

ABSTRACT

Title of Document:

AN EXPLORATORY EXAMINATION OF
THE FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE
INCREASING PRESENCE OF WOMEN
PRESIDENTS IN MARYLAND
COMMUNITY COLLEGES

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Many women faculty build their academic careers in the community college environment but are reluctant to consider, and face barriers to pursuing, the presidency in those same environments. The percentage of women presidents in Maryland two-year colleges has been increasing since 1989 and has been above the national average of women presidents in associate's institutions since 1998. This study is about the collective presence of women presidents in the 16 Maryland community colleges using embedded units of analysis. Utilizing feminist standpoint theory and Bolman and Deal's four organizational frames, this exploratory case study examined the factors that contributed to the comparatively high numbers of women presidents at Maryland community colleges. The methods used included interviews, analysis of trend data, and analysis of archival documents. The findings from this study suggest that the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland was the result of several interrelated factors that mitigated or removed gendered barriers for women academic leaders who were pursuing community college presidencies in Maryland. Significant factors related to each of this study's conceptual frameworks contributed to the high number and increasing appointments of women community college presidents in Maryland between 1989 and 2012. First, Maryland's abundant labor market, educational attainment trends among women, pipeline of potential women applicants in Maryland community colleges (faculty, chief officers) and geography (proximity between community colleges) proved to be strong structural factors. Second, national and regional leadership development opportunities, intentional and pervasive mentoring of women community college leaders at Maryland community colleges, and non-traditional

approaches to presidential searches by Maryland community college boards of trustees were strong human resource factors, particularly between 1989-2006. At the same time, strong alliances among women legislators, political activists, and higher education leaders between 1989 and 2006 proved to be significant political factors. Additionally, Maryland's perceived progressive state politics and MACCs collaborative organizational structure were strong cultural factors that attracted women community college academic leaders from outside the state and provided a collective community college culture that supported the development of women presidents and academic leaders in Maryland community colleges. Finally, women community college academic leaders' agency (personal and collective) around balancing family (gendered work norms), pursuing critical experiences in preparation for the presidency (career aspirations), and owning collaborative and constructive leadership orientations (gendered leadership norms) were strong feminist/gendered factors that contributed to this phenomenon.

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IN MARYLAND COMMUNITY COLLEGES

by

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to:

My parents, Claire and Beth Waldvogel, my sister, Gay Waldvogel, my husband, Steve Martin, the children that came into my life 15 years ago, Brennan and Kerri Martin, and my sister through friendship, Mandy Fletcher Matheney.

The women and men Maryland higher education leaders in this study for welcoming my inquiries. They willingly shared intimate details about their careers and personal lives with me. I am truly inspired by the ways these leaders have utilized their positions to foster positive, collaborative, and socially just community college environments in Maryland.

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The University of Maryland Leadership, Higher Education, and International Education program proved to be a perfect match for my intellectual interests and investment in social justice. Our faculty’s commitment to critically examining higher education policies, practices, and processes through the lens of social and individual identity continues to motivate me as a writer and practitioner. I will always consider this program my intellectual “home.”

Frequently compared to a marathon, the doctoral journey was long, daunting, and challenged my natural tenacity. The other students in this program have been absolutely critical to my success. They taught me to be brave and to ask questions about processes that I did not understand. They shared their struggles and triumphs openly, which helped me hone my own strategies for success. The “*Community of Writers*” has been my academic and emotional support system. I have many writing colleagues who spent long days writing with me (Dr. Wendell Holmes, Dr. Nicole Long, Dr. Lucy LePeau, Dr. Paulina Perez Mejias, Michelle Beadle, Angel Miles, Dr. Maritza Gonzalez, Stephanie Chang, Kirsten Chase, Anna Bedford, Donna Lim, Ann Becks, Lenisa Joseph, Schnell, and Olan Garrett). I am particularly appreciative of the support, inspiration, and

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Many women faculty build their academic careers in the community college environment but are reluctant to consider, and face barriers to pursuing, the presidency in those same environments (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Cook & Young, 2012; Hagedorn & Laden, 2002; Mitchell & Eddy, 2008; Wolf-Wendel, Ward, & Twombly, 2007). The percentage of women presidents in Maryland two-year colleges has been increasing since 1989 and has been above the national average of women presidents in associate's institutions since 1998 (Cook & Young, 2012; Maryland Association of Community Colleges [MACC], Directories 2004-2012). Utilizing feminist standpoint theory (Collins, 1997; Hawkesworth, 1999; Hooks, 1989, 1994; Jaggar, 2008) and Bolman and Deal's (1984, 1991, 2003, 2008) four organizational frames, the purpose of this exploratory case study was to examine the factors that contribute to the comparatively high numbers of women presidents at Maryland community colleges.

Women presidents (American Association of Community Colleges [AACCC], 2010; Cook & Young, 2012; King & Gomez, 2008), other women academic leaders (King & Gomez, 2008), women faculty (Eagan, 2007; Shaw, Callahan, & Lechasseur, 2008), and faculty of color (Eagan, 2007; Shaw, Callahan, & Lechasseur, 2008; West & Curtis, 2006) tend to be found in larger numbers at public two-year institutions than at large public four-year institutions. Women make up 26.4% of college presidents (Cook & Young, 2012), 38% of chief academic officers, 35% of deans, (King & Gomez, 2008), and 43.6% of full-time instructional staff across institutional

type (calculated from Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System [IPEDS], 2010, Table 10; National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2010, Table 9). In contrast, women represent 33% of community college presidents (Cook & Young, 2012) and hold 65% of senior academic positions at two-year public institutions (King & Gomez, 2008). Additionally, 54% of full-time instructional staff (calculated from IPEDS 2010, Table 10, NCES 2010, 9), 51% of full-time faculty, and 52% of part-time faculty at community colleges are women (AACC, 2010).

Evidently, as positions have become available over the last decade, women community college academic leaders have been positioned to assume the community college presidency in Maryland. During my review of leadership positions at Maryland community colleges in 2012, I discovered that 56% of the colleges' presidents are women (Maryland Association of Community Colleges Directory, 2012). This is much higher than the 33% of women in community college presidencies nationally (Cook & Young, 2012). Additionally, as shown in Table 1, the percentage of women presidents in Maryland community colleges has been

Table 1
Women Presidents 1998-2012

	Maryland Community Colleges ^a	Public Associate's Institutions Nationally ^b	All institutional types Nationally ^b
1998	22.2%	22.1%	19.3%
2001	36.8%	27.0%	21.1%
2006	41.2%	29.1%	23.0%
2012	56.2%	33.0%	26.4%

Sources: ^b Cook & Young, 2012; ^a MACC Directories, 2004-2012; ^a Maryland Community College Websites-Appendix A, ^a Directory of County Officials: Maryland Association of Counties

increasing since 1998 and has been higher than the percentage of women presidents at public associate's institutions nationally since 1998.

The Maryland Association of Community Colleges (MACC) appears to be concerned with the status of gender equity because, over the last two decades, the organization has produced numerous reports about gender equity indicators (e.g., salary, tenure, full-time status, and part-time status) at Maryland community colleges (MDACC, Publications-Personnel). Historically, Maryland has established community college leadership programs earlier than other states (Harford Community College-Harford Leadership Academy, 2013; Jeandron, 2006). Maryland also had a relatively active state level women's commission from 1970-2000 as compared to other states (e.g., New Jersey, Oklahoma, Mississippi) where the percentage of women presidents is below national averages (Dublin & Sklar, 1997-2012, see Appendices B, C, D). While Maryland's Commission on Women tended to educate state constituents about a wide variety of issues (e.g., women's rights, child support enforcement, family personnel policies), this organization also addressed gender equity in Maryland's higher education institutions (e.g., gender representation on institutional boards and commissions, the number of women executives in community colleges) (Dublin & Sklar, 1997-2012). Overall, these trends in Maryland suggest that a complex interaction of environmental contexts and individual factors may explain the collective presence of women presidents at Maryland community colleges.

Description of the Problem

The American Council on Education's 2007 edition of the *American College President Study* indicated, "women have made inroads into the senior leadership of American higher education, but parity for women presidents has yet to be reached" (p. 18)." Both the 2007 and 2012 editions of the *American College President Study* suggest that institutions are increasingly selecting leaders with more experience (i.e., worked previously as a community college president) and that this approach to hiring could limit opportunities for younger leaders, women and people of color (American Council on Education [ACE] & TIAA Cref, 2007; ACE, 2012). Both reports highlight that, across institutional type, women were more equally represented in senior leadership positions (e.g. chief of staff, chief academic officer, dean, chief diversity officer, provost, senior administrative officer) but not in the college presidency (Cook & Young, 2012, King & Gomez, 2008). In their report, Cook and Young found that "if the proportion of women who serve as senior administrators and full-time faculty provides a standard for equity, then women, as presidents, remain underrepresented" (p. 14).

Serving as Chief Academic Officer (CAO) has increasingly become a typical route to the presidency. Among all presidents in 2012, 34% held previous positions as a CAO, up from 23% in 1986 (Cook & Young, 2012). However, Dean (2008), in a study of 657 chief academic officers across institutional type, found that 63% of the officers in her study did not desire the presidency. Yet, these academic leaders felt prepared to secure the presidency if they wanted to, particularly if they received encouragement, reassurance, and confidence from the right people.

These types of support are critical, because even in the community college system, women faculty and academic leaders face significant barriers to pursuing the presidency (Dean, 2008; Dean, Bracken & Allen, 2009; Green, 2008; Shults, 2001; Vaughan & Weisman, 2003). Shults (2001) reported that, overall, the preparation and desire of community college faculty members for pursuing a leadership position has declined. Vaughan and Weisman (2003) confirmed this finding citing that a lack of preparation (AACC, 2002, as cited in Vaughan & Weisman, 2003) and lack of individuals applying (Evelyn, 2001, as cited in Vaughan & Weisman, 2003) creates the gap between the number of women in the pipeline to the presidency and the percentage of women in the community college presidency.

Recent studies (Dean; 2008; Eddy & Cox, 2008; Mitchell & Eddy, 2008) have utilized diverse research methods to understand the experiences of women community college academic leaders. Dean's (2008) quantitative survey method in addition to finding that the majority of women academic leaders across institutional type did not desire the presidency, found that CAOs at associate's and doctoral institutions received more mentoring than colleagues at baccalaureate and master's institutions. Using qualitative methods, Mitchell and Eddy (2008) found that midlevel community college academic leaders expressed a desire to remain in their current positions instead of pursuing advancement within the community college system. Eddy and Cox (2008), in their phenomenological study, found that woman community college leaders may choose to wait until their children are grown, or their partners retire, to take on the presidency. On the other hand, also using survey methods, Keim and Murray (2008) suggested that although women are still

underrepresented, they are making some progress in obtaining the top academic administrative position in community colleges. Keim and Murray found that of the 300 colleges randomly selected from the AACC Membership Directory for their study, 44% of the colleges were led by women CAOs. In other words, from a pipeline perspective, there are many women leaders positioned to pursue the two-year college presidency depending on individual desire and encouragement from mentors.

Community college researchers and practitioners have been particularly concerned with preparing women faculty and academic leaders for leadership positions because community college presidents, academic leaders, and faculty are due to retire in large numbers during this decade (Boggs, 2003; Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Green, 2008; Mitchell & Eddy, 2008; Sullivan, 2002; Townsend, 2008; Vaughan & Weisman, 2003; Weisman, Vaughan, & AACC, 2006; Wolf-Wendel, Ward, & Twombly, 2007). Vaughan and Weisman (2003) asserted that 79% of presidents planned to retire by 2012. Weisman, Vaughan, and AACC (2006) projected that 84% of community college leaders will retire by 2016. These current and pending retirements provide an opportunity to increase the percentage of women in the community college presidency, given the percentages of women and academic leaders in the pipeline.

Approaches to Studying the Phenomena

My review of current research on the study of women faculty and academic leaders in community colleges revealed multiple theories and perspectives about the higher percentages of women in various academic positions at community colleges as well as the remaining barriers to achieving gender equity in most community college

systems. Researchers have utilized several strategies to understand these issues. Next, I briefly outline five approaches for studying these phenomena.

Structural approach. Researchers who take a structural approach to understanding the large percentage of women at two-year colleges tend to explore demographic, pipeline, organizational, and policy-related explanations for this phenomenon (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Hagedorn & Laden, 2002; Keim & Murray, 2008; McKenney & Cejda, 2000; Murray, Murray, & Summar, 2001; Perna, 2001; Phelps, Taber, & Smith, 1996; Shaw, Callahan, & Lechasseur, 2008; Weisman, Vaughan, & AACC, 2006; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006; Wolf-Wendel, Ward & Twombly, 2007). This group of researchers examined a variety of policies (e.g., “stop the clock,” tenure, family leave policies) that may apply to women across institutional type. Some of these policies and laws (e.g., affirmative action, sexual harassment, Title IX, Title VII) help disenfranchised groups such as women and people of color. Enacting these types of policies may have political as well as structural implications for organizations.

From a demographic and pipeline perspective, women have been well represented in the path (e.g., faculty, administrator, academic leader) to community college leadership positions as compared to four-year institutions (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Cook & Young, 2012; Eagan, 2007; King & Gomez, 2008; Townsend & Twombly, 2007). Historically, women, people of color, and other underrepresented groups have often entered the two-year college environment because of the community college’s unique role in providing open access to education (Cohen & Brower, 2008; Nevarez & Wood, 2010).

Nevarez and Wood (2010) referred to the period of community college development between 1960 and 1980 as the “equal opportunity period” (p. 40). It appears this time period marked the beginning of the current trend of women working in the two-year college instead of four-year environments. For example, Price (1981) indicated that in the 1980s women represented 29.2% of tenured and 38.7% of untenured faculty in two-year colleges and that more women faculty were teaching in two-year colleges than four-year colleges.

From their inception, community colleges were intentionally created to stratify higher education institutions, allowing four-year institutions to serve “elite” constituents. For example, the early development of the junior, technical, and community college was designed partially to provide women with access to education (Weisman, Vaughan, & ACCC, 2007). U.S. families were more inclined to send their sons to the distant, elite, and more costly institutions and keep their daughters close to home (Solomon, 1985). Current researchers contend that women and people of color, although well represented in the two-year college environment, are still relegated to those environments (Perna, 2001; Shaw, Callahan, & Lechasseur, 2008, Townsend & Twombly, 2007). For example, Perna (2001) analyzed 1993 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty data about full-time faculty across institutional type. She concluded that some structural models (Bayer & Astin, 1968; Bellas, 1997 as cited in Perna, 2001; Smart, 1991) attribute sex and race differences in tenure and rank “to the segregation of women and minorities in the types of academic fields, institutions, and work roles that have lower prestige and value” (p. 544). Shaw, Callahan, and Lechasseur (2008) specifically studied the lives of two-year college faculty, and like

Perna, utilized a perspective that considered the resources and status associated with community colleges. Shaw et al., citing 2003 data from the National Center for Education Statistics, cautioned that community colleges still rank low in regards to status and resources as compared to other types of institutions.

In summary, the continued struggle for gender equity presents different challenges across institutional type. It appears that the underrepresentation of women in the community college presidency does not stem from a broad underrepresentation of women in the two-year college sector. Additionally, there is evidence that the higher percentage of women presidents at community colleges may be an example of a gendered labor market where women and people of color tend to lead the lower status two-year colleges instead of the more elite four-year, research institutions.

Overall, organizational rules, policies, and procedures can support women's desire and ability to assume the community college presidency by removing structural constraints and barriers to their success (e.g., access to childcare, family leave policies, and tenure policies or procedures) (Perna, 2001; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006). Community colleges are known among institutional types for their attentiveness to policies and structured programs that are likely to support women, such as affordable childcare, sick time, and promotion and tenure policies that emphasize advancement based on teaching and advising. Perna (2001) found that racial/ethnic group differences in tenure rates were less pronounced at public two-year institutions than among faculty at four-year institutions. This difference is likely attributed to different tenure policies in the community college environment that are based on teaching evaluations instead of scholarship and publications (Cohen &

Brawer, 2008). Wolf-Wendel and Ward (2006) also conducted a large, qualitative study across institutional type and focused on organizational policies that were designed to influence the satisfaction of women faculty in regards to work and family balance. However, women still had concerns about utilizing these policies. The authors found women across institutional type, including community colleges, had concerns about utilizing “stop the clock” policies that allowed them to delay the tenure process for childbirth because they believed utilizing such policies would be frowned upon in the advancement process. Wolf-Wendel and Ward (2006) also found that women faculty in community colleges had concerns about getting coverage for classes when family members were sick based on heavy teaching loads in lieu of four-year faculty demands to conduct research and publish.

In summary, the structural frame of Bolman and Deal’s (2003, 2008) four frames applies sociology and management science to explain this type of organizational phenomenon. Researchers using a structural frame emphasize goals, specialized roles, formal relationships, and examine organizational charts, rules, policies, procedures, and hierarchies. Sometimes researchers blend structural and human resource approaches because mentoring and education may empower women to take advantage of the structures and programs that support their advancement.

Human resource approach. Researchers who utilize human resource and development approaches to understanding the large percentage of women faculty, administrators, and leaders in two-year colleges tend to explore the influence of human capital, mentoring, networking, and leadership development on this phenomenon (AACC, 2010; Crosson, Douglas, & O’Meara, 2005; Eggins, 1997;

Madsen, 2008; Perna; 2001; Sullivan, 2002; Reille & Kezar, 2010; VanDerLinden, 2004; Vincent, 2004). This group of researchers explores how leadership preparation or mentoring programs help women faculty and academic leaders in community colleges overcome barriers to the presidency. For example, although Perna (2001) used a structural model in her research, she also used human capital theory as one of her frameworks. Human capital theory examines a person's investment in their education, personal development, and training (Perna, 2001).

Some researchers have examined leadership training programs to understand the impact leadership development has on women's desire and ability to assume the presidency (Crosson, Douglas, & O'Meara, 2005; Eggins, 1997; Reille & Kezar, 2010). Yet, the availability of training may not explain all the factors relevant to the advancement of women in community colleges. VanDerLinden (2004) utilized human capital theory to explain the career advancement of community college administrators in Michigan. After conducting a survey with a stratified random sample of 300 community college administrators, VanDerLinden determined that human capital theory was not a good model for predicting promotion based on gender. VanDerLinden found that women leaders in Michigan community colleges were not attending national leadership development institutes at the same rate as men. VanDerLinden (2004) concluded that "while more human capital variables could be added to the regression equation, there may be current job market features, other organizational characteristics, and certain structures of opportunity that were not captured in this study" (p. 16).

Other studies have found that women in community colleges are taking advantage of leadership development programs. Eggins and the Society for Research in Higher Education (1997) highlighted the National Identification Program for the Advancement of Women in Higher Education (ACE/NIP) in their article about programs that prepare deserving individual women for leadership roles. At the time of the article (1997), 20% of current women presidents in higher education institutions had emerged from the ACE/NIP program. In her phenomenological study, Madsen (2008) also found that leadership programs and mentors were critical contributors in preparing women to seek college presidencies. In addition, Sullivan (2002) found that the learning needs and strategies of the women community college presidents she interviewed matched the recommendations outlined in the Association of Community Colleges' *Leadership 2020* report and *Leading Forward* project.

Appropriate networking, mentoring, and leadership programs can support women's desire and ability to assume the community college presidency by increasing their leadership competencies, providing positive role models, increasing confidence, and providing support. Bolman and Deal's (2003, 2008) human resource frame utilizes psychological theories and frameworks to explain this type of organizational phenomenon. Researchers using the human resource frame emphasize the growth, development, individual, and relational aspects of organizations (e.g., networking and mentoring). Other researchers focus their approaches on the relational and political aspects of organizations because organizational advocacy may influence the work environment for women.

Political approach. Researchers who utilize political approaches to examine the high percentage of women at community colleges, in addition to addressing structural issues such as affirmative action policies, sexual harassment laws, and worker's rights, also tend to explore the impact of coalitions, commissions, or unions on women's experiences (Glazer-Raymo, 2008; Townsend & Twombly, 2001; West & Curtis, 2006). For example, Glazer-Raymo provided an extensive outline of political factors that have influenced institutions of higher education over the last five decades, including: the work of women's commissions to create equitable opportunities for women in higher education institutions; the implementation of Title IX and Title VII in higher education; Supreme Court decisions around affirmative action policies; unionization efforts for full-time and part-time faculty; and the recent hiring of women presidents at Ivy League institutions. Collective bargaining has evidently influenced the lives of women faculty at two-year colleges because contracts increased exponentially between 1966 and 2005 (Cohen & Brawer, 2008).

Unions and coalitions assume different capacities on community college campuses. For example, in her study, Perna (2001) found that working at a unionized institution is a more important predictor of tenure at public two-year institutions than at four-year institutions. Outcalt (2002) also found that faculty at community colleges perceived that bargaining units benefited faculty whether or not unionization existed on their campus. Finally, in her study, Allan (2003) discussed the benefits of women's commissions on college campuses and their role in helping women address gender equity through policy recommendations to the president. However, her study

looked across institutional type and Allan recommended that future studies about women's commissions be broken down by institutional type.

State governments, higher education systems, and individual institutions often use affirmative action, sexual harassment, and Title IX policies to attract women, people of color and underrepresented groups to their organizations. For example, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) regularly distributes reports about national, state, and individual campus gender equity indicators including: the percentage of men and women in various types of faculty positions across institutional type; salary comparisons between men and women based on position type; and tenure status based on gender (Glazer-Raymo, 2008). The Maryland Association of Community Colleges reports similar information each year about the individual community colleges (MDACC Databook, 2013). This type of reporting allows women to understand various aspects of the structural environment at an institution and make informed decisions regarding their potential success and satisfaction working in a particular environment.

Commissions, unions, and other coalitions can serve as networking and support opportunities for women on the path to leadership positions. They also serve as sites for policy development and advocacy in support of women's advancement. Bolman and Deal's (2003, 2008) political frame utilizes sociology and political science theory to explain this type of organizational phenomenon. Researchers using the political frame emphasize the bargaining, negotiation, coercion, compromising, and coalition building aspects of organizations. Other researchers focus their approaches on the interaction between the relational, structural, and cultural aspects

of organizations because they often come together to influence the overall campus environment.

Cultural approach. Researchers who utilize a cultural approach to understand the high percentage of women faculty, administrators, and leaders in two-year colleges tend to examine the impact of institutional and social norms on women's experiences in higher education (Bailey, 2008; Bechtold, 2008; Cooper & Pagotto, 2003; Dominici, Fried, & Zeger, 2009; Eddy, 2009; Eddy & Cox, 2008; Garza-Mitchell & Eddy, 2008; Green, 2008; Hagedorn & Laden, 2002; Muñoz, 2010; Opp & Gosetti, 2002; Townsend & Twombly, 2007; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008). For example, Townsend and Twombly (2007) examined the culture and/or climate for women at community colleges to determine if two-year colleges are equitable worksites for women. Specifically, they utilized an adaptation of Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, and Allen's (1999) framework for assessing an institution's climate for diversity and applied it to recent community college literature, studies, and surveys. Hurtado et al. (1999) defined the dimensions of climate as 1) the historical legacy of inclusion/exclusion, as illustrated in its past and current mission and policies, 2) structural diversity, or the extent of diversity among students, faculty, and staff, 3) psychological climate, as illustrated by people's perceptions of racial/ethnic tensions and discrimination, and attitudes about prejudice, and 4) behavioral dimensions, as demonstrated by interactions between or among the relevant groups in the institution as a whole and in the classroom. Townsend and Twombly (2007) concluded that although numerical equity exists at community colleges, community

college leaders in their study rarely used strategies to intentionally create equitable environments for women and minorities.

Hagedorn and Laden (2002) came to a different conclusion when they assessed the existence or non-existence of a “chilly climate” for women community college faculty. Similar to Townsend and Twombly (2007), Hagedorn and Laden wrote a literature review for part of their study but then examined a national survey conducted by the Center for the Study of Community Colleges. Hagedorn and Laden used a gendered frame of analysis to examine these categories: 1) overall assessment of climate; 2) satisfaction with salary; 3) satisfaction with students; 4) propensity to leave; 5) desire for more colleague interactions; and 6) attitudes toward discrimination. Hagedorn and Laden found only a slight gender effect for perception of a chilly climate but did find a statistically significant affect for women of color.

Understanding women’s perceptions of an institution helps researchers discern the intent versus the impact of structural, human resource, and political policies or programs on women’s views about assuming leadership positions within community colleges. Bolman and Deal’s (2003, 2008) cultural frame utilizes sociology and anthropology to explain this type of organizational phenomenon. Researchers using the cultural frame emphasize the role that values, beliefs, stories, myths, and assumptions play in an organization. This type of approach often overlaps with feminist approaches as a method for understanding the specific experiences of women in the context of higher education institutions and society.

Feminist approach. Researchers using a feminist approach to examine the high percentage of women at two-year colleges tend to consider the unique

circumstances that keep majority women and women of color from pursuing or acquiring leadership positions (Bechtold, 2008; Eddy & Cox, 2008; Garza-Mitchell & Eddy, 2008; Muñoz, 2010; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008). Standpoint theorists, such as those from feminist and African American studies, utilize the distinctive view of women and women of color within an organization (or culture) to identify barriers and suggest possible interventions that might positively change the environment (Collins, 1997; Hawkesworth, 1999; Hooks, 1989, 1994; Jaggar, 2008). For example, Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2008) examined feminist perspectives of work and family by analyzing their participants' responses through liberal feminism and feminist post-structuralism frameworks. Specifically, Ward and Wolf-Wendel wanted to understand the choices women faculty made about balancing work and family, the consequences of those choices, and the influence institutional environments had on those choices. They found that: 1) women were choosing "less prestigious" institutions because of relaxed tenure policies; 2) male definitions of the "ideal worker" still exist; 3) male "ideal worker" discourses were evident beginning at the doctoral level; and 4) work and family policies on most campuses "didn't exist, weren't considered useful, or weren't talked about " (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008, p. 255).

Several other researchers explored concepts of the "ideal worker" and gender based leadership norms from the perspectives of women (Eddy & Cox, 2008; Garza-Mitchell & Eddy, 2008; Muñoz, 2010). These norms are partially based on societal norms that have attributed women's work to the private sphere (e.g., home, family, children) and men's work to the public sphere (e.g., work, politics) (Harstock, 1993, 1997; Sprague, 2005). For example, Eddy and Cox (2008) conducted a

phenomenological study and used Acker's (2006) gendered organizational model to frame the study. Acker (2006) posited that gendering in organizations occurs in at least five interacting processes: the construction of divisions along gender lines; the construction of symbols and images that explain, reinforce, or oppose those divisions; the interactions between genders that enact dominance and submission; the production of gendered components of individual identity; and the ongoing processes of creating and conceptualizing social structures. Eddy and Cox (2008), Garza-Mitchell and Eddy (2008), and Muñoz (2010) found evidence that the organizational structures of the community colleges in their studies were still based on gendered and dichotomous work norms. Most of the women academic leaders in these studies indicated that they based decisions about pursuing the presidency around their family obligations and their partner's job status.

Women benefit from feminist approaches because they tend to uncover the hidden and often inequitable aspects of society and institutions. More recent iterations of standpoint theory utilize multiple perspectives about reality (based on gender, race, religion, social class, and other social identities) to explain how women, people of color, and other disadvantaged groups interact within hierarchical power relations (Collins, 1997, 2000, 2009; Sprague, 2005). Women's perspectives could be incorporated into many of the other approaches outline in this chapter, but Collins (1997) cautions that standpoint and "collective voice" are not the same and that "power relations generate differences within group voice or standpoint" (p. 380). Therefore it was important for me not to assume there is a "women's" collective voice because of the intersections of women's various identities (race, ethnicity, class,

gender identity, sexual orientation, ability status, and religion). In addition to providing a different frame with which to view this phenomenon, a feminist approach influenced the themes that emerge from utilizing Bolman and Deal's (2003, 2008) four organizational frames to examine the presence of women presidents in Maryland community colleges

Theoretical Framework

There are many ways to approach understanding the increasing presence of women presidents in Maryland community colleges. Although there are examples of phenomenology (Eddy & Cox, 2009; Madsen, 2008), quantitative survey research (Boggs, 2003; Dominici, Fried, & Zeger, 2009; Murray, Murray & Summar, 2001; Sullivan, 2002), and narrative inquiry (Green, 2008) in the literature, this study approached the complex nature of the comparatively high numbers of women presidents in Maryland community colleges by examining multiple factors, and the potential interaction of those factors, using case study as the methodological approach. I chose multiple frames and theories to assist me in teasing apart the unique nature of this phenomenon and the potentially complex interaction of factors that have influenced the women community college presidents in Maryland.

My conceptual framework included Bolman and Deal's (2003, 2008) four organizational frames that focus on the structural, political, human resource, and cultural aspects of organizations, as well as feminist standpoint theory (Collins, 1997; Hawkesworth, 1999; Hooks, 1989, 1994; Jaggar, 2008). Bolman and Deal's (2003, 2008) four frames helped me to reveal multiple aspects of the community college environment that influenced this phenomenon, such as: the influence of women's

affinity groups in creating women's networks; the role of mentoring as a tool for preparing women for leadership roles; the gender make up of search committees and governing boards; the presidents' sense of personal and professional agency; perceived barriers on the path to academic leadership; and policies or organizational structures that impeded (or assisted) women faculty in successful pursuit of the presidency (Dean, Bracken, & Allen 2009; O'Meara, Terosky, & Neumann, 2008). Feminist standpoint theory compelled my inquiry to include the perspectives, histories, claims, views, accounts, transformative practices, and knowledge claims of women living and experiencing the intersections of gender, sexual orientation, race, class, and religion (Collins, 1997; Hawkesworth, 1999; Hooks 1989, 1994; Jaggar, 2008; Mertens, 2010; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Combined, this set of frames helped me take a more holistic approach to examine the collective presence of women presidents at Maryland community colleges.

Purpose of the Study

The increasingly high percentage of women in top leadership roles at Maryland community colleges signifies that there are critical factors supporting their collective presence. I was interested in the reasons why Maryland has a higher percentage of women community college presidents relative to the national average. In this study I employed structural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist approaches to examine this phenomenon. I focused on the combination and interaction of structural, human resource, political, and cultural factors instead of just one factor. The research questions for this study included:

- What are the factors that have contributed to the comparatively high percentage of women community college presidents in Maryland?
- How have these factors interacted to contribute to the increasing presence of women community college presidents in Maryland?

The findings from this study have implications for research, policy, and practice. Previous researchers interested in women community college leaders have generally utilized a singular frame or approach (e.g., studying an individual community college or several presidents) or have conducted a survey with various presidents, academic leaders, or women faculty. This study took a multi-pronged approach and looked at various factors that contributed to the success of women academic leaders within a case bounded by a state system, instead of being bounded by an individual institution. This study offers further evidence of activities (e.g., leadership development programs, networking opportunities), policies (e.g., search guidelines, affirmative action), and aspects of regional and state governance that encourage the hiring and promotion of women in the two-year college setting.

Methods

I utilized an exploratory case study design to examine the increasing presence of women in community college presidencies in Maryland. Yin (2009) provided the best rationale for why a qualitative framework added to my understanding of why so many women are at these community colleges: “a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 18). Essentially, this phenomenon lends itself to a case study

approach because there were many variables of interest that explained the collective presence of women presidents in Maryland. Although historical factors were involved in creating the variables that led to this high percentage, the phenomenon is also situated in the present. Ruddin (2006) argued that “the strength of case study is that it captures ‘reality’ in great detail and thus allows for both analysis of a greater number of variables and for generalization from the concrete, practical, and context-dependent knowledge created in the investigation” (p. 430). Utilizing Bolman and Deal’s (2003, 2008) organizational frames and feminist standpoint theory (Collins, 1997; Hawkesworth, 1999), I was able to create an initial picture of the collective organizational environments of the 16 Maryland community colleges and the various internal and external factors contributing to the high percentage of women in the presidency.

The state of Maryland was my central case and I collected data on this case using: analysis of archival data and trend data; interviews with previous and current women and men community college presidents in Maryland; online web searches for each of the 16 community colleges to examine missions statements and the existence of gender related academic programs, diversity offices, and family-friendly policies. This study is about the collective presence of women presidents in the 16 Maryland community colleges, with embedded units of analysis, and within the context of the state of Maryland. The focus of this study included all potential influences on the high percentage of women in the Maryland community college presidency as this phenomenon developed between 1989 and 2012. This includes examination of the Maryland community college governance structures, state policies, oversight

agencies, union activity at each of the 16 colleges, and Maryland community college associations. This approach includes the perspectives of community college presidents, community college leaders, higher education administrators, community college trustees, and policy makers.

This study does not explore the pathway to the presidency of each individual woman president. Additionally, I do not conduct a comparative analysis of several states, state governance structures, or higher education institutions. This study specifically examined Maryland community colleges and does not include analysis of the other higher education institutions in the state, including two-year branches of research institutions.

Mertens (2010) identified several approaches to increasing the credibility of qualitative studies: prolonged and persistent engagement, peer debriefing, member checks, progressive subjectivity, negative case analysis, and triangulation of data. Multiple methods of data collection helped resolve issues related to internal validity and reliability, or, trustworthiness of the study. I explored the structural aspects of the colleges by examining the policies and procedures around the hiring process for presidents, and the hierarchies that fed the presidential pipeline. I gathered examples of mentoring programs, workshops, and groups that prepared women for academic leadership to examine the human resource practices of the Maryland community college environment. This information was found on websites, as a part of faculty handbooks, through interviews, and as a part of the archives on the individual campuses or MACC. Finally, I examined the trends around full-time faculty, tenure and unions along with other political coalitions at Maryland community colleges.

Again, my methods included a combination of archival analysis, gathering themes from interviews, examining websites for the campuses, and collecting archival data about Maryland, the community colleges, and state context. I used individual interviews, and document collection (e.g., mission statements, websites, programs, activities) to understand the multiple perspectives regarding the cultural environment in Maryland community colleges.

To analyze my data, I drew on Bolman and Deal's (2003, 2008) four organizational frames (structural, human resources, political, cultural) and feminist standpoint theory (Collins, 1997; Hawkesworth, 1999; Hooks, 1989, 1994; Jaggard, 2008). Creswell's (2009) data analysis spiral describes the analysis process for a case study. The process included creating and organizing files, making notes and forming codes, describing context, establishing themes and patterns, interpreting conversations and policies, developing naturalistic generalizations, and then presenting an in-depth picture of the case using narratives, tables, and figures (p. 156). The analysis was conducted using the conceptual frameworks identified for this study but allowed additional concepts to emerge from the data. Essentially, my data analysis was both data driven and concept driven (Kvale & Brickman, 2009).

Significance of the Study

Although this study focused on Maryland community colleges specifically, the results of this research could potentially assist other states/community colleges in creating effective policies, organizational structures, and climates that promote gender equity in community college leadership positions. Understanding the various practices and conditions that influenced the increasing number of women in

leadership positions at Maryland community colleges might assist two-year college leaders and governing bodies as they structure searches, create organizational policies and procedures, and offer training and development opportunities that support women's pursuit of and persistence in top leadership roles.

Utilizing Bolman and Deal's (2003, 2008) organizational frames along with feminist standpoint theory (Collins, 1997; Hawkesworth, 1999) contributed to our understanding of this phenomenon by not presuming one particular theory was preeminent and searching for interactions among various factors. Additionally, this multi-framed social science approach allowed me to consider the unique context of the state's history, geography, political, economic, and organizational system on higher education institutions. Jamie Lester (2008), a recent and frequent commentator about community colleges, supports this approach, stating, "Specifically, researchers need to use historical, case study, and ethnographic techniques that provide rich details of the program components and the experiences of the participants" (p. 829). By taking a multiple frame, case study approach, I am able to provide detailed, practical information about the current and historical factors that have influenced the high percentage of women community college presidents in Maryland.

Chapter II: Literature Review

The purpose of this exploratory case study was to discover the structural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist factors that influenced the increasing and collective presence of women presidents at the 16 Maryland community colleges. If states and two-year colleges can influence the pipeline of potential women leaders and effectively align structural and political climates in support of women, the pending retirements of current presidents create opportunities for achieving gender equity in the leadership realm of community colleges.

As outlined in chapter one, many women build their academic careers in the community college environment but are reluctant to consider, and face barriers to pursuing, the presidency in those same environments (American Council on Education [ACE] & TIAA-CREF, 2007; Bornstein, 2008; Cohen & Brawer, 2003; Cook & Young, 2012; Hagedorn & Laden, 2002; Mitchell & Eddy, 2008; Wolf-Wendel, Ward, & Twombly, 2007). Utilizing feminist standpoint theory (Collins, 1997; Hawkesworth, 1999; Hooks, 1989, 1994; Jaggar, 2008) and Bolman and Deal's (2003, 2008) four organizational frames, the purpose of this exploratory case study was to examine the factors that contributed to the comparatively high numbers of presidents at Maryland community colleges.

This review of the relevant literature includes a brief historical view of community colleges nationally and in Maryland. I include a brief description of Maryland's state culture, politics, and socio-historical context. Additionally, I describe the status of women faculty, academic leaders, and presidents at the 16

community colleges in Maryland. Then I describe and analyze the various theoretical and methodological approaches (structural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist) researchers have taken to explain the high percentage of women faculty, academic leaders, and presidents in community colleges. After analyzing each theoretical approach, I examine the key limitations of the methods utilized to investigate this phenomenon. This analysis of the literature will demonstrate the reasons why I proposed an interdisciplinary, mixed-method, historical, and qualitative case study approach to understanding the increasing presence of women presidents in Maryland community colleges.

History of Community Colleges

The history of community colleges nationally provides critical contextual information about the collective set of community colleges in Maryland. In this section, I discuss important aspects (e.g., mission, funding, governance, student, faculty, and leaders) of community colleges nationally that may influence the phenomenon in this study. In the next section I will discuss the history of Maryland community colleges specifically.

Vision and mission. William Rainey Harper, known as the father of the community college, was one of several university presidents who advanced the idea of separating universities into those of selective study (four-year research institutions) and those of general education for all people (community colleges). Essentially, he bridged two divergent philosophies among university leaders, the elitist philosophy which advanced the idea that education should be provided to a select few people, and the populist philosophy which supported intellectual and individual freedom for

the common man (Nevarez & Wood, 2010). Since the first community college (Joliet College in Illinois) was established in 1902, four social forces have contributed to the proliferation of the two-year college: 1) a drive for social equality and the perception that education could increase opportunity; 2) the German model of education that established universities as “elite” research centers; 3) industrial market needs in the 1980s paired with the second Morrill Act from 1890 which promoted low cost education and vocational training; and 4) the practice of creating community colleges at the local level to meet the specific needs of a community (Nevarez & Wood, 2010).

The American Association of Community Colleges (AACC) takes its definition of the community college mission from Vaughan’s (2006) book *The Community College Story*:

The mission of the community college is to provide education for individuals, many of whom are adults, in its service region. Most community college missions have basic commitments to: serve all segments of society through an open-access admissions policy that offers equal and fair treatment to all students; a comprehensive educational program; serve its community as a community-based institution of higher education; teaching; and lifelong learning.” (p. 3)

Nevarez and Wood (2010) enhanced this definition by outlining six core elements of the community college mission: 1) offering open access, 2) providing a comprehensive education program, 3) serving the community, 4) focusing on teaching and learning, 5) advancing the concept of lifelong learning, and 6) ensuring student success.

Community college functions are related to these core elements of the mission and include preparing students to transfer to four-year colleges, offering terminal degrees, all while providing remedial education and terminal associates degrees

(Nevarez and Wood, 2010). Cohen and Brawer (2008) explained that bureaucratic and political models of organizations are most applicable for examining the community college as a social organization and that the academic department is the foundation for the overall administrative structure of the colleges. The four central components of community college organizational structure include: 1) the president and cabinet, 2) the academic affairs unit, 3) the student affairs unit, and 4) the business affairs unit. Presidents of community colleges may have worked in any of these units but generally come out of the academic affairs unit of an institution.

Institutional Characteristics. In general, community colleges tend to be smaller than four-year universities, with 57% of community colleges serving fewer than 5,000 students (Nevarez & Wood, 2010). They are characterized by geographically condensed campuses and are usually distributed evenly throughout urban, rural, and suburban areas of a state. Beyond the sheer numbers of people served by the public two-year college system, community colleges are critically important to the towns, counties, and local communities that support them. Community colleges provide low cost access to higher education and job training to the members of the cities and towns where they are located (Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Townsend & Twombly, 2001). Cohen and Brawer (2008) described how community colleges grew without being coordinated at the state level. In most states, community colleges were built until 90-95% of the state's population lived within approximately 25 miles of a two-year campus.

Cohen and Brawer (2008) also chronicled how changing conditions and revised survey procedures make it difficult to identify one description or definition of

community colleges today. In fact, many directories are not consistent from year to year. For example, AACC lists those colleges that have been accredited and became members of AACC. The University of Texas at Austin keeps a different list on their website, and individual state websites provide another list of technical, two-year, associate's degree and/or community colleges recognized within the state. When conducting research about community colleges, it is important to be clear about the definition of "community college" being used and why that definition advances the goals of the research.

