BARBARA A.W. EVERSOLE, CINDY L. CROWDER, SIHAM LEKCHIRI, AMBER CLARK AND TONI S. ZIMMERMAN

Mothering and Professing in the Ivory Tower

Supporting Graduate Student Mothers

Women interested in becoming professors and mothers are often unsure of the best time to start their families. Many women decide to become mothers in graduate school. This article discusses the landscape for graduate students who decide to become mothers (GSMs) while still in school. There are several obstacles for GSMs who wish to become tenured faculty members. Institutional obstacles include the notion of ideal workers and ideal careers, which do not include the option of motherhood and often conflict with the notion of the ideal mother. Another obstacle is institutional gender biases and assumptions about women, such as the bias against caregiving. Women of any age are assumed to be responsible for caregiving of children and/or elders. Finally, women lack their own individual agency and do not have family support to be able to be successful. GSMs can employ various strategies to overcome these obstacles. Strategies can include institutional change strategies, department support, individual agency, and family support. Obstacles and strategies are illustrated through personal vignettes from the authors' own experiences: three authors are tenured with children, and two have infants and are GSMs. Two authors are or have been chairs of dissertation committees. Recommendations for institutions are offered that can support GSMs in their efforts to be successful at mothering and professing in the ivory tower. The presented arguments make it clear that the mothering viewpoint is sorely needed in the academy, and that GSMs need support from all stakeholders in order to be successful.

Numerous studies have documented gender inequality in academe and the high cost to individuals trying to combine families with academic careers (Armenti, 65-83; Bailyn 137-153; Holm, Prosek, and Weisberger, 2; Lynch, 585; Trepal, Stinkchfield, and Haiyasoso, 30). It is no wonder that at nearly every stage of

their careers, women leave academe at disproportionately higher rates than men (Mason, Stacy, and Goulden). "Rather than blatant discrimination against women, it is the long work hours and the required travel, precisely at the time when most women with advanced degrees have children and begin families, that force women to leave the fast-track positions" (Mason and Goulden, 90). In hopes of pointing out biases and paving the way for more family-friendly university workplaces, scholars have proposed university-wide policy changes (Eversole, Hantzis, and Reid), criticized the culture of academe, and analyzed psychological tendencies in gender bias (Williams). If these suggested changes were realized, this would ideally allow more academics, both men and women, to successfully balance academe with family lives. The eventual goal would be to increase gender equality in academia, as mothers would not self-select out of the academy. This self-selecting out begins in graduate school as female graduate students weigh the cost and benefits of entering a career in academe. Women often view academe as more flexible than the corporate world, but they soon discover that this is not the case for women seeking tenure. This is particularly true for women wishing to become mothers someday. Women in graduate school are faced with the decision to have children during the graduate school years or put off motherhood until they earn tenure; however, this is risky as their biological clocks are ticking and they may wait too long. In a more equitable environment, women could more easily make these major life decisions. However, these structural inequities are slow to change, and many women, in the interim, are still struggling with the issue of how (or if) to combine motherhood with graduate school. For these reasons, women planning an academic career often choose to have their children in graduate school because of the difficulty of having children on tenure track or after achieving tenure (Spalter-Roth and Kennelly).

Our Personal Experiences

This article explores the institutional and individual obstacles facing graduate student mothers (GSMs) and offers institutional and individual strategies for change. These strategies can be employed by those mentoring GSMs as well as by those responsible for creating an academic culture more welcoming of them.

Throughout the following narrative, we will illustrate these concepts with our own personal experiences. Barbara is currently an associate professor, after having her two boys while in graduate school. With the support of her husband, it took her nine years to complete her doctorate while raising her sons. Siham is a married doctoral student and pregnant with her first son. She is about to complete her preliminary examinations, either before or after the birth of her first child. Although she has yet to parent during her studies, she

has already faced issues because of her pregnancy. Cindy is married to a stay-at-home dad and the mother of a five-year-old. She is an associate professor and serves as the chair of the department where Barbara, Amber, and Siham work. Toni is a married full professor at a major university and has raised two daughters while at her position. Toni served on Barbara's doctoral committee in graduate school. Amber is a married full-time instructor and is enrolled as a student in an online doctoral program. She recently became the mother to twin babies and hopes to make the transition into a tenure-track position. Amber is fulfilling not only the roles of both GSM and full-time instructor, but also the role full-time mother:

