thirties and reported that attending college was “an awakening” that eventually lead to a professional career and completion of a graduate degree. Another participant spent her twenties raising four young children, but at age thirty-one returned to finish college specifically because she desired intellectual challenge. And another participant imagined either “getting [her] education” or “being married.” Though she married and had children, she was “never satisfied” until she “went ahead” and did what
she “knew innately” she wanted to do, obtain a college degree and pursue a professional life.

Less than one-fourth of the participants conceptualized both a professional and a family identity in early adulthood. Though she married and started a family, one participant pursued a graduate degree while her children were young and after raising her family made a long-term, full-time professional commitment. Even in retirement, she continues significant involvement in both family and professional commitments. Another participant assumed she could have both a high powered career and raise a family. Though she combined both initially, as she was the primary income provider while her spouse obtained his doctorate, she found she did not want somebody else raising her children. As such, she chose to work part-time as a strategy for maintaining both a professional and a family orientation. And another participant, who planned to combine motherhood and a professional career, found that marriage and raising a family was not “as simple” as she thought. She concluded that her children needed “a mother that is home some of the time” and for this participant that translated into a part-time professional commitment as she found that staying at home full-time was “intellectually stifling.”

While the participants had either a career orientation, a family orientation, or both, they gave voice to seeking a balance in their lives whether they began with a family orientation and broadened and developed a career identity or vice versa. Developing dual identities for the study participants seems to be linked to forging authenticity. While some literature speaks to the idea of gender-splitting when women
develop a professional identity, the study participants give voice to integration of career and family which is not consistent with McBroom’s (1986) finding that professional women make a radical division between their work and their private lives and actually “split” their identity between the two worlds. Rather, the study participants view this integration as a “choice” and they seem keenly aware there are trade-offs, however, they are actively engaged in strategies for constructing an external life structure that is suitable to their inner self. This echoes Sheehy (1995) finding that women have a strong inner push toward authenticity. By midlife, there is a dramatic shift in what women value. They stop pretending to be the person they have been and begin to accept who, or what, they are becoming. Thus, according to Sheehy, women ultimately seek authenticity, finding the core self that embodies the values and loyalties for which individuals stand, a process that is developmental in nature and supports Josselson’s (1996) finding that identity formation is revised throughout the life cycle and realigning the emphases of life permit women to move among their multiple roles.

Theme: Career as a horizontal plane

In support of a dual career/family orientation and integration of roles, two-thirds of the study participants conceptualize career as a horizontal plane as compared to the traditional “vertical career ladder.” This seems to agree with Bancroft’s (1995) position that women have devised various behavior strategies in order to succeed in the work world; two of which involve balance and integration. Those seeking balance want professional success and a “fully developed life with their families and friends,” while
those seeking integration have developed a "strong sense of self-respect that results in excellent performance both at work and in the other facets of their lives" (p.xxiv-xxv).

Creating balance and integration is also mirrored by Josselson (1996) and Sheehy (1995) who speak to the idea of competence and connection and a balance of these in pursuit of the authentic self. One strategy professional women use as they journey toward balance, integration, and self-alignment is part-time work.

Career conceptualized in a horizontal mode is also reflective of how the participants frame career identity, the extent to which they define themselves by their work. This mirrors London and Stumpf's (1986) finding that career identity reflects the "direction of people's career goals--whether or not they want to advance in the company, be in positions of leadership and high status, and earn more money" (p. 26).

Conceptualizing career in a horizontal mode also parallels Derr's (1986) finding that not everyone wants to climb the corporate ladder. Derr posits that the traditional "getting ahead" career orientation is only one of five distinct career orientations. Germain to this study is the "getting balanced" orientation where career, self-development and relationships are equally valued. Generally, "getting balanced" individuals have chosen this orientation as a "conscious and long-term yet temporary alternative to what they consider their real career success map" (Derr, 1986, p. 146). As such, references by the participants to intentionally "stepping off the career ladder" seem to support the idea of career in a horizontal or integrative mode. For example, one participant, who was working 60 hours per week while parenting two young children, now fits work "around" her life as she only takes on projects that have meaning to her and are going to work for
her children and spouse. While she initially considered herself on a vertical career ladder, she now views her career as a "horizontal" plane that integrates multiple life roles. Instead of taking pride in the number of hours worked and her title, she now takes pride in the project and the impact of her work. This participant perceives the horizontal career plane has broadened her professionally as she found the vertical career ladder more narrowly focused.