According to Cohen and Brawer (2008), size is the most important variable in differentiating two-year colleges. Small community colleges serve up to 2,440 students; medium size community colleges serve anywhere from 2,441 to 5,855 students; and the largest community colleges serve anywhere from 5,856 to over 40,000 students. The American Association of Community Colleges (AACC) indicates that there are 1,167 accredited community colleges in the country: 993 of them are public, 143 are independent colleges, and 31 are tribal colleges; together they serve over seven million credit seeking students and an estimated five million non-credit seeking students (AACC,-About CC-Pages, 2010). Of the students enrolled in community colleges, 40% are full-time students and 60% are part-time students (American Association of Community College,-About CC-Pages, 2010). The type and size of the college may play a role in the hiring of presidents. According to Dr. Pamela Eddy, smaller, rural institutions tend to hire internal candidates that have come up through the ranks, whereas larger institutions may be led by presidents with previous presidencies at other institutions. Additionally, the role and title of the

presidents (e.g., CEO, chancellor, campus president, and system president) depend on the number of campuses under their oversight, and size of the campus (P. Eddy, personal communication, April 16, 2012).

Governance. In spite of the growing numbers of people attending community colleges, the number of community colleges in each state has decreased significantly since 1995. The decrease in the number of community colleges coincided with changes in the governance structures and major changes in state, federal, and local funding (State Higher Education Executive Officers [SHEEO], 2010). As stated previously, community colleges were designed to serve students/residents in the local community (towns and counties). Given the local orientation of these colleges, state governance structures and their relationship with two-year associate's level colleges vary widely across states. The Education Commission for the States (ECS, 2011) lists the type and number of state-level coordinating or governing agencies for all higher education institutions and describes whether or not community colleges are governed centrally or locally within each state. Marcus (1997) analyzed legislation that proposed changes to state higher education governance structures. He found that states had experimented with centralizing or de-centralizing the governance of community colleges during the 15 years prior to his study.

Cohen and Brawer (2008) wrote that many commentators believe moving toward state-level coordination has made community college leaders' jobs more difficult and the community colleges less responsive to local communities. Community college governing boards are similar to those of four-year university governing boards. The trustees of local, two-year governing boards are predominantly

White males, with college degrees, usually with high-income status, middle-aged, and generally espouse mainstream views. There are five to nine members of the board on average, and they generally serve four-year terms. Powers associated with the board vary by state and therefore who is involved in the hiring of community college presidents varies by state (Piland, 1994; Vaughan & Weisman, 1997, as cited in Cohen & Brawer, 2008).

Some authors (Glazer-Raymo, 2008; Muñoz, 2010) speculated that an increase of women on community college governing boards coincides with an increase of women in the community college presidency. Glazer-Raymo (2008) wrote that the American Association of University Women (AAUW), along with Southern Association of College Women, Title IX, and the civil rights movement, compelled states and institutions to include more women on governing boards beginning in 1923 and throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Governing boards generally search for and hire presidents, and depending on state-governance structures, may need final approval from the governor or system chancellor to hire the president.

Funding. Along with changes in state governing structures and the number of community colleges over the last few decades, there have also been significant changes in the sources of funding. Tollefson (2009) reviewed the history of governance, community college funding, and accountability over the last century. He found that, overall, federal funding has decreased, state funding has decreased, and tuition has increased at community colleges nationally. Earlier, the Center for Community College Policy (2000) collaborated with state associations of community colleges and the offices of individual community colleges in 1998 to better

understand general finance issues for community colleges across the nation. This 50-state survey outlined the various appropriations for the community colleges and demonstrated that the distribution of state, federal, and local funding varies widely. Funding availability may influence the willingness of state leaders to fund leadership programs, or other human resource efforts, that promote the advancement of women and minorities into community college leadership positions.

Students. Overall, two-year public colleges are the fastest growing segment of postsecondary education. According to the most recent data gathered, the number of students attending community colleges has grown from 500,000 in 1960, to 5.5 million in the late 1990s, to 11.7 million in 2007 (American Association of Community Colleges [AACC], 2007). In 2002, community colleges served almost as many students as public, non-profit, and four-year institutions with only a 200,000 person difference in the number of students enrolled. Community colleges now confer over 70% of the associate's degrees awarded across the country (Provasnik & Planty, 2008). In fall 2009, 40% of full-time students in higher education were studying at community colleges (Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System [IPEDS] & National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2010).

These institutions also have a distinct role in serving a variety of constituents, including: women, immigrants, returning adult students, students from different ethnic/racial groups, and students under age 24, who are now almost half of the students attending community colleges (AACC, 2010; Cohen & Brawer, 2008; Hartley, Eckel, & King, 2009; Lester, 2009; Sanchez-Hucles, & Davis, 2010; Townsend & Twombly, 2001). Frye (as cited in Hagedorn & Laden, 2002) explained

that, historically, the development of community colleges facilitated the formation of multiple missions, allowed students to influence those missions, and created opportunities for women and various ethnic groups. For example, historically, community colleges have generally been co-educational, and women made up almost 60% of community college students when two-year colleges played a significant role in preparing grammar school teachers (AACC Website-About CC, History-2012). Boggs (2010) described the current breakdown of this diversity for the current *White House Summit on Community Colleges*: “Forty-seven percent of first-generation college students, 53% of Hispanic students, 45% of Black students, 52% of Native American students, and 45% of Asian/Pacific Islander students attend community colleges (NCES, 2007c)” (p. 2).

Despite the large numbers and the diversity of students being served in the two-year institution, recent research indicates that students in community colleges are learning as much as their peers at more selective institutions. In fact, community college students who transfer to four-year institutions graduate at similar or higher rates as students who initially attend four-year institutions (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). More recently, two-year colleges have expanded their missions, understanding that bright and talented students want to stay close to home or find community colleges to be a more affordable option. Honors programs can now be found at approximately one-third of community colleges (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). Serving this broad range of constituents can be challenging for community college faculty and academic leaders as they adapt teaching methods and programs to accommodate the various needs of their students. However, many leaders who work in the community

college environment recognize they are serving a group of students whose only opportunity to access higher education is through the two-year colleges in their community.

Faculty. The history of faculty at community colleges began in the early 1900s when the first colleges were opened, but changed dramatically as two-year colleges expanded rapidly mid-century. In the early years, instructors generally had previous experience teaching in high schools (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). Townsend and Twombly (2007) examined the evolution of women faculty in community colleges. They pointed out that community colleges and four-year universities were both growing rapidly in the 1960s. During this time period, men tended to garner positions at the four-year universities leaving plenty of opportunities for women, often recent high school graduates, to work at the two-year colleges (Townsend & Twombly, 2007). Therefore, women have a long history of being employed by community colleges.

According to Fall 2009 Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) data, 115,874 full-time instructional staff and 263,942 part-time instructional staff served the approximately 2,000 two-year public colleges across the country. Women made up 54% of the full-time faculty at two-year public institutions and 53% of part-time faculty at those same institutions (NCES, 2010, Table 10). Preparation and qualifications for faculty positions at community colleges are generally based on teaching and not research, with two-thirds of candidates holding at least a master's degree in a specific discipline. However, current trends in hiring suggest that

community colleges are hiring more candidates with terminal degrees (e.g., Ph.D., J.D.) (Jenkins, 2010).

Nationally, women are less likely to be in tenure-eligible positions than male faculty across all institutional types (Curtis, 2005; Snyder & Dillow, 2010). However, the average time to tenure is three to five years in community colleges because tenure is based on teaching evaluations versus the research and subsequent publications required for tenure (average seven years) at four-year institutions. Salaries for faculty at two-year colleges tend to be lower than those at four-year institutions but most community college faculty are satisfied with their positions, salary, and focus on teaching (Jenkins, 2010; Lester, 2009; Shaw, Callahan, & Lechasseur, 2008). On average, most community college presidents have served as faculty for seven years during their early careers (Jenkins, 2010). Overall, teaching and learning skills are critical to be a successful presidential candidate in the community college sector.

Academic Leaders. As the central unit in the community college organizational structure, the academic affairs division generally feeds the pipeline to the community college presidency. Chief academic officers (CAO) are still the largest cohort of community college administrators that advance to the two-year college presidency (Weisman, Vaughn, & ACCC, 2007). According to the American Council on Education's (ACE) 2012 American College President Study, 45.9% of two-year college presidents had served as CAO or provost prior to the presidency; 13.6% had served as senior campus executives.

The ACE 2012 American College President Study also indicates that 70% of community college presidents spent time in the classroom before advancing to

administrative positions. Approximately 53% of administrators in community colleges were women in 2007, but only 20% of these women administrators are also women of color. Overall, 16.4% of all community college administrators are persons of color (Digest of Education Statistics, 1990-2008b, as cited in Nevarez & Wood, 2010).

At a recent American Association of Community Colleges (AACC) conference, a discussion about the gap of women and people of color in the community college presidency included looking outside the traditional pipeline to the presidency. At the same conference, during a working group session focused on profiling future administrative leaders in community colleges, a discussion occurred about turning to non-traditional positions. Campbell (2006) reiterated some of this discussion by contending there would be a critical leadership gap in the highly specialized administrative professional positions (e.g., the chief financial officer) between 2006 and 2010.

Boards of Trustees. Overall, community college boards of trustees and their chairs do not mirror the demographic diversity of their institutions. For example, Vaughan and Weisman (1997) in their national survey of 613 trustees and 380 boards found that 67% of trustees were men and 86.6% of board members were White. A more recent national study reported that 32% of voting board members at community colleges are women as compared to 27% of trustees at four-year institutions (AGB-Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, as cited in White House Project Report, 2009). According to the White House Project report, women are still a distinct minority among the members of college and university boards of

trustees, which have the responsibility and power to interview, hire, and fire presidents. Wallin and the AACC (2007) recently conducted a survey about community college president contracts and found that 86% of community college presidents had a written agreement. She also found that contracts might include agreements about child-care services, providing technology so the president could work from home, and 25% of community colleges reported that a domestic partner could receive benefits. Therefore, structurally, the status of women on the governing boards in Maryland and, from a human resource perspective, the nature of presidential contracts will be two areas of interest for this study.

History of Maryland Community Colleges

Maryland's location near the nation's capital, national think tanks, and higher education associations provides a distinctive context for the collective set of community colleges (Smith & Willis, 2012). Maryland's culture is unique as a state of "middle temperament" politically and in terms of the state's involvement in the Civil Rights Era, slavery, freed slaves, and desegregation (Brugger, 1989; Smith & Willis, 2012). The description of Maryland as a state of "middle temperament" was given by historians to describe the compromise and accommodation involved in Maryland's state politics, particularly during the civil war era (Smith & Willis, 2012). This approach to state politics influences the policies and practices that impact higher education institutions, including community colleges, in the state of Maryland.

Due to Maryland's geographic and demographic diversity, the tourist industry describes Maryland's four regions as "America in miniature" (Smith & Willis, 2012). Maryland had the second highest median household income from 2005 to 2007 and is

generally affluent and urbanized. In Western Maryland (rocky and mountainous) the city of Frederick was considered a significant transportation hub, especially when railroads were built in the 1800s. Western Maryland was the most pro-union area in civil war and part of the powerful industrial union movement (Smith & Willis, 2012). Located in Western Maryland, Camp David and Fort Deterick bring national attention, military families, and a significant research influence to the state of Maryland.

In 2000, 80% of Marylanders called Central Maryland home (Smith & Willis, 2012). Frederick Community college is located in this area and just hired their first African American president. Montgomery County (where Montgomery Community College is located) is the nation's most wealthy county (Smith & Willis, 2012). Additionally, 80% of the state's African American population lives in Central Maryland and 40% of the population is non-White. Howard Community College, the Community College of Baltimore County, and Baltimore City Community College are located in Central Maryland as well. Also located in this region, Prince George's County in Central Maryland is home to the most highly educated and affluent African American population in the country (Smith & Willis, 2012). Prince George's Community College is located in this region where the well-populated I-95 corridor consists of an educated, skilled labor force and intellectual capital. Located just 30-45 minutes from these two central regions, Baltimore Washington International Thurgood Marshall Airport is the fastest growing airport in the country (Smith & Willis, 2012).

Home of Chesapeake College, The College of Southern Maryland, and Worcester-Wicomico Community College, the Eastern Shore (or Tidewater area) was home to tobacco farms prior to the Civil War and 80% of freed slaves lived in this area just prior to the war (Callcott, 1966; Smith & Willis, 2012). Callcott (1966) found that eastern and western shore rivalries developed early in the history of the state. Maryland was considered unique among the early colonies in terms of the multi-denominational religious diversity among its settlers. Tobacco was Maryland's gold and made Annapolis one of the richest cities on the Atlantic.

Maryland could be described as having several significant dichotomies in terms of social stratification. For example, Smith and Willis (2012) described Maryland as having a long-standing dichotomy of rich and poor residents. Additionally, Perna, Steele, Woda, and Hibbert (2005) studied the racial/ethnic stratification of college access and choice in Maryland during the 1990s. Historically, Maryland operated a dual system of public higher education and in 1962 was ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court to desegregate its public colleges and universities (Perna et. al., 2005). This group of researchers found that racial/ethnic stratification in college choice increased during the 1990s, with Black, first-time freshman enrolling in the state's Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and two-year institutions versus public and private four-year institutions. Overall, Black students were increasingly segregated to the community colleges during the 1990s, partially based on low tuition costs and ease of college enrollment (Perna et. al., 2005). In other words, Maryland community colleges are playing a critical role in educating a diverse constituency of state residents for the future and Maryland community college

presidents are contending with the on-going racial and socioeconomic stratification of Maryland's universities and colleges.

State politicians in Maryland have tried to address these dichotomies in the higher education system through policies and politics. Overall, Maryland state leaders tend to combine a reformist imperative to improve society with practical minded political temperament (Smith & Willis, 2012). The Maryland Democratic Party is one of the oldest political organizations in the world, and in 1831 Baltimore City became the birthplace of the national political convention (Smith & Willis, 2012). Regarded as one of the most progressive states in the country, Maryland politics are characterized by influential and competitive interest groups coming out of the economic, cultural, and demographic diversity in the state. For example, the national headquarters for NAACP moved to Baltimore in 1986 and from 1998-2007, one of the top 20 most vocal state political interest groups was the Maryland State Teacher's Association (Smith & Willis, 2012).

In the early 1900s, the National Women's Suffrage movement was perceived as a major threat to the male political establishment of that era (Smith & Willis, 2012). However, after the suffrage amendment in 1920, democratic and republican parties added women in equal numbers to men on local central committees, giving them a significant voice in the state's political process (Smith & Willis, 2012). According to the Maryland Commission for Women website (Department of Human Relations-State-MD-Us), there are currently 15 active city and county women's commissions in Maryland. As mentioned in chapter one, it appears that the women's commissions were active in producing written material to distribute to Maryland

women during the 1980s and 1990s (Dublin & Sklar, 1997-2012). The influx of this material and education occurred during the time when the first women community college presidents were hired in Maryland and just prior to increases that began to occur in 1998.

It appears that Maryland has been generally pro-labor since 1935; however, collective bargaining rights for state public employees were not established until 1997 (Smith & Willis, 2012). The early nineteenth century was characterized by the suppression of labor unions in Maryland but now the major labor unions have over 400,000 members in the Baltimore-Washington area (Smith & Willis, 2012). According to the American Association of University Professors website (AAUP, 2012), Montgomery Community College in Central Maryland is the only community college with an organized labor union for faculty.

Historically, Maryland appears to have established community college programs early in the history of community colleges (Harford Community College Website; Morgan State University National Alumni Association Website). Maryland is known nationally for having a good K-12 school system, and public/higher education is well funded (Smith & Willis, 2012). Maryland's 16 community colleges are located in rural, urban, suburban, and coastal areas; the three largest campuses each serve 30,000-60,000 students. The seven smallest two-year colleges are located in rural or coastal areas of the state. The five largest community colleges are located in city centers or highly populated suburban areas and all five have women presidents. The American Association of Community Colleges (AACC) recognizes

all of the community colleges as accredited institutions. Therefore the state's list of community colleges matches the AACC's list of community colleges.

Overall, the number of community colleges has remained stable for the last 17 years. There were 17 community colleges prior to 1995 and 16 community colleges since the late 1990s (Maryland Community College Directory, produced by MACC 2005-2012; Maryland Directory of County Officials: Maryland Association of Counties 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2002). Data books and yearly reports are provided by MACC on a regular basis. Electronic copies beginning in 2004 are easily accessible online (e.g., see Appendix A; MDACC Directory 2005-2012; MDACC-Databook). Maryland has a long history of studying measures of gender equity indicators; therefore, archived information is relatively accessible.

The University System of Maryland was created in 1989 to serve as the coordinating body for Maryland's postsecondary education system, including Maryland community colleges (Postsecondary Governance Structures Database). The state's two-year colleges are governed either by the state's system of higher education or local boards of trustees. Fifteen of the community colleges are locally governed. Baltimore City Community College (BCCC) is the only fully state-funded community college with an elected governing board. The average term (five to six years) of Maryland community college trustees is higher than the national average for community colleges (four years). According to the MACC (2008) Trustee Booklet, the governor appoints trustees; there are seven to 15 trustees on each community college board.

Although all the community colleges are governed locally, Maryland is one of four states where some of the community colleges do not receive local tax support. Oklahoma, Ohio, and Colorado are the three other states where this funding structure exists (Katsinas, Tollefson, & Reamey, 2008; AACC Pages-CCFinderStateResults-2012). A large portion of the funding for community colleges in Maryland comes from tuition and fees and the rest generally comes from the state. Therefore, the state holds some influence over the community colleges functions through scrutiny of state based affirmative action reports and greater public access to state personnel records (Kulis, 1997). This information is readily available to state organizations, community college boards or administrators, and candidates for the presidencies who may rely on gender and racial equity indicators to make organizational and personal career decisions.

According to MDCC (2012), 61% of high school graduates who attend college in Maryland will attend community colleges. As of fall 2011, among the 301,850 undergraduate students signed up for credit courses in Maryland, 104,708 of them attended one of the 16 community colleges. Maryland enrolled 53,063 full-time and 96,641 part-time students in fall 2011 (MDACC, 2012). Maryland community colleges rise above national norms in terms of the percentage of ethnic minorities served. According to MDACC (2012), in 2003 27.7% of the state's population was African American and they made up 28.1% of two-year colleges' enrollments. Hispanics made up 4.1% of the population in Maryland in 2003, and represented 4% of two-year colleges' enrollments (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). Diversity among college academic leaders in Maryland provides opportunities for students to see successful

role models who look like them and who may understand their particular needs and interests.

Women in Maryland Community Colleges

Significant differences exist in the rank, part-time versus full-time status, and salaries of men and women faculty occur across the 16 community colleges. Nationally there has been an increase in part-time faculty. Likewise, in 2008, of the 7,844 faculty members teaching at Maryland two-year institutions, approximately one-third were full-time and two-thirds were part-time (NCES, 2010). As the numbers of part-time faculty have increased, it may mean that women are able to find more flexible options to balance work and home, but these positions do not provide the security of tenure or the benefits associated with a full-time position (Eagan, 2007; Shaw, Callahan, & Lechasseur, 2008; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008). Practices around tenure may influence the experiences of women considering academic leadership positions at the various community colleges. Definitions of tenure and full-time status will be important to consider while examining the status of women at Maryland community colleges because although some community colleges have “full-time” professors, they may not be considered “tenured” professors.

Although nationally there are unexplained salary differentials and differences in tenure status between men and women faculty at research and doctoral institutions, there are fewer differences between men and women faculty at community colleges. Significant numbers of women are tenured and full-time faculty members in Maryland’s community colleges. The percentage of women faculty’s salaries as compared to men’s salaries is also impressive at a number of the institutions. For

example, Maryland's Carroll Community College salary indicators, as reported by the AAUP (West & Curtis, 2006), noted women earning 107.6% of men's salaries as full professors, 99.1% as associate professors, and 100.3% as assistant professors.

The 2010 diversity benchmarks in the *Maryland Public Colleges and Universities 2008 Accountability Report* indicate a wide range of percentages of full-time male and female minority faculty across the 16 Maryland community colleges. Five of the colleges have higher than national percentages of minority (African-American, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander) full-time faculty including: 56% at Baltimore City Community College; 40% at Prince George's Community College; 30% at Montgomery College; 23% at Howard Community College; and 18% at Anne Arundel Community College (MPCU Accountability Report, 2008).

According to the Directory of Maryland Community Colleges (MACC, 2012) nine of the 16 chief academic officers (CAOs) are currently women. Women CAOs tend to be found at the larger two-year college campuses; the five largest campuses also have women presidents (calculated from MACC Directory 2012). From a pipeline perspective, this means that there are a significant number of women CAOs in Maryland community colleges that are in a position that typically flows into the presidency. This bodes well for the future gender diversity of Maryland community college presidents.

Further examination of leadership positions at Maryland community colleges reveals that in 2011, 56% of the colleges' presidents were women (see Appendix E, Table 2). This is much higher than the 33% of women in community college presidencies nationally (Cook & Young, 2012). In fact, as shown in Appendix E

(Table 2), the percentage of women presidents in Maryland two-year colleges increased steadily beginning in 1989 and has been above the national average since 1998. Finally, in terms of governance and leadership of two-year colleges in Maryland, women make up 43.8% of the boards of trustee members at Maryland community colleges (MDACC-Directory-2011). The significant numbers of women at all levels (faculty, CAO, president, trustee) in Maryland community colleges may be one of the factors supporting the increasing numbers of women in the community college presidency.

Gender and Community Colleges

The next section explores the research on gender and community colleges using the frames for this study (structural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist). Through the lens of each frame, I explore the research and literature broadly (societal level), then as it pertains to higher education, and then specifically related to community colleges

Structural approaches. Researchers who take a structural approach to understanding the large percentage of women at two-year colleges tend to explore demographic, pipeline, organizational, and policy-related explanations for this phenomenon (Bornstein, 2008; Cohen & Brawer, 2003; Hagedorn & Laden, 2002; Keim & Murray, 2008; McKenney & Cejda, 2000; Murray, Murray, & Summar, 2001; Perna, 2001; Phelps, Taber, & Smith, 1996; Shaw, Callahan, & Lechasseur, 2008; Weisman, Vaughan, & AACC, 2007). Theories in this area center around sex segregation in the workplace, gendered labor markets, gendered organizational structures, and gendered management processes (Calás & Smircich, 2006). In other

words, researchers interested in the numbers of women in community college leadership roles tend to examine the workplace environment including the percentages of men and women in different job roles, comparisons of men's and women's salaries, analysis of men's and women's education backgrounds or previous employment history, men's and women's race/ethnicity, and family status.

Broadly, at the societal level, structural approaches tend to focus on the status of women in leadership positions, including work and family obligations based on gender (Calás & Smircich, 2006). For example, the most recent *White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women in Leadership* (2009) outlined some of the demographic patterns of women in leadership occurring at a national level. The authors took a structural approach to understand the current status of gender inequality as it relates to women in leadership. For example, they found that more men university presidents are married and have children than women presidents (White House Project Report, 2009). This type of information indicates that women may be challenged to balance family and the significant obligations associated with leadership roles.

Other broad structural approaches explore the degree and pattern of segregation by race and gender in organizations based on jobs (particular clusters of tasks) and occupations (types of work). Acker (1988) specifically examined research about wage distributions and production in the United States and Great Britain. Based on her review of the research, Acker suggested that wage distributions are based on cultural norms that identify the men as the wage earners for the family and women as the caretakers of the home. Acker (1988) also interrogated the hierarchical order of

organizations and pointed out the disproportionate numbers of women at the bottom versus the top of the hierarchy. She argued that this enforces “a symbolic association of masculinity with leadership and femininity with supportiveness” (Acker, 1998, p. 482).

The number of women may be influential, not only in terms of the pipeline to leadership but in terms of women’s approaches to leadership being accepted in a male dominated society. Kanter (1977) studied the impact of a small group of women working in a male dominated organization and subsequently defined the term “tokenism.” Some researchers, trying to further understand the concept of tokenism, identified a tipping point of 35-40% women at which point the context becomes truly congenial for women (Collins, 2000; Tolbert, Simons, Andrews, & Rhee, 1995). For example, Wilson (as cited in Brzezinski, 2011) pointed out that a tipping point of 33% exists in the current breakdown of Supreme Court judges. The number of women in Maryland community college presidencies reached a tipping point in 2006.

Yet, women’s growth across sectors has been stalled and some researchers have found that women are found in larger numbers in less prestigious positions, occupations, and higher education institutions (Yoder, 1991). For example, Yoder (1991) argued the concept of tokenism does not go far enough to explain the types of gender discrimination (sexual harassment, wage inequities, and limited promotion opportunities) that occur when occupations *are* integrated with women. Indeed, Cohen and Huffman (2007) used 2003 U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) files to examine women in management positions. They found evidence to support earlier research demonstrating that the representation of women

in management positions reduces the wage gap between men and women in lower status position. However, they also found that the relationship between a reduction in the wage gap between men and women is much stronger in local industries (organizations with a common product within a common local labor market) where women hold relatively high status positions (Cohen & Huffman, 2007).

The civil rights movement and affirmative action policies, like Title IX, attempted to address these types of issues and forced federally funded higher education institutions to report the number of men and women's sport teams, the gender breakdown of academic colleges, gender equity indicators such as faculty and staff salaries, and time to tenure. In response to these policies (e.g., Maryland Databook information), Maryland researchers revealed differences in the gender equity indicators at four-year, two-year, public, and private post-secondary educational institutions through systematic data analysis. These distinctions are important to consider when examining the pipeline to leadership (faculty, academic leaders, and senior leadership positions) in higher education institutions. For example, Kulis (1997) pointed out that sometimes complex organizational dynamics escape direct observation and looking at indirect measures can help us see patterns that align better with one explanation than another.

Gendered variations in the pipeline to the presidency at higher education institutions begin at the faculty level with differences in tenure and promotion based on institutional type. For example, Kulis (1997), in his study of the 1991 EEO-6 reports for 1,500 four-year institutions, found that fewer women worked at institutions with more pervasive tenure systems (e.g., research institutions, selective

institutions) and less formal hiring processes (e.g., smaller institutions, non-unionized institutions). He also found that there was an association between higher representations of women and higher levels of federal funding at an institution (Kulis, 1997). More recently, Marschke, Laursen, Nielsen, and Rankin (2007) examined the status of women in tenure and tenure track faculty positions at a four-year public institution to see if focused interventions could potentially increase gender integration. They found that without purposeful and radical interventions, gender integration would not occur anytime soon and that women were leaving the faculty track early and late in their careers. Overall, studies have shown that factors such as institutional prestige, selectivity, size of the student population, research activity, federal funding, and the presence of women studies programs impact the representation of women on university campuses (Kulis, 1997; Marschke, et al., 2007).

Examinations of gender equity in the faculty pipeline also include descriptions of tenure, or tenure track faculty, full-time or part-time status, and salary among four-year research universities and two-year public colleges. Nationally, women are less likely to be in tenure-eligible positions than male faculty across all institutional types (Curtis, 2005; Synder & Dillow, 2010, 2012) However, Perna (2001) specifically examined tenure and promotion rates based on sex and race/ethnicity between two-year and four-year institutions. Perna found that sex and race differences in tenure and full professor were less pronounced at two-year versus four-year institutions and that working at a unionized institution is a more important predictor of tenure at public two-year colleges. Perna (2001) wrote, “working at a unionized institution is

associated with a higher probability of tenure for both women and men at public two-year institutions” (p. 555). Finally, the Center for Education of Women (CEW, 2005) found that among master’s institutions, faculty unions increased the number of formal policies. For example, institutions with unions are more likely than non-unionized master’s schools to have tenure-clock extension, modified duties, and leave-in-excess-of-FMLA.

Across institutional type there are also differences in the types of family-friendly policies that are offered to faculty. The Center for the Education of Women [CEW] (2005) identified the following policies as the most current family-friendly or work-life policies: stop or extend the tenure clock, part-time work options, modified job duties, leave for childcare or eldercare, and partner hiring support. Their study also found that research institutions have twice as many institution-wide, formal policies on work-life balance (including stop the tenure clock, flexible work schedule, paid maternity leave, etc.) as other types of institutions. After research institutions, baccalaureate institutions have the next greatest number of formal policies and tend to resemble research institutions. Community colleges have the least number of formal family-related policies (CEW, 2005).

Despite the lack of formal family-related policies, tenured women faculty members are more likely to be found at two-year colleges. Among full professors at all institutions nationwide in 2005-06, women held 24% of the positions and men held 76% (West & Curtis, 2006). At two-year public institutions, women held 47.1% of tenured positions compared to 25.8% of tenured positions at doctoral granting institutions. The average salaries for all faculty members across institutional type are

\$79,706 for men and \$65,638 for women (Synder & Dillow, 2010, 2012). Salaries at two-year colleges appear to be approaching equitable proportions; yet, women are more likely than men to be employed at associate's and baccalaureate colleges where the salaries are lower (\$81,062 for a full professor at an associate's college compared to \$116,376 for a full professor at a doctoral institution) (Thorton & Curtis, 2012).

Several studies have examined the unique nature of faculty positions at community colleges in order to understand trends related to gender, race, and ethnicity. Women represent almost a third of community college presidents, almost two-thirds of senior academic positions, and share equal representation with men in two-year college faculty appointments (Eagan, 2007; King & Gomez, 2008; Shaw, Callahan, & Lechasseur, 2008). According to the AACC (2010), women fill approximately half of full-time and half of part-time faculty positions at community colleges. The American Association of University Professors' most recent report on faculty gender equity indicated that women represented 53.1% of tenure-track faculty at associate's degree granting institutions and the salary differences between men and women two-year college faculty tended to be the smallest among all faculty members at higher education institutions (West & Curtis, 2006; Shaw, Callahan, & Lechasseur, 2008).

Gender representation among full-time and part-time faculty across institutional type and at community colleges has approached equity over the last decade, but the number of non-White faculty has not increased dramatically (Eagan, 2007). However, more people of color are obtaining faculty positions at community colleges than other institutional types (Eagan, 2007). In the fall of 2007, 17% of full-

time, part-time, and instructional faculty members at public two-year colleges were Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, or American Indian/Alaska Native (NCES, 2010, Table 246). This data demonstrates there are significant numbers of entry-level women and people of color in the pipeline to the community college presidency.

Similar trends can be observed in the Chief Academic Officer (CAO) position across institutional type. Women represent 65% of senior academic positions at two-year public institutions and 38% of chief academic officers across institutional type (King & Gomez, 2008). Therefore, the movement of women from faculty to academic leadership positions, and potentially the presidency, does not appear to be a pipeline issue in the community college sector (Keim & Murray, 2008).

Structural approaches to understanding women in the two-year college presidency have found important differences in the background and characteristics of women and men in community college leadership positions. These differences provide additional clues as to why more women community college CAOs may not be advancing to the presidency. For example, McKenny and Cejda (2000) profiled community college CAOs and found that the average CAO was a White man, 51 years old, married, with a doctorate, and had been a CAO for about five years. They found that the average woman CAO matched this description except that women tended to spend more time in faculty positions prior to becoming CAO and had been in the position fewer years than men. McKenny and Cejda (2000) also found that more of the men respondents in their survey were married (89% married men versus 67% married women), and that women and minority respondents experienced higher divorce rates.

More recently, Keim and Murray (2008) found that more men CAOs did not possess a doctorate or J.D. than women CAOs. According to the Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR, 1996), women tend to obtain higher degrees than men to achieve the same wages as men. This provides a potential explanation for this difference. Alternatively, Keim and Murray (2008) also found an overall decline in the number of CAOs with doctoral degrees (70%), the number of community college leadership doctorates conferred, and the number of individuals pursuing a community college doctorate.

Finally, Cejda and McKenney (2000) found that CAOs were traditionally hired from within the community college they were currently working at, with 96% of CAOs indicating experience at a two-year college previously and 56% of CAOs spending their career in two-year institutions. They also found that on the pathway to being a CAO, most of the participants in their study moved early in their career and stayed within state boundaries (Cejda & McKenney, 2000).

This information about CAOs is further illuminated by the characteristics of recent community college presidents. Kubala and Bailey (2002), in their study of 101 newly hired presidents (hired 1997-1999), found that 56.4% of the participants had followed the academic route to the presidency and 8.9% had come through administrative services. Amey, VanDerLinden, and Brown (2002) surveyed community college senior administrators in 2000 to examine their career paths and backgrounds. Specifically, they found that in 2000: (1) the most likely previous position of community college presidents was provost (37%), followed by president of another community college (25%) and senior academic affairs/instruction officer

(15%); (2) 22% of presidents were promoted to the presidency from within their institution, and 66% came from other community colleges; (3) women were underrepresented in certain administrative positions, most notably the offices of president (only 27% women) and occupational or vocational education officer (29% women); (4) 84% of administrators were White, 6% African American, 4% Hispanic, and 1% Asian or Native American; and (5) 41% had a master's as their highest-earned degree, 18% an Ed.D., and 19% a Ph.D.

In summary, although critical for understanding the current status of women in the two-year college presidency, structural approaches leave important questions unanswered. According to Marschke, Laursen, Nielsen, and Rankin (2007), “this perspective offers a wealth of descriptions and trends, but few explanations for them, its strength is in its ability to identify the context of inequality in higher education institutions” (p. 3). Thorough examination of the pipeline to the presidency in community colleges indicates that there are women available in CAO, Chief Student Services Officer (CSSO), and Chief Financial Officer (CFO) positions that could assume the presidency if they perceived themselves to be qualified and were prepared to be successful as leaders and family members at the same time.

Structural approaches suggested that I analyze the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland for trends and patterns such as: the numbers of women in the community college CAO, CSSO, or CFO positions, the representation of women on community boards of trustees, the percentage of women full and/or tenured professors, the type of work-life policies offered by the community colleges, the number of presidents promoted with the college, state, or

who had previous presidencies. Therefore, the type of data I needed to collect included: 1) the numbers of women in Maryland community college chief officer (CAO, CSSO, CFO) and trustee positions from 1989 to 2012; 2) the definitions of tenure and full time status of faculty at the 16 community colleges and the percentages of men and women in those positions; 3) copies of work-life policies around tenure and promotions; 4) copies of presidential contracts offered at all or several of the community colleges; 5) data on how many community college presidents were promoted within their institution, which community college presidents held previous positions within the state and which positions they held, and which community college presidents came from other states and what positions they held.

Overall, structural approaches help us understand the trends related to women in various positions, their qualifications, racial/ethnic background, and their marital or family status. However, these studies focus on individual characteristics, qualifications, policies, and trends in the labor market and do not attend to the human resource, political, or cultural issues that shape these trends. Perna (2005) reminded us that quantitative survey data can tell us about a “point of time” in a person’s career but usually does not reveal all the variables associated with an individual’s decision-making process. For example, Milem, Sherlin, and Irwin (2001) found that women relied on collegial networks for social and emotional support and that men use similar networks to obtain career information and promotional opportunities. Therefore, Perna (2005) called for examination of how departmental, institutional, and national networks shape the career paths of faculty. Human resource and political approaches

help us understand the ways in which women utilize policies, networks, and developmental opportunities to advance their careers.

Human resource approaches. Researchers who utilize human resource and development approaches to understanding the large percentage of women faculty, administrators, and leaders in two-year colleges tend to explore the influence of human capital, mentoring, networking, and leadership development on this phenomenon (AACC, 2010; Crosson, Douglas, O'Meara, & Sperling, 2005; Eggin & Society for Research into Higher Education, 1997; Madsen, 2008; Perna; 2001; Sullivan, 2002; Reille & Kezar, 2010; VanDerLinden, 2004; Vincent, 2004).

Theories in this area include human capital, social capital, mentoring frameworks, and leadership competencies. The types of questions researchers ask in this area tend to lead to the examination of concepts such as: leadership skill development, career paths, job satisfaction, recruitment, selection, performance appraisal, pay, and flexible work programs. In other words, human resource approaches assume that the reason there are fewer women presidents in most community college state systems is the result of a lack of acquired social capital, mentoring, leadership opportunities, and human resource on-ramps.

Broadly, from a societal level, the human resource arena examines workplace discrimination, gender and power in the workplace, job satisfaction, selection processes, performance evaluations, flexible work schedules, and organizational commitment to the professional and personal lives of workers (Calás & Smircich, 2006). For instance, in his book about human capital, Davenport (1999) discussed how to maximize workers' abilities (knowledge, skill, and talent), behaviors, efforts,

and time invested in the job. He suggested that organizations begin to structure their human capital building approaches by figuring out which employees are at risk for turnover. Davenport (1999) then suggested analyzing the organization broadly about its investment in employee training, the job description and associated job specific training, and opportunities for human capital building including informal learning opportunities.

Higher education researchers have found that across institutional type women in faculty and academic leadership positions are at risk because they are hesitant to consider pursuing, or encounter barriers to seeking, future leadership positions (Dean, 2008; Eddy & Cox, 2008; Mitchell & Eddy, 2008; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006). For example, Dean (2008), in her study about the role of mentoring in boosting the proportion of academic leaders across institutional type, found that 63% of 657 chief academic officers in her survey did not desire to pursue the presidency. Specifically, at community colleges, Mitchell and Eddy (2008) found that mid-level community college leaders wanted to stay in their current positions.

One way that colleges and universities have tried to encourage women to seek faculty and academic leadership positions is by creating family-friendly policies that allow women to care for their families while pursuing faculty careers. However, Wolf-Wendel and Ward (2006) found that women faculty, across institutional type, are hesitant to use family friendly policies because women faculty feared they would be perceived as less committed when they applied for tenure or leadership positions. In the community college sector, Eddy and Cox (2008) found that woman community

college leaders wait until children are grown or partners retire to pursue the presidency.

In order to address women's hesitation in using family friendly policies, Princeton University decided to change the tenure clock policy in 2005. Under the reformed policy, any assistant professor (man or woman) who had a child automatically received an extra year to obtain tenure. No opt-outs were allowed, but assistant professors could request an early consideration for tenure (Slaughter, 2012). This change in policy tripled the number of men and woman taking advantage of tenure extensions (Slaughter, 2012). Therefore, one potential human resource strategy for helping women consider academic leadership roles is by helping both men and women balance work and family commitments.

In addition, higher education researchers have been particularly interested in the effectiveness of mentoring, networking, and leadership programs on women's success in higher education institutions (Dean, 2008; Eggins & Society for Research in Higher Education, 1997). These types of programs help women by giving them the skills, tools, and support necessary to consider, obtain, and succeed in leadership positions. For example, Eggins and the Society for Research in Higher Education (1997) discussed the role of the *National Identification Program for the Advancement of Women in Higher Education Administration* or what is now called the *National Network for Women Leaders in Higher Education*, founded in 1977 by ACE. The goal of the program was to identify and prepare women for academic leadership roles and encourage their support. By 1977, 20% of women presidents had emerged from this program, which was coordinated at the state level.

More recently, Dean (2008), in a mixed methods study, used a mentoring framework to understand the mentoring experiences CAOs across institutional type. She found most CAOs in the study had been mentored at some point in their career, but only half were being mentored at the time of the study. The nature of mentoring relationships as described by participants included serving as a resource, guide, support, role model, and opportunity maker for mentees (Dean, 2008). Dean also found differences in mentoring rates by institutional type, age, years of service, and race. Women CAOs at associate's and doctoral institutions in the study reported receiving more mentoring than those at baccalaureate and master's institutions. Dean (2008) recommended that institutions create a "culture of mentoring" on their campuses in order to increase the numbers of women in top leadership roles.

Community college researchers have utilized a number of human resource approaches to understand how to help women and men consider and obtain academic leadership positions (Crosson, Douglas, O'Meara, & Sperling, 2005; Reille & Kezar, 2010; Robison, Sugar, & Miller, 2010). In addition to the success of national leadership programs, researchers have been studying the increasing number of "grow your own" programs on individual campuses and the unique challenges posed by community college leadership. For example, Crosson, Douglas, O'Meara, and Sperling (2005) outlined the development of the Community College Leadership Academy, a grow-your-own program created by community college presidents in Massachusetts and designed for academic leaders at all levels (faculty, senior leaders). Overall, the academy was considered a success and participants indicated

the rigor of the program was excellent. However, fellows of the program suggested that it was hard to keep up with homework given their job responsibilities at the time.

More recently, Reille and Kezar (2010) conducted a national survey to better understand how grow-your-own programs can be designed to fit the individual needs of campuses; they studied 15 campuses in depth over a year. Only three of the 15 programs included mentoring and job shadowing because promising leaders were too busy to commit the necessary time, and stakeholders in the study felt there should be a stronger emphasis on the specific college's way of doing things, including its history, politics, unique operations, processes, and procedures (Reille & Kezar, 2010). In their study, Robison, Sugar, and Miller (2010) found that the community colleges in North Carolina were engaged in offering effective leadership programs on 54% of the campuses with 755 community college employees across the state taking advantage of the programs. Robison, et al. (2010) suggested that the leadership preparation programs in North Carolina could improve by examining the topic areas covered to make sure they include the competencies put forward by AACCC for community college leaders and by developing a faculty learning community.

Other community college researchers have made recommendations to community college and higher education graduate programs to better prepare future two-year college leaders for the specific challenges of managing this type of institutions (Brown, Marinez, & Daniel, 2002; Luna, 2010; Vaughan & Weisman, 2003). For example, Brown, Marinez, and Daniel (2002) surveyed eight university programs for recommendations on the skills and areas of expertise needed for community college leaders and identified 10 areas: leadership, communication,

institutional planning and development, management, policy, research methodology and application, legal, finance, technology, and faculty and staff development. More recently, Luna (2010) conducted a case study examining an innovative program that partners a community college with a university to increase the number of students in the community college leadership program. Overall, Luna found that students in the program had a good experience. More research in this area could help doctoral programs consider if partnering with community colleges helps produce more prepared and successful two-year college leaders. Vaughan and Weisman (2003) also suggested that programs address the partnership between the community college president and governing boards because this subject was lacking in most leadership development programs.