> *Coming from a background where my mother divorced my stepfather when I was thirteen, leaving her to rely on boyfriends for support of my twin sister and me, I decided to make academe a number one priority in my life. I did not have children until I was thirty-four years old. Being the mother of six month old twins is very rewarding but comes with trials. I am currently working on my doctoral degree in business administration. I am glad that I am done with my course work and am finished with everything except my dissertation. However, I not sure which is harder. My course work was pretty cut and dry. The dissertation process is much different and frankly, I am having a hard time wrapping my head around it. In fact, I have hard time wrapping my head around anything these days. I am so busy with my twins, a boy and girl, that I seem to forget most other things.*

In other words, all of these women have faced the challenges of juggling a family and a full-time job; others also had the added challenge of attending graduate school.

Obstacles

Balancing motherhoold with an academic career is particularly challenging for women (Armenti 66; Drago and Colbeck; Mason et.al.). Many studies have outlined the barriers to achieving tenure during motherhood (Drago and Colbeck; Mason and Goulden; Mason et.al.; "Tenure Denied"). Even more disturbing is the fact that women are self-selecting out of a tenure-track career (Mason and Goulden) and are instead opting for adjunct employment with its more flexibility but lower pay and status. The academy may be losing some of its best and brightest academics because these women want to have both a career and a family and think it is easier to achieve in the private sector—or in the contingent faculty where no research is expected—than in the tenure-track stream.

Fifty years ago, universities began increasing the number of mothers in the academic pipeline by accepting more women into graduate school programs in order to include the perspectives of mothers within the masculine culture of the academy. But the pipeline is still leaking. The ostensible solution now is to create a critical mass of women faculty members who are mothers, but the diffusion of female faculty members throughout the university means that they are still isolated even when they are sufficient in number (Etzkowitz, Kemelgor, and Uzzi).

Institutional Obstacles: Ideal Workers and Ideal Careers

The *ideal worker* construct was first proposed by the mapping project (Drago and Colbeck), which is in turn based on the work of Williams in her groundbreaking book *Unbending Gender*. The ideal worker is a norm that persists in most organizations today. Ideal workers receive a credential, enter the profession, work hard and long hours, and climb the career ladder until retirement. Ideal workers contribute only financially to their families and devote no time outside of work to them. Organizations are organized around ideal workers; therefore, the assumption is that employees must spend as much time as possible on their careers. Rewards, working time rules, and criteria for success are accepted by ideal workers with the presumption that only ideal workers should be in the organization (Drago et al. "Avoidance"). In academe, ideal workers get their PhDs in their twenties and then move on to a postdoctoral fellowship; they become assistant professors on a tenure-track stream, do some teaching and produce some publications, and eventually achieve tenure, becoming full professors (Drago et al. "Avoidance"). Motherhood challenges the ideal worker norm because mothers cannot dedicate all their time to work (Wolf-Wendel and Ward 487). The ideal worker norm can easily be extended to the ideal graduate student norm: graduate students who devote time exclusively to studying, researching, writing, and, in some cases, teaching. Being an ideal graduate student, who pursues an ideal career, often conflicts with being an ideal mother (Lynch; Spalter-Roth and Van Vooren; Trepal et al.).

Drago and Colbeck propose that the primary cause for the lack of caregivers, particularly mothers, not only in academia but also in private industry, is what they term a "bias against caregiving," (45) which follows logically from the ideal worker/student norm: no time is allowed for caregiving. A caregiver cannot be an ideal worker/student and is considered a substandard academic. While there is a bias against both male and female caregivers, the bias may be lessened by the gender schema toward men, which cause women in a caregiving role to practice bias avoidance behaviours. Caregiving has such low status in our society that people (generally women) who take on this role end up in the

lower echelons of pay, rank, and status (Drago and Colbeck). This status can also be assigned to individuals who simply have the possibility of becoming a caregiver (e.g., a woman of childbearing age). This reality results in a bias against mothers in academe and in the assumption that mothers are not fit to sit in the ivory tower because they must direct all their energies to take care of others. In fact, the possibility that caregiving might even enhance one's performance, particularly as a scholar, is all but absent. The mother's perspective in academe is sorely missing, which weakens the academy.