Another participant, who defines career as engagement in "meaningful work," in contrast to a career "track" that pulls you "up and up and up" until you are CEO of an organization, seems to support the notion that part-time professional work offers a venue for making a significant professional contribution while engaged in other life roles. This participant sought and crafted a professional identity following her biological imperative, a strategy used by women who are seeking an authentic self. And a different participant, who also defines a career as an orientation to work that is meaningful, considers motherhood, as well as her professional commitment, a career. An additional participant who focused on developing her career during her twenties before making a commitment to marriage and motherhood in her thirties gave voice to no longer "being driven" with career goals linked to a specific time line. Instead, she is focused on making a professional commitment where her skills and talents can best be utilized. Long-term, part-time work has permitted another participant to pursue both personal and professional interests and she believes she would not have grown in certain areas had she worked full-time during the past nineteen years while raising her family of four children. Yet, another participant also gave voice to a horizontal career plane as she does not view
herself as “moving up anywhere anymore” as a part-time professional. However, she is comfortable with the decision she made because part-time work gives her the opportunity to raise a family and continue her professional commitment.

Thus, the horizontal career plane is conceptualized as having both a professional and a personal, integrative component which is in contrast to the vertical career ladder. As a means of embracing the vertical career model, some women “split” their identity, forfeit motherhood, and/or seek numerous “de-stressors” to handle the strain (Bernhard and Glantz, 1992). The study participants who voluntarily work part-time have constructed a model that integrates both their connection and competence identities. Yet, this is not done without conflicting perceptions of career.

**Summary**

It would seem, then, that the nature of the part-time experience as experienced by the participants is greatly influenced by the centrality of the full-time role and status within the environment of the community college. Within this context as well, the participants view the part-time role as one of providing support with little acknowledgment ascribed to their contributions to the institution and their support of its mission. The discounted status of part-time professionals and the differential treatment support the perception that part-time professionals engage in a short-term versus long-term professional commitment, despite the fact that the study participants, on average, have been at the institution for five years. This, in turn, serves as the basis for conceptualizing part-time work as second-class work. Yet, it is flexibility and/or reduced
work hours that provide the primary impetus for seeking part-time work and serve as the basis for conceptualizing career as a horizontal plane that supports integration of multiple roles. With few exceptions, the study participants consider their choice of part-time work as the best compromise for maintaining both professional and personal roles. While part-time work may be a viable compromise, part-time professionals are marginalized from their full-time counterparts and must maintain their professional self-concept despite little support from the institution.

The literature portrays professional women working part-time as functioning between two worlds — the professional and the personal. However, when women attempt to combine their personal life with a career via the vehicle of part-time professional work, inherent tension and devaluing occurs because of the commonly held societal belief that working full-time is required for professional success. When the professional life is in conflict with the personal life, some women respond by splitting their identity between their personal and professional worlds. Other research suggests that, by necessity, women forfeit their feminine identity in order to gain professional recognition. This is compounded by the perception that part-time work is considered “women’s work” and highly segregated from full-time work. Additionally, part-time work is embodied in the secondary labor market and labeled as inferior. Generally, part-time work is designed to exclude advancement and consists of lower wages and fewer benefits.

The experience of the study participants mirrored the portrayal of women working part-time as outlined in the literature in several ways. First, they gave voice to
being marginalized from their full-time counterpart, by both formal and informal practices. The formal differentiation is embedded within the organizational structure, particularly in human resource policy. These policies, however, may not necessarily be based on fiscal constraints. Rather, they may be a manifestation of the unspoken belief that part-time employees are short-term employees. The informal practices and norms may be a reaction to the formal treatment of part-time employees which suggests a caste system. Second, the study participants experienced differential treatment in terms of pay and benefits, mirroring their part-time counterparts outside of higher education. As such, the marginalization and differential treatment of part-time professionals contribute to their discounted status within the organization.

While there are similarities, the study participants differed from their sisters, in general, in how they conceptualize career. The literature shows various patterns, one of which is gender-splitting and the necessity to forfeit feminine identity in exchange for professional success. However, the participants in this study are more consistent with Derr’s “getting balanced” career orientation pattern, as they constructed a holistic conceptualization of career that integrates both their professional and their personal worlds. Whether they created their professional or their personal roles first, the participants gave voice to the internal process of desiring to develop both their need for competence and their need for connection and relationships (Baruch, Barnett and Rivers, 1983; Derr, 1986; Josselson, 1996). As such, part-time work provided the vehicle for having the “best of both worlds,” despite the devaluation of the part-time role. While the study participants were very cognizant of the devaluing, they construct a concept of
career based on internal valuing of their contribution and role as a part-time professional and distanced themselves from the external markers used by society in general to determine professional value. The internal push for authenticity and the desire to eliminate dissonance in their life structure formed the impetus to forge an alternative model for professional working women. As such, the study participants gave voice to having integrated both their professional and personal identities. Despite having constructed an integrated career model, the participants, like their part-time counterparts in the general population, perceive that career advancement is solely for those on the full-time, vertical career ladder and not for those who have constructed a horizontal concept of career. Thus, the part-time professional role is defined and evaluated through the conceptualization of full-time work.