Some community college presidents have written about their experiences and pathways to the presidency in an effort to encourage others in the pursuit of community college leadership positions. Through sharing these experiences they also consider how social identity impacts the pursuit of these leadership positions. For example, Velvie Green (2008), an African American women community college president in Arizona, wrote a self-portrait about her path to the presidency. Dr. Green described herself as an “accidental leader” and indicated her concern with the high turnover in vice presidents and faculty at her college. Based on her own choice to wait to move beyond a mid-level position until her children were grown, Green (2008) expressed concern that the year round, day, evening, and weekend work of academic administrators in the community college discourages women, who are generally responsible for nurturing children, elderly parents, and family in general.

Sullivan (2002), a Latina and former community college president, took a different approach from Green (2008) and examined the learning strategies of six community college presidents. Sullivan found that the learning needs and strategies of the women she interviewed match the competencies outlined as part of the AACC Leading Forward project and that contextual, interactive learning approaches were important to them. Similar to other authors, Sullivan (2002) asserted that gender stereotypes remain a part of the community college culture but suggested that both men and women need to combat and address them. Finally, McNair, Duree, and Ebbers (2011) matched presidents' narrative comments on the presidency (from a 2007 national study) to the six leadership competencies put forward by AACC. They found that presidents generally thought the competencies were helpful and had prepared them for their leadership position in the community college. Presidents indicated that mentoring was a particularly important aspect of that development process (McNair, et al., 2011).

Human resource approaches suggest that I analyze the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland for evidence of leadership, mentoring, networking, and graduate programs offered by individual community colleges or the state. I also need to understand if women considering the presidency perceive these programs or opportunities as helpful and accommodating to their work-family schedules. Additionally, these approaches suggest that I analyze the content of the programs and whether or not current and future leaders believe they adequately prepare women for the community college presidency. Therefore, the type of data I needed to collect included: 1) Web posting or brochures on leadership

opportunities produced by MACC or other organizations in Maryland; 2) news or media articles that discuss leadership and mentoring opportunities at the college or in the area; 3) surveys conducted by the state or MACC about the use and effectiveness of the programs for women; 4) women community faculty, and academic leaders knowledge of and critique of their community college or state programs for advancing women.

Overall, human resources approaches tend to focus attention on the skills, policies, graduate, and mentoring programs that can best prepare women faculty for leadership positions. Although they touch on navigating the organizational environments from an individual or mentoring perspective, they do not help us understand all the possible political hurdles. One on one mentoring can be helpful, but underrepresented groups often find additional support and strategies through group membership and group political action. For example, Kezar, Lester, Carducci, Bertham, and Contreras-McGavin (2007) found that some campuses establish formal networks that include a mentoring function – groups for women faculty in the sciences, for example, or groups for faculty of color, gay and lesbian faculty, and faculty committed to sustainability. These types of groups may be critical in giving future leaders the confidence and skills to navigate leadership in the two-year environment.

Political approaches. Researchers who utilize a political approach to examine the high percentage of women at community colleges tend to explore the impact of affirmative action policies, sexual harassment laws, worker's rights, coalitions, commissions, or unions on women's experiences (Glazer-Raymo, 2008; Townsend &

Twombly, 2001; West & Curtis, 2006). Theories and frameworks in this area include social capital, content analysis for patterns of language and policy discourse, job satisfaction models, and legal analysis. The kinds of questions researchers tend to ask lead to the examination of: faculty and staff satisfaction in work environments that include collective bargaining, the types of policies created on behalf of faculty during collective bargaining, the perceived empowerment of women through the support of networks or groups, and the impact of federal policies on the experiences of women. In other words, researchers using a political frame to try to understand why there are generally few women presidents in many states' community college systems examine women's connection with political allies, their access to critical networks, or involvement with networking groups. They also consider how the enactment of certain laws and the advocacy of unions may increase women's representation in various positions.

Broadly, from a societal perspective, this approach includes examination of social systems like women's medical centers, legal information targeted towards the needs of women, rape crisis centers, domestic violence safe houses, unionization and collective bargaining, women centered groups, Title IX, and Title VII, along with sexual harassment prevention policies and training (Acker, 1988, 1990, 2006; Calás & Smircich, 2006; Freeman, 1973; Stewart, 1980). For example, Freeman (1973) studied the early development of the women's movement. She found that local and state commissions on the status of women helped to create communication networks that advanced the work of the larger women's rights movement because they were immersed in the facts about the status of women and sex-discrimination cases. Later,

Stewart's (1980) causal comparative analysis of local women's commissions found that high performing commissions had these traits: located in cities, high citizen participation rates, high concentration of community power, large communities, staffed with executive directors, and able to clearly define their advocacy efforts. According to Stewart (1980), "commissions on the status of women represent the sole governmentally endorsed effort to institutionalize, systematically, female participation in the United States" (p. 2). Finally, Dublin and Sklar (1997, 2012) assembled a database of primary and secondary documents to highlight women's role in social movements between 1600 and 2000. Many of the documents in their database are scanned copies of state level women's commission meeting minutes, pamphlets, brochures, and reports from each state. This type of research and information may be helpful in understanding the role of women's commissions in the state of Maryland and their potential impact on state higher education policy.

Two significant areas of research around women's political involvement in higher education tend to focus on women's commissions, or the presence of women's studies on campuses, and collective bargaining. For example, Allan (2003) conducted a discourse analysis of women's commission documents from 1971 to 1996 at four research universities. She found four themes woven throughout the documents: women as vulnerable, women on the outside, outstanding women, and family matters. Allan (2003) cautioned commissions and political groups to think about the constructs they create via the language they use to describe issues and how those constructs then create images of women as vulnerable or as leaders who care about their families. Particularly, when trying to create images of women as college leaders,

discourses that center on the strength of women's leadership styles and perspectives may be more conducive to their success and to garnering interest in the presidency.

Women faculty members and academic leaders are also impacted by tenure policies that vary based on institutional type and union status. Perna (2001) found that in 1992, women were 13% less likely to hold tenured positions and that observed sex and racial/ethnic group differences in tenure were smaller at two-year colleges than four-year colleges. She also found that working at a unionized institution was a more important predictor of tenure at public two-year institutions than four-year institutions. Overall, Wickens (2008) found that unionization is a growing trend among part-time faculty and graduate student teachers, but there has not been much research about the effects of unionization on university governance and academic freedom across institutional type. Overall, education and government fields had the highest unionization rate in 2012, and are fields dominated by women (DPEAFLCIO-Programs-Publications-Factsheet-Women 2014). According to the Department of Professional Employees 2014 factsheet, *Professional Women: A Gendered Look at Occupational Obstacles and Opportunities*, pay and benefit gaps between men and women are smaller when women are organized.

Although there does not appear to be any research about women's commissions on community college campuses, a few researchers have studied collective bargaining and the impact of unionization on community college faculty and staff. For example, Boris (2004) provided an overview of collective bargaining at community colleges. He noted that the bargaining at community colleges mirrors that of secondary teachers and that because community colleges vary so much in size,

governance, and funding the specific nature of collective bargaining varies widely as well. Boris indicated that the most important areas unions have addressed at two-year colleges are: academic freedom and tenure, grievance procedures, shared governance, and involvement in faculty hiring. Spence (2006) listed a broader range of topics found in union contracts at Washington state community colleges including: academic calendar, academic freedom, faculty excellence awards, working conditions, professional development, sabbaticals, salary and benefits, distance learning, tenure review, instructional load, intellectual property, emeritus status, grievances, hiring, alternate use of summer quarter, discipline, and dismissal. Spence (2006) found that interest-based collective bargaining is an important tool in an environment characterized by low levels of trust between administrators and faculty.

Despite the numerous policy areas impacted by collective bargaining in community colleges, the most typical area researchers investigate is the impact unionization has on wages and job satisfaction. For example, Finely (1991) studied the job satisfaction (economic, administrative, teaching, associational, recognition, technical support, governance, faculty workload) of faculty at unionized and non-unionized two-year colleges in the Midwest. Finely found that unionization had little impact on the job satisfaction of faculty. Both unionized and non-unionized campuses were only moderately satisfied with workload issues and neither set of campuses was satisfied with governance and recognition practices. Henson, Krieg, Wassell, and Hedrick (2012) tried to account for issues with previous studies regarding differences in wages at union and non-unionized campuses. They found less of a difference between unionized and non-unionized wages at two-year colleges than research had

previously reported. Neither of these studies examined gendered aspects of job satisfaction based on the presence of collective bargaining at two-year campuses.

Political approaches suggested that I analyze the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland for evidence of women's commission or other organizations in the state that support women leaders in community colleges, evidence of unions on individual campuses and the types of policies they advocate for that might support women, the types of groups that meet on a community college campus regularly that support women in pursuing leadership positions, and the ways in which individual women academic leaders in the 16 community colleges have utilized groups or organizations for support. The type of data I needed to collect included: 1) faculty/staff handbooks at the individual colleges; 2) website information or brochures from MACC, AAUP, or other organizations at the state level that encourage coalition building activities; 3) women academic leaders' perspectives on what types of coalitions or groups, if any, support their pursuit of the presidency; and 4) state level organizers' or leaders' perspectives on what kind of groups support women's pursuit of community college academic leadership.

Overall, political approaches to studying women in community colleges, in conjunction with structural and human resource approaches, can offer additional insight about the kinds of support women faculty and academic leaders want or need to be successful. Political perspectives provide distinctive insights into the distribution of power in organizations and how policies, networks, commissions, or unions can increase the voice and power of disadvantaged groups.

Political perspectives focus on particular groups, policies, and trends, but tend not to capture all aspects of the organizational culture and climate. Research utilizing a political frame to study women community college presidents is limited. Studies about women in community colleges could build on Perna's (2001) and Boris's (2004) study to understand how unionized campuses may or may not increase policies that assist women in pursuing advancement. Additionally, more could be done to understand the role of women's studies on community college campuses and the impact of state and local women's commissions on policies that influence community college organizational culture.

Cultural approaches. Researchers who utilize a cultural approach to understand the high percentage of women faculty, administrators, and leaders in two-year colleges tend to examine the impact of institutional and social norms on women's experiences in higher education (Bailey, 2008; Bechtold, 2008; Cooper & Pagotto, 2003; Dominici, Fried, & Zeger, 2009; Eddy, 2009; Eddy & Cox, 2008; Garza-Mitchell & Eddy, 2008; Green, 2008; Hagedorn & Laden, 2002; Muñoz, 2010; Opp & Gosetti, 2002; Townsend & Twombly, 2007; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008). Theories in this area include frameworks for assessing institutional climates for diversity, role theory, stereotype threat, and gendered frames of analysis that assess "chilly climate" for women. Many of these theories overlap with gendered perspectives on organizational culture and climate, which I will discuss thoroughly in the next section. The kinds of questions researchers tend to ask broadly lead to examination of an organization's history, people's perceptions of the organization, satisfaction in positions, propensity to leave an organization, attitudes toward

discrimination, perceptions of interactions with colleagues, and structural diversity within organizations. In other words, researchers trying to understand why there tend to be few women presidents in most states' community college systems tend to examine multiple aspects of the organizational environment to determine the unique impact of culture and climate on women's experiences.

From a broader societal perspective this would include discussion of organizational cultures and climates based on U.S. cultural norms, or shared belief systems, and capitalistic economic frameworks. This also includes perspectives on diversity and multiculturalism from a broader, U.S. perspective. Specifically, in organizational studies, Schein (2006) defined culture as "the set of shared, taken-for-granted implicit assumptions that a group holds and that determines how it perceives, thinks about, and reacts to its various environment" (p. 236). Schein described the nature of large occupational communities as derived from the capitalistic and technological environments in which they exist. There has been debate about the differences between culture and climate and Denison (1996) attempted to define each concept for clarification:

[Culture...] refers to an *evolved context* (within which a situation may be embedded). Thus, it is rooted in history, collectively held, and sufficiently complex to resist many attempts at direct manipulation.

[Climate] refers to a *situation* and its link to thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of organizational members. Thus, it is temporal, subjective, and often subject to direct manipulation by people with power and influence. (p. 644)

Researchers studying cultures and climate in higher education tend to follow these broader social models but within the context of post-secondary institutional structures (Hagedorn & Laden, 2002; Tierney, 1988; Townsend & Twombly, 2007). For example, Tierney (1988) framed a study of one institution's culture using what he considered essential terms for the study of higher education organizational cultures: environment, mission, socialization, information, strategy, and leadership. Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1999) took a different approach and researched literature in multiple disciplines to develop a framework for understanding diverse campus climates. The external domain of their climate model includes the impact of "governmental policy, programs, and initiatives" as well as "sociohistorical forces on campus racial climate." The institutional or internal domain of climate includes: 1) an institution's historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion of various racial/ethnic groups; 2) its structural diversity in terms of numerical representation of various racial/ethnic groups; 3) the psychological climate of perceptions and attitudes between and among groups; and 4) the behavioral climate dimension, characterized by intergroup relations on campus (Hurtado et. al., 1999). This framework represents definitions of culture and climate as articulated by Denison (1996) and provides guidance for conducting comprehensive, interdisciplinary research about higher education institutions.

Community college researchers use similar frames of analysis for examining the culture and climate at two-year institutions, while acknowledging the differences in organizational structures across institutional type. For example, Townsend and Twombly (2007) used Hurtado et al.'s (1999) framework for assessing the

internal/institutional climate for diversity to talk about the status of women in community colleges. They found that women have been well represented in terms of structural diversity at all levels of the organization but were concerned that the numbers of women and people of color in the presidency were stagnating after a small increase (Townsend & Twombly, 2007). Hagedorn and Laden (2002) used a different frame of analysis to assess the climate for women on community college campuses and found a significant perception of chilly climate among women of color in their study. Overall, these studies tell us that although the structural representation of women at community colleges is impressive, there are other aspects of the organizational climate that are creating challenges for women of color.

Community college cultures and climates have the potential to either support or discourage women in the community college presidency. For example, in a recent paper, Townsend (2008) explored possible indicators of a positive climate such as: the representation of women and minorities being proportionate to the percentages in the population served by the community colleges, evidence of equal pay for equal work as represented by faculty salaries, evidence of equal opportunity for promotion as indicated by the percentages of women and minorities in leadership ranks, and the impact of an organization's values, rituals, customs and technology styles as evidenced by policies and daily discourse in the workplace. In fact, Eddy and Cox (2008) found that the existence of traditional hierarchies, the need to move up quickly in an organization to be seen as powerful and successful, along with the desire for presidents to maintain a sense of tough mindedness and positional power impeded women's ability to be authentic in their own leadership styles. The women presidents

in their study also found it challenging to manage the balance of family and work life in a way they believed would support women following their path to the presidency.

Cultural approaches suggested that I analyze the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland for evidence of the representation of women and minorities, equal pay for equal work between men and women, policies that support positive climates for women and people of color, along with conversations and discourse in the workplace that impact the climate for women and people of color. The kind of data I needed to collect included: 1) mission statements from the 16 community colleges; 2) the mission statements of the system of higher education and MACC; 3) trend data on salary and wages for faculty and academic leaders in the community colleges; 4) historical perspectives on the culture and climate in the state; and 5) individual or group perspectives on the culture and climate for women and people of color.

Overall cultural approaches look broadly at the assumptions, values, and beliefs in an organization and how they are observed or enacted to create climates that support diverse viewpoints, or stifle varying perspectives. These approaches often take into account the structural, human resource, and political aspects of organizations. Additionally, cultural approaches are useful in understanding the historical and cultural aspects of the state of Maryland that directly or indirectly influences the community college environment.

Cultural approaches may also emphasize or illuminate the diverse perspectives of individuals and groups at every level of the organization depending on how the research is structured. However, not all cultural approaches specifically

consider the gendered nature of organizations. Feminist standpoint theorists complement cultural perspectives by using methodological approaches to their research that tend to the diverse and interactive perspectives and identities of the individuals in organizations, particularly women.

Feminist approaches. Researchers using a feminist approach to examine the high percentage of women at two-year colleges tend to consider the unique circumstances that keep majority women and women of color from pursuing or acquiring leadership positions (Bechtold, 2008; Eddy & Cox, 2008; Garza-Mitchell & Eddy, 2008; Muñoz, 2010; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008). Standpoint theorists, such as those from feminist or women's studies, African American studies, and LGBT studies (i.e., queer theory) utilize the distinctive view of women, people of color, and LGBTQ people within an organization or culture to identify barriers and suggest possible interventions that might positively change the environment (Collins, 2009; Hawkesworth, 1999; Hooks, 1989, 1994; Jaggar, 2008). Theories in this area overlap with culture and climate theories but focus more on gendered aspects of organizations specifically. These theories include gendered organizational models and gendered leadership frameworks. In other words, researchers interested in the number of women in community college leadership roles tend to examine gendered social work norms, the ways in which leaders negotiate work and family responsibilities, gender and leadership approaches, the gendered nature of leadership norms, and the perspectives of women from different racial, ethnic, and social class backgrounds.

From a broader societal perspective this approach tries to make visible what is invisible in organizations. What is perceived as neutral in organizations is really a

perspective or standpoint based on White male norms that were developed during the formation of the U.S. government, pursuit of capitalism, and subsequently individualism (Acker, 1990). Standpoint (defined as situated knowledge in this study) is important because it examines issues from different perspectives (Calás & Smircich, 2006; Collins, 2009; Hawkesworth, 1999). Standpoint theorists originally looked at gender from an economic and labor perspective. Later, when African-American women challenged that a “women’s perspective” was really a White, middle-aged women’s perspective, definitions of standpoint broadened (Calás & Smircich, 2006). A focus on the intersectionality of race, gender, ethnicity, religion, class, sexual orientation, and gender identity came out of these conversations (Collins, 2009). As a result, the impact of White, male centered ideal worker norms and White, masculine norms of leadership on the career and personal lives of women are two areas researched extensively in feminist literature.

Gender and the workplace. Many feminists have examined the role of gender in the workplace, analyzing concepts such as unpaid labor versus paid labor, women’s role in the home as caretakers, the glass ceiling for women, motherhood penalties in the workplace, and the specific experiences of mothers who are women of color (Acker, 1988, 1990, 1992, 2006; Calás & Smircich, 2006; Collins, 2009; Correll, Bernard, & Paik, 2007; DeVault, 1994; Hoschild, 1997; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Definitions of gender and gendered institutions begin to reveal the pervasiveness of gender in society and the workplace. Acker (1992) defined the nature of gendered institutions: “Gender is present in the processes, practices, images, ideologies, and distributions of power in the various sectors of social life” (p. 567). She defined

gender as “the pervasive ordering of human activities, practices, and social structure in terms of the differentiation between men and women” (p. 567). In her more recent work, Acker (2006) connected gender inequality with other inequality regimes such as race and class, and posits that constructions of inequality begin with the subtle nature of everyday work routines, formal and informal interactions, and general job requirements.

Although research on gender and the workplace may be studied as a “feminist” topic, understanding how gender plays out in the workplace (and among various occupations) has the potential to enrich the work and family lives of all people in organizations. Calás and Smircich (2006) found that feminist theorists and practitioners, in an attempt to create women centered organizations, blurred the distinction between the personal and professional in bureaucratic organizations. Compiling recent research about men and women in the workplace, Jacobs and Gerson (2004) found many similarities between the needs of men and women as it relates to family and work balance. Regardless of gender, employees with families were challenged by workplace expectations and the desire to spend more time with their families. The authors argued that a continued focus on “women” friendly policies may impede progress on creating more flexible workplace environments because they do not acknowledge the importance of family for everyone, regardless of gender (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). However, Jacobs and Gerson (2004) did find that women’s flexibility in the workplace declined as working hours increased, whereas men’s flexibility increased the more hours they worked, indicating that women’s

occupational options (clerical, sales, health care) may be connected with less flexible working hours.

Women in higher education are considered to be in one of the higher status occupations and so they likely experience longer work hours than women in some other occupations (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Additionally, Terosky, Phifer, and Neumann (2008) found that women faculty in their early post-tenure career experienced additional distractions that prevented them breaking “plexi-glass” (stronger than glass) ceilings. Women faculty in their study experienced work (committees, meetings) that precluded scholarly learning, un-strategized work that they were not prepared to manage, and work that filled their need to right gender-based problems (Terosky, Phifer, & Neumann, 2008). Studying faculty work and family life policy perspectives across institutional type, Wolf-Wendel and Ward (2006) found that women had concerns about utilizing policies designed to help them care for sick children and to stop the tenure clock for childbirth because they were worried that perceptions about their use of such policies would impact their ability for career advancement later. This study also showed that although most institutions offered leave options for childbirth, they did not have many options for childcare and leave related to the care of dependent family members (Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006).

Concerns about work and family balance permeate the lives of faculty and academic leaders at all institutional types, including community colleges. Wolf-Wendel and Ward (2006) reported that, given the number of classes two-year college faculty were responsible for teaching, they found it particularly problematic to reschedule or find substitutes when they needed to care for family members.

Community college faculty in Wolf Wendel and Ward's study also reported that faculty unions generally advocated for wage or salary issues, but rarely advocated for work/family policies. Similarly, Wolf-Wendel, Ward, and Twombly (2007) interviewed women two-year college faculty in their probationary period. They found that women in their study made a conscious choice to work at community colleges because they believed the position would be compatible with raising a family but then faced pressure and anxiety about balancing home and work life. They thought balance was not achievable, yet also found joy and contentment in their roles. Specifically, women in the study lacked options for paid leave after childbirth, felt stressed by the work demands, had a great deal of anxiety over meeting the standards for tenure, and found the second-shift of child care to generally be their responsibility (Wolf-Wendel, Ward, & Twombly, 2007). Through this type of research, it is evident that feminist perspectives help researchers get at the nuanced differences and similarities of women's work challenges at all institutional types and at all levels of the organization.

Much of the research about women leaders in community colleges centers on gendered concepts of leadership and results indicate that women academic leaders also face challenges related to ideal worker norms and work/family balance. For example, Eddy and Cox (2008) used Acker's (1992) gender organizational model to study the experiences of presidents in community colleges, and in the process found that many of the women consciously chose to apply for leadership positions only after considering the impact on their family obligations. Considerations included: birthing, adopting, and raising children; a partner's ability to change careers; a spouse/partner's

career obligations; and caring for sick or elderly family members. However, Bailey (2008) specifically interviewed women and men community college occupational deans to understand how they managed their personal and professional lives. Bailey did not find any differences in how men and women managed work/family balance but did note that senior women leaders were working 60-80 hours a week. The concerns indicated by women community college faculty and leaders in these studies foreshadow some of the challenges associated with assuming leadership positions in the community college organizational environment.

Gender and leadership. Many commentators and researchers have interrogated gendered notions of leadership, stereotypical perceptions of men and women leaders, and leadership practices based on gender (Grint, 1997; Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin, 2006; Oakley, 2000). Early leadership studies influence our current perceptions of leadership. Grint's (1997) collection of articles categorizes classical leadership theories and traditional leadership theories and also presents modern, mythical, and alternative leadership theories that describe emerging research from the 1990s. Kezar, Carducci, and Contreras-McGavin (2006) followed a somewhat similar outline in their book about leadership in higher education. They describe formational theories of leadership, shifting paradigms, and the newest theories of the early twenty-first century.

Leadership theories can be grouped into several major categories. Positivist views capture trait theory, behavioral theory, power and influence theory, and contingency theory. These approaches are grounded in the idea that an objective statement of truth about leadership exists and can be measured (Kezar et al., 2006).

The social constructivist paradigm leads researchers to study leader/follower interactions and the role of context or social environment. Interpretation, multiple realities, meaning making, perception, and subjective experience are concepts that define this paradigm (Kezar et al., 2006). The critical paradigm includes critical race theory and feminist research. The premise is that power dynamics are a hidden part of leadership, resistance is a form of leadership, and research is influenced by individual values (Kezar et al., 2006). The changing role of leadership in higher education has been visibly influenced by feminist theory and newer concepts such as empowerment, collaboration, and social change. Most notably, Bensimon and Neumann (1993) use feminist theory as the conceptual basis for observing leadership teams in higher education. Finally, postmodern researchers challenge the underlying concepts of traditional theories because they believe such theories are based on White male models of leadership. Postmodernists study the culture and context of leadership and the role of ambiguity and change (Kezar et al., 2006).

The overall changes in the understandings of leadership, as described by Kezar et al. (2006), help to set the context for discussing factors effecting higher education management. Leadership theorists are moving away from: 1) attention to the traits of an individual to exploring the nature of complex contexts; 2) a focus on power and hierarchy to mutual power and influence; 3) studying individuals to studying collective and collaborative groups; 4) promoting concepts of predictable behavior and outcomes to encouraging learning, empowerment and change; and 5) researching individual leaders to examining processes. These changes are reflected in the evolving nature of the university presidency, related to the emergence of women

and minorities in leadership positions, and influenced by the historic structures and changing contexts of higher education.

Community college researchers have been interested in academic leadership given the pending retirements of senior leaders at two-year colleges within the next decade (Eddy & Cox, 2008; Eddy & VanDerLinden, 2006; Garza-Mitchell & Eddy, 2008). For example, Eddy and VanDerLinden (2006) conducted a national survey of community college leaders (14 position types) and through content analysis of open ended questions found only slight differences in how men and women in the study defined leadership. They also found some stereotypical differences based on position with the perceptions of male leadership as more directive and autocratic and female leadership as more participatory and valuing meritocracy as measured by value of knowledge (Eddy & VanDerLinden, 2006). Other studies have found that women mid-level managers could benefit from more structured leadership training to help them feel confident about pursuing leadership positions. Garza-Mitchell and Eddy (2008) found that mid-level leaders in a phenomenological study were content in their positions, experienced organizational structures based on male definitions of the ideal worker, and had no formal opportunities for mentorship available to them.

Some of the perspectives on leadership in higher education come from the perspectives of women presidents. For example, Bornstein (2008, 2009) argued that women's advancement in the presidency (across institutional type) will require diversity in the pipeline, eliminating gendered expectations of leadership, and accepting what have been described as "feminine" or "women's" leadership styles such as collaboration, listening, and relationship building. Bornstein (2009) indicated

that women currently have to avoid outwardly feminist interests and that they are drawn to struggling institutions where conventional qualifications are less of an issue. Muñoz (2010) conducted a mixed methods study of Latina community college presidents and found that they also considered family obligations before choosing to pursue a presidency. Additionally, the presidents in her study indicated that trustees play an important role in advancing diversity in leadership positions and that most of their mentors were male leaders (Muñoz, 2010). Feminist standpoint theorists would suggest that more studies like the one Muñoz conducted would help us understand the various perspectives of women of color, women with different social class backgrounds, and different gender identities.

In general, feminist approaches suggested that I analyze the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland for evidence of: gendered norms of leadership or work behaviors within the individual community colleges or state level organizations; family friendly policies that support both men and women with families, child care facilities or benefits; women's perceptions of and subsequent experiences in the community college environment as more supportive of women than environments at other types of institutions; any differences in how men and women community college academic leaders manage their personal and professional lives; differences in men and women's leadership style and how those differences are perceived by others. The data I needed to collect included: 1) press releases describing a community college president's candidacy, practices, leadership style or work-life balance; 2) which colleges have childcare facilities; 3) contracts that outline benefits and how they are described; 4) conference program

guides that list session titles preparing or supporting community college academic leaders' work-life balance; 5) community college academic leaders' perceptions of differences in work-life balance for men and women.

Overall feminist approaches have tended to focus on the idea that work and leadership norms, cultures, environments and perspectives are gendered and that researchers, managers, and leaders need to recognize and understand those norms in order to improve the workplace. Standpoint theory helped me focus on the perspectives of the individuals working in the community college environment and reminded me to consider the intersections of identity that played out for women who are pursuing leadership positions as I looked to structural, human resource, political, and cultural approaches for examining the high percentage of women presidents in Maryland community colleges.

Proposing a Multi-Framework Approach: Reframing Women Presidents in Community Colleges

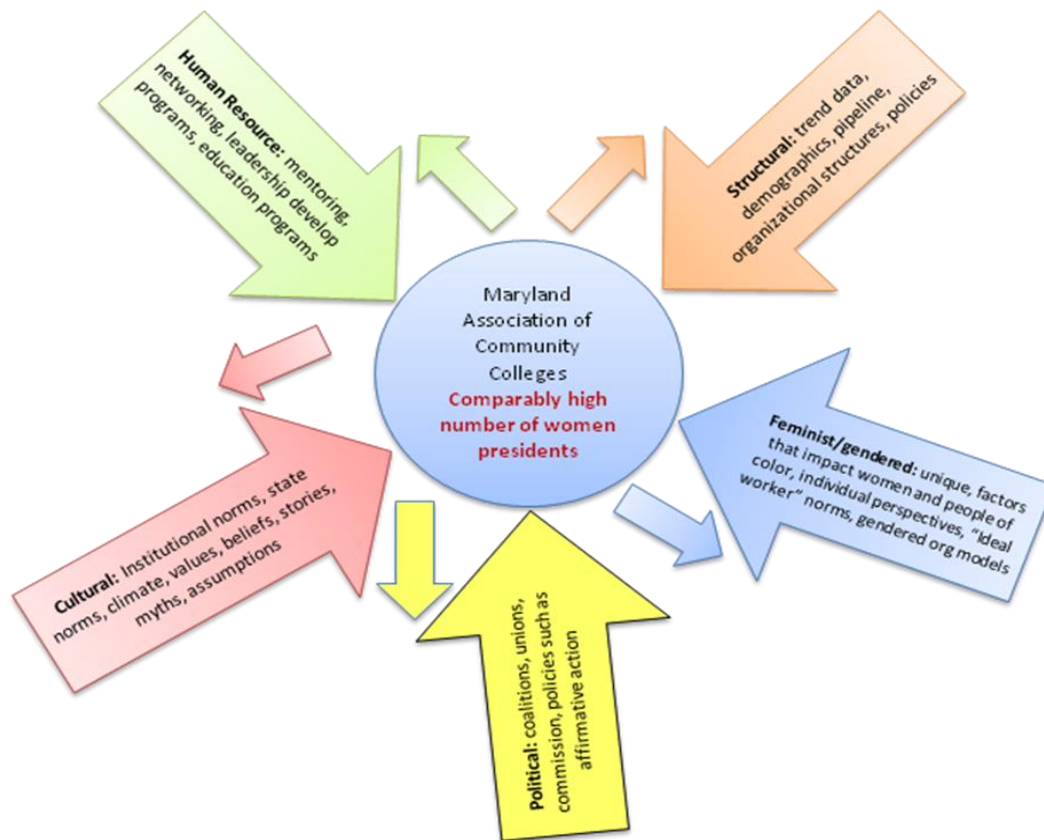
A variety of approaches and methods have been utilized to understand the large percentage of women faculty and academic leaders working at two-year colleges. Individually they provide critical perspectives on this phenomenon but tend to focus on one set of factors (structural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist) in isolation. For example, Amey, VanDerLinden, and Brown's (2002) survey looked at structural and demographic information about community college leaders but did not help us understand mid-level leaders' interest in pursuing the presidency or how they were successful in obtaining their current positions as might human resource, political, and feminist standpoint approaches. Robison, Sugar, and

Miller (2010) looked at a collective set of community colleges in North Carolina, but focused the study on the leadership development programs in that particular state (human resource approach). Muñoz (2010) studied the individual stories of Latina community college presidents' pathways to the presidency, which provides insights on their specific experiences as women of color but in isolation does not give clues into other presidents' experiences based on their identities. In this study I brought these various approaches together to provide an initial understanding of why the collective set of presidents leading Maryland's 16 community colleges includes so many women. As Acker (2006) noted, "different approaches provide complementary views of these complex processes" (p. 442).

In order to capture the complex and multi-framed approach to this study, I have created both: 1) a chart that summarizes what I will be looking for at the individual, community college, and state level for each of the five frames (cultural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist), and 2) a diagram to demonstrate the different levels of the frames and the interaction between activities in the frames and the women presidents' decisions and activities (Please see Appendix F, Table 3; Figure 1).

Figure 1:

Diagram of Multiple Frameworks



Chapter III: Methods

The purpose of this exploratory case study was to discover the structural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist factors that influenced the increasing presence of women presidents at Maryland community colleges. The comparatively high numbers of women in the top leadership roles at Maryland community colleges suggested that there were practices and conditions supporting their advancement. To structure this exploration, I conducted a case study using a multiple frames and multiple methodological tools. The organization of this chapter is as follows: 1) description of the research questions; 2) definition of the guiding research perspective; 3) details of the research design, data collection, and procedures of data analysis; 4) discussion of internal validity, reliability, and external validity; and 5) a review of methods used to safeguard the rights, privacy, and confidentiality of study participants.

Research Questions

I was interested in the factors that have influenced the comparatively high numbers of women in Maryland community college presidencies. The research questions for this study include:

- What are the factors that have contributed to the comparatively high percentage of women community college presidents in Maryland?
- How have these factors interacted to contribute to the increasing presence of women community college presidents in Maryland?

Guiding Research Perspective: Social Constructivist Perspective

My exploration into the world of academic leadership at Maryland community colleges, as well as a related review of the literature, led me to employ qualitative research methods. In-depth qualitative research attends to the interplay between a phenomenon and factors influencing the phenomenon. Case study design provides thick descriptions of a phenomenon, and expands or generalizes theories (Yin, 2009). This approach helped to reveal, in detail, specific factors that influenced Maryland's community college system and that influenced gender equity in this community college environment.

Social constructivists look for how individuals understand and construct their worldviews from unique vantage points (Creswell, 2009). In this study, I sought to understand the views of multiple, critical members of Maryland community colleges who have shaped the organizational environment for women academic leaders. In some cases, I sought to understand the views and experiences of individuals who did not consider themselves part of the Maryland community college system but who have knowledge of key factors that may be influencing this phenomenon (e.g., history of Maryland region, state employment policies, or interactions with other state higher education institutions). Interviews with critical members of the field I studied helped me understand those views in depth. These perspectives, situated in the context of data about trends in the field of higher education and community colleges, demographic data, and survey data, provided a rich description of the structural aspects of this phenomenon. Policy reports, organization charts, mission statements, and archival documents provided human resource, political, and cultural data

regarding this phenomenon. Together, these forms of data provided a rich and complex view of the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland and the factors that have supported their increasing presence in Maryland. From a feminist perspective, these approaches also helped me uncover the gendered assumptions that are embedded in societal expectations about women academic leaders and how they interacted with the institutional rules and practices in Maryland community colleges (Calás & Smircich, 2006).

Research Design: Case Study

There are several reasons for selecting a case study approach to examine this phenomenon. Yin (2009) explained that “a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 18). My goal was to understand why Maryland currently has a comparatively high percentage of women community college presidents in the context of the unique political and socio-historical culture of the state, and in contrast to many other state community college systems. I wanted to understand how various structural, human resources, political, cultural, and feminist factors had interacted to contribute to the increasing presence of women community college presidents in Maryland since 1989. In other words, I wanted to understand this phenomenon, set in multiple overlapping contexts, and the case study approach allowed for a broad view of this situation.

Next, this case is a holistic single case with a primary unit of analysis (the comparatively high numbers of women community college presidents in Maryland)

and embedded units of analysis (the 16 community colleges, the MACC and its members, the higher education system in Maryland, other state level groups, and the individuals who work at or in association with the 16 community colleges) (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The multiple factors I discovered interacted (creating a multitude of possible combinations) to influence the increasing presence of women in the Maryland community college presidency. The data I collected (interviews, documents, trend data, archival documents) contribute to understanding how one or several of the theoretical frameworks I used explain or describe this phenomenon.

Yin (2009) suggested that case study is most appropriate when there are multiple sources of interrelated data, and theory guides the data and analysis. Both elements were prominent in this study. Although the career and leadership experiences of the current Maryland community college presidents were of interest, they were not the focus of this study. Rather, this case study helped me understand the details of how and why the various structural, human resource, political, and feminist/gendered factors interacted to influence women's collective presence in this position at Maryland community colleges.

Unit of Analysis and Scope of the Study

The phenomenon I studied was the collective and increasing presence of women presidents in Maryland's 16 community colleges, and the units of analysis were the 16 community colleges, the Maryland Association of Community Colleges (MACC) and its members, the higher education system in Maryland, other state level groups, and the individuals who worked at or in association with the 16 community colleges. This case describes and explores this unique situation, bounded by: 1) time,

the years since the first women community college president was hired to the present (1989-2012), 2) location, the system of 16 community colleges within the state of Maryland, and 3) activity, the factors that have influenced the increasing number of women community college presidents. This study does not include a description or exploration of other higher education institutions in the state of Maryland or an in-depth study of other states' community colleges. Also, I did not conduct an in-depth analysis of each individual community college but searched for specific institutional factors that influenced women's presence in the community college presidencies in Maryland.

Data Collection

Tokenism and "tipping point" theorists (Collins, 2000; Tolbert, Simons, Andrews, & Rhee, 1995) contend that when women make up 35-45% of a group, women's presence in that environment becomes normative. Therefore, my data collection focused on the time period directly prior to 2006, when approximately 41% of Maryland community college presidents were women. To structure this exploration I used multiple methodological tools including interviews, analysis of trend data, and analysis of archival documents.

Specifically, my data collection included 19 semi-structured interviews for approximately one hour in person or by telephone. I also collected participant curriculum vitae, county and city based news articles, and web information to examine the career paths of women community college presidents in Maryland between 1989 and 2012 (see Appendix G, Table 4). Then I analyzed trends in the field of higher education and community colleges in Maryland, state and national

demographic data, and survey data from the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC), the Maryland Association of Community Colleges (MACC), American Council on Education (ACE), and the Maryland Higher Education Commission (MHEC).

Simultaneously, I gathered and examined archived newspaper articles about the community college presidential search processes and educational attainment and careers in the Maryland/DC area. Specifically, I accessed *Baltimore Sun* and *Washington Post*, archival news media by signing up for paid access to archival documents that had been scanned into an online database. I searched for stories about community colleges, community college presidents, dual career families, the Maryland Commission for Women, family-friendly policies, and women in the legislature. In addition, I reviewed search firm information about community college president hiring practices that was provided by two participants. I analyzed that information in addition to search information and preparation tools provided online by the American Association of Community Colleges.

I also collected and investigated archival documents and Web information about the Maryland Commission for Women and the Maryland Women's Legislative Caucus through the Maryland State Archives and online resources. Then I examined trends around trustee appointments at the 16 community colleges by using data gathered from The Maryland Manual Online (Maryland State Archives) and the Maryland Senate Journals (Greenbag Appointments) in hard copy at the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland. I created a chart to track the appointments of women community college trustees from 1986-2013 along with their length of service

as a reviewed the State Senate journal for each particular year. Using the Maryland Directory of Community College listing of trustees from 2004-2013 and the Maryland Manual Online list of community college trustees between 1989-2004, I was able to triangulate the information and create a chart of the percentages of men and women trustees at each community college between 1989-2013 (see Appendix J, Table 7).

Finally, I reviewed Web information about local community college leadership development programs, mission statements, values, diversity initiatives, Family Medical Leave Act accommodations, childcare options, women's studies programs, flextime and support of work-family balance (see Appendices O-Q). Adding to this data, I reviewed electronic copies of faculty handbooks and leadership development programs provided by study participants. I triangulated this data with the Maryland Directory of Community Colleges, Maryland State Employee Data System information provided by MACC, the chart of community college trustees (see Appendix H, Table 5), and the chart of women community college presidents hired in Maryland 1989-2013 (See Appendix G, Table 4). This data allowed me to compare the size and location of community colleges with: trends in the hiring of women community college presidents, the number of women faculty at each community college over time, the development of family friendly policies at individual community colleges over time, where and when childcare facilities or programs had been developed, which community colleges had diversity offices and programs, and which community colleges offered gender/women's studies programs (see Appendices O-Q). In combination, this type of data helped to analyze important

trends that might have influence the increasing number of women community college presidents in Maryland.

For purposes of this study, I define the collective set of community colleges in Maryland as the 16 community colleges listed on the Maryland Association of Community Colleges (MDACC) website. However, MACC was officially formed in 1992, and the current set of community colleges, their establishment as the 16 community colleges of Maryland, and subsequent naming was not complete until 2006. Therefore, when I did archival research I had to attend to the varying numbers and name changes of colleges between 1989 and 2006. When charting the structural themes that follow, I tracked the number of women chief officers (CAO, CSSO, CBOs), presidents, and trustees at the colleges that came to represent the 16 current community colleges in Maryland (see Appendix H, Table 5; Appendix I, Table 6; Appendix J, Table 7).

Participants

My study included 19 semi-structured interviews that focused on the key research questions for this study (see Appendix I, Table 6; see Appendix K).

- What are the factors that have contributed to the comparatively high percentage of women community college presidents in Maryland?
- How have these factors interacted to contribute to the increasing presence of women community college presidents in Maryland?

I used the Maryland Association of Community College Directories to contact previous and current community college presidents, CAOs, and trustees via email. I also conducted snowball sampling by asking participants for recommendations and

the contact information for potential participants. The interviews I conducted were audio recorded, semi-structured interviews that lasted 45 minutes to 1½ hours, depending on the availability of the key informants. During the interviews, I used a semi-structured interview guide that allowed me to ask the same key questions of all the participants but also allowed me to be flexible and responsive based on the meaning the participant made of the questions. My questions focused on the structural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist factors that may have influenced the increasing and collective presence of women community college presidents in Maryland. The interview tool (see Appendix K) provided prompts related to each framework while remaining open-ended to allow for the exploration of other factors.