Obstacles: Institutional Gender Biases and Assumptions

Upon receiving their doctorates, young female PhDs often assume that work and family do not mix in the academy, causing one of the major leaks in the pipeline. Many worry about the bias against caregiving. In order to have flexibility, they feel the need to delay having a family and to settle for adjunct work or other low-paid positions (Baer and Van Ummersen; Mason and Goulden). In fact, adjunct and junior faculties are similar to the "pink ghettos" often classified in clerical offices because a much higher concentration of women congregate in these low-paid positions. Holm et al. (14) support the claim that systemic gender bias plays a role in limiting the support of GSMs.

Gender socialization shapes women's choices about what they can and cannot do, while universities socialize students as to what to expect for an academic career—resulting in a lack of choice for women (Wolf-Wendel and Ward). This leads women to opt out of academic careers, but their choice is constrained.

Obstacles—Individual Agency

Drago and Colbeck extend their theory of bias avoidance, which they first proposed in 1999, to include bias acceptance, daddy privilege, and bias resistance. Bias acceptance means accepting the fact that putting family first will result in career repercussions; daddy privilege acknowledges that men are lauded for making time for family commitments while the exhibition of the same behaviour by women is career limiting; and bias resistance is actions taken by women faculty to challenge the bias against caregiving. In bias resistance, women make caregiving explicit by publicly putting family first and by advocating policies that recognize that commitments to both family and work are necessary in the academy.

Barbara describes how she has tried to use bias resistance strategies:

> *I started my doctoral program while six months pregnant with my first child. While a GSM, I took a class with a professor who was simultaneously*

> *my advisor, department chair and employer (I was his GA). He devised a course with no explicit requirements for evaluation, so each student needed to grade themselves and provide a rationale. The professor gave me a lower grade than I gave myself, stating that I seemed stressed by the recent birth of my child. I got the message that he didn't think it was appropriate for me to talk about my child.*

In other words, Barbara's professor gave her a grade lower than she thought she deserved because he had a bias against caregiving. Had she employed a bias acceptance strategy, she would have recognized that her professor would penalize her for her caregiving responsibilities and would not have mentioned her child at all during class or in any conversations with him. Instead, she employed a bias resistance strategy by making her caregiving responsibilities explicit and by talking about her newborn son. The professor used her self-disclosures about caregiving as the basis for claims that she was stressed about her parenting as the rationale and that she deserved a lower grade in the class. Presumably, he was telling Barbara that if she wanted to be seen as a capable graduate student, she should not act stressed by her caregiving responsibilities, and only then would she be deserving of a higher grade.

The mapping project (Drago and Colbeck) also describe productive and unproductive strategies to counteract the bias against caregiving in the academy. Productive strategies recognize that women cannot have both a career and a family and be highly successful in their careers. They are productive strategies in the sense that women who solely focus on their career become very successful in their careers. Productive strategies generally result in the sacrificing of a family for a career, such as staying single, staying childless, delaying childbirth, having fewer children, or using daycare more often than preferred. Lynch (595) terms this "maternal invisibility."

Non-productive strategies, on the other hand, keep family commitments hidden to escape career penalties and are called non-productive because they do not result in as much career success as productive strategies do. Similarly, the "Tenure Denied" report (2004) lists other non-productive strategies, such as taking little or no maternity leave, timing childbirth during the summer, and relying on the personal generosity and flexibility of colleagues and supervisors. If mothers do not take a maternity leave, they can quickly burn out because of lack of sleep and the stresses of new motherhood. Relying on colleagues and supervisors can strain relationships at work. These strategies always come at a cost, and they are not always worth that cost. These strategies are usually employed by GSMs hoping to join the tenured ranks, as they have already made the choice to wait until after they have made tenure to start their families.

Park and Nolen-Hoeksema note: "Being an academic means the work is never done; being conscientious means being chronically haunted by the fact that the work is never done. When you add in a partner and children into the brew, the line between a multi-faceted life and a fragmented, unbelievably stressed out existence becomes very thin" (32). And to this point, we would add the following: mother guilt, the mommy wars (wars between stay-at-home and working moms), and the pernicious belief that women should be punished for having children (Young 20). Lynch (595) terms this strategy to downplay the student role in order to become more like an ideal mother "*academic invisibility*."