In summary, professional women working part-time are negatively impacted by the formal organization that (1) values conformity to the masculine model, (2) rewards excessive work hours, and (3) expects employees to demonstrate loyalty by giving priority to organizational needs over familial responsibilities. Thus, professional women working part-time in a horizontal career mode are taking a stance that places value on and supports the reproductive and relational roles of women as well their professional roles, despite the devaluation of and lack of support for their role as a part-time professional as demonstrated by the study participants who consistently aspire to maintain their professionalism and their commitment to service.
CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY COMMENTS

This final chapter, divided into three sections, provides summary remarks on various aspects of the participants' experiences within the community college and suggests direction for future research. The first summarizes not only the participants' perception of the part-time experience, but my interpretation constructed from their experience. The second section suggests possible implications of the study for community colleges. The final section briefly discusses direction for future study. The primary focus of this study was to explore the nature of the part-time experience. In brief, two broad questions were addressed by this research: (1) what is the nature of the part-time experience? and (2) what is the role and meaning of part-time professional work in women's lives and in the development of career?

The Part-time Experience

The purpose of the study was to explore the nature of the part-time experience and the role of part-time work in the lives of professional women. Absent from theoretical analyses of work, part-time work is presented as assumed marginal to the
world of work. As discussed in Chapter II, women in higher education account for the highest percentage of workers. Additionally, women in higher education are most often employed by community colleges and most often part-time.

Despite their great numbers in higher education, professional women are virtually invisible within the academic workplace literature and even more so when they work part-time. Whereas part-time professionals have created a strategy to minimize role conflict and an identity crisis, they share with their full-time counterparts underutilization of abilities, exclusion from professional networks, barriers to career advancement, and a persistent wage gap. Not only invisible within higher education literature, professional women working part-time are “invisible” within this organization, despite providing critical support to the mission and goals of such.

Chapters IV and V explore at length the participants’ understanding of the part-time experience and current practices within the community college setting. In this section, I review the practices that the participants most often associated with differential treatment. Taking different forms that may or may not have budget implications, long-term differential treatment potentially has significant consequences for an institution, particularly for community colleges engaged in transformation to a learning-college philosophy. It is this paradox of engaging in a learning-centered transformation while maintaining a plantation economy within the ranks of part-time employees that attention needs to be drawn. Community colleges are in the forefront for instituting rapid change in response to external needs and can do so primarily because of their heavy reliance on part-time workers.

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The findings of this study support the literature related to lower pay and status and underutilization of women's abilities in the workplace and also fills in gaps in relation to part-time worker issues. Three themes emerged from the narrative in relation to differential treatment. First was the visible, institutional distinction made between full-time and part-time professionals. While the part-time professionals are held to the same educational and credentialing standard, formal policies within the institution make distinctions. For example, policies involving professional development, parking, identification cards, facility usage, tuition assistance, new employee orientation, performance evaluations, and exit interviews exclude or limit participation by part-time employees. Additionally, the distinction involving salaries and the lack of benefits creates an inequity. Policies regarding committee participation and access to formal information loops that limit participation by part-time professionals impede their ability to function as full-fledged team members. Because part-time professionals are most likely to deal directly with students, exclusion from critical information negatively impacts the function of the entire institution.

The full-time/part-time distinction is viewed as divisive by the study participants and provides a schizophrenic environment for women in professional part-time positions. Embedded within the institution’s strategic plan is the goal of creating organizational and human resource processes that support and encourage transformation to the learning college. Within the institutional culture, however, is a human resource model that generally excludes participation by part-time employees in various activities and benefits, a practice that effectively disadvantages two-thirds of the institution's
employees. While informally individuals give voice to differential treatment, the institution’s failure to address the issues and concerns of part-time employees seems to send a message that maintaining the status quo is a political imperative. Current practices keep part-timers isolated, uninformed, disenfranchised, underutilized and functioning without feedback and goal setting. The short-term gain made by the institution is terms of being able to respond quickly to change via their heavy use of part-time employees may have less desirable long-term effects. While the institution may be churning out FTEs and maintaining enrollment quotas to qualify for funding, the lack of internal cohesion necessary to create a strong educational team may jeopardize the entire fabric of the organization unless steps are taken to create an inclusive institutional model.