The participants included five key informants including current and previous University System of Maryland leaders, a longstanding faculty member at the University of Maryland, and the director of a regional higher education organization (see Appendix I). These five participants provided a macro view of Maryland and the higher education system in Maryland. In addition, they were able to identify the larger societal, human resource, and cultural factors that were influencing the rise in numbers of women community college presidents in the period leading up to 2006.

Then I interviewed two previous community college presidents (one from Maryland) and one current Maryland community college president (see Appendix I). These individuals had developed and coordinated community college doctoral programs or “grow your own” leadership development programs at several of the

community colleges in Maryland. One of these individuals also served as a community college trustee.

Next, I acquired a micro-level view of this phenomenon by talking with three retired community college presidents who served between 1989-2006, one longstanding community college president, another current community college president who had been in a chief student services position between 1989-2006, and two longstanding community college chief academic officers (see Appendix I). These seven individuals identified the particular policies, practices, and programs that may have influenced the hiring of women community college presidents. They also explained how state, system, and institutional practices contributed to the culture and environment in Maryland community colleges.

Finally, I interviewed two community college trustees and two individuals who work with presidential search firms that hire community college presidents (one was a previous Maryland community college president) (see Appendix I). These individuals provided perspectives on presidential hiring trends nationally and within the state of Maryland.

All 19 participants also shared perspectives based on the identities they disclosed in their interviews. These perspectives speak to the importance of using feminist standpoint theory as a framework because they clarified how gender, race, and family status significantly impacted participants' perspectives on the path to the community college presidency and reinforced theoretical hypotheses about the gendered nature of leadership. The perspectives shared by these participants also

contribute to previous research that suggests community colleges' leadership positions exist within a gendered higher education labor market.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the information gathered included data-driven analysis (pulling themes from the data) and concept-driven analysis (organizing themes based on my theoretical frameworks: structural, human resource, political, cultural, feminist) (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Creswell's (2009) data analysis spiral helps describe the analysis process for a case study. I began by organizing electronic and paper files for collecting participant information, data analysis information, and any printed community college specific materials. I also collected archival and analytical data after journaling about each interview. Topics that emerged in the interviews shaped some of the additional data I collected. Essentially, I used multiple methodological tools to triangulate the data. I made notes describing the context of each interview. I integrated, contrasted, and compared the data from my interviews with document and archival analyses. In accordance with Merriam (2009), I searched for segments in all of the data that were responsive to my research questions. The first round of coding included looking for words and themes. Using constant comparative analysis techniques, I applied my theoretical frameworks to those themes and also allowed any themes outside my framework to develop (Merriam, 2009). Therefore, my data analysis process was both inductive and deductive.

Part of my data analysis included updating spreadsheets after each data collection activity (interview, document collection, website search, etc.). I created a different spreadsheet for each frame (structural, human resource, political, cultural,

and feminist) as part of my *concept-driven analysis*, and one spreadsheet for “other” factors that influenced women presidents in Maryland community colleges as part of my *data-driven analysis*. On each spreadsheet I recorded the factor identified from the data that influenced the phenomenon under study, described the ways in which that factor influenced the phenomenon, included the specific source of the data (interview, document, website, date, time, etc.), and the interactions I observed between that factor and the other factors (see Table 8).

Table 8

Example of Spreadsheet Analysis

Human Resource Factor	Influence on Women CC Presidents in MD	Source	Interactions with other factors
Example: presidents meet regularly to discuss topics of interest and share strategies for working with governing boards	new presidents learn more quickly and are better supported in their roles because more established presidents help them navigate the transition	interview with previous president, #8, April 4th, 2013 Stanley	regular meeting time is established-structural factor, alliances with other women presidents and mentors-political factor, creates a climate of support-cultural factor

As I added information to the spreadsheets, I also made separate notes about themes that were emerging. I also began creating multiple charts of the trend and archival data I collected to examine the relationships between themes and factors (see Appendices). From these themes, I was able to develop generalizations, and then create an in-depth picture of the cases using narratives, tables, and figures (Creswell, 2009).

Internal Validity, Reliability, External Validity, and Ethics

During the data collection process, I attended to issues of validity, reliability, and ethics. I describe the specific research techniques I used to strengthen the

credibility, trustworthiness, consistency, external validity, and confidentiality of this study in this section of the chapter.

Validity (credibility and trustworthiness). In order to ensure the trustworthiness and increase the credibility of this study, I engaged in triangulation of the data, conducted member checks, used an external auditor, and engaged in researcher reflexivity through memos and notes (or examining the researcher's biases) (Merriam, 2009). I triangulated my data by collecting multiple forms of data: interviews, documents, memos, news articles, archival records, etc. (Merriam, 2009). I also used analysis of trend data and archival documents to confirm or contrast information shared by participants.

As a part of the analytical process, I conducted member checks and collected feedback from participants. I also engaged in prolonged and persistent engagement (deep and close, but sufficient distance from study) with the participants in order to increase the internal validity of my study (Mertens, 2010). The specific techniques used for member checks included using a follow up letter to ask participants to identify factual areas and to clarify if they saw themselves in the descriptions (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). Fourteen of the nineteen participants responded to my inquiries and follow up questions. Specifically, I encouraged participants to suggest additions or deletions (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Mertens, 2010). In general participants agreed with the interpretation of the audio recordings, but on occasion asked that a portion of the interview that might reveal their identity be removed or carefully constructed in my writing (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

Additionally, to increase the credibility of my study and analytical approaches, I engaged in peer debriefing about my analysis process, interview questions and data collection. Specifically, I worked with my advisor over several months of data collection and multiple drafts of my findings. Additionally, I engaged two colleagues in reading for understanding of the content and concepts. In conjunction with my data analysis spreadsheets, I used analytical tools such as pattern matching, explanation building, and addressed any rival explanations through examining the interactions between factors (Yin, 2009).

Finally, I attended to my own biases as a researcher through journaling and field notes. I began this process by journaling about my visits to local community colleges and the relationships I developed with key informants prior to beginning my research. Merriam (2009) described reflexivity as the “critical self-reflection by the researcher regarding assumptions, worldview, biases, theoretical orientation, and relationships to the study that may affect the investigation” (p. 229). For example, as a student and staff member at a four-year research institution, I was aware of how my experiences shape my views of the two-year college environment. Additionally, I am a White, heterosexual woman so I needed to be aware of how those identities shaped my interactions with people of color, and participants with different gender identities and/or sexual orientations. I chose two peer debriefers to help me with this self-reflection process and my chair will served in this role as well.

Reliability (consistency). Engaging in multiple methods of data collection, as described previously, helped me with issues regarding the reliability and consistency of my analysis (Merriam, 2009). Further, by carefully defining major terms like

“community college,” “feminist standpoint,” and “union,” I enhanced consistency and reliability by making sure that readers understand my choice of terms. I also made sure the methods I used to gather my data matched those definitions (Yin, 2009).

Next, I used the data analysis sheets and qualitative data analysis software (NVivo) to help me organize the large amounts of data I collected and created a clear audit trail (Merriam, 2009). I kept track of my references and created electronic and physical file folders to help me stay organized. In order to manage the multiple and extensive forms of data I gathered, I attended to Yin’s (2009) principles of data collection, created a database, and maintained a chain of evidence. I followed these principles by organizing and archiving all the data collected (interview transcriptions, personal memos, journaling, trend data, documents, and field notes) into data analysis spreadsheets, multiple charts that tracked the data and interactions between the data, and used NVivo as an archival database. I also kept detailed electronic and paper files for each of the 16 community colleges, individual interviews, and any other organizations I reviewed. Managing all this information using NVivo, charts, and the data analysis spreadsheets assisted me with analyzing the multiple forms of data collected.

External validity. I worked toward analytical generalization by ensuring that the dominant factors I found and reported are consistently repeated in my findings (Yin, 2009). Furthermore, I worked towards analytical generalization by situating the dominant factors contributing to the collective presence of Maryland women community college presidents in the broader frameworks offered by Bolman and Deal (2003, 2008) and to feminist standpoint theory (Collins, 1997; Hawkesworth, 1999;

Hooks, 1989, 1994; Jaggar, 2008). I used rich, thick descriptions and purposefully sought variation and diversity in the sample selection to ensure broad application of the findings (Merriam, 2009). Finally, future case studies with similar results would strengthen the generalizability of my results.

Ethics. Consistent with Merriam's (2009) recommendations for ethical case study approaches, I explained the purpose of the inquiry and the methods I was using to my participants when I contacted them for interviews via email (see Appendix L). I also made sure participants consented to use of their interviews in my study (see Appendix M), engaged in member checks to ensure that I represented their perspectives accurately, and searched for ways to ensure confidentiality of the interviews I conducted. Further, I defined confidentiality for the participants, using a written consent form (see Appendix M). For example, I used pseudonyms for the individuals interviewed and I left out or changed identifying information to protect participants' privacy. Furthermore, I used codes to connect individual transcripts with other identifying documents like a vita. In addition, during analysis, I aggregated comments and data to protect the confidentiality of the participants.

I also tracked data access and ownership using my data analysis spreadsheets and computer program (Merriam, 2009). I secured data electronically on a password-protected computer and firewall-protected server. Hardcopies of informed consent forms and other confidential materials were stored separate from data files in a secured and locked location. The audiotapes were made with digital recorders. These recorders were secured at all times, either in my possession for transit or within a locked location (e.g., locked file cabinet and/or locked office). The audio files were

transferred from the recorders to secured computers and/or firewall-protected server. Once the audio file was downloaded, I erased the file on the recorder. Moreover, copies of the audio files will be erased and paper copies of materials will be shredded 10 years after the completion of data analysis for this phase of the project.

Chapter IV: Findings

This study sought to understand the factors that contributed to the high number of women community college presidents in Maryland and how those factors interacted to contribute to the increasing number of women community college presidents in Maryland between 1989 and 2012. The methods used included interviews, analysis of trend data, and analysis of archival documents. Overall, I found that the high number and increasing presence of women community college presidents in Maryland from 1989-2012 was influenced by complex interactions between: 1) the state context (political, economic, labor, educational attainment) and significant presence of women leaders involved with the state government and higher education (*structural and cultural factors*); 2) state and government initiatives including the early organization of women legislative leaders in the Maryland Senate and the Family Medical Leave Task Force (*political factors*); 3) the structure of the Maryland community college system and the role of women in the grassroots initiatives that formed and shaped the Maryland Association of Community Colleges (MACC) (*structural and cultural factors*); 4) individual community college initiatives (mentoring, leadership development, promotion of diversity, connections with the community, family-friendly policies) (*cultural and human resource factors*); 5) national, regional, and local mentoring of potential community college leaders (*human resource factors*); 6) utilization of creative search processes by Maryland community college board of trustees (*human resource factor*); and 7) individual

mentoring and agency among current and aspiring community college leaders (*human resource and feminist factors*).

This chapter will begin by describing the most prominent structural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist/gendered factors that have contributed to the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland. This includes state, community college system, individual community college, and participant data related to each of the five frames. The second part of the chapter will discuss significant interactions between the five frames describing the progression of factors over time, particularly before the number of women community college presidents in Maryland reached the theoretical “tipping point” where 35-41% of the community college presidents were women (Collins, 2000; Tolbert, Simons, Andrews, & Rhee, 1995). In both sections (one on key factors and the second on the interactions between the factors) I identify shifts that occurred during two key time periods: 1989-1996 and 1997-2006.

Factors Contributing to the Comparatively High Percentage of Women Community College Presidents in Maryland

Several significant factors emerged through concept driven analysis of participant, document, trend, and archival data related to each of the five frames used for this study. In the following sections, I will highlight the key findings related to each frame.

Structural factors. Key structural influences on the number of women community college presidents included: state and regional context (educational level of women, percentage of women in the workforce, geography); increasing

percentages of women community college board of trustees members; the high percentage of women faculty and academic leaders in the community college leadership pipeline; state-level interest and support of family-friendly and affirmative action policies; along with, the size (small, medium, large) and location (urban, suburban, rural) of the individual colleges. These structural factors influenced both the individual careers of women community college presidents and their collective presence in Maryland community colleges.

State and regional contexts undoubtedly played a key role in the significant presence of women community college presidents in Maryland. Women who worked in the state of Maryland from 1989-2005 had easy access to multiple forms of employment, commutable access to doctoral degree granting universities, and could pursue careers with a working spouse and children. During archival analysis of newspaper media, I found that journalists used census data gathered during the early part of this time period (1989-2005) to illustrate what was happening in Maryland. For example, in 1992, Maryland ranked 8th in teacher's salaries (111% of the national average), 14th in state and local school spending combined, and 5th in median household income (\$36,952) (Tapscott, 1994). This structural theme signals that there were good paying jobs in the Maryland region and education was a high priority. According to participants, both the women and men Maryland higher education leaders' decisions to live in the area were often based on these state characteristics.

Apparently, Maryland (geographically situated in the mid-Atlantic region) has generally been an attractive location for working women and dual career families over the last several decades. Half of the men and women participants in this study

mentioned that Maryland's central location in the Mid-Atlantic region was personally beneficial and played a part in the rise of successful women community college presidents in Maryland. These participants mentioned that national think tanks, national policy organizations, prestigious educational institutions (Howard University, Johns Hopkins University, Georgetown University, George Washington University, American University, and University of Maryland System institutions), the I-270-Technology Corridor, science and research centers, and other occupational opportunities sit within close geographic proximity to each other in the Maryland/D.C area. The minimal distance between a variety of occupational and academic institutions allowed several of the women participants in this study to pursue careers within a dual career family. For example, one participant, a community college leader who commutes ten minutes to work and volunteers at her daughter's school on lunch breaks, noted:

... I love where we are geographically; we're an hour from Baltimore, you can go to Perryville, take the train...the MARC train to D.C., you're an hour...actually less than an hour from Philadelphia, an hour from Lancaster, 30 minutes to Wilmington; so geographically I like the lifestyle.

And another participant, a Maryland community college trustee with children and an elderly parent who spent her entire career in the area, explained:

There is – there are so many opportunities between Baltimore, Annapolis, and Washington and because it's – it can be a very transient area, opportunities open up, and yeah, I initially went and worked in Washington and then decided I hated the commute and it was too hard, so I took a job here in Annapolis. And you know said 'oh I have to take a salary cut but we'll live through it' and within a year-and-a-half I was back where I was and then surpassed that...and...the Annapolis area and Baltimore area have become much more, I don't know, sophisticated over 30 years..or business-oriented...or the center of commerce...so that...different kinds of opportunities grow.

In addition, there is curiosity about dual career families and examples of dual career families highlighted in archived 1990s articles from the *Baltimore Sun*. For example, Waldron (1993) wrote about Dr. Freeman Hrabowski, the first Black president at UMBC. Waldron highlighted the fact that Dr. Hrabowski's wife, Jacqueliene, was a vice president at the T. Rowe Price investment firm and that they were raising a teenager who was about to enroll in college (Waldron, 1993). Okie (1990) also wrote a story about several dual career families where both partners were doctors, several of whom lived in Maryland. It was not unusual for Maryland women in all types of leadership positions to be part of a dual career family.

In fact, the percentage of working women and women at all educational levels were, and continue to be, above the national average in Maryland. For example, in 1992, 65% of women worked outside the home in Maryland and, as the postwar baby boom generation finished entering the job market, Maryland's female work force grew by 25% overall (archived newspaper articles by Bock, 1993; Tapscott, 1994). *Baltimore Sun* reporter, James Bock (1993), also wrote that "By 1990, the state ranked third in the nation with 63% of women working, up from 44% in 1970." During that same period of time, among people 25 years and over with a bachelor's degree or higher, 23.1% were women and 30.3% were men. This was an increase of 7% from 1980 when women made up 16% of the same group (Census Bureau, Maryland, 1940-2000). Therefore, Maryland's workforce consisted of more women, and more highly educated women, than other states during the time women

community college presidents began to be hired in significant numbers in Maryland (1989-1999).

Women in Maryland continue to work at rates slightly higher than the national average and a higher percentage of women in Maryland hold post-secondary degrees as compared to the national average. For example, in 2011, 71.8% of women in Maryland were employed compared to 70.2% nationally (U.S. Census Bureau Fact Finder, S2303, 2011). Additionally, according to the most recent census data, among the total number of business firms in Maryland, 32.6% are women-owned firms compared to 28.8% of women-owned firms nationally (Census Bureau, Quick Facts, Maryland, 2011). In terms of education, among the people in Maryland 25 years or older with a bachelor's degree or higher, 36.9% are women, which is 9.6% higher than the national average of 28.3%. In fact, in the same age group, among those people who had obtained a professional or graduate degree 16.5% are women compared to 10.6% of the same group nationally (U.S. Census Bureau Fact Finder, Table S0201, 2011). This public information signals to potential community college leaders (inside and outside the state) that women are highly educated and employed in Maryland. This may attract potential women community college leaders to the community college system in Maryland. The high percentage of highly educated women also helps create a healthy pipeline of potential community college academic leaders from which to recruit community college presidents.

The high percentage of successful women in Maryland was discussed frequently in media venues such as the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Washington Post* during the early 1990s, particularly in regards to the number of women in local and

state government positions. For example, in an archived editorial piece titled *Where Women Won*, the *Washington Post* wrote that of the 85 people elected to state-wide office in 1990, 59 of them were women (A18, Editorial, Paragraph #1). The article continues:

None of this will come as a surprise in this area. Women were elected city-wide for mayor of the District of Columbia, for two at-large seats on the city council and for delegate to Congress. And adjacent jurisdictions already have women in state-wide office: Mary Sue Terry, the attorney general of Virginia, and Barbara Mikulski, a U.S. senator from Maryland.

While triangulating this data, I found that more recently, Maryland was ranked 2nd among the best places for women to work in the United States. This rating was based on rates of women's workforce participation, salary levels, location, and overall women's earnings across the nation (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2011). With median per capita income of \$35,751 in Maryland as compared to \$27,915 nationally, and median household income of \$72,419 compared to \$52,762, nationally, it's clear that in 2011 Maryland women were prospering in comparison to the rest of the nation (U.S. Census Bureau State and County Quick Facts, 2013). Additionally, more Maryland women have occupations in management, business, science, and the arts (46.9% of employed women over 16 years old) than women nationally (39.5%) (U.S. Census Bureau Fact Finder, Table S0201, 2011). It is evident that there continue to be more highly educated women in well paying jobs in Maryland than other parts of the country. Educated Maryland woman also have multiple career options available to them.

In fact, comparing Maryland to Mississippi reveals striking differences in the economic and workforce situation for women. In Mississippi only 15% of the

community college presidents were women in 2011 (Mississippi State Board of Community Colleges- see Appendix D). Back in 1989, only about 16% of men and women over the age of 25 had four or more years of college in Mississippi as compared to approximately 27% of men and women of the same group in Maryland (Kominski, 1991). In fall 1990, 122,883 people were enrolled in institutions of higher education in Mississippi as compared to 259,700 people in Maryland (U.S. Census Bureau). More recently, the median per capita income in Mississippi was \$20,571 in 2011 and median household income in Maryland was \$38,718 in 2011 (U.S. Census Bureau State and County Quick Facts, 2013). Mississippi received a creative class ranking of twenty-one as compared to Maryland's ranking of three in the index referred to earlier. These ratings are based on women's workforce participation, salary levels, location, and overall women's earnings across the nation (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2011). Finally, in Mississippi 37% percent of women over 16 had occupations in management, business, science and the arts compared to 46.9% of the same group of women in Maryland U.S. Census Bureau Fact Finder, (Table S0201, 2011). In contrast to a state like Mississippi, Maryland was an attractive area for highly educated community college leaders in dual career households. In combination, these positive workforce and economic factors certainly contributed to the collective presence of women community college presidents in Maryland in the 1990s and through 2011.

Comparing Maryland to another state with a high percentage of women community college presidents (Connecticut), I found participants' opinions about Maryland's location and ability to support women leaders were recently affirmed by a

project titled *Women in the Creative Class*. Project researchers ranked areas based on location, giving each state a location premium, the amount of earnings that can be contributed to living in a specific state controlling for education, hours worked, and skill (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2011). Researchers were trying to categorize which states best supported “creative class” occupations for women (computer and math; architecture and engineering; life, physical, and social sciences; arts, design, media, entertainment, and sports; management; law; finance; business; management; **education**; and healthcare occupations) (Florida, Mellander, & King, 2011).

Maryland, where 56% of community college presidents were women in 2013 and Connecticut, where 75% of the community college presidents were women in 2012, fall in the category of states with location premiums (Connecticut System of Community Colleges, 2012- see Appendix N; Florida, Mellander, & King, 2011; MACC, 2013). Based on this information, women academic leaders, seeking their first or next presidency, would likely consider Maryland an attractive location for their career. It also suggests that the state of Maryland’s location and local workforce characteristics acted as both an incubator for the growth of women in leadership positions in the state (eight women community college presidents worked in Maryland previously) and attracted women community college academic leaders from outside the state (11 women were employed outside the state just prior to their Maryland community college presidency) (see Appendix G, Table 4).

To this end, participants described the ways in which aspiring community college leaders learn about Maryland’s economy and educational efforts and subsequently might consider Maryland as a desirable career location. Chris (previous

community college president) explained that she believed community college presidents who come from out of state learned about Maryland's strength during the recession etc., while attending national conferences. Carl (chief academic officer at one of the community colleges in Maryland) explains that women community college leaders may be attracted to the state because, "...Maryland's economy is strong and it's one of the best educated populous' in the states." In summary, Maryland was both attractive to prospective women community college presidential applicants and an incubator for the growth and development women community college academic leaders prior to their appointment at community college presidencies nationally.

Overall, broad structural themes at the state level indicate that Maryland's demographics, geography, job market, and location in the mid-Atlantic region played a role in the number of women available and eligible to consider a community college presidency in Maryland. The state's context and subsequent attractiveness to aspiring community college leaders also interacted with another structural factor, the role of the Maryland Association of Community Colleges.

The Maryland Association of Community Colleges (MACC) was formed in 1992 and played a key structural role in monitoring, promoting, and supporting the presence of women at all levels (students, faculty, chief officers, presidents) in the state's community colleges. To begin with, MACC provides archival data on full-time faculty that dates back to 1985 (MDACC-Publications-Archives). As far back as 1985, the Maryland State Legislature and the Maryland Commission for Women were tracking this type of data. Large percentages of women and people of color were attending and working at Maryland community colleges in the late 1980s according to

this data. For example, in 1989, women made up 45% of full-time faculty and minorities made up 10% of full-time faculty in the collective set of Maryland community colleges (MDACC Historic Databook, 1989). By 2001, women made up 53% of full-time faculty and minorities made-up 18% of full-time faculty (MDACC Historic Databook, 2001). By 2005, the percentage of women full-time faculty was 57% of full-time faculty (MDACC Historic Databook: 2005). Therefore, Maryland women were well represented in the initial pipeline to the community college presidency between 1989 and 2005 and slightly above 51% percent of women full-time faculty in community colleges nationally (AACC, 2010).

Furthermore, Maryland community colleges collectively had a comparatively high percentage of women in Chief Academic Officers (CAOs), Chief Student Services Officers (CSSOs), and Chief Business Officers (CBOs) in the pipeline to the presidency 1989-2012. Beth (current community college trustee) explains that “in the 1980s, Maryland community colleges gained a large number of women in leadership roles at the Vice President/Deans level. This was especially true in Academic Programs and Student Services.” Indeed, archival data indicates that in Maryland community colleges 30.2% of full-time executives and managers were women in 1984 and this number grew to 49.1% by 1994 (MHEC, Jan. 1996). By 2005, 56% of Maryland community college CAOs were women and in 2011, 75% of CAOs were women. This was much higher than the 65% of women CAOs nationally (King & Gomez, 2008), but recently there has been a decline and 50% of CAO positions in Maryland are women (see Appendix H, Table 5). This wane in CAOs was offset by a steady representation of women in the CBO position (44% between 2005-2011) and

significant representation of women in the CSSO position growing from 56% in 2005 to 81% in 2011 (see Appendix H, Table 5). Therefore, leading up to and during the growth of women community college presidents in Maryland, there were a high percentage of women in CAO, CSSO, and CBO roles. The visibility of women in these top leadership roles at community colleges and their availability for promotion influenced the high number of women community college presidents in Maryland.

In fact participants observed that women's significant presence in the faculty and leadership ranks led community college leaders and hiring agents to wonder why there were not more women community college presidents in the late 80s and early 90s. For example, Carolyn (previous community college president) made this comment when I asked her about what was happening in the 1980s and 1990s that might have led to the increasing number of women community college presidents in Maryland:

So I think there was that sense that, you know, it is okay for women to lead in higher education. The number or the proportion of female students coming into higher education really exploded during that period, so that people were asking the question why are all the presidents men and all the students women? You know, what is the problem here?

Triangulating participant observations with news archives, I found that local news reporters seemed interested in the initial hiring of women community college presidents in Maryland. For example, Martha was one of five candidates and the only woman at Anne Arundel in 1994. All of the candidates for the position were previous presidents (*ACC Narrows Field, Baltimore Sun*, 1994). Claudia Chiesi was one of three women finalists among 90 applicants for the Harford Community College presidency in 1994 and was officially hired in May of 1996 (Loudermilk, 1994; Ruhl,

1996). Thus, local media brought attention to community college presidential searches that included women. Participants attributed both this media attention and the general sense among trustees or other community college leaders that “it was time” to hire women to the resulting numbers of women in the Maryland community college presidency in the late 1990s.

In addition to the media attention, study participants remarked that the structural closeness of community colleges facilitated communication and eased interaction among trustees (hiring officials). Carl (current and longstanding community college leader) specifically referenced the MACC affinity groups as an organizational structure that allowed statewide conversations to occur on a regular basis. As a structural factor, community colleges’ geographic proximity, along with MACC’s affinity groups, created opportunities for Maryland trustees and academic leaders to interact with newly hired women presidents. For example, Dan (previous community college president) remembers meeting once a month with the other 16 presidents in Annapolis (there were 17 Maryland community colleges at that time). He recalls Dr. Smith being the only woman in attendance at those meetings. Dan speculated that her transition as the first women president in Maryland community college might have been difficult since other presidents and boards of trustees were not used to having women attend Maryland community college system meetings.

Similarly, Carl (CAO), Cindy (current president), Rose (search firm consultant), and Chris (previous community college president) all mentioned that boards might have been more comfortable hiring women once another board “broke

the glass ceiling” by hiring a female, and subsequently, the appointed woman was successful. One participant captures their collective thoughts with this statement:

And sometimes they see a neighbor – a neighboring college hire a woman or an African American or an Asian American and they think, “Hmm, that’s interesting.” And if that other institution is having a good experience and they hear good things, I think that opens people’s minds, and does so in a non-threatening way.

Archival news media data support participants’ perceptions that shortly after the proverbial “glass ceiling” was broken in Maryland community colleges, there was a significant and rapid increase in the appointments of other women community college presidents. Dr. Smith, the first women community college president in Maryland, was originally hired at Dundalek Community College in 1989 (*Baltimore Sun*, 1994, p. 8B). She was still the only women community college president when she was hired at Anne Arundel Community College in 1994 (see Appendix E, Table 2). Next, Claudi Chiesi was hired at Harford Community College in 1996. Then in 1998/1999 five more women were hired (see Appendix E, Table 2). In total, Maryland community colleges have hired 16 women presidents since 1989 (this does not include interim presidents or women presidents at the branch campuses of the larger, multi-campus colleges like the Community College of Baltimore County and Montgomery Community College). Thus, once Dr. Smith was hired, there was a sudden increase in women presidents being hired. This supports participants’ perceptions that trustee boards were open to the idea of hiring a woman community college president and influenced by the large percentage of women in the pipeline to the presidency.

Several participants also perceived an increase in the number of women trustees (hiring officials) on community college boards between 1989 and 2005. One participant noted that she perceived a change in the appointment of trustees overall. She said, “Why not women when women have been very successful?” Participants wondered if boards’ openness to hiring women presidents was related to the fact that structurally women were appointed to the community college boards of trustees at the same rate as women community college presidents were hired. Trustees are officially appointed by the governor during periodic “green bag” appointments (gubernatorial Senate appointments) during legislative sessions. Archival analysis of these appointments in the *Maryland Senate Journal* (1985-2004) and the listing of county boards of trustees in the *Maryland Manual Online* (1989-2012) revealed that the overall percentage of women on community college board of trustees increased from 26% in 1989 to 35% in 2005 and 41% in 2011 (see Appendix J, Table 7). Thus, the increase of women on boards at the same time more women were hired into the community college presidency is unlikely to be a coincidence. Studies have shown the demographic representation of hiring committee influences hiring outcomes (Yoder, Crumpton, & Zipp, 1989). The board of trustees plays a critical role in the hiring of community college presidents during this time period.

Structural data about each individual college, provided through MACC directories, indicates there were some significant differences in the hiring of women presidents and chief officers (CAOs, CSSOs, and CBOs) based on the size (small, medium, large), and location (rural, sub-urban, urban), of the community colleges. For example, the first woman president (Dr. Martha Smith) was hired at Dundalek

Community College in 1989, which is now part of the Community College of Baltimore County. Then, eight other women community college presidents were hired between 1989-2006, two at other large institutions (in addition to Dr. Smith) three at medium size institutions, and two at small institutions. Most of the women community college presidents (5/9) hired between 1989 and 2006 joined urban or suburban institutions. Most of the rural institutions in Maryland (6/9) did not hire a woman president between 1989 and 2006 when the number of women community college presidents was increasing rapidly. Several of those rural institutions have yet to hire a women president (Cecil, Garrett, Hagerstown, and Worchester-Wicomico) (see Appendix E, Appendix G). Therefore, women community college presidents in Maryland were likely to be hired at the larger community colleges that were situated in well-populated areas. Participants suggested that this trend was related to the fact that rural areas in Maryland have tended to be more conservative politically while urban areas were progressive politically and more diverse demographically. According to Smith and Willis (2012), central Maryland (urban, populated, and diverse) has traditionally tended to be more liberal than the rural and coastal areas of Maryland. These political trends might have led board of trustee members in urban and suburban areas to generally be more open to hiring women community college presidents. The other potential explanation for this tendency could be related to the concentration of jobs and educational institutions in urban and sub-urban areas that would have supported women in dual career families. Therefore, there are multiple potential explanations for the higher number of women community college presents hired in urban/sub-urban areas of Maryland than in rural areas of Maryland.

The decrease in tenure track positions in community colleges is another related structural trend that occurs across the sixteen Maryland community colleges. My review of Maryland Employee data (MACC-Publications-Archives) revealed that 14 of the 16 colleges saw increases in the percentage of women faculty between 1989 and 2005 (see Appendix O, Table 9). However, 12 of the 16 colleges saw a decrease in the percentage of tenured full-time faculty, became non-tenure institutions, and/or operated with one-two year contracts during the same period of time (see Appendix O, Table 9). This trend indicates that while the percentage of women faculty in Maryland Community Colleges has generally been increasing since 1989, women are less likely to be hired into a tenured position in 2012 than they were in 1989 (see Appendix O, Table 9). Also noteworthy, Howard Community College, where two women were appointed president between 1989 and 2007, saw a decrease in percentage of women faculty from 72%-62% (see Appendix O, Table 9). This is an interesting trend because traditionally, tenured women faculty members were more likely to be found working at two-year colleges holding 47.1% of tenured faculty positions as compared to 25.8% of tenured positions at doctoral institutions (West & Curtis, 2006; Synder & Dillow, 2010, 2012). Given the greatest differences in satisfaction, pay, advancement, and retention between men and women occur within research universities (where tenure is more prominent) and not in two-year institutions (Hagedorn, 1996; Hagedorn & Laden, 2002; O'Meara, Terosky, & Neumann, 2008; Perna, 2001; Terosky, Phifer, & Neumann; 2008, Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2008), it may be the case that tenure does not necessarily advantage women in community colleges or advantage those in the pipeline to the community college

presidency. However, Shults (2001) did find that the preparation and desire of women community college faculty for pursuing a leadership positions has declined.

Therefore, this decrease in percentage of tenured women community college faculty in Maryland has the potential to impact the pipeline of women positioned for future community college presidencies in Maryland (positively or negatively). Continuing to monitor this trend will be an important consideration in future research about women faculty, tenure, and their pursuit of presidencies across institutional type.

Another key structural factor that emerged in this study centers on policy initiatives that were directed towards women and families in the workplace. Women leaders in Maryland played a prominent role in establishing policies through state reform efforts. Reports were developed by the Maryland Commission for Women, the Maryland Higher Education Commission (MHEC), and directly influenced gender equity data that is produced yearly by the Maryland Association of Community Colleges (MACC). For example, in May 1986 the Maryland Commission for Women produced a currently archived report titled *Family Oriented Personnel Policies* based on a survey of state employees (Grant, 1986). Overall task force recommendations concluded that the state: 1) should act as a model employer when it came to offering fringe benefits and personnel policies that benefit families with children, 2) publicize a statement that demonstrated its commitment to implementing family-oriented personnel policies, 3) develop flex-time policies, 4) address part-time employment through a shared job project, clarifying existing policies, developing budgets for part-time positions, advertising part-time positions and establishing a voluntary furlough program, 5) develop dependent care resources and policies including daycare

services, vouchers, and parenting seminars, 6) develop expanded sick leave policies for care of newborns, adoption, care of sick children or dependent adults, 7) allow up to 26 weeks of unpaid leave for child or dependent adult care, 8) more effectively distribute information about updated policies to state employees, and 9) develop a confidential exit survey to inquire about why a person is leaving a job and then distribute a summary report on the completed surveys, annually (Grant 1986, pp. 33-39). This report further indicated that community colleges were a place for these activities to happen. In fact, between 1989 and 2006, many Maryland community colleges expanded their childcare services and begin including flex-time, maternity leave, and time to tenure policies as part of their campus policies and activities (see Appendix P, Table 10). These policies likely contributed to the kind of human resource supports that community college participants (previous and current presidents, academic leaders) in this study credit with helping them pursue their doctorates and balance work with family while pursuing advancement.

Next, during archival analysis, I found that in the late 1980s and more prominently in the 1990s, MACC and MHEC developed a series of reports related to gender equity and employment in Maryland's higher education institutions. For example, two comprehensive reports, were produced in the late 1990s: 1) MHEC's (Jan. 1996) report on *The Status of Women in Maryland Public Higher Education, 1984-1994* which reviewed the status of women faculty, administrators, boards and students at all Maryland Higher Education Institutions and 2) MHEC's (Sept. 1996) *Study of the Workforce Needs of Maryland Employees* which made recommendations for how higher education institutions could be more competitive recruiters and high

performing organizations. MACC state level studies that continued to monitor gender equity in community college specifically included: *Characteristics of Full-time Credit Faculty, Maryland Community College 1985-2005*, *Historic Maryland Databook (Employee Data System)*, and *Average Faculty Salaries: Ten-month Contracts Maryland Community Colleges Fiscal Years 1975-2006*. In addition MHEC's May 1996 *Survey of Collaborative Projects at Maryland Postsecondary Institutions* noted a number of joint campus collaborative activities across institutional type including joint degree programs and articulation programs. One participant in this study suggested that collaborative work groups, across institutional type elevated the status of women community college faculty and leaders in the 1990s. As a part of these groups, research faculty and community college faculty came together to write the shared curriculums for basic introductory courses. The goal of these groups was to ease the transfer process for community college students seeking admission to four-year institutions in Maryland. These archived reports and activities demonstrate that the Maryland women legislators group, along with women higher education faculty and leaders, were effectively influencing a conversation about women in higher education, giving prominence to women academic leaders in community colleges, and promoting family-oriented policies across institutional type. It could be argued that the collaborative work of Maryland women policy makers and women higher education leaders across institutional type placed issues of equity in prominent position, highlighted the success and importance of women community college academic leaders, and created conditions for Maryland women community college leaders to flourish in their positions.

Despite the push for family oriented policies at the state level, childcare and “family friendly” policies varied across the 16 individual community colleges from 1989-2012. Analysis of Web information provided by the 16 individual community colleges revealed that most of the community colleges in Maryland today offer some kind of childcare services. However, at two of the colleges childcare is reserved for students exclusively, and at four of the community colleges, students have first priority for childcare services. Most of the childcare programs currently serve families with children 3-5 years old. Anne Arundel and the College of Southern Maryland have services that include after school programs for children up to 12 years old. Chesapeake College and the College of Southern Maryland (CSM) have the most extensive programs with Chesapeake College serving five counties through a state grant and the capacity for up to 115 children at CSM (see Appendix P, Table 10).

Overall, childcare and family leave policies exist at most of the community colleges in Maryland and certainly influence the environment for faculty and academic leaders with families on those campuses by attempting to provide support for work and life balance. Since many of the women community college presidents worked at institutions outside of Maryland prior to their presidency, or their children were grown by the time they arrived in Maryland this is an important but evidently not a strong structural theme as it relates to the increasing presence of women community college presidents in Maryland from 1989-2006. However, the creation of these services and policies will be important for succession planning and continuing to support potential women leaders with families.

In summary, several structural factors influenced the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland. First, the educational level of Maryland women and the percentage of Maryland women in the workforce supported the careers of women in Maryland generally and at community colleges specifically. The state's geography and abundance of career opportunities also supported Maryland women who were part of dual career families. The number of doctoral granting institutions in close proximity to Maryland community colleges eased doctoral degree attainment, which is critical to obtaining the community college presidency. Additionally, there were higher than national averages of women community college faculty and senior level leaders in the pipeline to the community college presidency in Maryland. Combined with an increase in community college trustees from 1989-2012, women were at all levels of the decision-making hierarchy (hiring official, search committee, applicant) associated with Maryland community college presidential searches. In fact, those searches have resulted in more appointments of women community college presidents at the larger, urban/suburban institutions than appointments of women presidents at the smaller, more rural community colleges in Maryland. Notably, six of the 11 community colleges that hired women community college presidents between 1989 and 2013 experienced a corresponding increase of women community college board of trustee members. Finally, state level support of family-friendly, Title IX, and affirmative action policies strongly influenced a trend in the reporting of gender equity indicators (salary, percentage of women full-time/part-time faculty, women on the tenure track) by

MACC. Each of these structural factors set the table for an increase the number of women community college presidents in Maryland.

Human resource factors. Key human resources factors that have contributed to the high number of women academic leaders in Maryland include: national community college and higher education leadership programs, state level leadership programs and networking opportunities, individual mentoring of women academic leaders in Maryland, unique and comprehensive search strategies, succession planning, and institutional based leadership development programs. These factors influenced the individual career paths of community college academic leaders, created opportunities for women to advance to the community college presidency, and supported their collective success in Maryland.

At the national level, AACC leadership programs (e.g., Kaleidoscope, Lakin), Harvard Higher Education Leadership Institutes, Bryn-Mawr (HERS), and The American Council on Education National Identification Project (ACE-NIP) were valuable leadership training and development resources for the participants in this study. Despite managing demanding administrative schedules while raising families, many women participants talked about the benefits of attending national leadership programs. Chris, Carolyn, and Sarah (all early women community college presidents in Maryland) mentioned attending or being involved with ACE-NIP. Sarah remembered the ACE-NIP group often celebrated successful women who had acquired top leadership positions in Maryland. Similarly, Chris describes the ways in which ACE-NIP was important from her perspective:

That was very big when I was starting out. Not only here in Maryland. Everybody had an ACE-NIP chapter and there were ACE-NIP meetings. So I was fairly active in that for several years. And now, to be honest with you, only because you asked that question did I think of ACE-NIP. I was very involved in it, and a lot of women were. There were very big meetings, very robust, very energetic, lots of people came, and we had lots of conferences. It was a very active group and networking, really networking.

While triangulating participants' description of leadership programs, I found that ACE-NIP was established in 1977 and is now called the *National Network for Women Leaders in Higher Education* (Eggins, 1997). The national organization supports state level groups by providing presidential sponsors, creating opportunities for women leaders to connect with each other, and providing leadership development activities at the state and national level (ACE-Women's-Network, para.2).

Like some of the other participants, one of the current community college presidents in this study attended ACE-NIP as a CSSO, but also found value in attending AACC's Lakin Institute:

Then I went to the Thomas Lakin Institute which is sponsored by African-American community college presidents. And because then they also were able to talk about, quite frankly, you get leadership, then you get an administration in higher ed, and then you get leadership, administration in community colleges, and then you get leadership, administration in community colleges as a person of color, you know.

Subsequent document analysis revealed that The Lakin Institute (founded in 1991) is sponsored by the *National Council on Black American Affairs* and was designed to prepare community college leaders of color to be presidents. The institute has been quite successful and has produced the highest number of African Americans in the community college presidency over all other U.S. leadership institutes (Lakin Institute, 2010, para. 2). Kaleidoscope, through AACC, is a similar type of program

that is designed to help women of color and includes “group activities, individual presentations, case study analyses of current issues, organization dynamics, and a Personal Strength Inventory” (Kaleidoscope Agenda, 2012, p.1). Participants in this study noted how successful ACE-NIP was in helping the women academic leaders in this study gain confidence, leadership skills, and a supportive network. Leadership institutes designed for other underrepresented groups may be beneficial to future academic leaders pursuing the community college presidency.

