地理學報　第五十七期：7-32 (2009)
JOURNAL OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE (57) : 7-32 (2009)

學術場域的新面孔
以性別與國內、外出生地探討新進美國地理學者的經驗

New Faces in Academic Places
Gender and the Experiences of Early-career Foreign-born and Native-born Geographers in the United States

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Abstract

University and college campuses in the United States have seen multiple changes in faculty composition over the past several decades, most notably an increase in women and foreign-born faculty, particularly in junior-level positions, enhancing campus life and broadening research perspectives. The origins of foreign-born faculty have also been changing, moving from primarily individuals of European origin to a growing representation of those coming from Asia. New faculty face a variety of challenges as they strive to obtain a position and achieve tenure in American academic departments, and while there are common experiences for all early-career faculty, gender and national origin affect how individuals perceive and address obstacles in the workplace. As with other professions, the rise in women brings complications including those related to family responsibilities, and the growth of foreign-born

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faculty members increases opportunities for miscommunication and confusion. The manner in which institutions of higher education address these issues in their changing workforces will help inform their management and maintenance of faculty populations.

Keywords: Academic employment, United States, gender, national origins.

摘　要

在過去幾十年中，美國大專院校的教研人員之組成產生了許多改變，最明顯的是女性與外國出生的教研人員人數顯著增加，尤其是資淺的教師更爲明顯，他們活化了校園的生態，並且開拓了多樣的研究視角；而在外國出生的教研人員來源國方面也產生了一些變化，從原本以歐洲地區爲主逐漸轉向亞洲地區。新的教研人員面臨了各種不同的挑戰，因爲他們必須努力地獲得學術地位，並且在美國的大學系所當中取得終身職。儘管所有的新進教研人員都面臨到共同的經驗，但性別與不同的來源國影響著個人如何感受與陳述在工作場域所面臨的挫折與困頓。如同其他的專業領域一般，女性人數的增加帶來了一些複雜性，例如家庭責任方面。國外出生之教研人員數量的提高也增加了溝通不良與困惑的情況。本研究透過討論高等教育當中勞動力組成之轉型的議題，期望能對教研人口的經營與群體的維繫有所助益。

關鍵字：學術職涯、美國、性別、來源國

Introduction

Over the last several decades, the academic labor force in the United States has undergone marked social transformations. In part, this reflects the entry of women into areas of professional employment from which they had previously been substantially excluded, or in which their opportunities were limited to particular fields and roles. Simultaneously, the representation of foreign-born academics has outpaced increases in the faculty population as a whole. Indeed, while the number of full-time instructional faculty in degree-granting institutions grew by 22.6 percent from 1992-2004, the number of non-resident alien faculty grew by 243.0 percent (from 6,180 to 21,200) (Selfa *et al*., 1997; Tab, 2005); this change does not include the unidentifiable number of foreign-born individuals who may have acquired US permanent residency status or citizenship over the period. Given the recent changes in faculty composition, it is not surprising that women and foreign-born faculty are more likely to hold junior-level positions than are white men, and to lack the security that comes with awarding of tenure.[1] Among full-time faculty in 2007, 67.3 percent of men were tenured compared to 32.8 percent of women, while 84.0 percent of white non-Hispanic faculty were tenured

compared to 0.8 percent of non-resident aliens (Knapp *et al.*, 2007).[2] Evidence that change is in process, however, is suggested by comparing those within the tenure track. Although in 2007 men still outnumbered women in such positions (55.4 percent compared to 44.6 percent), and white non-Hispanics outnumbered non-resident aliens to a large extent (71.5 percent to 6.8 percent), these data indicate that women and foreign-born faculty members are increasing their representation among those eligible for permanent careers (Knapp *et al*., 2007).

The origins of foreign-born faculty have also been changing, especially notable being the growing representation of those coming from Asia compared with the foreign-born who came during the 1960s-1970s period of expansion in American higher education which largely attracted white male scholars from the Anglophone world (see, e.g. King, 2007). Research on the latest group of academic migrants is sparse (Foote *et al*., 2008). As reviewers of the growing literature on professionals within international migration streams have noted (e.g. Iredale, 2001; Kofman and Raghuram, 2005), studies have mostly addressed medical, financial, corporate and information technology fields which also primarily involve men. Research does suggest, however, that professionals migrating to another culture appear to face a "double-shock phenomenon of adaptation" to both the cultural and the professional practices of the host country (Austin, 2007: 253). Gender-sensitive literature on contemporary migrations has largely addressed women in care-giving occupations, especially domestic service (e.g. Boyle, 2002; Momsen, 1999; Silvey, 2004) or in their roles as wives and family members (e.g. Coles and Fechter, 2008), even when such women are themselves highly qualified professionals (Purkayastha, 2005). Additionally, by focusing on migrants, the literature does not offer comparative assessments of the foreign- and native-born in similar occupations. How do their experiences compare and, in particular, how do considerations of gender and national origin intersect within the changing workforce?