The second theme involved the discounted or second-class status of the part-time work model and mirrors Tilly’s (1996) finding that it is the secondary market embodied in part-time jobs, not their shortened hours, that labels them as inferior. This study expands our understanding of the part-time role and its discounted status in relation to the full-time work. Expressed overtly and covertly, professional women working part-time are viewed as inherently inferior and that those who hold full-time status have in some special way “arrived.” The assumption that full-time is the sought-after goal by all workers reveals a societal norm that values full-time work over part-time work. Thus, women engaged in part-time work are discounted and their contribution is not highly valued.

The majority of study participants made a definitive decision to work part-time as a strategy to give balance to professional and care-taking roles. These women, however,
reported that the label “part-time” is attached to their official title and thus, they are negatively cast in formal institutional documents and verbally within the work environment as “less than” their full-time counterpart. For them, the “part-time” label has come to mean “less committed,” and “not as dedicated” as the full-time worker. This attitude may be an extension of the culture of professionalism that values full-time work.

The third theme involved a view of the part-time professionals as a short-term or temporary employee despite an average tenure of five years at the institution for study participants and adds to our understanding of the part-time experience. This study fills in a gap within the literature and suggests similarities between the part-time and temporary roles, a relationship not yet explored. Interpreting human resource policy based on this assumption provides an explanation for why the institution issues “temporary” one-quarter parking passes, does not issue identification cards, limits committee participation, excludes participation in new employee orientation and exit interviews, limits professional development participation, and excludes from performance appraisals and goal setting. These practices seem premised on the assumption that part-time professionals are making a “temporary” commitment. This view of part-time may also support and encourage the use of the “part-time” label as a way of distinguishing employees considered to be temporarily engaged.

It also seems that institutional policy that views the part-time professional in ten-week increments gives sway to an underlying assumption that the part-time faculty role is the preeminent and defining role when authoring institutional policy relating to human
resources for part-time employees. Ironically, policies designed to process part-time faculty on a quarter by quarter basis impact permanent part-time workers engaged in non-faculty roles. The inappropriateness of this practice is seen in the negative impact on the work lives of professional women working part-time.

The Role and Meaning of Part-Time Work

Professional women engaged in part-time work provide an example of the importance of occupational pursuits in women’s lives and in the development of a holistic life structure. When analyzing the meaning of part-time work, two themes emerged. First was the centrality of part-time work in the life structure which parallels Baruch, Barnett, and Rivers’ (1983) finding that mastery, generally found in paid work, was an essential ingredient to women’s sense of well-being. Full-time and part-time work are similar in this respect, as both serve as a central life structure providing the individual with intellectual stimulation, an organizing structure, wages, a vehicle to make a meaningful societal contribution, social contact and a professional identity. Yet, professional women working part-time conceptualize career in a different way mirroring Bernard’s (1964) study of part-time faculty women in which role conception and levels of aspirations were different than full-time faculty women. The conceptualization of other roles as equally important has a direct influence on the second theme, flexibility.

This second theme, flexibility and the number of hours worked, amplifies the literature which speaks to part-time work as an adaptive strategy used by women engaged in integration of multiple roles. The desire for flexibility was key for women seeking a
strategy to create a dual professional and personal identity. Directly impacted by the family life cycle, women often choose part-time work as the best compromise for maintaining multiple roles. More than reduced hours, flexibility is a prime motivator for choosing part-time work. The desire for flexibility seems to send a message that the traditional 8 to 5 work week is not compatible with care-taking roles, particularly when parenting school-aged children. For example, the majority of organizations assume that all workers are prime-age males with an “other” providing care-taking roles. The culture of professionalism has created an expectation that working full-time is highly valued and women who are unwilling to do so generally forfeit career advancement. This parallels McBroom’s (1986) finding that “professional commitment” is defined in relation to full-time work. Thus, professional women engaged in part-time work are allotted a lower status.

The literature review in Chapter II provided and cited many instances of tension between the personal and professional roles of women. The intensity of the tension is often manifested in such adaptive strategies as gender-splitting, forfeiting motherhood, the imposter syndrome, and the Cinderella complex. This study contradicts the literature relating to role conflict and identity crises experience by women who work. Instead, this research study elucidates an alternative strategy to the either/or approach advocated by earlier work. Two themes emerged in relation to the role of part-time work in professional women’s lives and in the concept of career.