Amber's family is not very supportive of her academic ambitions:

> *Another issue I have faced is others not valuing academics. I can remember my mom telling me that if I needed to go to work when my husband was at work that she would watch my twins. However, there have been a few times I called her and told her I needed to read some articles for my doctoral study. My twins were fussy and so I asked her to come over and help me with the twins and she told me she was busy. Not only being emotionally but physically tired was a challenge when my twins were first born. I was always told, sleep when my twins sleep. That was almost impossible when I knew there was work I needed to do. I decided to take some time off when my twins were born, so I have been out of school for eight months. However, I am worried (as I start back to school) that I will not be able to spend much quality time with my babies. I am worried about my motivation. I feel as if I have been going through the motions but my heart really isn't in my work right now. I am not sure why I have this feeling. It is as if there is a battle between that part of me that wants to be this professional working woman and this other part that wishes I could be a stay-at-home mom. I realize that would never happen, but it is something I think about.*

As a pregnant doctoral student, Siham is having some difficulty combining the ideal mother with the ideal graduate student:

> *Being an expecting mother and a PhD student at the same time has come with its set of challenges that I did not anticipate. I come from a different country than the U.S.; my culture is more prone to encouraging females to become stay-at-home mothers rather than pursue their dream careers. I keep up with my college female friends' news, and a large number of them have opted to become stay-at-home mothers and raise their children rather than seek a career. I find that to be very sad and yet very brave. This is what the society expects of females in my country, and this is also another reason why I am just having my first child at the age of 29 while my other*

> *friends back home already have two or more children. Before being pregnant, my PhD timeline and plan was in the form of a Gantt chart where every single milestone of it was planned to the last detail. I considered myself to be an ideal graduate student with all my time being exclusively devoted to studying, researching, writing, teaching and participating in conferences. However, my PhD timeline was soon to face a major schism when I found out I was expecting my first child at the end of the spring semester; for some, this may seem to be the perfect time to have a child, especially that school and classes are over; but this wasn't the case for me. In fact, the end of the spring semester is the time when I am expected to take my doctoral preliminary exams; imagine my shock when I found out I was expecting at the same time. Being an organized person, my life was turned upside down; I did not know how to handle each of these two important life events concurrently and properly; I did not know if I should be happy about expecting my first child or consider it as a curse as it coincided with my preliminary exams.*

Toni also remembers the guilt of returning to work after her maternity leave:

> *I remember feeling guilty returning to work once my maternity leave had ended. Living across the street from work, bringing my child to work frequently, trading shifts with my husband all were working but the guilt still was there. As a researcher, I looked at the literature on working mothers and it was clear that I had no reason to feel guilty.*

All three women had similar experiences with feelings of guilt. They experienced changes to their initial timelines caused by leaving school and returning to work because they did not feel as if they had received the needed support.

In addition to struggling to be ideal mothers and ideal graduate students, women face negative stigmas when they occupy non-traditional gender roles. Although these stigmas are becoming less prevalent, they are still a social issue. Traditional gender roles have become less rigid; however, women in breadwinning positions still face disadvantages, such as coping with financial burdens and fighting negative reactions from family and friends (Dunn, Rochlen, and O'Brien).

As the breadwinner in her family, Amber occupies a non-traditional gender role:

> *While I do have a husband that takes an equal share in the raising of our children and domestic labour, I feel a great deal of pressure since I am the primary breadwinner of the family. I make a significant amount of more*

money than he does. This has no impact on our relationship, but it does put pressure on me. One thing that is always in the back of my mind is that if I were to lose my job, we would lose most of what we have. Most of our bills, such as the house payment, insurance, and car payment come from my paycheck. I know that if I do not obtain my doctoral degree that I will not receive a higher pay grade and could eventually lose my position. The heaviness of this issue is something that I think about on a daily basis. In fact, my husband has spoken with me about being a stay at home father while I worked full time. This in turn makes me feel resentful at times. Not necessarily at my husband, but at the thought of feeling like everything falls on me. There are times where friends and family do not support my choice to be in a doctoral program. I have been told that the financial burden alone on our family was something that I should consider. That is a catch twenty-two. I get financial aid, which in turn puts a heavier financial burden on my family; yet, without the degree, I may lose my job which would also be a financial burden on my family. Therefore, when working on my doctoral degree, I feel at times that this is not something I want to do, but something I have to do. This makes my doctoral work unenjoyable at times.