In this paper, I offer a comparative approach, examining native- and foreign-born female and male faculty members in the United States who are in the early stages of their careers, a time when all are experiencing adjustments to new roles and contexts. While awarding of tenure at institutions of higher education occurs at varied times, the majority of respondents had completed their doctoral degrees within seven years prior to their participation in the research project, and identified as being in a tenure-track job, or inclined to seek one. As a study of higher education, the project applies tools of survey analysis to understand both the experiences of individuals described as "international" or "foreign-born" faculty as well as the factors that improve or impair their opportunities in the United States. Little is known about their specific professional experiences, cultural problems they confront in the United States, and policy and institutional changes that might be made to support them, particularly in light of the inconsistencies in the federal government's visa and immigration procedures. International scholars often have been perceived as having different needs and concerns than their native-born counterparts and I aim to contribute both to an understudied aspect of contemporary international migrations and to widening attention to gendered aspects of social change within higher education. Interaction between individuals from different cultural, linguistic,

and educational backgrounds is seldom straightforward, as each is attempting to identify clues about behavior and expectations that might be obvious to others with the same heritage (Walvoord *et al*., 2000). Professors from other countries who teach in the United States have reported confusing situations and different attitudes and approaches from those of their native-born counterparts (Liu, 2001; Manrique and Manrique, 1999). As research on women and native-born minorities has argued, understanding more about the varied paths pursued by diverse faculty will provide new insights both for these faculty and for the departments and institutions in which they work (Garcia, 2000; Price *et al*., 2005; Xie and Shauman, 2003). The study involves quantitative analysis of survey data supplemented by a qualitative component to enhance interpretation of the survey responses due to the importance of individuals' perceptions of their situations. I take the discipline of geography as a case study, a field that includes social and natural scientists, as well as those pursuing technical specialties.

Context

Throughout the world, migration has been perceived as an opportunity to change one's economic and social situation. Because educational opportunities are limited in many countries (Agadjanian and Liew, 2005; Archer *et al*., 2003; Cattan, 2004; Colclough, 2002; Pang, 2005), resources and research opportunities in the United States often attract international students and scholars, particularly those from developing nations (Chen, 2003; Empinotti, 2005; Labi, 2004; Liu, 2001). Determination about whether to seek an academic position abroad, whether following graduate education in one's home country, or while studying or working outside one's country of origin, usually reflects some combination of individual, professional, and societal circumstances. How an academic perceives and fares in the new situation will incorporate complex conjunctions of gender, ethnicity, education, affiliations, sexual orientation, race, language, and religion (Bernstein, 2005; Purkayshtha, 2005), as well as varying perceptions of the migrant by the host community which may focus on visible characteristics more than on characteristics such as income or educational qualifications. Further, those entering faculty positions are situated within contexts at different scales of interaction, including the department, institution, immigrant community (if any), and locality, all of which exert an influence on how the individual perceives others and identifies himself or herself. There remain significant variations between higher education institutions located in rural and urban areas, between large universities with diverse communities and small colleges with relatively homogenous populations, often predominantly white Americans, and among institutions espousing a particular religious or secular approach to learning (Thelin, 2004). The place and context of employment have a significant impact on how a faculty member approaches his or her workday and affect the interaction among colleagues and administrators. Large research universities (along with their faculties) are much more connected to other large research universities across the country and throughout the world than they are to other higher education institutions in the immediate proximity. These forces interact, affecting the conditions under which faculty are expected to teach,

research, and live.

Studies of academic women have identified numerous gender-specific issues which may also impinge on foreign-born women in ways that are similar to or different from those of native-born women. The literature has identified numerous barriers both in the number of women being hired and in their professional advancement. Women must deal with institutional, social, and psychological factors in order to become successful academics, such as feelings of inadequacy regarding data collection and analysis, lack of encouragement to pursue research topics of interest, and stresses in relationships with partners and children (Bronstein *et al*., 1993). Women still encounter interactions that surprise their male counterparts, whether in the form of inappropriate communication from male students, subtle exclusion from faculty lunches, lack of opportunity for social networking, or the burden of finding care for a sick child (Parker *et al*., 1996). The numbers and levels of achievement of women differ by academic discipline, and have been identified as particularly limited in the sciences and engineering (Committee on Maximizing the Potential of Women in Academic Science and Engineering, 2006). Promotion and tenure practices and salary inequities hinder women's advancement, as do expressions of sexism and ageism (Broder, 1993; Chancellor's Committee on Women, 2005; Laine and Turner, 2004; Winkler, 2000). Part of the gender bias includes life cycle issues and matters of family choices (Chancellor's Committee on Women, 2005; Von Bergen, 2005). Although more higher education institutions in the United States have begun to offer help with spousal hires (Leadership Team, 2004), married women continue to be less represented among faculty than married men, even at the early-career stage. Reports indicated that this is in part due to the challenges faced by dual-career couples in and out of academe (Schiebinger *et al*., 2008). Women, regardless of their situation in life, experience more difficulties and barriers than do men during their careers.