First was a theme involving integration of multiple roles. The participant’s childbearing and care-taking beliefs and practices were a major determinant in choosing
part-time work. They gave voice to creating an integrated personal/professional identity and often spoke of “shifting” their identities until they successfully integrated them. This “shifting” was often a result of major life events, such as birth of a child or major illness of a family member or themselves and supports Josselson’s (1996) work involving how women grapple with connection and competence. Professional women today are in uncharted waters and current life structures are not adequate to support the professional and personal roles that women engage in and call for innovative practices that acknowledge the value of public and private spheres (Levinson, 1996). To this end, the study participants have created a viable, innovative model that gives equal priority to both spheres and supports the goal of forging authenticity, allowing women to revise their identity throughout the life cycle to align with different life emphases. This integration of multiple roles provides the foundation for the second theme, the idea of career as a horizontal plane as opposed to a vertical career ladder.

This second theme emerged in an analysis of how professional women working part-time conceptualize career. In response to the traditional career ladder, the study participants have created a concept of career that encompasses other life roles -- an integrative, horizontal plane. The participants articulated clearly the distinction between the two models and voiced their commitment to creating balance, integration, and self-alignment in their lives and parallels Derr’s (1986) finding that not everyone wants to climb the vertical career ladder.

Derr posits that those individuals with a “getting balanced” career orientation equally value career, self-development, and relationships. This study fills in a gap in the
literature in relation to women and part-time work as a successful strategy for integration of dual identities. This integration is not without trade-offs, however, as the participants shared the frustration of differential treatment and the perception that they were "less committed" professionally because of their involvement in other life roles. Despite the differential treatment and lack of valuing and lower status, the study participants display a professional confidence that seems to be motivated by a different orientation; an orientation that challenges the narrowly cast value of full-time work within a capitalistic society and embraces instead the importance and value of family and care-giving roles, in addition to professional roles. Quietly advocating for inclusion in information loops, equal professional involvement in committee participation, and equity in current areas of differential treatment indicates the strength of the conviction that professional women working part-time should be equally valued for their professional expertise, commitment, and experience.

The community college, as seen through the stories of the study participants, provides a schizophrenic environment for women in professional part-time positions. The role of the part-time professional is defined through their relationship to their full-time counterpart. On one hand, they hold the same professional credential and expertise as their full-time counterpart. On the other hand, their status within the institution is devalued and evidenced by the differential treatment and assumptions regarding their professional commitment.
Implications of the Study

This section will focus on implications of the study related to the challenges of the part-time work within community colleges and more generally to the concept of part-time work in academic settings. Given the contextual and interpretive nature of this research, it is not my intent to be fully representative or descriptive of all women working part-time within higher education nor to generalize the results. Rather, it is my purpose to evoke a description and interpretation of an institutional culture in such a way as to offer insight for approaching more general concerns with the hope they will contribute to better practices.

1. There is a need to address the areas of differential treatment. The potential consequences of differential treatment by an institution engaged in transformation to a learning college philosophy may be significant. Embedded within the institution’s strategic plan is the goal of creating organization and human resource processes that support and encourage transformation to the learning college. Additionally, the goal of the institution is to become, not only more learner-centered for its students, but also more “learning-centered” for employees.

The current professional development and human resource model that generally excludes participation by part-time employees in various activities and benefits effectively disadvantages two-thirds of the institution’s employees. If the primary goal of a learner-centered institution is to create substantive change in individual learners by engaging learners in collaborative learning experiences and the institution relies heavily on part-time employees, then the current formal and informal practices that keep part-
timers isolated, uninformed, disenfranchised, functioning without feedback and goals, and underutilized may create a culture of inertia, an inability to be responsive to the changing needs of the learner. When employees do not feel recognized for their contributions or feel high levels of career support, their morale tends to be lower (Johnsrud, Heck, and Rosser, 2000) suggesting it would be important for institutions to identify and evaluate those work life issues that are important to employees. Changes in personnel policies and communication practices is a strategy to improve work life conditions and to ultimately provide the human resources needed to transform higher education institutions.

Paradoxically, community colleges have been the leader among institutional types in terms of responsiveness and have been able to do so primarily because of their heavy use of part-time employees. Long-term, the internal cohesion necessary to create an strong team may not be present or may have been undermined by policies that are not inclusive. It will be important to formulate strategies for change and to make specific recommendations regarding discriminatory practices.