Strategies for Institutional Change

Drago and Colbeck (60-63) suggest that universities need to make accommodations for the reality that non-work commitments ebb and flow over a life span. Van Anders also notes that increased quality childcare would be beneficial, along with accepting that mobility may not be an option for academic mothers especially if they are dependent on family support. She further suggests that benefits begin in graduate school, which would prevent fewer students who want families to self-select out of academe. Moreover, Lynch (593) suggests that finding affordable childcare is of paramount importance to GSMs. Not only is childcare expensive for GSMs, but also the hours of care are inconvenient for them.

Hult, Callister and Sullivan (57) also suggest transitional support to maintain or restart research agendas after personal leaves of absence; Part-time or job-sharing positions would also be helpful. Smith and Waltman recommend reduced duties, such as reduction in class load or service requirements, without loss of pay. There should also be reentry opportunities for mothers who chose to take time off for childrearing (Baer and Van Ummersen). To further confound the problem, Wolf-Wendel and Ward (516) find that institutional support varied by type: research institutions have strict publication expectations; comprehensive and up-and-coming institutions want their faculty to excel at

everything; and small, liberal arts institutions value teaching and service, which is easier to balance with family commitments.

Armenti (65-83) sums it up this way: "The key to supporting childbearing and childrearing in academe is to begin to restructure academic work" (79). Varner's research "makes a case for restructuring university and college policies to provide faculty with a greater range of reproductive choices than exists at present" (5) because of the high medical risks of late pregnancies.

GSMs also explain about the lack of financial support (Lynch 589). If mothers do not have the support of their spouses, graduate school can be too expensive. Barbara was supported by her husband through her nine years of graduate school while raising two boys; without this support, graduate school would not have been possible for her.

Strategies for Department Support

It has often been noted in the private sector that an organization is only as friendly as the closest supervisor. In academe, this person is the department chair (Hult, Callister, and, Sullivan 55). The chair can demonstrate a bias against caregiving or take a neutral stance or even value a parental perspective. Department chairs can have large effects and "[s]upportive supervisors are associated with reductions in reports of bias avoidance" (Drago et al. "Avoidance" 1222). Colleagues can also help reduce bias avoidance behaviors in departments. Toni describes her efforts:

> *In order to be a role model over the years to other female graduate students and to junior faculty members, I have made motherhood very visible in my workplace. I bring my children to work when it is possible, I talk about them frequently, and I welcome motherhood conversations in my work. I serve on several committees on campus that over the years have made meaningful changes for women on campus, but much work still needs to be done*

Amber describes how important a supportive department is:

> *As for the organization that I work for, I have extreme support, especially by the women that I work with. I feel as if they recognize and sympathize with the struggles that I face and have been willing to work with me and support me being a new mom. I could not ask for a better working environment. There are times where I feel like I have three full time jobs, that of the instructor, doctoral student and mother.*

Siham also sought the advice of her advisor after learning of her pregnancy:

I turned to my advisor for guidance, who was also an expecting mother while pursuing her PhD. Her support and words have helped me calm down and reevaluate the situation; I came to the realization that I cannot put my life on hold and stop living while I am pursuing my dream education and career. I also find myself to be very lucky and fortunate to be in a department where the faculty members are very supportive of graduate student mothers or expecting mothers. I was told several times from other males in the field and family members that I was still young to be pursuing my doctoral degree and that I could take time off to raise my child once he is born, and go back to school when he is ready to go to school; however, while this seems to be the perfect scenario, my goal is to finish my degree as planned before I got pregnant. Sticking to my timeline can be very hard, considering the number of physical challenges pregnancy comes with; for example, taking the preliminary exams is a two-day long examination, which might be physically exhausting and stressful not only to me but to the baby as well; my committee chair and advisor is very understanding and compassionate about my situation that she suggested to the PhD committee it would be best if I could have a modified prelim schedule that would break it down to three days instead of two long days of examination.