Likewise, one participant (a current Maryland community college CAO) attended the Harvard Higher Education Leadership Institute instead of attending a leadership program specifically designed for women before being appointed as CAO of her college. She found the two-week program intense, but beneficial because it involved case studies and testing ideas with leaders from other institutions. Helen (previous community college president) also talked about the importance of attending these programs and national conferences while in pursuit of community college leadership positions:

I go around the country every year or two, about three or four conferences that are training for upper-level positions in the community college, and that’s what I try to do, is to say, ‘You must be in these kinds of programs. You must have a professional affiliation.’ We do want those practical and practice-oriented concepts, but there’s really nothing that helps the student more, in my opinion, than going to those conferences where they can make friends and see the names in the lit who do all the stuff, the research, et cetera, and really learn kind of what people think the intricacies of being a leader are. So I think that helps and the networking is really the thing that we’re talking about, you know, how do you network in a broader area from the college that you go to, or the university that you go to?

For academic leaders that “grew up” in their institutions, like some of the previous and current presidents in this study, these institutes were critical for support and

learning to tackle the complex issues associated with managing community colleges. This type of development opportunity also gave Maryland community college internal leaders a national context for local challenges and examples of best practices from other community college campuses.

At the state level, *Leadership Maryland* offered another leadership development activity and was mentioned by several participants. Although I found that only one of the women community college presidents in Maryland attended a county based version of this program prior to being appointed president, several of the presidents attended *Leadership Maryland* early in their presidencies. Those participants indicated that the program provided an opportunity for incoming presidents to connect with Maryland and county level leaders quickly. This human resource factor helped incoming community college presidents in Maryland successfully immerse themselves in their local communities and get to know key legislative leaders. Further document and Web analysis revealed that additional local leadership opportunities for community college leaders included the community college doctoral program at Morgan State University founded in 1998, and Frederick Community College's "grow your own" leadership program that was developed by Patricia Stanley after she became president in 1998. Although none of the women community college presidents in Maryland came out of these specific programs, these types of initiatives have been shown to support women's and minorities' pursuit of the community college leadership positions (Crosson, Douglas, O'Meara, & Sperling, 2005; Reille & Kezar, 2010; Russell, 2010; Robison, Sugar, & Miller, 2010).

At the same time, a more significant human resource factor in the present study involved the structure of MACC. Based on the structure of the organization, the Maryland Association of Community Colleges (founded in 1992) played a prominent role in providing training, networking, and support to community college leaders at all levels. Through interview, archival, and document analysis it's clear that affinity groups were a hallmark of MACC. Founding members of the association structured a group for trustees, presidents, chief academic officers, chief student services officers, and chief business officers across the 16 Maryland community colleges. The members of each group were listed in the MACC yearly directory along with their phone, address, and email address. Affinity groups met monthly and Katie, (current and longstanding chief academic officer) mentioned that they met four times a year.

Beginning in 1992, affinity groups provided opportunities for leaders at the 16 community colleges to come together on a regular basis for discussion of mutually relevant issues and challenges. They also provided opportunities for learning and training. For example, Carl (current CAO) talks about the role of the CAO affinity group:

What it does is we help each other be successful, we help each other understand best practice, we share a lot about what we're doing so that we can get everybody on board to better practice, and encourage people to continuously notch things up. Because we know we all benefit; in the state level we're working that well together.

In the absence of formal MACC sponsored leadership training programs, these groups provided community college leaders opportunities to talk about initiatives and issues on their individual campuses with a spirit of collaborative learning. These development opportunities supported women community college leaders success by

helping them find mentors, learn how to handle difficult situations, and understand the politics associated with running their campuses.

Similar to other affinity groups, trustees from each of the colleges met monthly and every January beginning in the 1992. Julie (a current community college trustee) and four other participants (on search committees during the exponential hiring of women presidents in the late 1990s/early 2000s) noted that these trustee meetings provided opportunities to educate trustees about working with presidents and explore effective approaches for community college presidential searches. Pat (current community college president) observed that community college boards have three primary roles: hire and fire the president, make policy, and help raise funds. Therefore, the trustees contributed to appointing the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland.

Findings revealed that in addition to encouraging attendance at national leadership programs or networking at MACC affinity group meetings, both men and women participants in this study played a significant role in mentoring women community college presidents and aspiring presidents prior to 2005. Current and previous community college presidents talked about specific examples where they were encouraged to consider the community college presidency or were supported in pursuing doctoral degrees. Several of the women presidents earned their doctorate while working full-time and talked about how their community college president was the person that encouraged their completion. For example, one participant (a previous community college president in Maryland) talked about trying to finish her doctorate after giving birth to her first child:

I wouldn't have a doctoral degree if it hadn't been for the fact that first of all he wrote it into my objectives as an employee, and then you know he wouldn't let me walk away when times got tough so I'm really glad I did it but it was, it was a painful process.

Chris (previous community college president) talked about mentoring as “the things you wouldn't find in a faculty handbook” and was convinced that every president was highly involved in mentoring aspiring community college leaders in Maryland between 1989-2006 and that this tradition continues. Indeed, I found that many of the current and previous community college presidents were mentoring other individuals within their college as well as contributing to community college leadership programs through teaching, and leading some of the leadership institutes established by the AACC. Helen (previous community college president and trustee) talked about why this was a prominent human resource theme:

You know, these are the things that are really important, and as a community college director, leader, whatever you call the program's CEO, I think it's our responsibility to go around the country doing those kinds of things. I mean, I've had the experience of being a university professor, of being a community college professor, of being a college president, of being a member of a board, and now of being a chair of a board of trustees for a community college, so that experience is really invaluable to people. And even though it's my own story, it helps people to story their lives.

Sarah, Sonya, and Pat (all community college presidents) talked specifically about the importance of mentoring women and minorities. They all believed that women and minority aspiring academic leaders needed encouragement to pursue the tools (like a doctorate or attending a leadership program) they would need to consider a presidency in the future. Sarah also emphasized that often women and minorities believe they need stellar skills in every area of presidential competencies in order to be qualified for the position. She explained that aspiring presidents have to be

knowledgeable about the subjects associated with the key competencies outlined by the AACC Board of Directors (2013) including: 1) organizational strategy; 2) institutional finance, research, funding, and resource management; 2) communication; 3) collaboration; and 4) community college advocacy. However, if an emerging leader is weak in an area like budgeting, that person will be able to hire a chief business officer who can provide critical support around institutional finance and fill in the gaps in that competency area. One of the participants talked about how attending a leadership program designed for women pursuing a community college presidency helped her navigate her strengths and weaknesses and gave her greater confidence:

Because the other thing it did is that it either confirmed that skill set that I was trying to get that I didn't have or it told me where there were some real gaps and here's what you need to do to fill. Here are things you can do to fill in the gaps. Because I tell you things that presidents need to know, you *have to* know the budget and you cannot just depend on your finance guy. You know, now you have to depend on them a lot. So you have to trust them, but you have to know the questions to ask about the budget.

In some cases, mentoring included opportunities to sit with a president and learn about budgets, or how to handle difficult situations. More frequently, for the early women presidents (1989-2006) in this study, it was a president asking for a vice president to “come upstairs” and assist the president while maintaining current responsibilities. Participants thought these types of support gave women community college leaders in Maryland the confidence and ability to pursue and obtain the community college presidency. In fact, these types of on-going interactions proved to be a strong human resource factor that supported the collective presence and success of women community college leaders in Maryland.

In addition, Maryland community college leaders, trustees, and community college search firms have structured unique hiring processes that contributed to the promotion of women into the community college presidency. These processes have included semi-searches, succession planning, utilizing national search firms with a commitment to hiring women and minorities, and hiring candidates with non-traditional career paths in community college leadership. Related to semi-searches, while Dr. Martha Smith was hired through a national search process both at Dundalek and Anne Arundel, one of the other early presidents, Dr. Faye Pappalardo was appointed by the board of trustees through a semi-search process according to participants (personal communications with Rose, Dan, Pat). Dr. Pappalardo had been working at Carroll Community College as Director of Student Services and then as Vice President for Academic Affairs since 1988. During archival media analysis, I found Powder (1998) wrote in the *Baltimore Sun* about Pappalardo's appointment. Powder wrote that Faye was the only applicant for the position, but that the board had gathered opinions from the community including faculty, administration, and support staff. The trustee chairperson indicated that the board interviewed Pappalardo to see if they wanted to appoint her or conduct a national search (Powder, 1998). One previous Maryland community college president recalls that several women were appointed to the presidency without a search and noted that it worked "swimmingly well" despite skepticism on the part of other presidents at the time. This community college president noted:

A very respected *community college president*, and the *board of trustees*, took an extraordinary step and did not conduct a search. The "flagship" of

community colleges took that step. It stunned people but opened the floodgates.

Indeed, another approach to presidential searches in Maryland was to engage in intentional succession planning: preparing for the retirement of a current president by intentionally grooming a future president a couple of years in advance of the retirement. A couple of presidents, Kate Hetherington (Howard Community College) and Elaine Ryan (previously, College of Southern Maryland) were both appointed by their boards without interviews. In both cases the appointments were well received, according to study participants, largely because the women had strong proven track records at their respective colleges. The College of Southern Maryland (CSM) is a rural college and one benefit of succession planning at a small, or even medium size college like Howard Community College, is the significant reduction in search related costs. Several participants mentioned that funding a national search can be quite expensive, hovering around \$50,000-100,000 per search. Therefore, succession planning or semi-searches might have been particularly attractive to smaller and rural community colleges (like CSM) that tend to have few financial resources. Additionally, one participant (previous community college president) who was hired in 1998 and another participant who was hired in 2007 were in dual career families, so succession planning allowed them to move up without moving their families. The infrequent use of internal searches (in this case only three searches that appointed women community college presidents internally) may have been the result of Maryland community college trustees' skepticism the searches would not be perceived as fair and equitable. However, this approach did enhance the results

achieved by national search firms and contributed to the increasing presence of women community college presidents in Maryland.

During document analysis I found that several of the national presidential search firms and the American Association of Community College Trustees (AACCT) have a proven track record of hiring a diverse set of presidents across the country and in Maryland. Maryland community college boards of trustees who were committed to find the best president to lead their institution (from a diverse pool of highly qualified candidates) willingly paid for the expertise and connections that search firms provided. In fact, one search firm was responsible for eight successful searches; five of them resulted in the hiring of women presidents 1989-20 (personal communication with Dan, Rose, & Julie; R.H. Perry and Associates, 2013).

Search firms (e.g., AACC, R.H. Perry and Associates, AGB Search) were successful in hiring women and minority community college presidents in Maryland based on several proven search strategies. Rose (search firm representative), Beth (trustee), and Julie (trustee) described these both previous and current strategies in detail. First, since 1993, Rose has trained the board of trustees that she is working with to understand important aspects of the search process including adhering to affirmative action policies or statements at the institution, and widening the initial pool from the traditional 4-5 candidates to 10-12 candidates.

This is what [we] had to do in order to increase the diversity, widen the door, and make it a wide open door so more people can come in, more people can look good, and more people can be selected[...] If you open up the door and you don't have rigid criteria,[but] competency based criteria, it's a lot easier for people to walk through the door (Rose).

Rose also explained that research conducted by her search firm about college and university presidents led her to focus on four key factors that produce a successful presidential candidate: 1) education and experience, 2) intelligence (in this case that technically meant obtaining a doctoral degree), 3) interpersonal skills, and 4) motivation and the ability to motivate others. The search firm provides a list of questions to presidential search committees that elicit a candidate's experience in these four areas. Rose's firm works with the search committee to read all the applications and narrow the average pool of 120 candidates. Each member of the committee scores each applicant and the firm creates a matrix of every person's rankings. If Rose thinks the committee is dismissing a good candidate too quickly, she will write a note to the committee and encourage them to consider that candidate. Essentially the firm serves as a well-informed evaluator of candidates. According to Rose, this strategy expanded the pool of women in Maryland searches because the search firm encouraged Maryland community college search committees to consider women with non-traditional qualifications.

Search firms also assisted the hiring process in Maryland by conducting initial phone interviews of the candidates, running background checks, and talking with references. As a part of the searches Rose conducts, her staff then added this information to the matrix of rankings and provided each search committee member with a packet about the individual candidate. The search committee and search firm representatives then met to discuss each candidate, narrowing the pool to 10-12 candidates that would interview on campus. Rose explained that this size pool of candidates allowed the search committee to meet unique people who might bring

something distinctive to the campus. These strategies have contributed to the success of women candidates in Maryland community college searches by creating a more diverse pool (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, pathway) of candidates overall.

Indeed, a unique human resource factor in the hiring of women Maryland community college presidents is the significant number of current and previous women community college presidents who have come from the pool of chief student services officers. Two men participants made note of this phenomenon. One commented:

I just want to indicate that I think there are many applicant pools who have a student personnel background and that helps bring the pool to maybe close to 50 percent of the applicants are female. You don't find that in universities.

Then Carl (CAO) explains why more community college presidents are being hired after a career in student services at community colleges:

Student affairs has also grown in stature in the college setting, and I think many of the people in student affairs are perceived as important educators and knowledgeable about the entire educational enterprise so I think that helps.

Additionally, some current men community presidents in Maryland have come from the development or business side of the organization. A review of archived news articles, participant curriculum vitas, and community college Websites revealed that in Maryland's case, seven women community college presidents were hired from a student affairs pathway or non-traditional pathway (see Table 11).

These findings support AACC research (Aspen Institute; Achieving the Dream Foundation, 2012) that suggests community college presidential search firms look outside the traditional academic route to the community college presidency in order to find successful candidates. Maryland boards of trustees' decision to hire outside

traditional pathways contributed to the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland's case.

Table 11

Maryland Women Community College Presidents Pathways to the Presidency

	Number Hired 1989-2012 (non- interim)	Academic Affairs	Student Affairs	Administrative Affairs	Combination of Academic/Student Or Academic/Admin Or Student/Admin
Women Presidents	16	9	4	0	3

Sources: Participant CVs, Appendix G:Table 4

*currently recognized 16 MD community colleges

*ACE 2012-American President, 45.9% of two-year college presidents served as CAO prior to the presidency.

In summary, several human resource factors influence the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland. First, a plethora of national community college and higher education leadership programs offered women community college leaders in this study: 1) the opportunity to network with other women academic leaders in the region and across the country, 2) gain valuable leadership skills, and 3) improve their self-confidence. In addition, intentional and pervasive mentoring of women in the pipeline to the presidency helped previous, current, and potential women community college presidents in Maryland complete their degrees or gain critical senior level management skills. Furthermore, a combination of succession planning, semi-searches, and full searches (intentionally designed to consider a broad array of candidates for the community college presidency) led to the successful appointment of women community college presidents in Maryland between 1989 and 2007. In combination this variety of human

resource factors led to the initial, continued, and exponential appointment of women community college presidents in Maryland.

Political factors. Key political influences on the number of women community college presidents include: leadership by Maryland women legislators including advocacy for women in higher education and networking opportunities for women leaders in Maryland; strong professional women's networks among community college and higher education leaders; and a significant change in the state board of community colleges which became a collaborative association of community colleges that was separate from the University System of Colleges in Maryland. These factors supported the success and development of women academic leaders in Maryland while establishing an effective community college organization attractive to women across the nation who were considering a community presidency in Maryland.

The connections between a significant number of Maryland women legislators and women community college leaders created a supportive state environment for Maryland women community college presidents in the 1990s. These connections influenced the recruitment, appointment, development, and success of women community college presidents. For example, several participants mentioned long-standing women senators in Maryland. They observed a connection between women in state politics in Maryland and the legislature's connection with community colleges. For example, Mildred (faculty member at a four-year institution in Maryland) mentioned Barbara Mikulski, who was the first woman senator in the country (1987), grew up in Baltimore and is the longest serving woman senator as of

2012. Mikulski has long been known for creating opportunities for women leaders in the senate and in Maryland's higher education institutions to come together at informal dinners (Bash, 2012). Participants in this study referred to these dinners as important for networking and ally building. Richard, another participant, explained that Connie Morella (congresswoman from 1987-2003) was a Montgomery community college faculty member and served on the Maryland Commission for Women from 1970-1986. Through the leadership of these first Maryland women legislators, agendas and activities (formal and informal) began to form that would create a strong connection between Maryland women higher education leaders (across institutional type) and women in state politics.

Specifically, early women legislators in the late 1980s and 1990s created spaces for early women leaders across institutional type to feel valued and safe in a male dominated culture. Participants personally took advantage of social networks and gatherings among women legislatures and college organizational leaders during the 1990s in Maryland. One participant, Alice, has been an active leader in Maryland higher education organizations for over 20 years. She suggested that these informal gatherings between women legislators and women leaders in higher education supported a culture of women working together, encouraged the perseverance of women leaders in tough roles that called for difficult decision making, and offered a space for women leaders to relax and be authentic. By the time Cindy (longstanding Maryland community college president) arrived in the late 1990s/early 2000s, women community college leaders were being invited to a women's legislative luncheon each year. Cindy comments on the impression it left with her:

But you know when I said I notice how progressive it was when I came here [Maryland]; actually the first group that I told that to [that Maryland was progressive], they have a women's legislative luncheon every year. So all the women legislatures...it's at the beginning of session.

Aspiring and current community college leaders found the support they needed in their roles by networking with members of the Maryland's Women's Caucus.

Triangulating participant viewpoints with Web analysis revealed that the current "Women Legislators of Maryland," (formally the Maryland Women's Caucus) was the first U.S. women's legislative caucus in 1972 (Women Legislators of Maryland, Inc. 2013). The Women Legislators of Maryland Website offers comprehensive information about the founding and purpose of the organization. The original purpose was to "foster cooperation among women holding state legislative office and to increase political participation by all women" (Sorenson, 2000). Sorenson wrote that, in preparation for the 1977 Maryland legislative session, the group consulted with the League of Women Voters, Maryland Women's Political Caucus, American Association of University Women, and the Maryland Chapter of the National Organization for Women. Among the list of issues important to these groups of women in the late 70s, two additional agendas were put forward, "ending discrimination against women in higher education and increasing the number of women on Maryland's boards and commissions" (Sorenson, 2000, *The Caucus Takes Shape 1974-1976*, para.5). Therefore, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the women's caucus was clearly active in supporting the advancement of women in Maryland's higher education institutions.

These initiatives influenced the number of women presidents in community colleges as well as the number of women board of trustee members in Maryland. In fact, Sorenson (2002) indicated that an independent review by sociologist Cynthia Chertos traced the numeric growth of women elected leaders in Maryland to the formation of this group and its partnership with other women's organizations. Essentially, Sorenson (2002) confirmed participants' recollections that the growth of women community college leaders and the growth women boards of trustees at community colleges was influenced by a powerful and growing group of women legislators in Maryland.

As a related political factor, women academic leaders in this study talked about the importance of other women allies. Women's affinity groups help these women higher education leaders find support, remain centered, maintain realistic self-expectations, and talk openly about leadership challenges. Several participants referred to these gatherings as the "meeting after the meeting." For example, both Alice and Chris referred to the importance of having a professional network where they realized that their experiences weren't unique and they could gain valuable insights and information. One participant explained:

I mean, I also had a professional network of female professionals in my community, whom I exchanged, you know, lots of horror stories with. And because we were dealing in the same political environment, you know, there was a lot of, well, you know, when you talk to so and so, you need to remember, you know, that this has happened and that's going to influence, you know, that kind of information. And you just collect information everywhere you can, because it will come in handy at some point. You don't want to push somebody's buttons if you don't have to.

Cindy expanded on this idea and identified that these networks also helped women leaders by serving as political allies that would likely warn you about issues that were brewing that you might be unaware of otherwise. One participant shared that some of the gatherings were more formalized and highlighted how connected the women community college presidents in Maryland were to women in the legislature on many levels.

Yeah, they would hold conferences, you know, invite speakers and really they did it a couple of times a year, but they would also ask women presidents to speak to them about, you know, what's going on, what are your issues, what are your concerns. Barbara Mikulski used to attend those, just, you know, because she was involved and wanted to continue the involvement in that particular arena.

Sonya (current community college president) spoke about how programs just for women, allow women to bring things to the table. Among allies, women can then test out when it's appropriate to use particular knowledge, background, skills, tradition, and culture in a situation and when it might be misinterpreted. She also talked about women choosing to travel together, regardless of marital and parenting status because it just felt good to be yourself around other women. One participant's experience rooming with other woman academic leaders at major leadership conferences demonstrates how being around other women academic leaders as a new mother can be particularly important:

[The president] was very, very supportive and at that time my daughter was one year old and the...I lived in the dorm and the woman I shared a bathroom with is [Julie]...we both had one year old daughters and we were doing our first case study. How are you feeling about being here, I said...it was my turn and I was like I have to admit I am so home sick. I've never left my daughter, she's a year old, I've never left her. [Julie] said I've been crying in my room at night, my daughter's one.

Overall, a strong culture of supportive networks and political alliances among women academic leaders contributed to the success of individual academic leaders in Maryland.

Another political factor that positively influenced support of women in the community college presidency was the dissolution of the centralized State Board of Maryland Community Colleges. The subsequent grassroots establishment of the Maryland Association of Community Colleges in 1992 led to a highly collaborative organization that is able to effectively advocate for state level policies and interacts directly with the state's governor. Essentially, community colleges in Maryland can advocate for themselves both individually and collectively to influence the governor. According to participants, this type of organization makes Maryland community colleges attractive to potential college presidents (men and women) within the state and across the country because it allows individual colleges autonomy within the safety net of a well-organized, powerful system of colleges.

Changes to the community college system in Maryland began with the Secretary of Education who became disgruntled with the State Board of Community colleges and disbanded the organization (personal communication Chris, Stanley; archival news analysis, Waldron, 1992). At that point in time, the governor proposed that administration of the 17 community colleges would be the responsibility of the Maryland Higher Education Commission. The governor argued the plan would save money and eliminate duplicative efforts, but community college leaders would lose direct negotiation with the governor regarding budgets or other matters (Waldron, 1992). Community college systems with a big "S" (strong centralized system) are

controlled by a state chancellor and this type of structure removes community colleges' direct involvement with the legislature for budget negotiation and other lobbying matters (personal communication, Chris).

Previous presidents in this study explain why Maryland's community college system, a little "s" (centralized but separate from a statewide higher education system) was more effective and desirable. First, Stanley (previous community college president) provided details of how MACC was "developed by the 16 community colleges, funded by the community colleges, and for the community colleges, not the state." Chris (previous community college president) elaborates further identifying that:

MACC is not a state organization, it's self-organized. It's a member funded agency. We say it's a "trustees' organization". Presidents and trustees pay dues, but the trustee is the voting member. Colleges pay the dues. No state or local money involved. The Secretary of Higher Education [Maryland] calls the executive director [of MACC] directly to ask what was going on with MACC.

Maryland Community Colleges, through MACC, work together and negotiate what is important to Maryland Community Colleges collectively. Therefore, MACC benefits from organizing independently from the University System of Maryland and the Maryland Higher Education Commission. Chris (previous community college president) and Katie (current CAO) both provided examples of why this works well for individual colleges and for the collective set of Maryland community colleges. Chris explained that MACC was developed by a group of community college presidents who met regularly and that similar work groups (with representatives from small, medium, and large colleges) continue to meet to tackle tough issues. The

collective set of community colleges (MACC) worked together during tough economic times in the 1990s, but also tried to respect the unique needs and mission of individual community colleges. Also, each community college contributed something to the organization (e.g., legal services, payroll). Katie elaborated on this phenomenon during our conversation and talked about how the colleges negotiated the limited amount of money the state provided for capital projects at the 16 community college campuses:

So what the community colleges have done is they said instead of fighting with each other let's prioritize. We know we have maybe if we're lucky we'll get \$86 million for all 16 community colleges. So five of us cannot build a building in the same year. So they have to prioritize, they've worked together and said next year, next year Prince George's, Anne Arundel, Cecil.

In summary, Chris remarked that in a centralized system (like Virginia), the boards of trustees act as advisory groups, but significant negotiations about tuition fees and capital funding come down from the state. Maryland's boards of trustees and presidents worked closely and met regularly through activities and structures associated with the MACC. Rose (presidential search firm consultant) remarked that this played out in the presidential search processes she coordinated because:

By and large, I think Maryland boards are very well intentioned, very well educated, and some boards aren't. I think Maryland takes it more seriously, the boards. And maybe that's 'cause they're appointed by government instead of the county. They seem to have a broader perspective.

Overall, the structure of MACC required trustees and academic leaders from all 16 colleges to work closely with each other on a regular basis and collaborate to achieve mutually beneficial results at the individual community colleges. These types of persistent and purposeful exchanges meant that men and women community

college presidents and trustees worked closely together. Similar to the findings in the Eddy and Vanderlinden (2006) national survey of community college leaders perceptions of gender and leadership, the collaborative (traditionally women's leadership style) as opposed to competitive (traditionally men's leadership style) nature of the interactions were reflective of the women leaders who organized MACC. According to participants, because these interactions were positive they contributed to the overall perception that women could be effective leaders of two-year institutions and made board members more comfortable with the idea of hiring women presidents.

In summary, several political factors influenced the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland. Political alliances, collaborations, and significant contact between the trustees, community college leaders and the Maryland legislature provided women academic leaders with critical support early in the history of Maryland women community college presidents. These interactions also contributed to the state's collective knowledge about the effectiveness of women community college presidents. Cross-collaborations across institutional type occur frequently and substantively in the state of Maryland. These types of interactions connected women community college presidents and leaders with powerful and well-organized women's groups involved in Maryland state government and decision-making. Community college leaders may have had more opportunities to be influenced by these connections compared to other higher education institutions in Maryland simply based on higher percentages of women faculty and academic leaders at community colleges generally. These unique

connections may also be related to the fact that community colleges are generally more embedded in the local communities they serve, a cultural factor that will be discussed in the next section. Overall, the interactions between state women legislators and women community college leaders sustained a collective community college culture that provided aspiring and established women community college presidents with connections, support, and power, which contributed to their advancement and overall presence.

Cultural factors. Key cultural influences on the number of women community college presidents in Maryland include: Maryland's progressive politics and the influence those politics had on academic leaders; aspiring and current presidents' shared sense of commitment to community engagement that could be realized in Maryland community colleges; and the presence of diversity centers and gender studies programs at the community colleges where women have been appointed presidents. These factors attracted aspiring women and men presidential candidates to the state and influenced their interest in working at particular community colleges among the 16 Maryland two-year institutions.

First, a frequent theme among participant interviews emerged around what they describe as Maryland's progressive politics (e.g., women's activism, first southern state to de-segregate, same-sex marriage passing, the Dream Act for higher education students). Participants indicated that Maryland's politics and "middle temperament" likely influenced potential community college leaders to consider working in or to continue residing in Maryland. Stanley (a previous Maryland community college president) said he took notice of Maryland's highly liberal

government when he moved to the state. Two other participants, both current women community college presidents in Maryland (whose careers started outside the state) expressed that Maryland's "progressiveness" and liberal politics (especially for being "up south") was interesting and remarkable. Sarah explicitly connected this cultural theme to the high number of women community college presidents:

Now Maryland is a pretty progressive state particularly in particular areas of the state, and so I think it might be a state that's more receptive to issues of equity and to you know really trying to broaden and diversify community college presidents.

The progressive temperament of people involved in Maryland politics influenced community college leaders' perceptions of the state's culture and created an environment attractive to women and underrepresented groups. Additionally, study participants believed that the state's progressive legislative activities created a culture where women were more likely to be acceptable candidates for leadership positions. They also thought within this state's culture, hiring officials would be more likely to consider a candidate whose talents and skills existed outside of the traditional leadership competencies associated with community colleges.

Oh there's still some very conservative mindset. But I think during that time that began to erode a little bit. There were some more progressive thinking people in the position of board members that at least countered the alternative kind of conservative traditional bent. So I think that kind of made room for looking at alternatives to the traditional stereotype of a president. (Chris)

Another important cultural factor involved a match between the value of community colleges to the local community and the personal values of women community college academic leaders. Specifically, a repeated core value among the community college leaders (presidents, academic officers, trustees) in this study was

the importance of community colleges as a significant influence and contributor within their local communities. One participant described this phenomenon:

Maryland community colleges are very strong because they are focused on meeting their communities' needs. The local governments appreciate them. The state delegation and the governors (for the most part) appreciate them. Community colleges are embedded in the community, not located in a bubble like [universities].

Sonya (community college president) and Carl (CAO) also explained that a commitment to community is why community colleges exist and in Maryland. The structure and governance of community colleges has allowed academic leaders to respond to the specific needs of their communities. It also fostered the connections between community college leaders and the state legislature. In fact, presidents in this study sought out challenges to make a community better through the influence of their community colleges. One participant (previous community college president) specifically searched for a community college that was in a rural area and in trouble and found one in Maryland. Another president fundraised extensively and moved her college from trailers at a local school to newly constructed buildings that serve as a college and as the local community center. Carolyn (previous community college president), Pat (current community college president), Katie (current CAO), and Sonya (current community college president) provided vivid descriptions of their involvement in community events in the evening and on the weekends. One of the participants noted:

And I think people who come to community college and stay in community colleges just get so energized by what they see happen at their institutions. It's a miracle. It's transformational. People who have been homeless, who are homeless, come to the community college who have been victims of domestic violence, who are recovering addicts, as well as honor students from the local

high schools, presidential scholars and valedictorians from high schools, gifted and talented.

In addition, document analysis revealed that women community college presidents in Maryland tended to be hired either at community colleges in diverse urban areas in Maryland (Anne Arundel, Howard, Prince George's, Montgomery) or at struggling institutions that required significant changes (Carroll), or at rural institutions where the community preferred an insider (Frederick, College of Southern Maryland). A number of studies have found women faculty and leaders are drawn to the social justice, diversity, and upward mobility goals of higher education institutions (Bornstein, 2009; O'Meara, 2008 ; O'Meara, Terosky, & Neumann, 2008; Rich, 1979). In this study, there seemed to be a fit between the community and justice oriented perspectives of the Maryland women presidents (1989-2005) and Maryland community college board of trustees' desire for strong leaders that could build partnerships and serve a diverse set of constituents at Maryland community colleges.

Another cultural factor that potentially contributed to the collective presence of women presidents in Maryland was the promotion of diversity, multiculturalism, and women's studies at individual community colleges. During document and archival analysis, I found that institutions hiring women community college presidents between 1989 and 2005 were more likely to have diversity centers or women/gender studies programs, some prior to 1989. For example, the medium or large community colleges offer comprehensive diversity and/or women studies programs and also are the institutions that tended to hire women academic leaders and presidents prior to the tipping point (2005). The ability to offer these types of

programs could be related to the amount and availability of resources as well as the racial demographics of the communities where the smaller colleges are located (see Appendix Q, Table 12). Similar to the progressive culture at the state level, the support of diverse students, faculty, and staff at individual community colleges was either attractive to women seeking a presidency in Maryland or promoted a climate where women were desirable presidential candidates.

In summary, several cultural factors influenced the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland. The state's well known progressive politics were attractive to some academic leaders and participants in this study. Many participants believe that the state's liberal culture eased women's pathway to the presidency. Additionally, presidents in this study, whose position prior to the presidency was in another state, identified the autonomy of individual community colleges within MACC as a factor in their decision to apply for a Maryland community college presidency. Finally, there seemed to be a connection between the early women community college presidents in Maryland and the social justice mission of these institutions. Women were attracted to and a key part of shaping such missions at Maryland community colleges. Essentially, Maryland women community college leaders' traditional women's leadership styles fit with the priorities of Maryland community colleges, particularly in urban and suburban communities. Collectively, these cultural factors attracted potential women presidents from outside the state, helped them to succeed, and therefore, contributed to the significant numbers of Maryland women community college presidents.

Feminist/gendered factors. Key feminist influences on the number of women community college presidents include: the ability of early women presidents to overcome gendered leadership styles and influence positive changes in MACC's organizational culture; individual agency among women academic leaders that helped them overcome gendered expectations of community college presidents, gain important credentials related to the community college presidency, and earn the necessary positive reputation that they could handle the job; and individual and collective agency among women academic leaders that helped them manage work and family while pursuing and succeeding in the community college presidency.

To begin with, according to study participants and local archival media sources (personal communication with Carolyn, Chris, Carl, Katie, Sarah, Sonya, & Pat; Nawrozki, 2005; Siegel, 1993), changes in leadership style (partially attributed to gendered ideas of women leadership styles) have contributed to a sea change in organizational culture among Maryland's community colleges since the 1990s. For example four of the participants talked about how different this group of presidents is now, compared to 20 years ago. They described the previous group of presidents as authoritarian in style, not getting along, a group of alpha males, a group that told inappropriate jokes, and at times an outright hostile group of individuals. Specifically, one participant (a previous Maryland community college president) describes the change in the MACC culture as a new group of presidents (including 5-6 women) were hired in the 1990s:

And when Claudia Chiesi became the head of the president's group – she worked hard to change that dynamic. Claudia was you know a really strong women's advocate and I think she just, she just wouldn't take some of the,

some of the behaviors that went around and I don't think some of the guys liked that about her but, but I think she really had a major impact in changing the dynamic in the group...As more women presidents were appointed. I mean you know it became, it became a different kind of group, you know, less telling of inappropriate jokes, for example – Those just kinda changed as the women became present in the room.

Several participants attribute the culture and collaborative efforts of MACC to the group of presidents hired since the late 80s, many of them women. They diminished the use of “old boy/old girl networks”, embraced change, practiced inclusion, collaborated, and kept MACC together despite a national shift to centralize all higher education systems (personal communication with Chris, Katie, Carl, Sarah, Pat, & Sonya). In the mid and late 1990s, MACC leaders apparently embraced and enacted what has been considered a women's leadership style (engaging, collaborative) that has positively influenced both men and women in the organization. A current president, and longstanding member of MACC, describes the current culture this way:

And then I think that Maryland has been very friendly to women presidents, but I also think that coupled with that is that women have shown our ability to lead, to engage, to embrace change, to be good listeners and good communicators, to work well together, to open up institutions for that kind of collegiality and dialogue and discussion. And sometimes you don't always see that in men.

Overall, participants' upbeat descriptions of the MACC (shared at national conferences and leadership development programs during the 1990s) influenced the recruitment of potential community college leaders in the late 1990s and early 2000s, including women. Therefore, women's gendered leadership styles positively influenced and drew women community college academic leaders to Maryland.

Maryland women community college presidents took a similar gendered (collaborative), supportive, and community-based approach to change the working culture at their respective community colleges. For example, one participant talked about her relationship with one of the presidents when she was second in command as “oil and water,” because she took a more collaborative approach to working with others (typically women’s style of leadership), and he had more of a command and control style (typically men’s style of leadership) (Grint, 1997; Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin, 2006; Oakley, 2000).

Come in, tell everybody what to do. He even used bad words – gr, gr, gr, grrrr! But you know, he was a very good person. But his style and mine were just different. But that was my stereotype. And then I found out when I was interim that, holy cow, you know what, people are letting me be myself. I’m not around, gr, gr, grrrr, grrrr! In fact, I’m saying, “I don’t know, what do you think?” It was really different. But it was working. People were responding, we were getting some things done.

Another participant made similar changes after working for an “authoritarian” president who had been in office for several decades and was referred to as a dictator.

As an academic leader and aspiring president she describes confronting him:

“Anyway I just decided to open up and said our styles are very different. I recognize that you’re the boss but, you know, this is sort of sexist, I’m just not going to deal with this.” In fact, that particular president came to appreciate this participant’s leadership skills and when he left the presidency, the search committee chose her as their new leader. Archival news sources affirm what was seen as a positive change in leadership styles at a couple of the community colleges. Reporters describe one president as having a “diamond-in-the-rough” aggressive leadership style and the other stepping down due to complaints about his authoritarian leadership style

(Nawrozki, 2005; Siegel, 1993). Indeed, one of the participants (a current CAO) talked about the woman president at the participant's community college and why a change in leadership approaches was important, "She's not about strutting any stuff, she's not about ego, not about the celebrating the fact she is el president; it's about the enterprise that we're involved in and people really respond to that." Because people responded well to this change in leadership styles, the early women community college presidents gained a reputation for being successful and competent despite the fact that their typically women's style of leadership fell outside of traditional (male) leadership norms. From a feminist perspective, early women community college presidents also created a culture of leadership and management that was a more "natural fit" for current and future women community college leaders in Maryland.

Further, during their interviews, Helen and Sonya identified that although stigmas associated with women's leadership exist, there are ways to overcome those challenges like being confident, doing your homework, and laying out your argument. In fact, study participants who were part of the early group of women community college presidents wanted to be recognized, not just as the first women, but a talented group of individuals. One participant explains:

For example, Mary Ellen Duncan had gone to New York to be a president but she had worked at Catonsville for a number of years and had a very solid reputation in the state and some of the presidents you know came from outside of Maryland, but I think that in a number of cases talented women from within institutions were recognized by boards and perhaps by the presidents that preceded them as having a lot of talent and potential and I think that helped to position us to you know move ahead.

As very visible women community college pioneers in Maryland, these women essentially worked hard to prove that women could be competent and capable leaders in a gendered organizational system (Acker, 2006) that pre-dominantly consisted of men who enacted stereotypically male leadership norms. These early women presidents were invested in the success of their institutions and the successful advancement of women into Maryland community college presidencies in the future.

Indeed, Maryland women community college presidents were known for being highly successful prior to and during their presidency. An example of how the success of early women presidents was recognized comes from an archived *Baltimore Sun* editorial (1994) that talked about Martha Smith's accomplishments and described how her leadership attributes eased the departure of a successful man president. The editorial describes Dr. Smith as an activist, skilled manager, and someone who tackles tough topics on behalf of the local community. Finally, one participant made a compelling statement during her interview and talked about how boards of trustees are generally dominated by men. This participant thought that because of the strong presence of men on the boards, women candidates had to look good on paper and be viewed positively by their community college or they would not get hired. These types of statements demonstrate that there was great interest in the credentials of incoming women community college presidents in Maryland. Women were not simply hired because they were women, or to fill affirmative action quotas. Overall, participants attribute the appointments of women community college presidents in Maryland to the fact that committees (faculty, staff, and trustees from the community college) were convinced that women could be successful in the role.

A related feminist factor (Collins, 2009) emerged as women presidents and CAOs in this study talked about taking on tough assignments to prove their skills and abilities for the presidency. For example, most of the participants who previously or currently work in Maryland community colleges talked about taking on projects or tasks that the president assigned as a way to demonstrate their skills and abilities. Seven of the participants (CAOs, current and previous community college presidents) all indicated that to move up in an organization quickly (i.e., if you are aspiring to be a community college president) you have to do whatever your supervisor asks and take on tough assignments. One participant, who had school age children, described how the typical week in the life of a CAO at a community college:

Typically I arrive at 7:30 a.m., leave at 5:30 p.m. and that doesn't include anything if there's another event or something else that you have to attend. But that's part of the life, and when you're in a small community I'll see our trustees in the grocery store, you see students or former students. There's a challenge, because of the responsibilities when you are president and even in the community college; some of the community college systems are huge. But even in a college this size you are in the community, you are on all the time.

Many of the community college presidents in the study talked about the extraordinary strain on their time as they aspired to the presidency and how those demands could make it difficult for women with families to gain the credentials necessary for acquiring a community college presidency. This feminist factor has been shown to limit women community college faculty's desire to pursue the community college presidency (Eddy & Cox, 2008). Indeed, Bolt (2001) found that a lack of support and encouragement discouraged some Maryland women mid-level leaders from pursuing the presidency.

However, another feminist factor that emerged in this study is that Maryland women academic leaders (including women community college presidents) had a strong sense of agency, particularly around gendered work norms (Acker, 2006). Acker describes these norms as the subtle nature of everyday work routines, formal and informal interactions, and general job requirements that have been predicated on men's role as laborers and women's role as caretakers in the home. As an example of how women managed these gendered work norms, I highlighted earlier that one participant found the 10 minute commute from work to home allowed her to volunteer at her daughter's school and balance her family and work life. In addition, another current community college president talked extensively about how she managed all the evening and weekend commitments associated with the presidency while being there to support her teenage child's athletic commitments.

Even if I just step in for a moment, they just want to know president was here. You know, I don't stay the entire time, and I might have to call people and say, I know you wanted me to make remarks and you put them at the end of the program, but I really need you to move them up because I've got to move and do some other things...From a personal perspective, you certainly have to have family who are connected to and understand what you want to do. But you also have to understand that quality time is really important.

In contrast, this participant also talked about how growing up as a baby boomer has shaped her perspectives on work. She believes that it is difficult to ascend to leadership positions if you are too restrictive about when you will and will not work as it relates to managing your time. She explains:

And I said, so even in work, there are peak times and there are times when things are kind of moving slow and good and you don't have to necessarily give, you know, 100 percent. And when I say 100 percent, not that you're not committed to work, but you're not there until all hours of the day and night.

You're not there on the weekends. And that's okay. And you can do it and raise a family and raise a family with a good quality of life.

Another participant took a similar approach when she was president of a community college. She tried not to book more than one event per weekend if possible given the particular demands that week. So, this participant did spend most weekday evenings at the college but set aside weekends for her family. Carolyn, Sonya, Sarah, and Pat all had a strong sense of agency around gendered work norms that helped them acquire Maryland community college presidential competencies (and subsequently the presidency) despite demanding work and family schedules.

In summary, several feminist factors influenced the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland. First, early women presidents' overcame gendered leadership norms enacting typical women's leadership styles to advance themselves, their institutions, and other women community college leaders in Maryland. As a result, MACC became an attractive organization to aspiring women presidents outside the state. Similarly, women's ability to own and utilize gendered approaches to leadership influenced positive changes at individual community colleges and gave women presidents in Maryland a reputation for being highly successful. In addition, the women who became Maryland community college presidents and/or academic leaders demonstrated a high degree of agency by managing gendered work norms (Acker, 2006). They successfully balanced family obligations while committing themselves to assigned projects that helped them gain critical skills for the presidency. Collectively, these feminist factors (Collins, 2009) helped women overcome gendered barriers to the community college presidency, and

contributed to the early and on-going appointment of women to the Maryland community college presidency.