2. There is a need to legitimize and embrace a part-time work model that conceptualizes both a professional and a personal component. If community colleges wish to retain professional women in their organizations and believe their survival is dependent on such, then creating women-friendly policies will be crucial for many institutions. It is important to understand that often institutional policies treat men and women differently. As such, it seems paramount, as Walsh (1997) suggests, for institutions to identify the differences and to redesign for gender equity. Traditional
models that assume a career-only focus exclude a significant portion of the work force. Women who make trade-offs and do not commit to a career-only focus are allotted a lower status. However, as the work place becomes more diverse and women increasingly carry significant professional commitments, the need to create policies and institutional cultures that support women becomes critical as women now account for the majority of undergraduate degrees and increasing numbers of professional and graduate degrees. Thus, community colleges need to embrace and support a part-time work model that recognizes part-time work as a legitimate and valued work model.

3. There is a need to reexamine and redesign the nature of work within higher education. If an institution is concerned about productivity, then addressing formal and informal practices that keep the majority of employees functioning on the "fringe" of the organization is critical. When sixty-five percent of an institution’s employees are disenfranchised from critical information networks, the entire department/division may be negatively impacted. The ability to add value, to meet goals, to serve students, and to provide auxiliary services may be directly impacted when employees do not have access to information. When any member of a team is limping along because they do not have the correct tools or critical information, the whole may be negatively impacted.

Further, at a time when higher education is undergoing a major transformation, one of the outcomes has been the need to reexamine and redesign the nature of work. Driven by technology, financial challenges, revised mission statements, accountability, changing student demographics, and a recentering on student learning, "higher education seems faced with a dynamic tension caused by the restraining forces of decades of
tradition being confronted by the driving forces of rapid change" (Komives, 1999, p. 43). If community colleges wish to recognize the need to address the changing nature of work, then it will be critical for them to examine who does what work, what that work is and how it is rewarded, how and when that work is accomplished, and where it happens. Community colleges have long depended on a part-time labor force as a strategy to implement curricular and institutional change rapidly. The long held belief that part-time employees are expendable and interchangeable has fueled the differential treatment and marginalization of this category of workers. Thus, one of the implications for future practice would involve tending to those dimensions of work life that impact part-time employees.

4. There is a need to identify those components of the institutional culture that devalue the part-time role. If an institution wishes to support internal cohesion in order to successfully meet external threats and/or challenges, then conducting and acting on a self-study to identify those components of the institutional culture that devalue the part-time role may be necessary. The issue of differential treatment seems to be a place to begin a conversation about the formal and informal practices that impede creation of an inclusive approach. To address the factors within the institutional culture that support differential treatment would require an intense scrutiny of the symbolism and meaning of current practices. For example, the part-time experience as told by the study participants speaks to the struggle to create psychological success within their professional role as the norms, values, and formal/informal practices within the institution do not support a horizontal conceptualization of career and work. Furthermore, the study participants
report being “isolated” and “invisible” within the institution, devoid of feedback and evaluation, excluded from goal setting and performance appraisals critical for personal and professional growth.

As such, part-time professional women often experience frustration, conflict, and psychological failure when confronted with formal and informal practices authored by organizations that have developed structures that reflect and support the life experiences and life cycles of individuals engaged in full-time work. When individuals respond to formal work structures with negative adaptive activities, the organization suffers because important information gets suppressed, deep conflicts often go unresolved, and teamwork is virtually impossible (Argyris, 1990; Bernhard and Glantz, 1992).

Suggestions for Future Research

This study suggests three broad areas in need of additional research. First, continued research within the community college setting on the extent to which women are affected by perceived differential treatment at different life stages and careers seems warranted. Are community colleges egalitarian in their recruitment, hiring, and promotion procedures? Are women excluded or included in the constituencies of community colleges? How does the nature of the part-time experience influence employee satisfaction and persistence? Is there a different knowledge base of campus resources among part-time employees and full-time employees? What practices move a campus toward being a women-friendly work environment?
Second, research could also go further by studying the impact keeping front-line part-time professionals (faculty and non-faculty) disenfranchised has on specific student outcomes. What is the impact of gender in the workforce on various college outcomes? What are the direct and indirect contributions of professional part-time staff to specific student outcomes such as student persistence, learning, commitment to citizenship, and satisfaction?

Finally, longitudinal research would also help clarify and develop the idea of career as a horizontal plane, particularly for individuals attempting to create a holistic life structure. What influence does part-time voluntary/involuntary status have on employee satisfaction and persistence? What shape would professional growth or advancement take in a horizontal career plane?