All three women identified a supportive environment as a prerequisite for success. Without support, the bias against caregiving can be too large of a challenge to overcome.

Campus environments are often unfriendly to GSMs, which results in their marginalization (Anaya 21). In addition to on-site daycare, stations for breastfeeding and/or pumping and changing tables need to be added as well as family bathrooms.

Departments also need to give emotional support to GSM (Lynch 599). Although GSMs feel academically supported, they feel a lack of emotional support. Graduate mothers often get conflicting messages from colleagues about mothering while being a student (Trepal, Strinchfield, and Haiyasoso 31). Small supportive changes would include not scheduling important meetings on important school days, communicating support in emails, and mentoring. Moreover, it is important for colleagues not to make assumptions about pregnant women or GSMs, such as they have a physical disability or will have trouble combining their childrearing and academic lives (Anaya 22).

The "Tenure Denied" report (2004) quips "Happy departments in universities are happy in the same way, but all unhappy departments are unhappy in different ways," a clever rephrasing of Tolstoy's famous maxim, and an apt characterization of university life. We never hear about the good departments, only the discriminatory ones.

Cindy is currently the department chair of the department where Barbara, Amber, and Siham work. A mother herself, she describes the strategies that she uses to be flexible and supportive of the needs of all three women in their roles as caregivers:

> *As the department chair, I can build flexibility into the teaching schedule. When one graduate student faced an at-risk pregnancy, I had to make accommodations for her—allowing her to hold virtual office hours from home, sending work home via her spouse, and having a part-time graduate student cover her on-campus teaching. From home, she was able to teach her web-based course and grade assignments. For one female caregiver, I tried to keep her family role in mind, scheduling her classes earlier in the day to allow her the evening at home with her family. Even though I felt like I was doing a good job mentoring these caregivers, I don't think I fully understood the role entirely until I become a parent myself. I constantly had to remind myself that they would be watching how I juggled my chair's role and my parenting role. I needed to be open with them about my struggles, so they would feel comfortable coming to me when they struggled. They also needed to see a successful role model, so they could develop their own sense of success. We have all heard about stopping the tenure time clock for professors. As part of the parental accommodation, I would advocate for granting an extension in the time-to-degree limit.*

Therefore, supervisors can alleviate some of the stress and guilt that is experienced by caregivers by providing a supportive work and learning environment.

Strategies for Individual Agency and Family Support

In order to succeed, women are frequently told they must have an equal and supportive partner. However, the reality is that everyone is a potential caregiver, whether it is of a child, an elderly parent, or another family member. However, women continue to do the bulk of caregiving and domestic labour (Mason and Goulden "Marriage"). For example, faculty women with children at the University of California worked more hours at home and at work, experienced more parental stress from work activities and reported more work/family conflicts than the male faculty did (Mason and Goulden "Marriage"). While this reality is certainly changing, the situation remains tough for women in professional careers. Generally spouses need to be willing and able to bear the brunt of caregiving and to follow wherever the faculty member must go for employment. This is generally not descriptive of women faculty situations.

Barbara's husband supported her both emotionally and financially during graduate school:

> *It is often said that the most important thing that a woman needs if she wants to combine an academic career with a family is a supportive partner. That has been true in my case. I didn't have to work outside the home and had a lot of help taking care of the children and the home.*

Holm, Prosek and Weisberger (2-7), in a phenomenological study of female graduate students who chose to become mothers while graduate students, find the following themes in their study: protective factors (mentors, family, work reductions); evolving identities (student, family, mother) and hindrances (unexpected experiences, timeline delays, and managing resources).

Finally, Toni notes the importance of teaching GSMs to use science and not gender rhetoric to make their life choices:

> *Over fifty years of research on daycare and working mothers indicated that if quality care is utilized with reasonable number of hours the outcomes for children are excellent. The societal messages about working mothers were race, class and gender based. Clearly, poor women who couldn't afford quality daycare were being told to get off welfare and get to work and professional mothers who could afford good care were told to get home. Poverty and affordable care is the heart of the issue not if a mother should work or not. I share these findings repeatedly with my graduate students encouraging them to be certain to use science and not gender rhetoric to make major life decisions.*

Conclusions and Recommendations

Clearly some of the strategies to combat this pressure commonly in the literature are remaining childless or concealing family members not only are impractical for women but also are demeaning to them. Men and fathers do not face the same set of impossible circumstances in order to successfully combine parenting and professing. Strategies for supporting GSMs exist at the institutional and department level. GSMs can also utilize strategies to support themselves and help their families to be supportive.