Summary. Collectively, structural, human resource, political, cultural, feminist/gendered factors contributed to the high numbers of women community college presidents in Maryland community colleges. Maryland's location in the Mid-Atlantic region, population characteristics, and size geographically produced a mix of factors that contributed to women's ability to pursue the community college presidency in Maryland. National, regional, and local leadership programs helped women community college leaders develop the necessary skills and abilities to succeed in searches and gain appointments to the community college presidencies in Maryland. Multiple approaches to searches and intentional search processes increased the pool of women academic leaders available for Maryland board of trustee members to consider. Women community college leaders benefited from empowered women's political organizations (e.g., Maryland's Commission for Women, Maryland Women Legislators) who demanded that women be appointed to leadership positions in higher education and provided critical networks that directly and indirectly supported Maryland women leaders' pursuit of those positions. Maryland's progressive politics and community colleges' autonomy to serve their local communities created a culture that was attractive to academic leaders (including women) who were seeking their first or additional presidency. Finally, Maryland women community college presidents' gendered leadership style (collaborative, engaged) created positive changes among and within Maryland community colleges. Women community college leader's success gave them a reputation for being highly successful and thus

contributed to the advancement of other women. These factors, combined with the women academic leaders' sense of agency around balancing demanding work while caring for family members (gendered work norms), mitigated barriers to the community college presidency and contributed to a significant increase in the number of women community college presidents in Maryland.

Interactions between Factors that Led to the Increasing Presence of Community College Presidents in Maryland

“There was a change in the whole demographic, the whole structure, at every level. Way out in front of the nation.” (Stanley)

Several structural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist/gendered factors came together over several decades to influence the number of women community college presidents in Maryland. They contributed to the exponential hiring of Maryland women community college presidents before 2006 and continue to shape more recent appointments of women academic leaders at two-year institutions in Maryland. In this section, I outline how these factors came together beginning with the time period when Dr. Smith was the only woman president in Maryland community colleges (1989-1996). Next, I examine what was happening during the time when a significant number of women community college presidents were hired (1997-2005). Finally, I make note of important developments since the number of women community college presidents reached the theoretical “tipping point” in 2006, and the presence of women in the Maryland community college presidency became normative (Collins, 2000; Tolbert, Simons, Andrews, & Rhee, 1995).

Interactions Between Factors 1989-1995 (Laying the Foundation)

During the 1980s and 1990s, structural, human resource, political, and feminist/gendered factors came together within Maryland's legislative and higher education arenas. These factors improved Maryland women community college leaders' visibility, power, and influence in these two arenas. Specifically, Maryland's women legislators' political activism, focus on higher education, and connection with community colleges helped create a supportive environment for women community college leaders. At the same time, women academic leaders were completing their doctorates and gaining critical leadership skills. These same community college leaders also exercised personal agency around work and family to pursue their careers. Together, these factors created a culture and environment in Maryland that would lead to dramatic changes in the number of women community college presidents later in the 1990's.

Structural and political change. Several important structural and political factors developed concurrently during this time period. Archived media and trend data analyses revealed that while Maryland women were entering the workforce in large numbers during the 1980s and 1990s (Bock, 1993; Census Bureau, Maryland, 1940-2000; Tapscott, 1994), the Maryland Women's Legislative Caucus was growing and gaining momentum (Sorenson, 2000). For example, by 1990, 63% of Maryland women were working (Bock, 1993), women were increasingly earning post-bachelor level degrees (U.S. Census Bureau, 1940-2000), and the percentage of full-time women community college faculty grew from 45% in 1989 to 49% in 1996 (MDACC Historic Databook, Full-time Credit Faculty). Finally, Maryland trend analysis reveals

that the percentage of female executives and managers at community colleges increased from 30.2% in 1984 to 49.1% in 1994 (MHEC, Jan., 1996).

In addition, Sorenson (2000) wrote about the Maryland Women's Caucus highlighting that in the early 1990s, nearly one quarter of the legislators in Maryland were female, compared to the national average of 19%. In 1993, women legislators reached the theoretical "tipping point" "with 46 women serving in the Maryland General Assembly, 36 in the House and 10 in the Senate" (Sorenson, 2000 *Legislative Activism: 1991-1999*, para.3). Maryland was receiving national attention for these numbers and the Women's Caucus in Maryland "was achieving considerable visibility nationally as women lawmakers and other states looked to the Caucus as a model for creating their own organizations" (Maryland State Archives, Kretmen & Lebel, 1991, *Increasing in Numbers and Influence*, para.6).

During the time period when the number of women legislators was increasing, high profile women held some of most senior leadership positions in Congress and at community colleges. Barbara Mikulski was elected as the first woman senator, representing Maryland, in 1986 (Barbara Mikulski Senate Page, 2013). Connie Morella was elected to Congress in 1987, having served on the Maryland Commission for Women and as a community college faculty member (Richard). Martha Smith was hired as the first woman community college president in 1989 and Kate Bienen was hired as the first Executive Director of MACC in 1992 (personal communication with Stanley & Chris). Therefore, these high profile women acquired major leadership roles in the state during this time period and became some of the

first women associated with community colleges to be active in Maryland state politics.

Subsequently, MHEC and Maryland Commission for Women task force reports, the State Board of Community Colleges' tracking of gender equity indicators, activities associated with women in the legislature, and the formation of MACC converged at the same time. First, the Maryland Commission for Women (1986) conducted a study and called on the Maryland state government to be a model family-oriented employer by implementing their recommendations (flextime, telework, alternative work schedules, sick leave for childcare). During the same time, MACC began keeping track of gender equity indicators such as female and minority full-time credit faculty, along with faculty tenure, salary, and fringe benefits at community colleges (MDACC Website, Historic Databook: Personnel, 2013). Then, in 1996, three reports were produced simultaneously out of the Maryland Higher Education Commission (Jan., May, Sept. 1996) that examined: 1) the status of women across institution type, 2) Maryland workforce needs and the role of higher education institutions (including community colleges), and 3) collaborative projects across Maryland postsecondary institutions. The process of developing these reports and engaging in collaborative projects created significant and sustained interactions between Maryland community colleges, other Maryland higher education institutions, and the state legislature. For example, Pearl talked about working on alignment committees that brought together faculty from four-year institutions and community colleges to create introductory level English curricula that would make it easier for community college students to transfer to four-year universities in Maryland. These

types of working groups met across different disciplines and continue to meet to this day. Pearl believes that this positively influenced overall respect for community college faculty and leaders. These types of working groups also provided opportunities for women across higher education institutions and the legislature to meet each other and develop the informal networks described in the first section of this chapter.

Relatedly, several of this study's participants mentioned that Kate Bienen (MACC Executive Director) was hired to head the burgeoning Maryland Association of Community Colleges in 1992, partially because of her ties to the legislature. One of the participants described Kate's hiring process in detail:

Kay was a lobbyist in Annapolis. I think she was for American Builders, ABC, American Builders Corporation. And so we put out a job description, we put together who would be the selection committee, and we interviewed a number of people, I could never tell you who they are, but Kay emerged because of her lobbying background as the candidate. And she did a great job. She knew the legislature, she knew how the legislature worked. She was just really an excellent founding executive director (MACC).

Therefore, in 1992, the first woman executive director of the system of Maryland community colleges was connected to the Maryland legislature. Additionally, Kate was hired by a group composed of the chair of the board of trustees and the college president from each of the Maryland community colleges. Women made up 26% of the Maryland community college board of trustee members in 1992. Julie (current trustee) noted that most board of trustee members were people with business experience, legal experience, and academic experience who also understood the "language of the legislative arena." Furthermore, Carolyn discussed the influence these projects (family-friendly policies, collaborative efforts, gender

equity reports), the Women's Legislative Caucus, MHEC, MACC, and the Maryland Women for Commission had on the numbers of women leaders in higher education:

You know, so they had a genuine – it wasn't, oh, let's just do something this year. It was a genuine interest in trying to promote, and I think it was because they looked at the landscape and said, "Where are the women?" You know, there were a few who had been there for a very long time, but there were no up and coming women leaders in higher education, and so they thought that was an area where they could have some influence, and they did.

Thus, women community college faculty, academic leaders, presidents, and boards of trustees all had strong ties to the Maryland legislature during the 1990s. As more women converged in State senate positions, they also advocated for more women in higher education leadership roles including women at community colleges.

In summary, from 1989-1995 there was a significant increase in Maryland women's representation in the workforce. At the same time, a critical mass of well-connected women leaders (community college trustees and academic leaders, senators, and congresswomen) began to meet and advocate for women in the state of Maryland. These women had a high degree of power, influence, and visibility. Thus, the phenomenon of an increased number of women community college presidents in Maryland was the result of a structural increase in the representation of women in the workforce and community colleges combined with the advocacy and increased political power of women leaders' national and local alliances. These factors, combined with human resources factors that follow, laid the foundation for an environment where appointing women community college presidents became not only normative but desirable.

Structural and human resource. There was also an intersection of structural and human resource factors. There were not only more women in the workforce and more women acquiring leadership positions in community colleges, women in Maryland were also acquiring more of the human capital needed to assume community college presidencies in Maryland. First, as described in the previous section, Maryland women were completing their degrees in the 1980s and 1990s at higher rates than prior decades (16% of people 25 years or older with bachelor's degree or higher in 1970 and 23.1% of the same group by 1990) (U.S. Census Bureau, 1940-2000). Additionally, six of this study's participants, all of whom were women community college presidents in Maryland, graduated from their doctoral programs between 1974 and 1993. Therefore, the pipeline of women with the academic credentials to assume Maryland community college presidencies was growing in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

In addition, study participants were attending leadership development programs across the country and a plethora of leadership development opportunities were being created during this period of time. For example, the American Council on Education (ACE) launched the National Identification Program (ACE-NIP) in 1977. Created through a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, ACE-NIP was designed to better understand the needs of women in higher education and support of their leadership development in an effort to help women advance their careers (ACE-Womens-Network Website, *Our History*, 2013). Although other leadership programs began to emerge across the country, several of the early Maryland women community

college presidents attributed ACE-NIP to their growth as educational leaders and support as women community college leaders in the 1990s.

Other leadership institutes were developed in the 1990s or were attended by participants between 1989 and 1995. Two participants attended Harvard's Higher Education management institutes, which were founded in 1970. As mentioned earlier, one participant attended the Lakin Institute founded in 1994 by the President's Roundtable and National Council on Black American Affairs (Philips, 2006). Two participants also noted Kaleidoscope as an important leadership development program. Kaleidoscope was founded in 1991 when the facilitator of an AACC leadership session received feedback that the program did not meet the needs of women and people of color. "In the tradition of the original institute, Kaleidoscope workshop sessions help participants discuss issues facing leaders of educational institutions, explore workplace challenges specific to minority women, and build skills for success" (Currie, 2009, para. 6). Participants noted that mentors had both encouraged their attendance at these programs and that many of their colleges or supervisors had assisted with funding to attend these programs. Maryland women had geographical location in their favor in regards to accessing and attending these programs given their proximity to national programs in D.C. As a key human resource factor in this study, these types of opportunities helped aspiring community college leaders in this study learn the skills and competencies necessary to assume top leadership roles in Maryland.

As discussed in regards to the first research question, MACC affinity group meetings paired with pervasive mentoring by men and women in community college

presidencies offered additional growth and learning opportunities during this same time period. MACC was founded in 1992 and affinity groups were a hallmark of the founding organization. Therefore, women community leaders in CSSO, CAO, and CBO positions began meeting regularly. This provided them with opportunities to learn about different approaches to similar issues at the 16 Maryland community colleges. These same women sometimes had opportunities to act on behalf of their current president at the presidents' affinity group meetings. For example, Stanley describes both the ways community college presidents interacted through MACC and the role of women chief officers (CAOs, CSSOs) played on behalf of their presidents:

And often those women would be dispatched by the president to represent him in this case, the male predecessor, in political circles. That connected the women to the influential figures within the political structure. They would accompany the president or they would go by themselves, but they would be at the table very often. So they became known. That would've eased their political access into the presidency because obstructions to their presidency would've diminished if they were known and well regarded, which I'm sure happened.

The opportunity to act on behalf of the president was identified as a significant career development opportunity by several of the early women community college presidents in this study. Through these experiences, women community college academic leaders gained human resource (mentoring), political (access to power), and structural advantages for advancement to the community college presidency in Maryland.

Therefore, a structurally higher than average number of highly educated women in Maryland, the ability of aspiring women community college presidents to complete their doctorate, women's participation in significant leadership development

programs and women CSSOs and CAOs ability to represent presidents at key meetings, resulted in a pool of women academic leaders with the credentials and experiences necessary for a community college presidency. Essentially, the women community college leaders (who would eventually become Maryland community college presidents) were gaining human and social capital within the community college system regionally and nationally between 1989 and 1995.

Structural, human resource, and feminist. During this time period, feminist factors (Collins, 2009) also interacted with structural and human resource factors to influence the increasing number of women community college presidents in Maryland. As discussed earlier, Maryland's location in the Mid-Atlantic region created multiple opportunities for dual career families to pursue their vocations. Community colleges in Maryland were geographically close to each other and located near urban centers burgeoning with government, state, and private sector jobs. At the same time, Chris explained "community colleges became more and more attractive later in the 1989-2006 time period, because of their diversity and because of their mission." This sentiment was affirmed by several other study participants who talked about how, as women, they began to view teaching and leadership in community colleges as a viable and attractive option for balancing their careers with family obligations. For example, one participant (USM leader) talked about the region and community colleges as an option for women in academic careers:

...the fact that the environment is a really intellectually engaging environment, if you have smart women who want good careers, they can go into government. They can go into law, medicine, education. But the education piece is – the community colleges provide a very interesting career option for women.

Several of the participants talked about considering community colleges as they either pursued degrees in higher education leadership or advanced in faculty positions at four-year institutions. Therefore, women in this study, working at all types of higher education institutions during the 1980s and 1990s, considered community colleges an attractive option for pursuing career advancement while managing family priorities. In addition, Maryland's geography and labor market supported dual career families. Women higher education leaders' increased interest in community colleges as a sensible and exciting career option came together with women's desire to balance work-life priorities during this time period.

In fact, women's agency around career and family considerations was a strong feminist factor (Collins, 2009) that influenced the increasing number of women community college presidents in Maryland. Two participants, both academic leaders who moved to Maryland from out of state for a leadership position in a community college, talked about considering the needs of their family when choosing to move to Maryland. Specifically, one participant described the dilemma that many women face when pursuing career advancement. She discussed her reasons for pursuing a community college career in Maryland:

Two, this is where my family is and, you know, I want to be within a certain – you know, the older you get, the more you want to be within a certain driving distance or hop on a flight and be within a certain distance... I think women do that a lot more even if they're in leadership roles, that they think more about what will their family want or not want and will pass things up if it's not good for the family. I think men come home and say, okay, pack.

I found among this study's participants (men and women) that, in addition to considering immediate family, several community college leaders made the decision

to move to Maryland to be closer to family members (parents, grandparents, siblings) in general. For example, one participant moved to the Maryland area to support his parents (while considering the needs of a spouse and children) and another participant specifically moved across the country to be near family in the region.

Therefore, feminist, structural, and human resource factors came together to influence the increasing number of women community college presidents in Maryland. Structurally, Maryland offered a wide variety of career options in close proximity to each other. Women and men participants actively balanced the impact of career choices on their families (feminist factor) with opportunities for career advancement (human resource factor) when they pursued community college positions in Maryland. Ultimately, the balance of these factors brought talented women community college leaders to Maryland and eventually led to the increasing number of women community college presidents in Maryland.

In summary, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, significant structural, human resource, and feminist factors came together to set the stage for the increasing appointment of women community college presidents as positions came open in the late 1990s. Maryland's regional context provided attractive dual career options for participants in an area where higher than national averages of highly educated women were working. Simultaneously, women participants found support and development through the foundation of ACE-NIP, Lakin, or other leadership programs, the opportunity to represent presidents at MACC affinity meetings, and significant mentoring by community college academic leaders. And finally, women academic leaders found ways to balance work and family by choosing to work in the Maryland

community college system. This combination of factors created a talented pool of women in line for community college presidencies in Maryland.

Interactions Between Factors 1996-2006 (Exponential Growth and Visibility)

Between 1996 and 2006 structural, human resource, cultural, and feminist factors came together and resulted in the appointment of seven women community college presidents in Maryland. Most significantly, five women presidents were hired in 1998 or 1999 (see Appendix E, Table 2). The structural factors of women in the pipeline and on boards of trustees continued to grow during this time. At the same time, the human resource factors of succession planning and creative search processes emerged from within six of the community colleges. These structural and human resource factors also interacted with new cultural leadership norms associated with MACC, Maryland's progressive state culture, and the mission of community colleges to serve their diverse, local communities. Together, these engendered and continue to facilitate cultural norms that supported the appointments of a diverse group of community college presidents in Maryland.

Structural and Cultural. During this time period, structural and cultural factors interacted to influence the appointment of women community college presidents in Maryland. Structurally, the number of women in administrative positions at Maryland community colleges continued to grow and began to create a more normative culture of women in leadership positions. The percent of women full-time faculty also grew from 49% to 57% (MDACC Historic Databook). The number of women in Maryland community college chief officer positions (CAO, CSSO,

CBO) grew until 62% CAOs, 44% of CBOs and 56% of CSSOs were women by 2006.

From a cultural perspective, the increase in the numbers of women community college leaders proved to be more than visible role models for women in Maryland community colleges. Women's increased physical presence at meetings made a difference in how woman community college academic leaders perceived the role of women at community colleges collectively and in Maryland. For example, one participant said she actually talked about the visible difference in the group of retired presidents (generally White men) as compared to the group of new presidents (more women and people of color) at a recent AACC conference:

I came to Maryland from *another state* in 1999, and one of the things that I said at the time was I was quite surprised at the number of female presidents, and I thought that was an indication that the state of Maryland was a progressive state, and that create an environment that women and the opportunity to aspire to these levels of leadership.

This participant is essentially indicating that the visible number of women community college presidents signified something about the culture in Maryland that was accepting of women leaders. Other study participants talked about the fact that Maryland women community college presidents were known for their talents and abilities across the state because of their contributions to MACC. Sarah talked most explicitly about this cultural factor:

But they did such a good job that you know they were recognized. I mean they would – they were stealth when they testified in Annapolis. They were instrumental in the creation of the Maryland Association for Community Colleges, and they just did – the good job they did I think made it possible for boards to – who might not have been as open as some of the early boards were to, to look at women presidents. You know, Elaine Ryan down in Charles, she ascended from inside and she did a great job down there and was much loved

so I think...that was very important in making it possible for more women to come into presidential roles in the state of Maryland.

Overall, many of the participants emphasized that the women community college presidents in Maryland were not hired just because they were women. Participants repeatedly insisted that it was a combination of solid management skills, academic preparation, and proven leadership abilities that contributed to the increasing number of women community college presidents in Maryland during this time period.

Essentially, the high structural numbers of women in community college leadership positions (president, CAO, CSSO, CBO) that were continuing to grow between 1996 and 2005, combined with women's tremendous success in those positions, continued to sustain a culture in Maryland community colleges recognized women as favorable candidates for Maryland community college presidencies.

Structural and human resource. Between 1996 and 2006, another key intersection of factors involved the structural growth of women who were appointed to community college trusteeships in Maryland, at the same time that almost half of the institutions needed to hire presidents, and combined with a set of well-trained community college boards of trustees who relied on search firms (sensitive to hiring for diversity) to fill the presidencies. First, the percentage of women community trustees in Maryland grew from 26% of trustees in 1992, to 29% by 2001, and then jumped up to 35% by 2005. At least one woman trustee was present on each of the boards that hired women community presidents in Maryland (Maryland Manual Online & Maryland Senate Journals, 1996-2006; see Appendices G & J). However, the numbers varied, from one woman among a group of seven trustees to three

women in a group of seven trustees. This means that while the percentage of women representing the hiring officials for community college presidents was growing, men still played a critical role in the hiring of women community college presidents in Maryland.

However, participants also talked about the level and amount of training the boards went through to increase their competency and credibility as board members.

For example, one participant, who is a current trustee member, explained:

Well, the biggest criticism that I know about boards is that boards are laypeople so they really don't know very much about higher education... We trained. We really did train, because we know and we knew then that the criticism would be that we were a lay board that didn't know much about governance.

Additionally, some of the participants noted the impact that attending conferences and MACC affinity meetings had on board of trustee members from their community colleges. One participant talked in detail about how these opportunities influenced trustees:

I guess both the good news and the bad news is all boards think their institutions are the best, and that's a good thing on one level because they're proud of it and they really advocate for it etcetera. The down side is they don't think they can learn anything or do anything different, and those conferences, I think, you know, is like, wow. There are lots of good presidents and there are lots of good programs, and there are lots of innovation. So I think that helped boards and still does help boards not only on the issue of diversity in terms of their responsibility for hiring presidents, but just across the board.

This participant felt that progressive board of trustee members countered gendered and stereotypical beliefs about the characteristics of effective presidents because they had been exposed to different examples of competent presidents and boards at conferences and affinity meetings. Since many of the women community college

presidents who participated in this study did not use traditional male approaches to leadership, this type of training likely helped boards of trustees be more open to considering them for the community college presidencies that were open at their institutions.

Other participants talked about other differences among the boards of trustees in Maryland compared to trustee members from other states. Julie, Carolyn, and Sarah all talked about the different dynamics associated with boards that are elected as compared to those that are appointed (as in Maryland). One participant explained that when boards are elected, the whole board might change after a president is hired. She noted that this change may result in friction between a new board and the president who was hired based on the values and perspectives of a different group of board members. This participant also believes that the quality of board members in Maryland is higher than states with community college systems because the appointments are spaced out over time. In Maryland, this reduced the potential for radical changes that would have created a mismatch between community college presidents and members of the board. Additionally, the average term of service for Maryland community college trustees is five to six years which is higher than the four year national average for community college boards of trustees (Postsecondary Structures Database; MACC, 2008). In the process of reviewing the gubernatorial appointments between 1989 and 2013, I found that a number of community college boards had longstanding board of trustee members. This makes sense since 10 of the 16 community colleges did not have term limits for board of trustee members or allowed trustees to serve up to three terms. This means that community college

board members that were involved in hiring women community college presidents or saw women community college presidents be successful on another campuses, likely stayed in the trusteeship long enough to note those successes and consider them when hiring a new president. Overall, there were significant numbers of women trustees, well-trained trustees, and stability among the board of trustee members in Maryland between 1996 and 2005. Together, these factors played a role in the increased hiring of women community college presidents in Maryland over time.

At the same time, the Maryland boards of trustees used a variety of search processes to appoint eight community college presidents hired between 1996 and 2007. According to participants, Faye Pappalardo and Elaine Ryan were both hired through a semi-search process where the board of trustees for their community college vetted their candidacy with the local community (faculty, administrators, and students). Participants talked about how these semi-searches were successful because both Faye and Elaine were known for their skills and abilities as community college leaders prior to the retirement of the previous president. In addition, Kate Hetherington was hired through intentional succession planning, where her predecessor (Mary Ellen Duncan) planned for her retirement by grooming Kate for the presidency over two years beginning in 2004. News media analysis revealed that the board of trustees simply announced Kate's appointment at the same time they announced Mary Ellen's retirement later, in 2007 (Deford, 2007). Patricia Stanley, Claudia Cheisi, Mary Ellen Duncan, Charlene Nunley, Carol Eaton, and Sandra Kurtinitis were all hired using a full search process between 1996-2006 (participants, Hagerstown Community College Website, About-HCC; Loudermilk, 1994; Lee,

1997; Lee, 1998; Song, 2005; Tallman, 1997). As described in the first section of this chapter, those full searches were conducted by search firms (AACCT, R.H. Perry & Associates, or AGB Search). These firms took several approaches to diversify the pool of candidates: 1) they expanded the number of campus interviews from approximately four candidates to 12 candidates; 2) they challenged committees to consider people the firms knew were talented; and 3) they included community college leaders from non-traditional pathways (CBOs, CSSOs). In combination, these approaches to the appointment of community college presidents in Maryland led to the significant numbers of women who were hired between 1996 and 2006.

Finally, affirmative action policies (another structural factor) also influenced community college presidential search processes. For example, two participants (a search firm representative and a community college president) mentioned that, during hiring processes for presidents and other community college academic leaders, they reminded search committee members and board members of their campus' commitment to diversity. Specifically, one community college president mentioned that after the search that brought her to campus as a potential academic leader, she reminded search committee members in the next search processes that they were not allowed to ask about age, children, and spouses (all areas she was asked about in her interview). Another participant expanded on the importance of affirmative action policies in the search process:

But it's a way to get them to express how they see this, how affirmative action is done in their institution. And we can talk about that. We can talk about how they recruit for all the positions to see if they're really getting the diversity that they say they want. So it's part of a piece. If we didn't have 'em, I don't know what would happen.

Essentially, affirmative action policies played a role in encouraging community college search committees to consider a diverse pool of candidates (including women) along with ensuring a legal and equitable search process for those candidates, during this period of time.

Thus, at the same time women board of trustee members were increasingly represented on community college boards, community colleges were in the process of hiring eight new community college presidents. Simultaneously, MACC's affinity group of trustees was meeting regularly, training about equitable approaches to community college presidential search process, and engaged in multiple approaches (i.e., semi-searches, succession planning for the future, utilizing search firms) to appointing women community college presidents in Maryland. Together these factors interacted to influence the exponential increase in the number of women community college presidents in Maryland between 1996 and 2006.

Feminist/gendered and cultural factors. Women's ability to own and enact gendered styles of leadership and Maryland's progressive state culture, interacted to create a highly effective, collaborative system of community colleges that was attractive to women community college presidential candidates. Many of the women community college presidents and academic leaders in this study talked about dealing with stereotypical views of women and leadership as they pursued the presidency and once they assumed the presidency. Participants identified ways in which they challenged gendered expectations (Acker, 2006) during the community college presidential hiring process. For example, one participant discussed the search

committee's emphasis on her role as a wife and mother as they asked questions of her in an interview. She changed the nature of the interview by asking her own questions.

"...they asked me questions like what's your husband think of the fact that you're applying for this job and you know what are your family plans and a whole bunch of things that they're not supposed to ask. And they really weren't asking me many questions at all, so I said well you know can I ask you some questions and they said sure. So I started asking some questions about you know what they were hoping to achieve with institutional research, you know, what kind of future plans the college had and just a bunch of questions and that got things rolling and when the interview was over the academic vice president {...} said let me talk to you for a minute and so I went out and talked to him, and he said you know I want you to know that the interview group was convinced that they were gonna hire the guy that we interviewed yesterday but he said I'm sure you just got yourself the job."

Another participant faced similar challenges when working with one of her male supervisors and negotiating her salary during one of her promotions. This participant decided to approach the person directly and asked pointed questions. She demanded that she be respected as a women candidate and leader. She also offered a specific description of how she negotiated gender among a group of men academic leaders prior to the presidency:

Yeah, and women, we like to be nice, you know. Always be nice. And my thing was, nah, it's not gonna work. You know, that was really important to me and because I was the only woman on senior staff. So that was important to me. It took a long time before I would agree to take notes. You know, 'cause it was like mm-mmm and 'cause even sometimes one of the guys would say, well, *participant*, you can take the notes. I said, you got a pen and a pad in front of you. You take the notes. And I would purposefully not even pick up the pen. And then I'd be thinking to myself, I'd get back to the office and furiously write down everything I remembered.

The challenge of overcoming stereotypes associated with women leaders continued after women community college leaders were appointed to a presidency. Specifically,

one participant talked about being challenged by a male faculty member after being president for some period of time:

You know, I mean, I was accused of having a female administration at one point. You know, favoring females, by a male faculty member. And I said, 'Oh, come to my office, please.' 'Why?' 'Because I want to talk to you about this.' 'You seem to have a problem. Let's talk. Tell me what your perception is here. What are you basing this on?' 'Well, it's not a big deal.' 'No, no, it is a big deal, because you just made a statement.' So I pulled out the org chart. I said, 'Let's look at this. Where are the males and where are the females? Count them up.' 'Well, I just thought there were more.' 'No, count them. Count them.' I had exactly the same number of males and females.

Despite these types of challenges, most of the women community college presidents were successful in utilizing more collaborative and empathetic approaches to leadership than their male predecessors. For example, one participant spent a good portion of her interview talking about how utilizing her collaborative approach to developing an organization helped her and her team speak with each other honestly, treat each other with respect, and focus on their shared value of strengthening their community college. She explained:

And when they see a president helping them do that, including them in the important decisions about who we're going to be and how we're going to do it and how we're going to treat students and how we're going to treat each other, when they're a part of that, they become invested, they become proud of that, it just feeds on itself and gets stronger and stronger and stronger, and people get on one hand, happier and happier. And when there is trouble, people can work together. They can work together because they kind of now trust their colleagues, they trust you. So it's like, okay, we've got this big hard thing we've got to do, like no pay raises, okay, well, all right. So I think that was the thing that I was kind of shocked about – about how much impact you could have on creating organizational climate and trust. Which, in fact, can reflect what you believe in.

As discussed earlier, women community college presidents were viewed as successful, partially based on these types of approaches (engaging, kind, thoughtful,

collaborative) to leading their colleges. These feminist/gendered factors indicate that they overcame stereotypical notions of women and gendered leadership styles while gaining a positive reputation for their approaches.

In fact, women community college's collaborative approaches to leadership also influenced the collective environment for Maryland community colleges creating a culture that was attractive to community college leaders across the sixteen colleges. As described earlier, Maryland women community college presidents were known for embracing change, practicing inclusion, and collaborating. One participant describes the comprehensive nature of this change:

I think the group of presidents that we have now, thankfully, is so different from 20 years ago. They're passionate, they want to see advancement of everybody. They want to collaborate with others as long as it benefits their students. The change has been just monumental, really, from – not only in Maryland but I know in Maryland – from isolated community colleges, which people who didn't really have training in education in how to be an educational leader, to now it's just extremely strong. We've had an extremely strong group of presidents, I think, for ten years [since 2003].

Participants in this study indicated that there was something culturally unique and progressive about MACC's organizational structure and the interactions within MACC. Rose (a national search consultant) indicated that the way MACC was organized was exceptional and had contributed to a collective group of trustees that were more progressive in their hiring processes than trustee groups nationally.

The unique and progressive structure of MACC was largely influenced by the women's leadership styles (collaborative, engaging) utilized by women community college presidents who shaped MACC as an organization. In addition, Chris (previous community college president) described how Maryland's progressive state politics

also influenced the perception of MACC as a unique and progressive organization. Specifically, MACC effectively advocated for a funding formula that is not commonly found in other state systems. Maryland funds non-credit full-time equivalent courses at the same rate as credit full-time equivalent courses. Chris goes on to describe what this means and why it was such a progressive idea:

But what's so wonderful about that, Amy, so wonderful and right about that, is that what that says is our legislature and our state says learning is learning is learning. So if you are enrolled in some non-credit continuing education professional certification courses that are going to enable you to get a certificate of some kind to go out and get a job, earn a living, pay taxes, buy a house, buy a car, support your family, who's to say that's not as good as getting an associate degree or a bachelor degree and going out and getting a job, earning a living, buying a car. So it's saying as long as you get some skill or certificate or credential that says you can be a productive contributing member of our society, pay your taxes, we're going to say that's legitimate. And that is a powerful, powerful thought. And it's not that common. There might be more doing it now, but I doubt it. There really were maybe just a handful of colleges.

This type of funding and the sentiment behind it is particularly attractive to community college leaders who often choose to work in community colleges because of their positive impact on the local community and a wide range of individuals (e.g., first generation students, students of color, working students, students from low socio-economic backgrounds, military students, and students with families). Indeed, several of the previous and current community college presidents in this study sought a Maryland community college presidency because of Maryland's progressive state legislature. As mentioned previously, women's tendency to be drawn to social justice, diversity and upward mobility goals of higher education (Bornstein, 2009; O'Meara, 2008; O'Meara, Terosky, & Neumann, 2008) drew them to Maryland. This increased the pool of women community college presidential applicants and therefore

contributed to the robust number of women in the community college presidential pipeline.

Overall, during the time period when eight women community college presidents were hired in Maryland, cultural and feminist/gendered factors have come together to create a change in the collective culture of the 16 Maryland community colleges. This newly hired group of women community college presidents overcame gendered expectations of leadership and influenced the unique and progressive nature of MACC through collaborative leadership approaches. Combined with the Maryland's progressive politics and legislature, these factors made Maryland community colleges attractive to current and aspiring presidents locally and nationally.

In summary, from 1997-2006, structural, human resource, cultural, and feminist/gendered factors influenced the exponential hiring of women community college presidents in Maryland. Additionally, these factors brought positive visibility and recognition to the collective set of Maryland community colleges. Multiple approaches to hiring community college presidents interacted with a well-trained group of trustees (including a significant number of women trustees) leading to the appointment of six women community college presidents in a four year time span. Subsequently, these appointments led to a significant cultural shift in the way the community colleges were led based on the new presidents' tendency toward collaborative leadership styles, known to be common among women leaders (Grint, 1997; Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin, 2006; Oakley, 2000). These factors, combined with Maryland' progressive politics continue to produce a culture that is

attractive to women academic leaders and has led to further increases in the number of women community college presidents, including women of color since 2006.

2007-Present (Steady Progress, People of Color Emerge)

Although this study focused on the time period prior to the tipping point when women's presence in Maryland's community colleges became normative, the interactions between structural, human resource, political, cultural and feminist factors between 1989-2006 continue to influence the increasing number of women community college presidents in Maryland in 2013. Structurally, the percentages of women continue to increase at all levels of the community college system (faculty, mid-level leaders, presidents, trustees). Leadership development opportunities continue to create a pool of talented women community college leaders who are ready to assume the presidency. And finally, women community college presidents continue to be positive role models for women, balancing high-level academic positions with family obligations. Together, these factors have produced a diverse group of nine women presidents currently at the helm of community colleges in Maryland.

First, the pipeline of women on the path to the community college presidency continues to grow in the collective set of Maryland community colleges. As of 2005, 57% of community college full-time faculty members were women (MDACC Historic Databook, 2005) and that percentage increased to 59% of full-time faculty in Maryland community colleges in 2012 (Maryland Databook, 2012). The percentage of women Maryland community college CAOs also increased from 62% in 2006 to 75% in 2011. In addition, the percentage of women CBOs continues to hold steady at 44% in 2011, and there was an increase in the percentage of CSSOs from 56% in

2006 to 81% in 2011. Therefore, Maryland community colleges continue to have a much higher than national average number of women in the pipeline to the community college presidency.

Not surprisingly, the percentage of women on board of trustees has also increased from 35% in 2005 to 41% in 2012. In fact, women made up 50% of the trustee boards where the most recent women presidents were hired (only two exceptions at Allegany Community College and Prince George's Community College). Seven more women presidents have been hired since 2006 (MACC Directories 2006-2012) and continue to make up 56% of community college presidencies in Maryland (MACC 2012 Directory). Essentially, women continue to have a significant presence in the top leadership positions in Maryland and to visibly influence the collective set of Maryland community colleges.

These structural factors interact with leadership development as an on-going human resource factor in Maryland and nationally. Women community college presidents have maintained and increased a commitment to local leadership development, recognizing that they benefitted from similar mentorship and leadership programs. One participant (current community college president) described how she has developed multiple avenues for leadership at her community college including: 1) sending potential leaders to the county level Leadership Maryland program; 2) creating a mentoring/networking program for women; 3) creating a leadership program for all staff at the community college; and, 4) personally mentoring potential leaders with a strong desire to plan for the upcoming retirement of community college presidents nationally. Additionally, participants pointed to the multiple forms of

leadership development opportunities nationally (League of Innovation, Lakin, Kaleidoscope, Harvard, Bryn Mawhr, HERS, AACC's Future Leaders, etc.). In fact the Roueche Future Leaders institute has graduated a significant number of people who have become community college presidents nationally:

Of the 700-plus individuals who have attended AACC's Future Leadership Institute events in the last six years, more than 70 of them have become community college presidents. More than 275 others have made significant career moves (AACC, Feb. 2011, press release, p. 2).

These types of leadership development opportunities remain critical to the preparation and success of women community college presidents in Maryland and nationally.

Women community college presidents in Maryland also continue to require support and strategies for maintaining work and family balance. Fortunately, the significant numbers of women community college presidents in Maryland continue to be successful role models in this area. Their ability to navigate the enormous expectations of their position while caring for children or elderly parents, signals to future leaders that it is possible to utilize strategies that support work-life balance as a community college president. As visible role models for balancing work and family, the comparably high number of women community college presidents of Maryland may encourage future women mid-level community college leaders to pursue the community college presidency.

Together, these human resource, structural, and feminist factors combined with Maryland's collaborative and progressive culture have evidently attracted women academic leaders or current presidents from outside the state to apply for positions in Maryland. Five of the seven women presidents hired since 2006 have

come from outside the state, or are returning to Maryland after pursuing career advancement opportunities in other states (Burris, 2012; De Vise, 2010; Donavan, 2006; Harty, 2011; Mills, 2008).

In summary, structural, human resource, and feminist factors continue to play a role in maintaining and increasing the presence of women community college presidents in Maryland. The structural presence, visibility, and success of women community college presidents in Maryland continues to influence current and aspiring mid-level community college leaders by providing examples of successful role models, particularly in regards to managing work-life balance. Women community college presidents also continue to provide the types of mentoring and leadership development opportunities that helped them pursue the presidency. Finally, the way that MACC is organized, along with the state's progressive culture, attracts community college leaders from all over the country to the state of Maryland.

Chapter V: Discussion, Implications, and Conclusion

In this section I discuss the findings related to the two research questions originally posed by the study:

- Research Question 1: What are the factors that have contributed to the comparatively high percentage of women community college presidents in Maryland?
- Research Question 2: How have these factors interacted to contribute to the increasing presence of women community college presidents in Maryland?

Women, across all types of institutions, have continued to be more equally represented in senior leadership positions (e.g., chief of staff, chief academic officer, dean, chief diversity officer, provost, senior administrative officer) than in the college presidency (Cook & Young, 2012, King & Gomez, 2008). According to Cook and Young, more women are found in two-year public institutions (33%) than presidencies among all types of higher education institutions (26.4%). Yet, research also demonstrates that women faculty and senior leaders still face barriers to the community college presidency (Bracken & Allen, 2009; Dean, 2008; Green, 2008; Shultz, 2001; Vaughan & Weisman, 2003). Therefore, the comparatively high number of Maryland women community college presidents (56%) and steady increases in the number of women community college presidents in Maryland since 1996 signal there are factors that have supported women academic leaders in overcoming those barriers in Maryland. Because 84% of community college

presidents are expected to retire as early as 2016, community college leaders nationally have a strong desire to ensure that the increased diversity represented in leadership positions over the last several decades is repeated in the next generation of leaders. Also, policy makers and current community college leaders want to ensure that community college systems are doing everything they can to prepare women and people of color to move into the community college presidency (Wiesman, Vaughan, & ACCC, 2006). This study found that complex interactions between significant structural, human resource, cultural, political, and feminist factors in Maryland helped women academic leaders overcome the challenges associated with being appointed to the community college presidency.

Structural Findings: Robust Pipeline, Geographic Proximity, Dual Career Opportunities

Maryland's abundant labor market, educational attainment trends among women, pipeline of women in Maryland community colleges (faculty, chief officers, presidents, trustees), and geography (proximity between community colleges and four-year institutions) proved to be strong structural factors that contributed to the high number and increasing appointments of women community college presidents in Maryland. The fact that 65% of Maryland women working outside the home in 1992 (Bock, 1993) and 23% of women in Maryland had advanced degrees in 1990 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1940-2000) increased the likelihood of Maryland women applicants in the pipeline for the community college presidency in Maryland in the 1990s. Many of these women, particularly those in this study, were part of dual career families.

Some researchers could argue that Maryland's situation is unique in regards to the percentages of highly educated, working women with families in the pipeline to the community college presidency. However, previous examinations of the pipeline to the presidency in community colleges (Cook & Young, 2012) indicate that there are women available in Chief Academic Officer (CAO), Chief Student Services Officer (CSSO), and Chief Financial Officer (CFO) positions nationally that could assume the presidency if they perceived themselves to be qualified and were prepared to be successful as leaders and family members at the same time (Dean, 2008; Mitchell & Eddy, 2008). It is evident from this study that Maryland's distinctive labor environment, in terms of the abundance of jobs and the variety of careers, provided unique opportunities for women community college leaders within dual career families. This finding suggests that dual career hiring policies and family-friendly policies at community colleges where the state's labor market does not support dual career families may be important to women academic leaders. Such policies could assist women community college leaders balancing decisions related to career and family when considering the community college presidency.

Another significant structural factor in this study was MACC's formation of affinity groups (academic leaders, presidents, trustees) and the geographic proximity between Maryland community colleges. These factors made it fairly convenient for community college leaders (presidents, trustees, chief officers) to gather on a regular basis. Two early women presidents, Martha Smith (1989, 1994) and Claudia Cheisi (1996) were hired at the same time that MACC formed (1992). Their success as women community college presidents was visible to members of the president's

affinity group and trustee group and convinced some of the top leaders in Maryland community colleges that women could be successful in the community college presidency. The geographic proximity between Maryland community colleges facilitated regular meetings among affinity groups. These frequent meetings offered opportunities for women academic leaders to discuss and learn about successful strategies for leading community colleges. Additionally, the proximity of doctoral institutions to Maryland community colleges eased women community college academic leaders' ability work while acquiring advanced degrees. Therefore, the geographic proximity of both community college and research institutions in Maryland contributed to women academic leaders' ability to gain important skills and competencies related to leading and managing community colleges in Maryland.