**Conclusion**

Women use a variety of adaptive strategies when organizational cultures and expectations collide with the components necessary to build a viable life structure. One of these strategies is to work part-time in an attempt to balance professional and personal lives. Bernhard and Glantz (1992) suggest that the formal structure of modern organizations force people to behave in ways that are not natural for them. For individuals to function optimally in an organization, it is important for them to be part of something useful, significant, and valuable; to be trusted and to feel that others can be trusted; to know what is going on and have a say in decision-making; and, to have a sense of control over one’s life and destiny. If the size, specialization, and hierarchy of
the organization make it virtually impossible for individuals to be respected and acknowledged as important, then the professional woman working part-time is doubly disadvantaged; first, because she is a woman and second because she is part-time.
LIST OF REFERENCES


Committee to Study the Status of Women in Graduate Education and Later Careers (1974). The higher the fewer. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan.


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Dear Participant:

Let me introduce myself. My name is Carole Morgan Harper and I am a doctoral student at The Ohio State University, working with Dr. Ada Demb, Department of Educational Policy & Leadership. I am writing to ask for your assistance in a project for my dissertation.

Part-time work plays an important role in women’s lives and work histories. Thousands of women have worked part-time at one time or another. I am interested in learning more about their work and their lives. In order to gain a better understanding of this topic, I am interested in interviewing a wide range of women employed at Sinclair Community College. I am particularly interested in speaking with women currently working part-time in professional positions. Your name was given to me as someone who fits this description and am I very interested in learning more about you and your background. Your participation in this research provides the opportunity to illuminate women’s part-time work and reveal the richness of women’s work lives. In addition, the interview may provide the opportunity to gain insight into your own life and work.

If you are interested in participating in this research, please complete the enclosed background information survey. I will be the only individual with access to the information on the survey document. By returning the survey to me in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope, you are giving implied informed consent to participate in this study. When I receive your survey, I will call you to answer any questions you may have regarding the research and to schedule an interview time.

The interview should last approximately one hour to one and a half hours. Your comments during the interview are confidential and will only be included in my final research report in such a way that your identity would remain anonymous.

I look forward to receiving your survey and will be speaking to you in the next few weeks. In the meantime, feel free to contact me if you have questions that have not been answered by this letter. I may be reached at work, (937) 512-5187, or home, (937) 433-0848. In addition, if you have any questions or concerns, you may contact my dissertation advisor, Dr. Ada Demb at (614) 292-7700.

Sincerely,
APPENDIX B: RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Consent for Participation in Social and Behavioral Research

I consent to participating in research entitled The Part-Time Experience: Professional Women in a Community College.

Ada Demb (Principal Investigator) or her authorized representative Carole Harper (Co-Investigator) has explained the purpose of the study, the procedures to be followed, and the expected duration of my participation. Possible benefits of the study have been described as have alternative procedures, if such procedures are applicable and available.

I acknowledge that I have had the opportunity to obtain additional information regarding the study and that any questions I have raised have been answered to my full satisfaction. Furthermore, I understand that I am free to withdraw consent at any time and to discontinue participation in the study without prejudice to me.

Finally, I agree that I have read and fully understand the consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily.

Date: __________ Signed: ________________________________

(Participant)

Date: __________ Signed: ________________________________

(Principal Investigator or her authorized representative)

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APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTRODUCTION

First of all, I'd like to thank you for being willing to talk to me. As you know, I am interested in the role part-time work has played in women's lives. I know from the survey you sent back to me that you currently are working part-time in a professional position.

With your permission, I would like to audiotape our interview. Let me know if at any time you would like me to turn off the tape recorder. If you prefer, I won't tape the interview but will take extensive notes. Your comments are confidential and will be used in such a way that is it unlikely that your identity will be discovered.

[Complete consent form.] Are you ready to begin? For the record, do I have your permission to record the interview?  

I have several topics I want to explore with you, but first I want to get to know you a little better and understand more about your life and your work.

BACKGROUND/CONTEXT

1. Tell me about yourself and your life. How you grew up. How family members may have influenced your decisions in terms of education, career, and work.

   How did you develop a concept of work?

   What is important to you at this time in your life?

   How does work fit into your life?

   What role does it has it played?

2. When you graduated from high school and/or college, what did you imagine as your future? What did you want in life? What has happened to you since high school and college?
3. What were you doing immediately before you came to the college?

4. What brought you to the college?

THE MEANING OF WORK

5. What decisions and events brought you to your current position?

Please describe your work.