Within American academic geography, although the representation of women has increased since the 1970s (Brinegar, 2001; Monk, 2004; Monk *et al*., 2004), women and minorities of color have found that they are called upon to undertake roles not commonly expected of white men, such as being a confidant for extensive personal problems of students, serving as a professional mentor for female and minority students in the department (and often being sought by others outside the department), and spending time on institutional committees which need to demonstrate a diversity of perspectives. Minority women also report feelings of isolation and discomfort (Mahtani, 2004) that may well be issues for foreign-born women (and men) faculty. Winkler (2000) has also found that increases in the representation of women in the discipline have varied depending on type of institution, with lowest proportions in departments where the BA/BS is the highest degree, slightly higher in MA/MS granting departments, and highest in those that offer the Ph. D. Research with early-career faculty in geography (Solem and Foote, 2004) has supported findings that women and minorities experienced greater stresses than white males. For the foreign-born, stresses of insecurity in their employment, issues of non-resident alien status, and divergent understanding of educational cultures and behavioral expectations may well be compounded. To explore these issues, I undertook the comparative study of early-career native-born and foreign-born geography faculty, paying attention to issues of gender and

national origin.

Methodology

My research methodology builds on a study of participants in workshops organized in 2002 by the Geography Faculty Development Alliance (GFDA) project[3] which was supplemented by a sample of Ph. D. geography graduates from American universities holding academic appointments in the United States who were primarily native-born Americans (Solem and Foote, 2004).[4] I had access to the survey data and was able to delete the responses of seven foreign-born geographers who had responded, leaving a pool of 85 native-born faculty. From the survey responses I identified the characteristics, attitudes, and experiences of the native-born early-career faculty on issues related to teaching, research, service, workplace, and personal concerns in order to determine whether there were differences in perceptions based on the following characteristics:

Gender	Chairperson support
Research specialty	Department collegiality
Conference attendance	Institutional type
Teaching load	Teaching abilities
Graduate mentoring	Research productivity
Graduate teaching experience	Service activity

The development of the foreign-born survey pool began with a study of the characteristics of all academic members of the Association of American Geographers (AAG). In June, 2006 the AAG listed 2,058 faculty members with appointments in American universities, and of those, 24 percent were foreign-born (Table 1). This percentage is similar to the figures provided for all foreign-born faculty in the United States by the US Census, although they are not identified by discipline (Marvasti, 2005). While the information from the AAG does not comprehensively describe the pool of either all geography faculty or foreign-born geography faculty in the United States (not all geographers teaching and researching in higher education belong to the Association), it provides sufficient information about individual and institutional characteristics to investigate how the population of early-career, foreign-born faculty compares with the general population of geography faculty.

To ensure a representative pool for the survey I compared characteristics of all geography faculty with those of foreign-born faculty at all levels of the professoriate. In several dimensions the distribution of foreign-born faculty appears similar to that of all AAG faculty. Three-quarters of all geography faculty are male, decreasing slightly for foreign-born faculty (71 percent), reflecting the past dominance of men in academic professions, a remnant from the early twentieth century when qualifications for membership in professional societies as well as appointments in academic departments were structured to favor men with research credentials and professional connections (Monk, 2004). Just over half of all faculty

Table 1. Gender, research specialty, birthplace, and title for selected categories of geography faculty in the United States, 2005-2006.