Institutional strategies include providing affordable and high-quality child-care, and developing policies that account for the lack of mobility of GSMs (husbands who cannot move because of their jobs) and allow for transitional support such as reduced workload, extension in time-to-degree limits, time off, and reentry in jobs or programs. Institutions also need to look at the amount of

financial aid offered to GSMs, as this is crucial to retaining them in the pipeline. In short, a restructuring of academic work is needed to not only retain GSMs, but also to keep them from leaking out of the pipeline at all levels. The academy is set up for workers who have no outside commitments and can devote themselves entirely to scholarly work. It neglects members who wish to have families, and therefore the mother viewpoint in the academy is completely ignored (Atkinson). The ivory tower needs to change the culture of the ideal student and worker in the academy to include all viewpoints, especially those of mothers, and to ensure that all talent is retained.

Although institutional policies are important, department chairs are the main source of GSM support. They can help GSMs combat bias avoidance by growing a climate where having children around is acceptable. Department chairs can also reduce workloads, allow virtual office hours when needed, and help with scheduling conflicts. They can offer emotional support, provide mentoring, and serve as role models.

Finally, GSMs themselves can resist the gender bias at home and at work by refusing to feel guilty for not being ideal students or ideal mothers. They need to be sure that their families understand the support that is required to be successful at both roles.

Drago, Colbeck, and Bardoel point out that by excluding individuals who have delayed careers because of family responsibilities from the workplace, some of the best talent is being ignored. The experiences of parenting may have a positive and not a negative effect on both the academy and the private sector. "Leadership is not just about delegating power, it's *growing human capabilities*. This is exactly what we do when we have children" (Crittenden 127). Mothers, who focus on growing human capabilities at home, add a valuable viewpoint in academe where they also focus on growing human capabilities in their classrooms, which also informs their scholarship. This viewpoint is sorely missing in the academy, and it behooves us to remedy the situation.

Works Cited

Atkinson, Anna. "Under the Circumstances: Single Motherhood in an Academic Culture of Doubt." *Journal of the Association for Research on Mothering* 5.2 (2003): 29-34. Print.

Armenti, Carmen. "Women Faculty Seeking Tenure and Parenthood: Lessons from Previous Generations." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 34.1 (2004): 65-83. Print.

Anaya, Reyna. "Graduate Student Mothers of Color: The Intersectionality between Graduate Student, Motherhood and Women of Color in Higher Education." *Gender & Social Justice* 9.1 (2011): 13-31. Print.

Baer, Michael A. and Claire Van Ummersen. *An Agenda for Excellence: Creating Flexibility in Tenure-Track Faculty Careers*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 2005. Print.

Bailyn, Lotte. "Academic Careers and Gender Equity: Lessons learned from MIT." *Gender, Work and Organization* 10.2 (2003): 137-153. Print.

Crittenden, Ann. *If You've Raised Kids, You Can Manage Anything: Leadership Begins at Home*. New York: Gotham, 2004. Print.

Drago, Robert, Ann C. Crouter, Mark Wardell, and Billie S. Willits. *Final Report to the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation for the Faculty and Families Project*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2001. Print.

Drago, Robert and Carol Colbeck. *The Mapping Project: Exploring the Terrain of U.S. Colleges and Universities for Faculty and Families*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2003. Print.

Drago, Robert, Carol Colbeck, and Anne Bardoel. "Delayed Career Entry: A New Source of Talent." *Ivey Business Journal* 69.6 (2005): 1-5. Print.

Drago, Robert, Carol Colbeck, Kai D. Stauffer, Amy Pirretti, Kurt Burkum, Jennifer Fazioli, Gabriela Lazzaro, and Tara Hasbasevich. "The Avoidance of Bias against Caregiving: The Case of Academic Faculty." *American Behavioral Scientist* 19.9 (2006): 1222-1247. Print.