6. What does your job mean to you? How do you feel about the work you do in your current job?

7. What is it like to work at the college?

What is it like to work in your office?

8. How do you think others regard you?

How do people here (faculty, staff, students) generally regard part-time workers?

THE MEANING OF PART-TIME WORK

9. What has guided or influenced the decisions you have made about your work throughout your life? What guides the decisions you make about the kind of job you hold?

10. At what point did you become interested in part-time work?

11. Have you encountered any barriers as a part-time professional?

Work factors (environment, personnel rules, remuneration, etc.)

Individual factors (family, personal, etc.)

12. Are there any differences between part-time versus full-time at the college? Are there similarities?
13. How do you think your full-time counterparts perceive the role of the part-time employee? How do you feel about their perception of part-time employees?
What impact does their view have on your working relationship with them?

14. Tell me about the support or non-support you’ve received from administration as a part-time employee.
How does their view of your role affect you?

15. What committees are you serving on? What is your role on these committees? How do others on the committee view your contribution to the work of the committee?

16. What do you see yourself doing five years from now professionally? What role do you see part-time work playing in your future?

PROFESSIONALISM

17. How would you define a “professional?”

18. How do you perceive a part-time professional versus a full-time professional? The same or different?

19. (A) How do you think others regard the professionalism of part-timers?
(B) Do you have any evidence that may support your perceptions?
How do people here (faculty, staff, students) generally view part-timers’ professionally?

CAREER DEVELOPMENT

20. What does the word “career” mean to you?

21. How does the concept of “career” fit with the various jobs you have had?

22. What role does part-time work play in your career?
23. Generally speaking, would you say part-time professionals have careers?

24. If you could design your work and your life however you wanted to, what would it look like? How could you make this a reality?

25. What are you looking forward to in the future? What are your hopes and dreams for the future?

GENDER/RACE

26. How would you describe the impact being a woman has had on your work?

27. How would you describe the impact race has had on your work?

28. If you were czar for a day at your institution and could make one non-monetary or non-budget change that would impact professionals working part-time, what would that be and why did you choose it?

29. We are out of time, however, I wanted to give you an opportunity to add anything else that you think will help me understand your role as a part-time employee.

Thank you for your time. I really appreciate the opportunity we had to talk. May I call you if I have any questions about what we've talked about today? If you have questions, don't hesitate to call me at work or home at the numbers included in my letter to you. If you are interested, I would be happy to let you know the results of my research.

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT BACKGROUND SURVEY

Part One

INSTRUCTIONS

The following questions are designed to help me know more about you and your background. All information will be kept confidential. In the write-up of the findings of the study your name will never be associated with material from this survey or any other component of this project.

Please respond to the questions contained in this questionnaire as honestly as possible. However, the information you choose to provide on the questionnaire is up to your discretion. If you have questions regarding the survey, please contact me at the number listed below.

Please return the survey form to me by April 5 in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope. I plan to interview approximately 20 women currently working part-time in professional positions. Therefore, I may be contacting you for an interview. The number in the upper right-hand corner of the questionnaire is for my use and will allow me to identify your survey without using your name.

If you have any questions or need additional information, please contact me as follows:

XXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXX

Background Employment Information

1. How long have you worked at the college? _________

2. What were you doing before you came to the college to work?

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

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3. What positions have you held at the college?

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4. What is your highest level of educational attainment?

Demographic Information

5. What is your age? ______

6. What is your race?
   - African American
   - Hispanic
   - Asian American/Pacific Islander
   - American Indian
   - Caucasian/White (Non-Hispanic)

7. Are you currently married/living with life-long partner? _____________ How long? ____
   Were you previously married/living with life-long partner? _____________ From what year to what year? ______________________
   Are you currently single? ______

8. Do you have children? ______ yes ______ no
   How many children do you have and what are their ages?
9. How many people (including you) live in your household?

____________________________________

Which best approximates your family's annual income (please check one):

[ ] under $10,000
[ ] $10,000 - $14,999
[ ] $15,000 - $24,999
[ ] $25,000 - $34,999
[ ] $35,000 - $49,999
[ ] $50,000 - $74,999
[ ] $75,000 and over

10. What is the highest level of education completed by your mother?

____________________________________

11. What is the highest level of education completed by your father?

____________________________________

12. Did your mother work outside the home?

[ ] yes    [ ] no

If yes, what was her occupation? Full or Part-time

____________________________________

13. Did your father work outside the home?

[ ] yes    [ ] no

If yes, what was his occupation? Full or Part-time

____________________________________