	AAG Faculty Members	AAG Early-Career Faculty*	Foreign-Born Faculty**	Early-Career Foreign-Born Faculty**	Early-Career Foreign-Born Survey Population
Number	2,058	635	661	318	103
Gender					
Female	24.1%	32.8%	26.5%	33.0%	41.7%
Male	75.0%	64.3%	70.5%	61.0%	58.3%
Research Specialty					
Physical	21.4%	20.6%	17.5%	18.2%	19.6%
Human	44.3%	36.9%	40.4%	28.6%	28.4%
Nature-Society	9.8%	11.3%	8.6%	9.7%	15.7%
GIS	16.1%	19.4%	24.4%	30.8%	36.3%
Birthplace					
United States	74.9%	76.1%			
Canada	\	\	10.3%	11.9%	15.6%
China	\	\	15.0%	18.9%	18.8%
United Kingdom	\	\	18.8%	8.2%	11.5%
Europe	\	\	18.0%	18.2%	22.9%
Asia	24.1%	22.8%	14.5%	15.4%	20.8%
Africa	/	/	7.4%	6.8%	3.1%
Middle East	/	/	3.2%	2.8%	1.0%
Australia/NZ	/	/	3.0%	0.9%	1.0%
Central/South Am	/	/	4.1%	5.7%	5.2%
Title					
Instructor	3.5%	7.2%	3.9%	8.2%	11.9%
Assistant Professor	28.7%	63.8%	38.0%	78.9%	84.2%
Associate Professor	22.5%	0%	18.0%	0%	3.9%
Professor	28.2%	0%	24.7%	0%	0%
Chair/Head	3.2%	0%	3.3%	0%	0%

Statistics compiled by author from AAG and academic department website information.

* AAG Early-Career Faculty determined by title as listed in the AAG directory (Association of American Geographers, 2005).

** Includes early-career foreign-born faculty not listed by AAG as faculty members.

and foreign-born faculty work in geography departments, with similar distributions of geography faculty across the varied departmental settings in which geography is taught in the United States. Overall, they teach in a wide variety of institutions, interact with similar types of colleagues, are represented in similar proportions in chair positions, and pursue comparable research agendas, though foreign-born faculty are more

heavily represented in GISciences (24 percent) than are faculty overall (16 percent). Approximately three percent of all faculty members identified themselves as department chairs, as did three percent of foreign-born faculty.

Although similarities exist between early-career foreign-born faculty and foreign-born faculty at all career levels in the types of institutions[5] and departments where they work, as well as the places from which they received their graduate degrees, there are differences in the early-career foreign-born group regarding nature of research, country of origin, and distribution of men and women when compared with all faculty at early-, mid-, and late- career stages. Over 60 percent of foreign-born faculty received their doctoral degrees at research universities in the United States, with the second most common location being Canadian institutions (12 percent). The majority of them work in geography departments at research universities which graduate a significant number of students with doctoral degrees, with about a third employed at masters-level institutions, although that number increases slightly for early-career faculty. The percentage engaged in physical and nature-society research is consistent between the two groups, but many more early-career foreign-born faculty are engaged in GIScience research (31 percent vs. 24 percent) and fewer classify themselves as human geographers (29 percent vs. 40 percent). Fewer faculty were born in the United Kingdom in the early-career population and more reported their birthplaces as being in Asian countries, especially China, in part due to its being a ready source of labor for the increasing demand of GIS specialists in the US academic labor market. Early-career foreign-born women comprise one-third of this population, as opposed to a quarter for foreign-born faculty at all levels of the professoriate. These trends reflect similar tendencies seen throughout academia for both scholars and students immigrating to the United States (Tab, 2005).

Following this analysis, I created a survey pool of 318 individuals from announcements of new appointments in the AAG Newsletter, the AAG faculty member list (Association of American Geographers, 2005), geography department websites, and personal contacts. Each of these 318 individuals received a letter of invitation to participate in a web-based survey. To the categories included in the original GFDA survey, I added questions regarding birthplace, ethnicity, citizenship, and visas as well as specific questions about language capability and location. Some Likert scale questions were modified to address challenges facing international faculty.[6] The survey questions included both close-ended items as well as others which offered respondents the opportunity to offer qualitative comments. The resulting body of data comprised 103 completed responses, 32 percent of the pool. An additional ten individuals (mostly women) declined to participate either because of personal reasons (insufficient time to complete the survey) or because they were uncomfortable sharing information about their current situations. In total, just over 40 percent of the survey pool responded in some form suggesting that they found the topic of interest and a worthy investment of time. In the following analysis the foreign-born respondents are identified as FBEC and the native-born (85 respondents) as GFDA. The two groups have similar characteristics (more men than women, fewer individuals specializing in nature-society research) and can be considered roughly equivalent for this analysis of attitudes and experiences. For independent variables such as gender, I considered each Likert scale

question on the survey under the headings of teaching, research, service, workplace, and personal concerns. Each variable was examined for differences within the FBEC population and between the foreign-born and the GFDA populations.