In fact, the pipeline of community college leaders was rich in the state of Maryland with women representing 49.1% of community college full-time executives and managers in 1994 (MHEC, Jan 1996). At the same time, a significant percentage of women were appointed to community college trustee boards in Maryland (26% in 1989, growing to 35% in 2005). Previous research has speculated that an increase of women on community college governing boards coincides with an increase of women in the community college presidency (Glazer-Raymo, 2008; Muñoz, 2010). In fact, at the same time Maryland had a robust pipeline of women on the pathway to the Maryland community college presidency (academic leaders) and a significant number of women community college boards of trustees served as hiring officials, six women community college presidents were hired in Maryland (1996-1999).

Structural factors: implications for research and practice. The findings of this study suggest that it became more normative for women to be hired in top leadership positions (CEO) at Maryland community colleges after 2005. The percentage (47%) of community college presidents reached the proverbial “tipping point” in 2005. In addition, participants in this study indicated that once women were being hired into community college presidencies in Maryland, community college trustees became “comfortable” with the idea that women could successfully lead their community colleges. However, there is still evidence of a gendered labor market in Maryland where women presidents are more common at two-year colleges than private or public four-year, research institutions. This is consistent with what researchers have found nationally: women are found in larger numbers in less prestigious positions, occupations, and higher education institutions (Townsend & Twombly, 2007; Yoder, 1991).

Additional findings from this study suggest that community college researchers and practitioners need to examine the role of dual career hiring and family-friendly policies in the community college environment, especially when the state’s labor market is not as diverse and abundant as the one in Maryland. Unfortunately, this study confirms what the CEW (2005) found, that community colleges have relatively few family-related policies or, in Maryland’s case, may need to make them more visible and accessible to families searching for positions in Maryland. Despite recommendations in the 1986 Family-Oriented Personnel Policies Task Report produced by the Maryland commission for women, only seven of the 16 community colleges had information about flextime, tele-work, maternity leave, and

time to tenure readily available on their websites. Many of these policies are still relevant given that the CEW (2005) identified the following policies as some of the most current family-friendly or work-life policies: modified job duties, leave for childcare or eldercare, and partner hiring support. Tenure is no longer offered at three of the Maryland community colleges (see Appendix O, Table 9), but many of the community college leaders in this study talked about issues of childcare, eldercare, and managing dual career families. Therefore, these types of policies continue to be relevant to men and women juggling family life with their aspirations for the top leadership roles at community colleges in Maryland. Also, while the abundance and convenience of dual career options may be somewhat unique to Maryland's geography, community colleges in other states could consider dual career hiring and family-friendly policies as a way to support women pursuing a community college presidency. In addition, community colleges could create staff development programs as alternative resources to national programs that require travel or significant funding. Local staff development opportunities, like those provided by the MACC affinity groups, could help community college leaders gain the skills and competencies necessary to assume a community college presidency. These types of local programs are particularly helpful to community college leaders pursuing senior leadership roles while balancing family obligations.

Finally, the simultaneous increase in the number of women community college boards of trustee members and women community college presidents in Maryland noted in this study, confirms the importance of electing or appointing women and other underrepresented groups to boards of trustees. Nationally, the

American Association of University Women (AAUW), along with Southern Association of College Women, Title IX, and the civil rights movement, compelled states and institutions to include more women on governing boards beginning in 1923 and throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Glazer-Raymo, 2008). In Maryland, the Women's Legislative Caucus and the Maryland Commission for Women pushed to increase women's representation in the top leadership positions at Maryland higher education institutions. Thus, women's representation on community college boards or in the top leadership positions at community colleges is an important legislative agenda for states where women are not being appointed to boards of trustees or community college presidencies.

In summary, my findings suggest that states interested in advancing women into the community college presidency should focus attention on getting women on community college boards of trustees, providing and promoting dual career hiring opportunities along with family-friendly policies, and providing opportunities for pursuing a doctorate. Although geography and a highly educated women's labor market are critical structural supports in Maryland, states without these benefits might focus on the visibility and presence of dual career hiring and family-friendly policies, seek opportunities for collaboration with local higher education institutions across institutional type, utilize technology to conduct meetings, and provide leadership development opportunities at individual institutions.

Human Resource Findings: Leadership Development, MACC Affinity Groups, Mentoring, and Non-Traditional Pathways

National and regional leadership development opportunities (e.g., ACE-NIP, HERs, Lakin, MACC affinity groups), intentional and pervasive mentoring of women community college leaders at Maryland community colleges, and non-traditional approaches to presidential searches by Maryland community college boards of trustees were strong human resource factors that contributed to the high number of women community college presidents in Maryland, particularly between 1989-2006. These findings are important because AACC leaders have found that a lack of preparation and overall desire to consider a community college presidency influences the gap between the number of women in the pipeline to the presidency and the percentage of women in the community college presidency (Shultz, 2001; Vaughan & Weisman, 2003). Krause (2009), using a theory of action framework in her study of community college academic leaders, also found that women in senior academic positions needed to complete their terminal degree, work closely with a mentor, and take advantage of leadership development opportunities in order to attain senior leadership positions in community colleges.

This study found that women community college presidents in Maryland who were hired between 1989 and 2006 had participated in leadership development opportunities at the national and state level. Participants noted that those opportunities (e.g., Harvard, HERs, Lakin) had been critical to increasing their confidence and developing the skills necessary to assume a community college presidency. Of particular significance, several of the participants who were among the early women community college presidents in Maryland identified participating in ACE-NIP as critical to their success. The goal of ACE-NIP (founded in 1977) was to prepare

women for academic leadership positions and provide them with support at the state level (Eggins, 1997). Some of the early women community college presidents in this study noted that the ACE-NIP group in Maryland was active and they were heavily involved with the group. At the same time the Maryland ACE-NIP group was active (1990s), MACC was getting organized and inadvertently created opportunities for leadership development through the creation of affinity groups. Several Maryland community college presidents and academic leaders in this study identified MACC affinity group meetings as places where they learned how to manage important issues on their campuses.

This type of learning continued at the individual Maryland community college campuses where men and women community college presidents intentionally mentored community college senior officers (CAOs, CSSOs). Mentoring included support for completing a terminal degree, intentional discussions about topics like budget management, job shadowing, representing a president at a MACC affinity group meeting, and small forms of encouragement. These types of mentoring efforts and support were noted as particularly important aspects of community college leadership development by presidents in the McNair, Duree, and Ebbers (2011) study about the six leadership competencies put forward by the AACC. Dean (2008) also found that creating a culture of mentoring at a particular institution was important for encouraging women to consider senior leadership positions. Chris (previous community college president in Maryland) suggested that most presidents (men and women) at Maryland community colleges likely helped develop leaders through mentoring and sponsoring job shadowing opportunities. Like the trustees in the study

by Muñoz (2010), many of the early women community college presidents in Maryland also noted receiving critical support from men leaders when they were considering advancement in Maryland community colleges. Therefore, while leadership opportunities specifically designed for women are important, effective mentoring and learning can occur regardless of the genders of the mentor and mentee.

Another significant finding in this study challenges notions of what positions best prepare chief officers (CAOs, CSSOs, CBOs) in community colleges for the presidency. Of the 16 women community college presidents hired at MACC's community colleges, seven had paths to the presidency through the Chief Student Services Officer position or a combination of experiences as community college leaders in academic affairs, student services, or business services. Additionally, Bolt (2001) found that Maryland women community college mid-level leaders in her study also followed non-traditional career paths to their positions. These findings contrast what Kubala and Bailey (2002) found in their study of 101 newly hired community college presidents where 56.4% of the participants had followed the academic route to the presidency and 8.9% had come through administrative services. In their 2000 survey of community college senior administrators, Amey, VanDerLinden, and Brown (2002) found that the most likely previous position of community college presidents was provost (37%), followed by president of another community college (25%) and then senior academic affairs/instruction officer (15%). Most recently, Cook and Young (2012) found that 44% of community college presidents had come out of academic affairs and that only 13% had come out of finance, administration, or student affairs. Maryland community college trustees' willingness to hire community

college leaders from non-traditional paths to the presidency, specifically student services, influenced the high number of women presidents by expanding the pool of women in search processes. Also, early Maryland community college trustees were aware of and involved in conversations about how to move women and people of color into community college presidencies as current presidents retire. As mentioned in earlier chapters, at the AACC national convention in 2013 there were several sessions that examined the gap between women and people of color in community college chief officer positions (CAO, CSSO, CBO) and the community college presidency. One panel urged leaders to look outside the traditional pipeline to the presidency, suggesting this was one critical path to achieving more diversity in the community college presidency.

Dan (current Maryland community college leader) commented that hiring presidents from the pool of chief student services officers increases the likelihood that a woman will be hired because of the larger percentage of women in those positions. Dan also contrasted this possibility in community colleges with four-year universities where chief student service officers are rarely considered for the presidency. Indeed, although women represent 59% of senior academic positions (e.g., dean of continuing education, graduate and undergraduate programs; director of continuing education; vice provost, associate vice provost, chief research officer, chief health professions officer) and 43% of chief academic officers at two-year public institutions, they represent only 21% of senior academic positions and 38% of chief academic officers across institutional type (King & Gomez, 2008). Around the same time as the King and Gomez study (2006), 62% of Chief Academic Officers in Maryland were women,

56% of Chief Student Services Officers were women, and 44% of Chief Business Officers were women. Currently (2013), only 50% of Chief Academic Officers are women, while 75% of Chief Student Affairs Officers are women and 62% of Chief Business Officers are women. Therefore, particularly in Maryland, there is a larger pool of women community college leaders in the CSSO and CBO position than in the traditional pipeline (CAO) to the community college presidency.

Maryland community college trustees took another bold step between 1989 and 2007. They hired three women presidents from within their institutions without conducting an external search; two of these women were formerly CSSOs. According to Weisman, Vaughan, and the ACCC (2007), about one-third of community college presidents were hired from within their institutions. Community college researchers and practitioners have investigated the benefits and challenges associated with internal and external search processes as well as the pathway to the community college presidency. Some research (ACE 2007, 2012; Amey, VanDerLinden, & Brown; Kubala & Bailey, 2002) has found that institutions are increasingly selecting leaders with more experience (e.g. worked previously as a community college president). For example, Amey, VanDerLinden, and Brown (2002) found that 25% of community college presidents had already been in a presidency prior to their current appointment. Overall, they found that 66% of community college presidents came from outside the institution when they were hired and 22% of community college presidents were promoted from within their institution. Therefore, Maryland's community college trustees' approach of conducting internal searches or simply appointing some of the early women community college presidents was a bold move

for the time period (two in 1998, one in 2007 after two years of succession planning). These early internal searches helped create a normative environment for hiring women presidents among Maryland community colleges. Internal searches are used in about a third of community colleges nationally and yet, Maryland community college presidents have all been hired through external searches since 2007. This suggests that either approach to hiring (internal or external search) may support efforts to move women into the community college presidency. Other states' community college board of trustees will need to decide which approaches work best to increase the appointments of women community college presidents within their system of community colleges.

Human resource factors: implications for research and practice. Findings from this study reiterate the importance of mentoring and leadership development programs in preparing women senior leaders and encouraging them to consider advancement to the community college presidency. Most of the participants in this study talked about the value of attending national leadership programs (e.g., ACE-NIP, Harvard, HERS, Lakin) and the critical ways in which individual mentoring helped them pursue a community college presidency (completing a terminal degree, gaining valuable experiences with management and budgets, receiving encouragement to seek a community college presidency). A recent report about the attributes of successful community college presidents (Aspen Institute & Achieving the Dream Inc., 2013) called for continued investment in community college leadership development noting that, "Unfortunately, there is not enough new investment in leadership training and several well-known community college

leadership programs have been reduced in size or eliminated.” In Maryland, community college leaders have focused on specific efforts to continue developing community college leaders and the multi-layered approach in Maryland serves an example for other states. For example, Howard Community College, Carroll County Community College, and Frederick Community College developed grow-your-own programs through their human resource departments. Previous studies found similar regional, state, or institutional programs offered critical opportunities for growth and development among aspiring community college leaders (Crosson, Douglas, O'Meara, & Sperling, 2005; Reille & Kezar, 2010; Robison, Sugar, & Miller, 2010). Future research might examine how many women who were appointed to a community college presidency attended a regional/local program, a national leadership program, a combination of programs, or did not attend any training programs. Additionally, researchers and practitioners should consider how to support women with young children attending leadership institutes, like Katie. Local leadership programs may provide aspiring community college leaders with young children sufficient skill development opportunities. However, the national leadership institutes could also consider strategies for offering childcare or allowing participants to bring their children with them.

Previous and current community college presidents in this study also spent a considerable amount of time teaching courses at Morgan State University (Baltimore) and University of Maryland University College (College Park). Those same presidents provided job shadowing opportunities for aspiring community college leaders in these two advanced degree programs. This type of outreach and mentoring

is important in Maryland because, as discussed previously, at five of the Maryland community colleges the percentage of minority (African-American, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander) full-time faculty exceeds the 17% of minority faculty at two-year public colleges nationally (NCES, 2010, Table 246) including: 56% at Baltimore City Community College, 40% at Prince George's Community College, 30% at Montgomery College, 23% at Howard Community College, and 18% at Anne Arundel Community College (MPCU Accountability Report, 2008). In fact, according to graduation rosters provided by key informants for this study, the majority of doctoral students in the Morgan State Community College program identify as people of color. This means that there are many potential women and people of color in the pipeline to the Maryland community college presidency that are being mentored by current and previous Maryland community college presidents.

With so many potential leaders in the community college pipeline in Maryland, community college trustees will need to wrestle with what types of search processes, or combinations of search processes, best serve to continue hiring talented women and people of color as community college presidents in Maryland. Full search processes in Maryland community colleges since 2007 have resulted in eight more women being hired as community college presidents, and three women of color. However, six of those women were hired from outside of state, four were previous presidents, and only two of those four previous presidents had worked in Maryland community colleges during their careers. The American Council on Education (2007, 2012) advised that community college boards that tend to hire previous presidents may be limiting opportunities for younger leaders, women, and people of color. On

the other hand, if Maryland community college trustees consider internal searches or succession planning they will also have to consider if that type of “insular” hiring prevents people of color from being advanced. This was suggested in a *Diversity in Academe* article (June 14th, 2013) about the lack of success in hiring people of color into the presidency at the Ivy Leagues (Patton, 2013).

In summary, these findings suggest that states interested in advancing women into the community college presidency should focus attention on expanding search pools to include leaders from student services and business affairs, encouraging community college leaders from underrepresented groups to attend local and national leadership institutes, and creating a culture of mentoring within and among community college leaders in the state. The recent report about aligning the community college presidency with student success (Achieving the Dream, Inc. & The Aspen Institute, 2013) offers some specific approaches to preparing community college leaders for the presidency including: understanding legislative and financial structures, building relationships with industry, building relationships with a diverse set of constituents, and developing and implementing entrepreneurial approaches to raising revenue. Maryland community colleges had a strong pool of women in chief officer positions (CAO, CSSO, CFO) between 1989 and 2006, and has a strong pool of women chief student services officers currently. States lacking such a robust pipeline to the community college presidency could consider expanding search pools to include women and other underrepresented groups from other states. Additionally, community college search committees should carefully consider candidates who have

not been in a previous community college presidency to ensure the door to the presidency continues to be open to younger leaders from underrepresented groups.

Political Findings: Maryland Women's Activism, Networks, and Political Alliances

Strong alliances among women legislators, political activists, and higher education leaders between 1989 and 2005 proved to be significant political factors that contributed to the high number and success of women community college leaders in Maryland. Between 1987 and 1992 women were being elected to congress (Barbara Mikulski, Connie Morella), the first woman community college president was hired (1989) and a woman was hired as the first executive director of MACC (1992) in Maryland. These women worked with the Maryland Commission for Women, MHEC, and MACC to create task forces that represented women leaders across the state. Women higher education and legislative leaders were advocating for family-friendly policies, asking questions about gender equity at higher education institutions in Maryland, and working collaboratively on alignment committees to standardize curriculums across institutional type.

The women academic leaders and early community college presidents in this study identified these networks and working groups as critical to their support and success in leading Maryland community colleges. These findings support previous research about the importance of collegial networks for providing mentoring and support for women pursuing leadership positions in higher education (Kezar et. al., 2007; Milem, Sherlin, & Irwin, 2001; Perna, 2005; Stewart, 1990). Milem, Sherlin, and Irwin (2001) found that the women in their study relied on collegial networks for

social and emotional support as compared to men who used similar networks to obtain career information and promotional opportunities. Individual mentoring was critical for women community college academic leaders in this present study. However, like other underrepresented groups, the early women community college presidents in this study found additional support and strategies through group membership and group political action. According to participants in this study, these types of groups (MACC affinity groups, MHEC and MCW state task forces, informal women's legislative networks) continue to be critical in giving future leaders the confidence and skills to navigate leadership in Maryland community colleges and other higher education environments.

Although participants in this study did not specifically identify the Maryland Commission for Women as critical to their individual success in pursuing community college or other higher education leadership positions in Maryland, it is important to note Stewart's (1980) finding about high performing women's commissions nationally. Like other successful women's commissions, Maryland's Commission for Women was located in a highly populated urban area (central Maryland). In addition, the members of Maryland's Commission for Women politically aligned themselves with the Maryland Higher Education Association, Maryland Association of Community Colleges, and Maryland Women's Legislators to increase the power and influence of Maryland women. As these alliances formed, and Maryland women organized themselves, they also targeted their advocacy efforts (e.g., family-friendly policies, moving women into higher education leadership positions, advocating for women to be elected to state office, curriculum alignment groups across institutional

type). Collectively, the Maryland Commission for Women, the Women's Legislative Caucus, MHEC, and MACC created an influential coalition of women who advocated for women's representation in the highest level positions in Maryland higher education institutions. These politically aligned women's groups came together to support each other as they fought for gender equity for all women in Maryland.

Political factors: implications for research and practice. The women academic leaders in this study (current community college presidents, previous community college presidents, community college trustees, USM employees, and community college chief academic officers) all placed importance on developing relationships and maintaining strong performance records (Lyness & Thompson, 2000 in Fisher, 2008). Specifically participants noted that women needed to be seen as successful because as one participant explained, "When women see other women being successful in their jobs and as community college presidents, it's easier for the ones who work in that institution to envision themselves in that same job." Participants also suggested that women leaders need to be well connected to women's groups or alliances in order to gain confidence and learn strategies for tackling difficult challenges in the community college environment. Fisher (2008), in her recent study of women mid-level managers in community colleges, recommended that researchers should look at the differences between men and women who are seeking high level positions to understand if barriers to seeking those positions are gender specific. As of 2008, Fisher found that business sector researchers had spent more time looking at the experiences of women mid-level managers than researchers studying women mid-level managers in higher education settings. In fact, Lyness and

Thompson (2000, in Fisher 2008) used Kanter's tokenism theory to study differences in men's and women's career advancement and found that women faced several political barriers to advancement (i.e., lack of fit in male-dominated organizations, social isolation, gender stereotyping). Their findings are consistent with the experiences articulated by early women Maryland community college presidents in this study. These women faced challenges to seeking and attaining the community college presidency including social isolation (particularly early women presidents) because they were not comfortable at male dominated social gatherings. Early women presidents in this study also discussed being challenged by men leaders at community college system meetings. They described how men (i.e., community college presidents) in these meetings questioned women senior academic leaders' abilities and contributions, engaging in blatant gender discrimination. The women academic leaders in this study also identified that several factors supported their advancement such as women's social or political networks and overcoming gendered stereotypes about leadership in Maryland community college system meetings. The significant role that social networks played in helping women community college leaders gain the confidence and skills necessary for the community college presidency signals that this is an area ripe for further exploration. Thus, future research could continue to examine underrepresented mid-level community college leaders' group strategies for advancement including the role of social networks and political alliances.

Additionally, it is important to note that being a member of a union did not emerge among participants in this study as a factor that supported women's advancement. Some Maryland women community college presidents were unionized

faculty members on their path to the presidency, yet none of the participants mentioned anything about how they may or may not have benefited from being part of a faculty union. It appears that Maryland has been generally pro-labor since 1935; however, collective bargaining rights for state public employees were not established until 1997 (Smith & Willis, 2012). The early nineteenth century was characterized by the suppression of labor unions in Maryland but now the major labor unions have over 400,000 members in the Baltimore-Washington area (Smith & Willis, 2012). According to the American Association of University Professors (AAUP, 2012) website, Montgomery Community College in Central Maryland is the only community college with an organized labor union for faculty.

Although faculty unions were not prominent among the findings in this study, the important and perhaps invisible benefits faculty unions provide to women seeking to advance to senior leadership positions in community colleges should be explored further. Wilson (2002) discussed the importance of this issue in a recent article about faculty who are not on the tenure track, citing an AAUP report that found contractual faculty made substantially less than tenure-ranked faculty members across institutional type. Additionally, I found among the 16 Maryland community colleges, as the percentage of tenured faculty decreased between 1989 and 2012, the percentage of women faculty increased (see Appendix O, Table 9). At Maryland community colleges, the presence of faculty unions might have supported the formation of more formal family-friendly policies. CEW (2005) found that among master's institutions, faculty unions increased the number of formal work-life policies (tenure-clock extension, modified duties, and leave-in-excess-of-FMLA). On the

other hand, Sallee (2008) claimed that faculty unions at community colleges have not yet advocated for these policies. Finally, Hagedorn and Laden (2002) discussed the idea that faculty salaries at community colleges may be less ‘gender dependent’ because of the ability for faculty at community colleges to be involved in collective bargaining and the presence of women in leadership roles in faculty unions. The potential benefits of faculty unions in community colleges could be explored by comparing Maryland to a more unionized state in regards to fair pay and work-life policies. Additional studies could also ask directed questions of Maryland current and previous presidents about the ways they may have benefited from gender equity in advance and pay generated by bargaining units where they were community college faculty members.

Women’s advancement and success in Maryland community colleges was also tied to ways in which Maryland women leaders came together to affect change in Maryland. Participants in this study noted several structured opportunities that brought them together. First, the state legislature mandated that community colleges and universities work together to create seamless transition for two-year colleges’ students to transfer to four-year institutions. Women faculty came together in curriculum alignment groups across institution type and this raised the prominence of women working in community colleges. Maryland women higher education leaders (including community college leaders) also worked on task forces with women legislators from the state such as the task force on family-friendly policies. Women community college leaders (chief officers, presidents, trustees) also came together to tackle mutual challenges in the community college system. In combination,

participants noted that these opportunities helped them acquire critical leadership/management skills and boosted their self-confidence. These findings suggest that women in other states may want to consider creating opportunities for state level networking across institutional type and in partnership with the state legislature. This may be particularly important for larger higher education institutions with more pervasive tenure systems and formal hiring practices, where fewer women are in the pipeline to the presidency than in community colleges, particularly in Maryland (Kullis, 1997). The Maryland Commission for Women was not explicitly recognized by women participants in this study as a critical factor in their advancement. However, women's advocacy and political alliances promoted through the women's state legislators group were critical in changing the state environment and promoting gender equity at Maryland higher education institutions across the state.

In summary, these findings suggest that state level women's social networks, working groups, and political alliances support women's advancement into community college presidency. Although, Maryland's women's legislators, and the number of highly educated women working in Maryland were critical political supports in this study, states without these supports might consider opportunities for women higher education leaders in close proximity to work together on projects. State community colleges or community college systems can also provide financial support for women and other underrepresented community college leaders to attend national development opportunities designed to provide the social networks proven to

support the success of underrepresented identity groups (women, people of color, LGBT people).

Cultural Findings: Progressive State Culture and MACC's Organizational Culture

Maryland's perceived progressive state politics and MACCs collaborative organizational structure were strong cultural factors that contributed to the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland 1989-2005. These factors attracted women community college academic leaders from outside the state. They also provided a collective community college culture that supported the development of women presidents and academic leaders in Maryland community colleges. Most of the participants in this study cited Maryland's progressive politics (e.g., women's activism, first southern state to de-segregate, same-sex marriage passing, the Dream Act for higher education students) as either 1) an attractive aspect of working in Maryland community colleges if they were applying for academic leadership positions from outside the state or 2) a critical factor in creating an environment within which community college academic leaders who identified as women and people of color were considered viable candidates for appointment to the community college presidency Maryland. The current and previous Maryland community college presidents who participated in this study also attributed the success of women community college academic leaders in Maryland to the semi-independent system of Maryland community colleges (MACC) that was organized in 1992. Participants consistently noted the collaborative culture of MACC and how it supported leadership development and effective community college

management practices among the trustees and academic leaders (presidents, CAOs) within the collective set of 16 Maryland community colleges. Together these cultural factors continue to be attractive to women community college leaders outside the state and create a supportive environment for women community college academic leaders within the state of Maryland.

Participants' descriptions of Maryland's progressive state culture and MACC's collaborative culture relate to research about how culture and climate influence higher education environments (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999; Kezar, et al., 2006). An analysis of Maryland politics by Smith and Willis (2012) further supports participants' observations. For example, Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen's (1999) framework for understanding diverse campus climates includes understanding the "external domain" of higher education institutions by describing the impact of governmental policy, programs, and initiatives as well as sociohistorical forces on campus climate. According to Smith and Willis (2012), Maryland politics have been characterized by influential and competitive interest groups coming out of the economic, cultural, and demographic diversity in the state. Maryland state leaders have tended to combine a reformist imperative to improve society with practical minded political temperament. Participants in this study explicitly attribute Maryland's progressive governmental policy, programs, and initiatives with creating a positive climate for women academic leaders among the collective set of Maryland community colleges.

Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen's (1999) framework for enacting diverse learning environments in higher education also discusses the

institutional (internal domain) of climate, which would be the climate associated with the collective set of 16 community colleges (MACC) in this study. Participants' descriptions of MACC indicate that, in accordance with Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen's framework, this collective set of community colleges has: 1) a historical legacy of including women beginning with the first executive director who was a woman and including the active leadership of early women presidents between 1989-2005; 2) structural diversity in regards to the high number of women chief officers (CAOs, CSSOs, CBOs), presidents, and trustees in the organization; 3) a positive psychological climate wherein women are perceived as successful and important contributors; and 4) a collaborative environment where men and women community college leaders have positive intergroup relationships across the sixteen community colleges (Hurtado et. al., 1999). Together these aspects of MACCs climate have influenced the comparatively high and increasing number of women community college presidents in Maryland since 1992.

Cultural factors: implications for research and practice. Community college researchers and practitioners should continue to consider the impact of state culture and organizational climate on the experiences of community college academic leaders. Researchers need to better understand the ways in which the collective organization of community colleges at the state level (i.e., the community college system) influences the appointment of women and people of color to the community college presidency. Community college systems situated in states that are not known for having a progressive state culture could consider other ways to promote a welcoming environment for underrepresented academic leaders. It may be that

organizing community college systems the way that Maryland has organized its affinity groups could be beneficial to community college leaders considering the presidency in a less progressive environment. The affinity groups in Maryland created networks of support for women in community college, who were challenged by gendered expectations of leaders within the system of Maryland community colleges. Women, people of color, and LGBT people in less progressive states could also establish other political and social alliances that would help create a supportive community college culture within the state's political environment.

In summary, these findings suggest that the culture of the Maryland community college system and Maryland's progressive state politics created a web of inclusion that was attractive to women considering a community college presidency in Maryland. Although Maryland's particular organization of the system of community colleges and progressive political culture were critical cultural supports, community colleges in states without these supports might consider re-organizing the ways in which they interact to help create a sub-culture of inclusion.

Feminist/Gendered Findings: Maryland Women's Agency (Family, Career Aspirations, and Leadership Norms)

Women community college academic leaders' agency (personal and collective) around balancing family (gendered work norms), pursuing critical experiences in preparation for the presidency (career aspirations), and owning collaborative and constructive leadership orientation (gendered leadership norms) were strong feminist factors that led to the comparatively high number and increasing presence of women community college presidents in Maryland. The Maryland

women academic leaders and presidents in this study described specific strategies that they used to balance the needs of their family with their career aspirations. With the support of critical mentors, some of these women participants pursued their doctoral degrees while raising children and working. Women in this study also moved their families to Maryland so they could pursue community college leadership positions in Maryland. At the same time, these women also took on additional assignments or attended events on behalf of their supervisors (community college presidents) so that they could gain the skills necessary to pursue a community college presidency. Also, several previous women community college presidents explicitly stated that they had not originally considered a community college presidency because they perceived that their approaches to leadership would be in conflict with the male leadership norms that existed among community college presidents in Maryland prior 1999. Despite their trepidations regarding the reception to their leadership style, these women decided to pursue the community college presidency in Maryland. They then stayed true to their leadership style, taking more collaborative and engaging approaches to managing their community colleges than their male predecessors. In combination, the critical choices the women participants in this study made to pursue their terminal degree and career aspirations, support their families, and stay authentic to who they were as leaders influenced their own acquisition of the community college presidency and provided visible role models for other women community college leaders.

Women participants' individual and collective agency in pursuit of and experience of the community college presidency fall in line with those expressed by women presidents in Eddy and Cox's study (2008). The women presidents in this

study found it challenging to manage family obligations with their career aspirations and chose to apply for positions after taking into account: timing of childbirth, child-rearing, adoption, a spouse/partner's ability to change careers, a spouse/partner's career obligations, and caring for sick or elderly family members. One participant in this study talked about the timing of these decisions in relationship to the community college presidency:

So they're in their 50s when they get a college presidency, but their kids are in their 20s going into their 30s so it's a lot easier to do it then than having little ones. That also is in the pipeline; are people willing to make those kinds of sacrifices that you have to make when you have young children. That's a challenge.

These family challenges were further exacerbated for the early women community college academic leaders in Maryland (1989-1999), who, like Garza-Mitchell and Eddy (2008) and Munoz (2010), found that the organizational structure of Maryland community colleges was definitely based on gendered leadership and work norms. Thus, in the 1990s, women academic leaders in Maryland experienced the challenges of organizational hierarchies, the command and control style of previous men presidents, long work hours, and taking on additional tasks without question. Most men and women participants in this study emphasized the importance of taking on any leadership roles or tasks that senior leaders assigned to them (in addition to their already busy mid-level leadership roles). They did this to be seen as interested and capable of acquiring more senior leadership roles, like the presidency. This coincides with the sentiment of women presidents in the Eddy and Cox (2008) study who felt the need to move up quickly in an organization to be seen as powerful and successful. This might be particularly difficult for women with families who are juggling career

advancement goals with the needs of children, elderly parents, and partners. Finally, the sense that presidents had to maintain a sense of tough mindedness and focus on their positional power also made it difficult for women community college leaders in this present study to consider or pursue the community college presidency (Eddy & Cox, 2008). This style of leadership (command and control) was in direct conflict with what participants identified as their more collaborative and engaged styles of leadership. Hence, early women community college academic leaders in this study hesitated to pursue a community college presidency because they did not think their preferred leadership style would allow them to be successful in the position.

The strategies, perspectives, and behaviors utilized by the Maryland women community college presidents and academic leaders in this study to overcome gendered challenges clearly fit theoretical descriptions of agency. Specifically, O'Meara, Campbell, and Terosky (2011) observed that agency in career advancement takes two forms: perspectives and behaviors. The women participants in this study articulated strong agentic perspectives related to their career goals. They took the steps needed to gain the appropriate skills and took on additional leadership responsibilities to achieve career advancement. These same participants' willingness to take on responsibilities in addition to their current role at the time, and represent their presidents at critical meetings like the MACC affinity meetings, also demonstrated agency behavior. Previous and current women community college presidents who participated in this study had a desire to lead and serve community colleges in Maryland, and they took strategic actions regarding their education,

leadership development, and family obligations that ultimately led to their appointment in Maryland community college presidencies.

Agency behaviors by women community college academic leaders in Maryland increased their chances of becoming community college presidents. These behaviors also changed the culture and environment of the collective set of Maryland community colleges (MACC). Early women presidents in this study talked about addressing stereotypical male behaviors during the re-organization of the state board of community colleges. They confronted what they considered disrespectful behaviors (swearing, grandstanding, belittling of women's perspectives) and competitiveness among some of the men who were in leadership at the time. These early women presidents also collaborated with each other and shared successful leadership and management strategies with each other. Together, they achieved both individual accomplishments in their community college presidency and helped support the success of other community college leaders (men and women). Calás and Smircich (2006) noted that feminist practitioners tend to blur the distinction between the person and professional in order to create more women centered organizations. The previous and current Maryland women community college presidents in this study found ways to pursue their professional and family related aspirations and these strategies were obvious to others (men and women) in the organization. Also, Bornstein (2008, 2009) argued that women's advancement into the presidency (across institutional type) would require eliminating gendered expectations of leadership and accepting these "feminine" leadership styles. The previous and current women presidents in this study enacted leadership styles such as collaboration, listening, and

relationship building which are often described as “women’s” or “feminine” leadership styles (Grint, 1997; Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin, 2006; Oakley, 2000). Their leadership styles influenced the organizational structures and activities of MACC and, subsequently, the culture and climate of the collective set of Maryland community colleges. In contrast to the women community college leaders in the study by Townsend and Twombly (2007), Maryland women community college presidents’ agency and gendered leadership styles created a positive working environment for men and women community college leaders, including those with families. Essentially, Maryland women community college presidents used specific strategies to create more equitable environments for men, women, and people of color (Townsend & Twombly, 2007). This environment was and continues to be supportive of women community college leaders in Maryland, providing them with the opportunity to lead authentically while pursuing career (the community college presidency) and family goals.

Feminist/gendered factors: implications for research and practice.

Findings from this study suggest that studying women community college president’s sense of agency (along with the structural, human resource, political, and culture factors that support that agency) could help us understand how to support women and other underrepresented groups, particularly academic leaders with families. Interestingly, work-life and family leave policies were generally not discussed by the participants. Most of the discussions about work and family centered around waiting until children were grown to pursue the presidency or ways in which they managed the expectations of their 24/7 role in relationship to structuring time with family.

Several of the previous and current presidents talked about work and life balance and the difficulty of having young children while being in academic leadership roles. One of the men participants in this study commented that this was and continues to be particularly challenging for women:

I think at this time (1989-2006)...I would assert that...despite the general equalizations that have grown over that period, it is still the case that the expectations of women as parents remain more strong than they are for men. I think the choices that women have to make in their careers between their professional careers, their home careers, their marriage careers if they're married, and their careers with children are simply different and I think more complicated than they are for men.

Universities and colleges, across institutional type, have tried to address this issue is by creating family-friendly policies that allow women to care for their families while pursuing their academic careers. However, women among all institutional types are hesitant to use family friendly policies because they might be perceived as less committed when they applied for leadership positions. Indeed, Bolt (2001) found that most Maryland mid-level academic women leaders in her study indicated that personal responsibilities hindered their ascent to administrative positions.

Additionally, several of the participants in this study talked about how they were not initially interested in the community college presidency because the president's workload seemed more daunting, with few rewards for taking on the additional presidential commitments. This is consistent with research that has found women community college academic leaders tend to stay in their current positions rather than apply for the presidency (Dean, 2008; Mitchell & Eddy, 2008; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006). However, Maryland's women community college academic leaders' sense of agency and success at balancing work helped them pursue the community college

presidency. Their agency around family was supported by critical mentors who supported their decisions around work-family and encouraged them to consider seeking higher-level positions in their community colleges. The geographic proximity these women had to jobs, doctoral programs, and support networks also contributed to their ability to manage work-family. Future researchers could tease out the ways in which women academic leaders' openness to share particular strategies for balancing work and family influences other women's pursuit of the community college presidency. They might also consider whether women are less reluctant to pursue these roles if certain structural (labor market, work-life policies) and cultural (family-friendly) supports are in place.

In this case, women community college academic leaders in the state of Maryland had access (by way of geographic proximity) to jobs, support systems and doctoral programs that eased women's management of work and family obligations. However, states without these regional benefits and structural proximity to jobs and educational programs need other key resources to support women with families. Specifically, dual career hiring, childcare, flex-time, and other family-friendly policies recommended by Center for the Education of Women (2005) will be critical to supporting women community college leaders' pursuit of the presidency. Future research should explore the differences in the number and type of family-friendly support systems (tenure-clock extension, modified duties, leave-in-excess-of-FMLA for childcare and eldercare, partner hiring support) between community college systems with unions and those without unions. This is important because the Center for Education of Women (CEW, 2005) found that among master's institutions,

faculty unions increased the number of formal work-life policies and that community colleges have the least number of formal family-related policies (CEW, 2005).

Additional research could also explore if, in the absence of community college faculty unions, there are other ways that two-year institutions are supporting the work and family obligations of faculty and academic leaders.

From a feminist standpoint (Collins, 2009), Maryland women leaders' collective agency assisted women in this study by creating a critical mass of women who were interested in advancing gender equity in the state, and promoted women's success through mutual support and empowerment. Women leaders in other states could consider organizing themselves across higher education institutions and the state government in order to sustain each other and create a visible, active critical mass of women who other women can turn to for support and assistance. This kind of collective agency can support women's desire to lead state level organizations.

In summary, these findings suggest that Maryland women leaders' individual and collective agency supported the ascension of women to the community college presidency and helped women academic leaders balance work and family. The early activism of Maryland women legislators and the unique, collaborative structure of MACC were critical feminist/gendered factors (Acker, 2006; Collins, 2009) that supported Maryland women community college leaders. Women in states without the support of these factors might consider other ways of organizing themselves that would encourage individual and collective agency among their state's women academic leaders.

Strengths of the Study

The research design was a major strength of this study. I defined the unit of analysis as the collective set of women community college presidents in Maryland, used multiple methods of data collection, and used multiple frames for data analysis. This approach helped me focus the study on both previous and current community college presidents in Maryland. Instead of focusing on their individual stories, I analyzed the connections between and among them as well as the various factors that influenced their appointment and success in the community college presidency in Maryland.

I used multiple methodological tools including interviews, analysis of state and national trend data, and analysis of archival documents from local media and the state government. Utilizing multiple forms of data collection helped me pursue themes of interest that came out of trend analyses as well as participant interviews. It also allowed me to verify important structural trends noted by participants, such as the increase in the number of women community college trustees in Maryland.

Finally, by using feminist standpoint theory (Collins, 1997; Hawkesworth, 1999; Hooks, 1989, 1994; Jaggar, 2008) and Bolman and Deal's (1984, 1991, 2003, 2008) four organizational frames I was able to provide detailed information about multiple factors that interacted and influenced the comparatively high numbers of women community college presidents in Maryland. The five frames (structural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist) assisted with my data analysis by allowing me to organize the data into broad themes initially and then helping me focus as I sifted through the most significant themes under each frame.

Together, the approaches to this study helped me to triangulate the data and increased the credibility and trustworthiness of the study. Utilizing the five frames increased the reliability of the study by helping me to organize the multiple forms of data and keep track of my analysis. Finally, the multiple forms of data collection and five frames used to analyze the data increased the analytic generalization, and therefore, the external validity of the study (Yin, 2009).

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study include: 1) the ability to generalize the findings to other states' community colleges or community colleges nationally and 2) the lack of focus groups with the various MACC affinity groups. I purposefully chose not to compare Maryland community colleges with other states' community colleges in order to focus my data collection on the collective set of women community college presidents in Maryland. However, state-by-state comparisons would help community college practitioners understand the impact of state contexts (state political culture, labor market, educational attainment, state funding formulas, state higher education organization, state level activism and alliances, geography) on the recruitment and appointment of women community college presidents. For example, future studies could look at a progressive, metropolitan, and labor rich state like Maryland with a similar number of community colleges, and examine the factors influencing the hiring of community college presidents in that state.

Future research about Maryland community colleges specifically could seek a deeper understanding of how the organizational structure of MACC has influenced the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland.

This study did not gather in-depth data on affinity group training and development activities, the agendas set up by the affinity groups, and the alliances formed among representatives from the 16 colleges. Focus groups with the members of the various affinity groups would add to understanding the details of MACC as an organization through the collective perspectives of affinity group members. Additionally, future research about Maryland community colleges could try to understand MACC's ability to influence the number of people of color and LGBT people who successfully pursue and attain community college leadership positions in Maryland.

Future Research

Based on the findings of this study, future research about community college presidents could explore: 1) the role of hiring, training, and appointments of community college trustees in increasing the diversity of community college presidents, 2) differences in the pathway to the presidency and opportunities across institutional type within state systems of higher education, 3) trends in the recruitment and appointment of women, LGBT people, and racial minorities to the community college presidency, 4) the experiences of women community college presidents of color broadly and in Maryland specifically, and 5) the effectiveness and success of community college presidents who assume the presidency through non-traditional pathways. Several participants in this study noted that community college trustees can be insular in their understanding of community colleges unless they are exposed to the perspectives of other community college trustees across the country. In fact, a recent report about aligning the community college presidency with student success recommends specific approaches to training trustees:

States and systems should establish programs for trustees as a group and for each individual board prior to beginning a presidential search that summarize common characteristics of effective presidents and make explicit the linkages between these traits and patterns of improvement in student outcomes (Achieving the Dream & the Aspen Institute, 2013, p. 21).