Dunn, Marianne G., Aaron B. Rochlen, and Karen M. O'Brien. "Employee, Mother, and Partner: An Exploratory Investigation of Working Women with Stay-at-home Fathers." *Journal of Career Development* 40.1 (2013): 3-22. Print.

Etzkowitz, Henry, Carol K. Kemelgor, and Brian Uzzi. *Athena Unbound—The Advancement of Women in Science and Technology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Print.

Eversole, Barbara A.W., Darlene M. Hantzis, and Mandy Reid. "Reimagining the Fairytale of Motherhood in the Academy." *Bearing Witness to Mothers' Lives in Academia: Speaking Truth To Power to Change the Ivory Tower.* Eds. Mari Castenada and Kirsten Isgro. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013: 160-169. Print.

Holm, Jessica M., Elizabeth A. Prosek, and Andrea C.G. Weisberger, "A Phenomenological Investigation of Counseling Doctoral Students Becoming Mothers." *Counselor Education & Supervision* 54 (2015): 2-15. Print.

Hult, Christine, Ronda Callister, and Kim Sullivan. "Is There a Global Warming toward Women in Academia?" *Liberal Education* 91.3 (2005): 50-57. Print.

Lynch, Karen D. "Gender Roles and the American academe: A Case Study of Graduate Student Mothers." *Gender and Education* 20.6 (2008): 585-605. Print.

Mason, Mary Ann and Marc Goulden. "Do Babies Matter? The Effect of Family Formation of the Lifelong Careers of Academic Men and Women." *Academe* 90.6 (2002): 10-15. Print.

Mason, Mary Ann and Marc Goulden. "Marriage and Baby Blues: Redefining Gender Equity in the Academy." *Annals of the American Academy* 596 (2004): 86-103. Print.

Mason, Mary Ann, Angelica Stacy, and Marc Goulden. *Report on the University of California Work and Family Survey: Developing New Initiatives for a Family Friendly Package*. Berkeley: University of California, 2004. Print.

Mason, Mary Ann, Angelica Stacy, Marc Goulden, Carol Hoffman, and Karie Frasch. *University of California Faculty Family Friendly Edge: An Initiative for Tenure-Track Faculty at the University of California.* Berkeley: University of California, 2005. Print.

Park, Denise C. and Susan Nolen-Hoeksema. "Women in Academia." *The Compleat Academic: A Career Guide*. Eds. John M. Darley, Mark P. Zanna, and Henry L. Roediger III. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2004. 311-328. Print.

Smith, Gilia C. and Jean A. Waltman. *Designing and Implementing Family-Friendly Policies in Higher Education*. Ann Arbor, MI: Center for the Education of Women at the University of Michigan, 2006. Print.

Spalter-Roth, Roberta and Ivy Kennelly. *The Best Time to Have a Baby: Institutional Resources and Family Strategies Among Early Career Sociologists.* Washington, DC: American Sociological Association, 2004. Print.

Spalter-Roth, Roberta and Nicole Van Vooren. *Mothers in Pursuit of Ideal Academic Careers.* Washington, DC: American Sociological Association, 2012. Print.

Tenure Denied: Cases of Sex Discrimination in Academia. Washington, DC: American Association of University Women, 2004. Print.

Trepal, Heather, Tracy Stinchfield, and Maria Haiyasoso. "Great Expectations: Doctoral Student Mothers in Counselor Education." *Adultspan Journal* 13.1 (2014): 30-45. Print.

Van Anders, Sari M. "Why the Academic Pipeline Leaks: Fewer Men Than Women Perceive Barriers to Becoming Professors." *Sex Roles* 51.9-10 (2004): 511-521. Print.

Varner, Amy. *The Consequences and Costs of Delaying Attempted Childbirth for Women in Faculty*. State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2000. Print.

Williams, Joan C. *Unbending Gender: Why Family and Work Conflict and What to Do About It.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. Print.

Wolf-Wendel, Lisa E. and Kelly Ward. "Academic Life and Motherhood: Variations by Institutional Type." *Higher Education* 52 (2006): 487-521. Print.

Young, Cathy. "The Mommy Wars." *Reason* 32.3 (2000): 19-25. Print.