Writers of the report also recommend that assessment tools, sample questions, model job descriptions, and protocols for reviewing candidates' records could be helpful to community college trustees as they search for an effective and successful community college president. These tools could also be studied to understand their ability to produce a diverse pool of community college academic leaders in community college presidential searches.

Next, this study did not specifically examine the differences between higher education institutions in Maryland. Studies examining the differences between faculty and academic leaders at four-year institutions and those at community colleges in Maryland could shed light on important differences (tenure, research, service, professional development) in the pipeline to the presidency. Studies comparing four-year institutions and two-year institutions could also examine the relationship between the percentage of women trustees and the number of women presidents hired at particular types of institutions. Future studies about Maryland higher education institutions should also consider the proximity of institutions to each other. Close proximity between colleges creates opportunities for collaboration across institutional type, such as the curriculum alignment committees. In states where the geography may limit the ability of institutions across the state to work collectively and collaboratively, subsets of community colleges and other institutions that are in close geographic proximity could create opportunities for collaboration. This smaller subset

of institutions could work as MACC did to intentionally support women entering the community college presidency through: dual career hiring across these sets of campuses, sharing the cost and development of local leadership programs, and offering opportunities for chief officers (CEO, CAO, CSSO, CBO) and trustees to work on challenges shared across their institutions.

Based on my experience conducting the research for this study, both the American Association of Community Colleges and state systems of community colleges across the country should continue to regularly monitor trends in the hiring of women, LGBT people, and people of color as community college academic leaders and presidents. As Acker (2006) contends, gender equality is intimately attached to racial and socio-economic equality. This type of research will be challenging given the varying definitions of what constitutes a community college and the variation in community college system structures. However this trend data will be critical to understanding where, how, and under what circumstances underrepresented people are appointed to the community college presidency. Maryland's commitment to gathering and publicizing this information over the last several decades has contributed to understanding important gender equity trends (salary, full-time status, part-time status, tenure) within and among the community colleges in Maryland. This data is also visible to any woman academic leader who is considering pursuing a community college presidency in Maryland.

In addition to trend data, the feminist findings of this study indicate that future research regarding presidents of color in Maryland Community colleges is an area ripe for further research. This study focused on the time period prior to the "tipping

point” (2006) for women community college presidents in Maryland. Since 2006, four presidents of color, three of them women, have been hired in Maryland community colleges. Only one of this study’s participants identified as a person of color and her perspectives about the various factors that influenced her path to the presidency were significantly influenced by her racial identity. A future study could explore the unique structural, human resource, political, cultural and feminist factors that have influenced the successful appointment of women/men of color in the Maryland community college presidency.

Finally, the percentage of Maryland women community college presidents hired outside the traditional pathway to the presidency (CSSO, CFO) was above the national average of CSSOs and CFOs who have been appointed to the community college presidency. Given the significant number of community college presidents likely to retire in 2016 (Weisman, Vaughan, & the ACCC, 2006) and the importance of the student completion agenda to community colleges nationally (Achieving the Dream & the Aspen Institute, 2013), it will be important to understand the success and effectiveness of community college presidents who come through the CSSO and CFO pathways. This study found that the women community college presidents in Maryland who came through non-traditional pathways have been well regarded and successful in leading their institutions. Research that confirms the success of CSSOs and CFOs in assuming the community college presidency could encourage community college trustee boards to hire community college leaders outside the traditional pathway (CAO) and potentially increase the pool of women, LGBT people, and people of color in community college presidential searches.

Conclusion

The present study suggests that the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland was the result of several interrelated factors that mitigated or removed gendered barriers for women academic leaders who were pursuing community college presidencies in Maryland. In a recent study about women community mid-level community college academic leaders in Maryland, Fisher (2008) talks about an organization named *Catalyst*, “a research organization committed to the advancement of women.” According to Fisher, this organization began tracking barriers to women assuming leadership roles beginning in the 1990s. The barriers they identified included “stereotypes about women’s suitability for leadership careers, the exclusion of women from formal and informal networks, a lack of institutional accountability regarding the advancement of women, a lack of mentoring and role models, and gender stereotypes (Catalyst, 1994, 2005, 2007, as cited in Fisher, 2008). A complex set of structural, human resource, political, cultural, and feminist factors lessened these off ramps to the community college presidency and supported the appointment of women Maryland community college presidents between 1989 and 2006.

Currently community colleges face tremendous hurdles in regards to funding, increasing enrollments, positively impacting the completion rates of full- and part-time students, and supporting the community college faculty and staff that help achieve these goals. Hiring competent leaders to fill community college president vacancies as current leaders retire will continue to be important to addressing the current challenges facing community college nationally. In Campbell’s (2002) book

about addressing the leadership gap in community colleges, George Boggs calls on every community college president in the country to develop the next generation of leaders and the importance of “recruiting, selecting, orienting, and developing a diverse leadership team” (p.vii). Between 1989 and 2013, Maryland became an incubator for appointing excellent women community college presidents outside normative trends nationally. This study provided additional clues about the activities, programs, and initiatives that support this type of “inclusive excellence,” even in states limited by geography or other constraints. State level, collective, and collaborative efforts to engage and support rising community college leaders are critical to developing a diverse set of dynamic and competent community college presidents for the future. One of the central goals of community colleges is to promote ‘inclusive excellence.’ Those states and institutions that lead the way in developing diverse leadership teams, including those with women in executive roles, will be better at serving the diverse set of students who rely on community colleges to meet their educational goals.

Appendices

Appendix A

Maryland Community Colleges Roster

Retrieved from http://mdacc.org/PDFs/College_Roster.pdf

Allegany College of Maryland

12401 Willowbrook Road, SE
Cumberland, Maryland 21502-2596
Phone: (301) 784-5005
Web: <http://www.allegany.edu>

Frederick Community College

7932 Opossumtown Pike
Frederick, Maryland 21702-9745
Phone: (301) 846-2400
Web: <http://www.frederick.edu>

Anne Arundel Community College

101 College Parkway
Arnold, Maryland 21012-1895
Phone: (410) 777-2222
Web: <http://www.aacc.edu>

Garrett College

687 Mosser Road
McHenry, Maryland 21541
Phone: (301) 387-3000
Web: <http://www.garrettcollege.edu>

Baltimore City Community College

2901 Liberty Heights Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21215-7893
Phone: (410) 462-8300
Web: <http://www.bccc.edu>

Hagerstown Community College

11400 Robinwood Drive
Hagerstown, Maryland 21742-6590
Phone: (301) 790-2800
Web: <http://www.hagerstowncc.edu>

Carroll Community College

1601 Washington Road
Westminster, Maryland 21157
Phone: (410) 386-8000
Web: <http://www.carrollcc.edu>

Harford Community College

401 Thomas Run Road
Bel Air, Maryland 21015
Phone: (443) 412-2000
Web: <http://www.harford.edu>

Cecil College

One Seahawk Drive
North East, Maryland 21901-1999
Phone: (410) 287-6060
Web: <http://www.cecil.edu>

Howard Community College

10901 Little Patuxent Parkway
Columbia, Maryland 21044
Phone: (443) 518-1000
Web: <http://www.howardcc.edu>

Chesapeake College

P.O. Box 8
Wye Mills, Maryland 21679
Phone: (410) 822-5400
Web: <http://www.chesapeake.edu>

Montgomery College

900 Hungerford Drive
Rockville, MD 20850
Phone: (240) 567-5000
Web: <http://www.montgomerycollege.edu>

College of Southern Maryland

8730 Mitchell Road
P.O. Box 910
LaPlata, Maryland 20646-0910
Phone: (301) 934-7602
Web: <http://www.csmd.edu>

Prince George's Community College

301 Largo Road
Largo, Maryland 20774-2199
Phone: (301) 336-6000
Web: <http://www.pgcc.edu>

Community College of Baltimore County

(Catonsville campus)
800 South Rolling Road
Baltimore, Maryland 21227
Phone: (443) 840-4049
Web: <http://www.ccbcmd.edu>

Wor-Wic Community College

32000 Campus Drive
Salisbury, Maryland 21804
Phone: (410) 334-2800
Web: <http://www.worwic.edu>

New Jersey Council of County Colleges.
Retrieved from <http://www.njccc.org/>

Atlantic Cape Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.atlantic.edu/>

Bergen Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.njccc.org/>

Brookdale Community College. (2013). Retrieved from
<http://www.brookdalecc.edu/pages/1.asp>

Burlington County College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.bcc.edu/pages/1.asp>

Camden County College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.camdencc.edu/>

County College of Morris. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.camdencc.edu>

Cumberland County College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.cccnj.edu/>

Essex County College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.essex.edu/>

Gloucester County College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.gccnj.edu/>

Hudson County Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.hccc.edu/>

Mercer County Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.mccc.edu/>

Middlesex County College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www2.middlesexcc.edu/>

Ocean County College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.ocean.edu/>

Passaic County Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.pccc.edu/>

Raritan Valley Community College. (2013). Retrieved from
<http://www.raritanval.edu/>

Salem Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.salemcc.edu/>

Sussex County Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://sussex.edu/>

Union County College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.ucc.edu/>

Warren County Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.warren.edu/>

Appendix C

Oklahoma Association of Community Colleges. (2013).
Retrieved from <http://www.oacc.onenet.net/>

Carl Albert State College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.carlalbert.edu/>

Connors State College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://connorsstate.edu/>

Eastern Oklahoma State College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.eosc.edu/>

Murray State College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.msco.edu/>

Northeastern Oklahoma A&M College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.neo.edu/>

Northern Oklahoma College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.north-ok.edu/main>

Oklahoma City Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.occc.edu/>

Redlands Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.redlandsc.edu/>

Rose State College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.rose.edu/>

Seminole State College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.sscok.edu/>

Tulsa Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.tulsacc.edu/>

Western Oklahoma State College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.wosc.edu>

Appendix D

Mississippi Community College Board
Retrieved from <http://www.sbcjc.cc.ms.us/>

Coahoma Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.coahomacc.edu/>

Copiah-Lincoln Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.colin.edu/>

East Central Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

<http://www.eccc.edu/Pages/eccc.aspx>

East Mississippi Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

http://www.eastms.edu/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogsection&id=0&Itemid=111

Hinds Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.hindscc.edu/>

Holmes Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.holmescc.edu/>

Itawamba Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.iccms.edu/>

Jones County Junior College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.jcjc.edu/>

Meridian Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.jcjc.edu/>

Mississippi Delta Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

<http://www.msdelta.edu/>

Mississippi Gulf Coast Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

<http://www.mgccc.edu/>

Northeast Mississippi Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

<http://www.nemcc.edu/>

Northwest Mississippi Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

<http://www.northwestms.net/web/>

Pearl River Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

<http://www.prcc.edu/Southwest> Mississippi Community College. Retrieved

from <http://www.smcc.edu/>

APPENDIX E: Table 2
Maryland Women Community College Presidents: 1988-2012

MD CC	1988	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
MD CC with Woman CEO	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund	Dund
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	16	16	16	16	16	17	17	16	16	14	11	12	12	12	13	13	11	10	10	8	8	8	7	7
	17	17	17	17	17	18	18	18	18	18	18	19	19	19	19	19	17	17	16	16	16	16	16	16
Women	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	7	7	7	7	6	6	6	7	6	8	8	8	9	9
Men	16	16	16	16	16	17	17	16	16	14	11	12	12	12	13	13	11	10	10	8	8	8	7	7
Total	17	17	17	17	17	18	18	18	18	18	18	19	19	19	19	19	17	17	16	16	16	16	16	16

Sources: October, 2011, Amy Martin search of Maryland Community College Websites, MACC Directory 2005-2012, Maryland Databook 1988-1992, Directory of County Officials: Maryland Association of Counties 1991,1993,1995,1997,1999,2002, Notes: Interim presidents and presidents at branch campuses not included Abbreviation Key:

ALL-Allegany College of Maryland	CHSP-Chesapeake College	HAG-Hagerstown Community college
ANN-Ann Arundel Community College	CSM-College of Southern Maryland	MG-Montgomery County Community College system
BCCC-Baltimore City Community College	Dund-Dundaleak of CCBC	PG-Prince George's Community College
CARR=Carroll Community College	FCC-Frederick Community College	WCC-Wicomico-Worcester Community College
CCBC-The Community College of Baltimore County	GC-Garrett College	
CHA-Charles County became part of College of Southern Maryland in ~2000	HARF-Harford Community College	
	HOW-Howard Community College	

Appendix F: Table 3
Data Collection Units

	Individual	Organizational- Community Colleges	State Level
Structural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> trend data demographics pipeline organizational structures policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Data on how many community college presidents were promoted within their institution Which community college presidents held previous positions within the state and which positions they held Which community college presidents came from other states and what positions they held 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The definitions of tenure and full-time status of faculty at the 16 community colleges and the percentages of men and women in those positions Copies of work-life policies around tenure, promotions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The numbers of women in Maryland community college chief officer positions and trustee positions from 1989 to 2012
Human Resource <ul style="list-style-type: none"> mentoring networking leadership develop programs education programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community college women faculty, and academic leaders' knowledge and critique of their community college or state programs for advancing women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> News or media articles talking about leadership and mentoring opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Web posting or brochures on leadership opportunities produced by MACC or other Maryland organizations Any surveys conducted by the state or MACC about the use and effectiveness of the programs for women
Political <ul style="list-style-type: none"> coalitions unions commissions policies such as affirmative action 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women academic leaders' perspectives on what types of coalitions or groups, if any, support their pursuit of the presidency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Faculty/staff handbooks at the individual colleges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Website information or brochures from MACC, AAUP, or other organizations at the state level that encourage coalition building activities State level organizers or leaders' perspectives on what kinds of groups support women's pursuit of community college academic leadership
Cultural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> institutional norms state norms climate values, beliefs stories assumptions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individual or group perspectives on the culture and climate for women and people of color 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mission statements from the 16 community colleges Trend data on salary and wages for faculty and academic leaders in the community colleges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The mission statements of the system of higher education and MACC Historical perspectives on the culture and climate in the state
Feminist <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ideal worker norms gendered organization models unique factors that impact women and people of color individual perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Press releases describing a community college president's candidacy, practices, leadership style, or work-life balance Community college academic leaders' perceptions of differences in work-life balance for men and women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Which colleges have childcare facilities Which colleges have gender studies programs and our diversity programs/offices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conference program guides that list session titles preparing or supporting community college academic leaders' work-life balance

Appendix G-Table 4
Background of Women Community College Presidents in Maryland 1988-2013

MD Women CC Presidents *	Date of Hire	CC	Small, Med Large College	Rural, Sub- Urban or Urban	Path	Ext/ Int Hire	Women/ Men Trustees	State(s) prior to MD	Partner and/or Children
Martha Smith	1988 1994	Dundalek Ann Arundel	Large	Urban	CSSO	Ext	2/8	HI MN	-
Claudia Cheisi	1996	Harford	Med	Sub- Urban	CAO	Ext	2/9	FL, OH	-
Elaine Ryan	1998	Charles/ CSM	Med	Rural	Exec VP	Int	1/7	MD	Yes
Patricia Stanley	1998	Frederick	Small	Rural	Exec VP	Ext	4/7	CA, MO, others	-
Faye Pappalardo	1999	Carroll	Small	Rural	CSSO	Int	5/7	MD	-
Mary Ellen Duncan	1999	Howard	Med	Sub- Urban	Pres	Ext	1/7	MD, NY, CT, SC	Yes
Charlene Nunley	1999	Montgom ery	Large	Urban Sub- Urban	Exec VP/ CAO	Ext	3/8	WV, PA, MD	Yes
Carol Eaton	2005	Frederick	Small	Rural	Vice Chanc	Ext	4/7	NY	Yes
Sandra Kurtinitis	2006	CCBC	Large	Urban/ Sub- Urban	Pres	Ext	7/13	MD, MA	Yes
Katherine Hetherington	2007	Howard	Med	Sub- Urban	Exec VP	Int	4/7	PA, MD	Yes
Carolane Williams	2007	BCCC	Large	Urban	Prov	Ext	4/9	FL	-
Charlene Dukes	2008	PGCC	Large	Urban	CSSO	Ext	2/9	PA, MD	Yes
Barbara Vinier	2008	Chesap	Med	Sub- Urban	Exec Dir	Ext	3/10	NY	Yes
DeRionne Pollard	2011	Mont	Large	Urban	Pres	Ext	6/10	IL, CA	Yes
Cynthia Bambara	2011	Allegany	Small	Rural	Pres	Ext	2/7	VA	Yes
Dawn Lindsay	2012	Anne Arundel	Large	Urban	Pres	Ext	4/8	MD, CA	-

Sources: Appendix P, Q; The Baltimore Sun, The Washington Post, Participant CVs

Appendix H-Table 5
Maryland Women CAOs, CSSOs, CFOs 2005-2013

Women CAOs, CSSOs, CBOs/CFOs	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Allegany	CSSO	CSSO	CSSO	CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO
Anne Arundel	CBO	CBO	CBO	CBO	CBO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO
Baltimore City	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CBO	CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO
Carroll	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cecil	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO
Chesapeake	CBO	CAO CBO	CAO CBO	CAO	CAO	CAO	CAO	CAO	CAO
CSM	CAO CBO	CAO CBO	CAO CBO	CBO	CBO	CAO	CAO	CAO	CAO
Baltimore County	CSSO	CSSO	CSSO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO
Frederick	CAO	CAO	CSSO	CSSO CAO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO		CBO
Garrett	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CBO	CAO CBO	CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO
Hagerstown	CBO CSSO	CAO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO
Harford	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CSSO CAO
Howard	CAO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO	CAO CSSO CBO
Montgomery	CAO CSSO	CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO
Prince George's	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO	CAO CSSO
Wor-Wic	-	-	CSSO	CSSO	CSSO	CSSO	CSSO	CAO CSSO CBO	CSSO CBO
Percentage Women CAOs CSSOs CBO/CFOs	56% 56% 44%	62% 56% 44%	50% 69% 44%	44% 62% 44%	62% 62% 44%	62% 81% 44%	75% 81% 44%	62% 75% 56%	50% 75% 62%

Sources: MACC Directories 2005-2013 Note: counted any women in position at multi-campus institution

Appendix I-Table 6

Participant Information

Pseudonyms	Role in Maryland	Long Career in Maryland	Significant Career Experience Outside of MD	Spouse/ Partner	Children	Gender	Race/ethnicity
Pearl	USM	✓		Yes	Yes	Woman	White
Richard	USM	✓	✓	Yes	Yes	Man	White
Thomas	Previous USM	✓	✓	Yes	Yes	Man	White
Mildred	Research Faculty	✓		Yes	Yes	Woman	White
Alice	Executive Director	✓	✓	No	Yes	Woman	White
Helen	CC Trustee/ Program Director		✓	Unknown	Unknown	Woman	Person of Color
Pat	CC President	✓		No	No	Woman	White
Stanley	Previous CC President	✓	✓	Yes	Yes	Man	White
Chris	Previous CC President	✓	✓	No	No	Woman	White
Dan	Previous CC President/ Search Firm	✓	✓	Yes	Yes	Man	White
Katie	CC CAO	✓		Yes	Yes	Woman	White
Cindy	CC President/ Previous CSO	✓	✓	Yes	Yes	Woman	White
Carl	CC CAO	✓		Yes	Yes	Man	White
Sonya	Current CC President/ Previous CSO	✓	✓	No	Yes	Woman	Person of Color
Julie	CC Trustee	✓		Yes	Yes	Woman	White
Sarah	Previous CC President/ Program Director	✓		Yes	Yes	Woman	White
Carolyn	Previous CC President	✓		Yes	Yes	Woman	White
Rose	CC Search Firm Consultant		✓	Yes	Yes	Woman	White
Beth	CC Trustee	✓		Unknown	Yes	Woman	White

Appendix J-Table 7
Maryland Community College Trustees Women/Men Ratios*

MD Community Colleges	1989	1991	1994	1996	1998	1999	2001	2004	Avg 89-04	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Avg 05-12
Allegany	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	30%	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	30%
Anne Arundel	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	22%	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{4}{8}$	$\frac{4}{8}$	34%
Baltimore City	-	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{6}{15}$	$\frac{6}{15}$	$\frac{6}{15}$	$\frac{5}{9}$	$\frac{6}{9}$	45%	$\frac{6}{9}$	$\frac{5}{9}$	$\frac{4}{9}$	$\frac{5}{9}$	$\frac{5}{8}$	$\frac{5}{10}$	$\frac{5}{10}$	$\frac{4}{8}$	52%
Carroll	-	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{5}{7}$	$\frac{5}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	53%	$\frac{4}{8}$	$\frac{5}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{4}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	43%
Cecil	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	25%	$\frac{0}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{6}$	$\frac{2}{6}$	25%
Chesapeake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{2}{10}$	$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{4}{9}$	$\frac{4}{10}$	33%
Charles County/ College of Southern Maryland	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{3}{9}$	$\frac{0}{8}$	27%	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{3}{9}$	$\frac{3}{9}$	$\frac{4}{9}$	$\frac{4}{9}$	$\frac{5}{9}$	36%
Baltimore County	$\frac{3}{9}$	$\frac{3}{11}$	$\frac{2}{9}$	$\frac{1}{11}$	$\frac{2}{11}$	$\frac{2}{11}$	$\frac{3}{13}$	$\frac{5}{13}$	23%	$\frac{6}{9}$	$\frac{7}{13}$	$\frac{7}{12}$	$\frac{7}{13}$	$\frac{6}{12}$	$\frac{6}{14}$	$\frac{6}{14}$	$\frac{7}{15}$	49%
Frederick	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	38%	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	27%
Garrett	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	27%	$\frac{3}{6}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{4}{6}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	58%
Hagerstown/ Washington County	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	32%	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	41%
Harford	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{2}{9}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{9}$	$\frac{2}{9}$	$\frac{2}{9}$	$\frac{3}{9}$	$\frac{3}{9}$	25%	$\frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{3}{9}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	19%
Howard	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	19%	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{5}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{3}{6}$	$\frac{3}{6}$	51%
Montgomery	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	26%	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{4}{9}$	$\frac{6}{10}$	$\frac{3}{9}$	41%
Prince George's	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	$\frac{3}{7}$	48%	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{9}$	$\frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{2}{9}$	$\frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{2}{9}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{5}{9}$	24%
Worcester- Wicomico	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{7}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	23%	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	14%
Percentage Women Trustees	$\frac{25}{95}$	$\frac{30}{103}$	$\frac{32}{110}$	$\frac{34}{122}$	$\frac{37}{123}$	$\frac{37}{123}$	$\frac{39}{116}$	$\frac{41}{120}$	30%	$\frac{45}{128}$	$\frac{47}{133}$	$\frac{41}{131}$	$\frac{47}{132}$	$\frac{48}{132}$	$\frac{53}{135}$	$\frac{55}{133}$	$\frac{55}{133}$	37%
	26%	29%	29%	27%	30%	30%	33%	34%		35%	35%	30%	36%	36%	39%	41%	41%	

Sources: MACC Directories, 2005-2012; Maryland Manual Online 1989, 1991, 1994, 1996, 2000; Maryland Community College Websites, Maryland Senate Journals, Greenbag Appointments 1998, 1999, 2004

Note: Does not include presidents

Appendix K
Interview Protocols

**Individual Interview: State Level: Maryland Association of Community Colleges
(MACC) Executive Officers, System Chancellor, Vice Chancellor**

Selection Criteria

- Currently or previously held a position with MACC or as Chancellor or Vice Chancellor of the MHED or previously held the above positions in Maryland between 1989-2006

(Participants have already signed informed consent)

Introduction:

As I shared with you, I am trying to understand the various factors that have influenced the increasing presence of women presidents at Maryland community colleges. The comparatively high numbers of women in the top leadership roles at Maryland community colleges suggests that there are practices and conditions supporting their advancement. I am interested in your perspectives on the combinations or sets of factors that you think have supported women academic leaders in Maryland, particularly in the time period between 1989 when the first woman president was hired and 2006 when 47% of the presidents at community colleges were women.

As we have discussed, your name will not be associated with your responses in any published report of findings but presented in aggregate. I have asked if I could tape record the conversation to assist with getting an accurate account of your thoughts on the topics we discussed. If there is any information that you feel might reveal your identity, please alert me and I will red flag the information in my notes.

Main Question

1. What do you think is the explanation for the increasing number of women presidents at Maryland community colleges since 1989?

Structural

2. From your perspective, what have been the specific policies or trends at Maryland community colleges that have supported the advancement of women in the community college presidency?
Potential follow up questions:
 - a. How or when did you first learn about these trends?
 - b. From your perspective, how do presidential search processes or contracts impact individual's willingness to pursue the presidency or success in obtaining the presidency?

- c. Are there any differences in the search process for individuals based on their social identity?

Human Resource

3. From your perspective, what resources are available to help faculty and academic leaders prepare for and pursue a community college presidency in Maryland?

Potential follow up questions:

- a. What kinds of state level or community college specific leadership preparation programs or mentoring opportunities are available in Maryland for individuals pursuing the community college presidency?
- b. In your opinion, are these programs or resources effective?
- c. Would you change any aspect of these programs?

Political

4. How do networks and coalitions play a role in supporting pursuit of the community college presidency in Maryland?

Potential follow up questions

- a. In what ways does your office support women's pursuit of leadership positions in Maryland community colleges?
- b. What role does the Maryland's Commission for Women play in supporting women's pursuit of leadership positions in the community college sector, if any?

Cultural

5. What do you think is unique about the state of Maryland's context and its influence on community colleges?

Potential follow up question

- a. From your perspective, what is the climate like for women in Maryland community colleges?

Feminist

6. Based on the social identities you described earlier, what is unique about Maryland community colleges from your perspective?
7. What advice would you give others, who share your identities, as they considered a leadership position in Maryland community colleges?

Other

8. From your perspective, what other factors that I didn't touch on with my questions may be influencing women's pursuit of the community college presidency?

Interview: Community College Trustee in Maryland Community College

Selection Criteria

- Longstanding board of trustee member for a community college in Maryland, particularly someone who served between 1989-2006.

(Participants have already signed informed consent)

Introduction:

As I shared with each of you, I am trying to understand the various factors that have influenced the increasing presence of women presidents at Maryland community colleges. The comparatively high numbers of women in the top leadership roles at Maryland community colleges suggests that there are practices and conditions supporting their advancement. I am interested in your perspectives on the combinations or sets of factors that you think have supported women academic leaders in Maryland, particularly in the time period between 1989 when the first woman president was hired and 2006 when 47% of the presidents at community colleges were women.

As we have discussed, your name will not be associated with your responses in any published report of findings but presented in aggregate. I have asked if I could tape record the conversation to assist with getting an accurate account of your thoughts on the topics we discussed. If there is any information that you feel might reveal your identity, please alert me and I will red flag the information in my notes.

Main Question

1. What do you think is the explanation for the increasing number of women presidents at Maryland community colleges since 1989?

Structural

2. From your perspective, what are specific policies or trends at Maryland community colleges that support the advancement of women in the community college presidency?

Human Resource

3. From your perspective, what resources are available to help faculty and academic leaders prepare for and pursue a community college presidency in Maryland?

Potential follow up questions:

- a. What kinds of state level or community college specific leadership preparation programs or mentoring opportunities have been available

in Maryland for individuals pursuing the community college presidency?

- i. In your opinion are these programs or resources effective?
- ii. Would you change any aspect of these programs?

Political

4. How have networks and coalitions play a role in supporting pursuit of academic leadership positions in Maryland?

Potential follow up questions:

- a. What role does the Maryland's Commission for Women play in supporting women's pursuit of leadership positions in the community college sector, if any?
- b. In what ways have you been supported by mentors, groups, or coalitions in your pursuit of community college leadership positions, particularly in regards to your current position?

Cultural

5. What do you think is unique about the state of Maryland's context and its influence on community colleges?

Potential follow up questions:

- a. What assumptions about the climate and culture did you make pursuing your current position in Maryland community colleges?
- b. What is the climate like for women and people of color in Maryland community colleges?

Feminist

1. What advice would you give others, who share your identities, as they considered a leadership position in Maryland community colleges?

Potential follow up question:

- a. Based on the social identities you described earlier, what is unique about Maryland community colleges from your perspective?

Other

2. From your perspective, what other factors that I didn't touch on with my questions may be influencing women's pursuit of the community college presidency?

Individual Interview: Community College President

Selection Criteria

- Longstanding president of a community college in Maryland, particularly during the time period between 1989 and 2006.

Methodological Approach

- Oral history technique

(Participants have already signed informed consent)

Introduction:

As I shared with you, I am trying to understand the various factors that have influenced the increasing presence of women presidents at Maryland community colleges. The comparatively high numbers of women in the top leadership roles at Maryland community colleges suggests that there are practices and conditions supporting their advancement.

I am interested in your perspectives on the combinations or sets of factors that you think have supported women academic leaders in Maryland, particularly in the time period between 1989 when the first woman president was hired and 2006 when 47% of the presidents at community colleges were women. As we have discussed, your name will not be associated with your responses in any published report of findings but presented in aggregate. I have asked if I could tape record the conversation to assist with getting an accurate account of your thoughts on the topics we discussed. If there is any information that you feel might reveal your identity, please alert me and I will red flag the information in my notes.

Main Question

1. What do you think is the explanation for the increasing number of women presidents at Maryland community colleges since 1989?

Structural

1. From your perspective, what do you think are specific policies or trends at Maryland community colleges have supported the advancement of women in the community college presidency since 1989?

Potential follow up questions:

- a. How or when did you first learn about these trends?
- b. Why do you think so many women academic leaders, presidents, and trustees are working at Maryland community colleges?
- c. From your perspective, how do presidential search processes or contracts impact individual's willingness to pursue the presidency or success in obtaining the presidency?
 - i. Are there any differences in the search process for individuals based on their social identity?

Human Resource

2. From your perspective, what resources are available to help faculty and academic leaders prepare for and pursue a community college presidency in Maryland?

Potential follow up questions:

- a. What kinds of state level or community college specific leadership preparation programs or mentoring opportunities are available in Maryland for individuals pursuing the community college presidency?
 - i. In your opinion, are these programs or resources effective?
 - ii. Would you change any aspect of these programs?

Political

3. How have networks and coalitions play a role in supporting pursuit of the community college presidency in Maryland?

Potential follow up questions:

- a. What role does the Maryland's Commission for Women play in supporting women's pursuit of leadership positions in the community college sector, if any?
- b. In what ways have you been supported by mentors, groups, or coalitions in your pursuit of the community college presidency, particularly in regards to your current position?

Cultural

4. What do you think is unique about the state of Maryland's context and its influence on community colleges?

Potential follow up questions

- a. What assumptions about the climate and culture did you make when pursuing the community college presidency in Maryland?
 - i. In what ways were you correct or incorrect in your assumptions?
- b. What is the climate like for women and people of color at your community college?
 - i. In Maryland community colleges more broadly?
- c. How would you describe the cultural environment at your community college?

Feminist

5. What advice would you give others, who share your identities, as they considered a leadership position in Maryland community colleges?
 - a. Based on the social identities you described earlier, what is unique about Maryland community colleges from your perspective?
 - b. What is unique about your experience here at _____?

Other

6. From your perspective, what other factors that I didn't touch on with my questions may have influenced women's pursuit of the community college presidency in the last several decades?

Appendix L
Invitation for Interviews

Dear _____,

My name is Amy Martin and I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Maryland in College Park. I am interested in understanding the factors that have contributed to the increasing presence and high percentage of women presidents in Maryland community colleges. Tokenism and “tipping point” theories (Collins, 2000; Tolbert, Simons, Andrews, & Rhee, 1995) contend that when women make up 35-45% of a group the environment, women’s presence in that environment becomes normative. Therefore, I want to focus my data collection on the time period directly prior to 2005/2006, when approximately 47% of Maryland community college presidents were women. Dr. KerryAnn O’Meara, Associate Professor in the College of Education at UMCP, is my advisor and dissertation chair. We are both interested in studying the high percentage of women academic leaders in Maryland community colleges in order to support this phenomenon continuing in Maryland. We also hope this study will help other states increase their percentage of women community college presidents.

You have been identified during my research, and or through colleagues, as someone who may fit our criteria for participation.

We would like to ask if you would consider being a participant in this study, which requires only a one hour interview. We would conduct the interview at a place convenient to you either: (1) in your office, (2) a private office of your choosing, or (3) over the telephone. In order to aid data analysis, I am asking that you allow us to tape the interview; however we could take notes if that is more comfortable.

The data used for this study will only be reported in aggregate--your name and identity would never appear in any reports that result from the project. We will be very careful about how we strip the interviews of any identifying information.

However, we hope this study will help other community college systems and states more broadly in their efforts to support the advancement of women into academic leadership positions--by shining a light on what is going well in Maryland community colleges, and where improvements could be made to increase gender equity among academic leaders in community colleges and potentially in higher education institutions more broadly.

If you are able to participate in this study, I will send you the informed consent form to review and sign and ask that we look at potential dates and times for the interview within the next 3 weeks.

Thank you so much for considering this request.
Amy Martin

Appendix M
Consent Form

Project Title	An Exploratory Examination of the Factors Contributing to the Increasing Presence of Women Presidents in Maryland Community Colleges
Purpose of the Study	This is a research project being conducted by Principal Investigator, Amy Martin, doctoral candidate at the University of Maryland, College Park with oversight by Dr. KerryAnn O'Meara. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you are associated with or have knowledge of academic leadership in Maryland community colleges. The purpose of this research project is to explore the factors that have contributed to the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in Maryland.
Procedures	<p>The procedures involve an audio taped focus group 10-12 CAOs from Maryland Community Colleges, not to exceed 90 minutes, in which we discuss your understanding of the factors that have contributed to the comparatively high number of women community college presidents in the state of Maryland. The focus group will take place in a mutually agreed upon professional space accessible to all members of the focus group (such as an agreed upon location and meeting room). If available, I would like to collect your vita and other documents that you can share with me that describe the nature of your career and experiences.</p> <p>Sample Questions:</p> <p>Main Question</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do you think is the explanation for the increasing number of women presidents at Maryland community colleges since 1989? 2. From your perspectives, what are specific policies or trends at Maryland community colleges that have supported the advancement of women in the community college presidency? 3. From your perspectives, what resources have been available to help faculty and academic leaders prepare for and pursue a community college presidency in Maryland? 4. How do networks and coalitions play a role in supporting pursuit of academic leadership positions in Maryland? 5. What do you think is unique about the state of Maryland's context and its influence on community colleges? 6. What assumptions about the climate and culture did you make pursuing your current position in Maryland community colleges? 7. What advice would you give others, who share your identities, as they considered a leadership position in Maryland community colleges? 8. From your perspective, what other factors that I didn't touch on with my questions may be influencing women's pursuit of the community college presidency?

Potential Risks	There are no known risks.
Benefits	There will be no direct benefits to participants. The benefit to you includes a description of the major themes in aggregate. This information may be helpful to you in your role and mentoring colleagues. We hope that other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of the factors that contribute to achieving gender equity in academic leadership positions in community colleges.
Confidentiality	Any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized in the following ways: (1) your name will not be included on the transcript but will be changed to a pseudonym; (2) a code will be placed on the transcript and other collected data; (3) through the use of identification key, the researcher will be able to link your transcripts and supporting documents to your identity; and (4) only the researcher will have access to the identification key. When I write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected and the results reported in the aggregate. Only myself and the transcriber will have access to the audio-tapes, which will be stored in my office after transcription in a locked cabinet and destroyed after 10 years. Focus group transcripts and related documents will be shredded after 10 years. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.
Right to Withdraw Questions	<p>Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.</p> <p>If you decide to stop taking part in the study, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or if you need to report an injury related to this research, please contact the principal investigator, Dr. KerryAnn O'Meara at the University of Maryland, 3rd Floor Benjamin Building, (301) 405-5579 or komeara@umd.edu.</p>
Participant Questions	<p>If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742 (e-mail) irb@umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-0678</p> <p>This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.</p>
Statement of Age of Subject and Consent	Your signature indicates that: you are at least 18 years of age;

	the research has been explained to you; your questions have been fully answered; and you freely and voluntarily choose to participate in this research project.	
Signature and Date	NAME OF SUBJECT	
	SIGNATURE OF SUBJECT	
	DATE	

Appendix N
Connecticut Community College System
Retrieved from <http://www.commnet.edu/>

Asnuntuck Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

<http://www.acc.commnet.edu>

Capital Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.ccc.commnet.edu>

Gateway Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

<http://www.gwcc.commnet.edu>

Housatonic Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

<http://www.hcc.commnet.edu>

Manchester Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

<http://www.mcc.commnet.edu>

Middlesex Community College. (2013). Retrieved from

<http://www.mxcc.commnet.edu>

Naugatuck Valley Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://>

www.nvcc.commnet.edu

Northwestern Connecticut Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://>

www.nwcc.commnet.edu

Norwalk Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.ncc.commnet.edu>

Quinebaug Valley Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://>

www.qvcc.commnet.edu

Three Rivers Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://>

www.trcc.commnet.edu

Tunxis Community College. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.tunxis.commnet.edu>

Appendix O: Table 9
Maryland Community College Presidents, Faculty, and Trustees 1989-2006

Community College	Small, Medium or Large College	Rural or Urban	Women Presidents Hired 1989-2006	Percentage of Women FT Faculty 1989-2006	Tenured Faculty (M, F) 1989-2006	Percentage of Women Trustees 1989-2006
Frederick Community College	Medium	Rural	2	45% -57%	No tenure	28%-25%
Anne Arundel Community College	Large	Urban	1	43%-56%	66%-42%	25%-12%
Montgomery Community College	Large	Urban	1	44%-54%	52% -11%	12%-40%
Howard Community College	Medium	Sub-urban	1	72%-62%	No Tenure	14%-42%
Carroll Community College	Small	Rural	1	41%-63%	73%-0%	42%-62% (1994-2006)
College of Southern Maryland	Medium	Rural	1	41% -52%	82%-63%	28%-25%
Community College of Baltimore County	Large	Urban	1	44%-56%	86%-42%	33%-75%
Harford Community College	Medium	Sub-urban	1	43%-56%	85%-46%	14%-11%
Allegany College of Maryland	Small	Rural	0	52%-60%	72%-71%	28%-42%
Baltimore City Community College	Large	Urban	0	49%-55%	75%-0%	50%-55.6%
Chesapeake College	Small	Rural	0	50%-62%	36%-7%	unknown-30%
Prince George's Community College	Large	Urban	0	43%-60%	69-78%	43%-25%
Cecil College	Small	Rural	0	53%-63%	42%-24%	43%-14%
Garrett College	Small	Rural	0	36%-31%	29%-44%	42%-57%
Hagerstown Community College	Small	Rural	0	40%-64%	79%-49%	28%-42%
Wor-Wic Community College	Small	Rural	0	64%-61%	No Tenure	28%-14%

Sources: Appendix E-Table 2; Appendix P, Q; MACC Directories 1989-2006; MACC Historic Databook 1989, 2005

Appendix P: Table 10
Individual Community College Childcare and Family Oriented Policies

Community College	Small, Medium or Large College	Rural or Urban	Women Presidents Hired 1989-2013	Childcare Services Provided (Students, Faculty and/or Staff)	Flextime, Tele-work, Maternity leave, or Time to Tenure
Howard Community College	Medium	Sub-urban	2	✓	ML
Anne Arundel Community College	Large	Urban	2	✓ 1977	-
Montgomery Community College	Large	Urban	2	✓	-
Frederick Community College	Medium	Rural	2	✓ 1994	ML
Carroll Community College	Small	Rural	1	✓	-
College of Southern Maryland	Medium	Rural	1	✓ 2006	FT, ML
Community College of Baltimore County	Large	Urban	1	✓	✓
Harford Community College	Medium	Sub-urban	1	✓	TT
Allegany College of Maryland	Small	Rural	1	✓ Students only	-
Baltimore City Community College	Large	Urban	1	✓ 1990	-
Chesapeake College	Small	Rural	1	✓ 1989	FT, ML
Prince George's Community College	Large	Urban	1	-	-
Cecil College	Small	Rural	0	✓	ML
Garrett College	Small	Rural	0	-	-
Hagerstown Community College	Small	Rural	0	✓	-
Wor-Wic Community College	Small	Rural	0	✓ Students only	-

Sources: MACC Individual Community College Websites and Online Handbooks, Appendices A, M; Carroll Handbook; Cecil Handbook

Appendix Q: Table 12
Individual Community College Diversity Statements and Gender Studies Programs

Community College	Small, Medium or Large College	Rural or Urban	Women Presidents Hired 1989-2006	Diversity Statement or Center	Women/ Gender Related Programs
Frederick Community College	Medium	Rural	2	✓ 1986	-
Anne Arundel Community College	Large	Urban	1	✓	✓
Montgomery Community College	Large	Urban	1	✓	✓ 1979
Howard Community College	Medium	Sub-urban	1	✓ 2010	✓
Carroll Community College	Small	Rural	1	-	-
College of Southern Maryland	Medium	Rural	1	✓	✓
Community College of Baltimore County	Large	Urban	1	✓	✓
Harford Community College	Medium	Sub-urban	1	✓	-
Allegany College of Maryland	Small	Rural	0	✓ 2005	✓ 2005
Baltimore City Community College	Large	Urban	0	-	-
Chesapeake College	Small	Rural	0	✓	-
Prince George's Community College	Large	Urban	0	- Not centralize d	-
Cecil College	Small	Rural	0	✓	-
Garrett College	Small	Rural	0	-	-
Hagerstown Community College	Small	Rural	0	-	-
Wor-Wic Community College	Small	Rural	0	-	-

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