In addition to drawing on the survey data, I interviewed 30 geography department chairs and ten academic deans at a variety of higher education institutions across the United States to obtain their perspectives on the situation of foreign-born faculty in their departments and institutions. To ensure a representative sample of geography department chairs from across the country reflecting distribution of geography departments, geography faculty, and college students in the United States, I initiated conversations with individuals attending geography meetings sponsored by the AAG in the fall of 2005 and spring of 2006, inviting them through a mailed letter to participate. At four different meetings I conducted a total of 19 interviews, with chairs from a range of institutional types and representing varied demographics. In order to obtain an adequate balance among department chairs at research universities, masters' level institutions, baccalaureate colleges, and community colleges, as well as sufficient geographic distribution to avoid distortion of the results, I conducted additional interviews by phone and in person based on proximity, type and location of institution, and willingness of individuals to participate in the study.

Analysis of Characteristics, Experiences, and Attitudes

How do the characteristics, experiences, and attitudes of early-career foreign-born faculty compare and contrast with those of their American colleagues when considered by demographic and educational factors such as gender, country of origin, presence or absence of family members, and type of research? Do performance and attitudes of foreign-born early-career geography faculty differ from those of native-born early-career geography faculty? Are there differences within the foreign-born faculty based on personal and professional status?

Results from the web-based survey were downloaded into an SPSS file directly from the internet enabling descriptive information to be accurately compiled and readily accessible. Initial statistical tests examined correlations and tendencies within and among categories. For more in-depth analysis, self-perception item scores were averaged to calculate an overall score for each career-issue category. Analysis of the survey data was performed by comparing the differences in the means of overall self-perception rating scores for the foreign-born early-career faculty in comparison with the native-born early-career faculty of the GFDA survey for different characteristics. When the difference in self-perception ratings was .5 or higher, those items were flagged for further examination. While each self-perception rating was examined based on multiple characteristics, only results with greater than .75 within categories will be discussed in order to focus the differences among populations because further analysis at the .5 level often revealed inconclusive differences due to small sample sizes.

Gender, Marriage, Family, and Status

As in the discipline as a whole, men continue to be represented in greater proportions in the survey populations (Table 2). Most early-career respondents are married although in both groups, men and women demonstrate different patterns of marriage (Table 3). As is common in academia, both GFDA and FBEC men are more likely to be married than are women. In the survey population, foreign-born men are even more likely to be married than are the native-born. In the FBEC sample, 44 percent of the women are apparently alone (and presumably responsible for their own support) being single, widowed, divorced or separated, compared with 29 percent of the GFDA women and only five percent of the FBEC men. While the majority of men and women in both groups are assistant professors, (and thus presumably on track for permanent positions) the FBEC faculty and the GFDA women are considerably more likely to be in lower status positions than are GFDA men (Table 4). Indeed, slightly over one-third of the FBEC women are in such positions. Although more women than men reported working at very high-producing research institutions, as defined by the Carnegie classification, and obtaining higher-rated teaching performance

Table 2. Gender and survey source of early-career faculty.

Sex	**FBEC**	**GFDA**
Male	58%	65%
Female	42%	35%

Table 3. Marital status by gender of early-career faculty by survey source.

Marital	FBEC		GFDA	
Status	Male	Female	Male	Female
Single	5%	33%	20%	29%
Married	86%	51%	71%	61%
Widowed	0%	2%	0%	0%
Divorced/Separated	0%	9%	4%	0%
Domestic Partnership	9%	5%	6%	11%

Table 4. Academic title of early-career faculty by gender and survey source. [7]

Academic	FBEC		GFDA	
Title	Male	Female	Male	Female
Assistant Professor	78%	66%	89%	83%
Instructor/Lecturer	5%	17%	9%	14%
Other	17%	17%	2%	3%

scores, these may well be faculty who fill the growing number of temporary positions in such institutions that

are primarily devoted to teaching assignments and are considerably less well paid than those in tenure track appointments.

Research has shown that differences in the experiences of men and women faculty are affected by characteristics that are not a part of their professional qualifications, particularly those related to personal life such as childbearing and care for children or elderly parents. These are likely to influence how early-career faculty balance work and personal obligations, and how they are perceived in the workplace (Mason and Goulden, 2002; Drago *et al*., 2006). High performance careers, such as those in academic institutions, are not particularly compatible with family life (Christensen, 2005). The survey responses indicate that FBEC men and women have more dependents than do the GFDA men or women.[8] Indeed, 57 percent of FBEC women have dependents (Table 5).

Table 5. Number of dependents of early-career faculty by gender and survey source.

Number of Dependents	FBEC		GFDA	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
No dependents	35%	43%	53%	54%
1 to 2	40%	48%	39%	28%
3 or more	25%	9%	8%	18%

Although the detailed statistics are not reported here, results from the survey indicated, somewhat surprisingly, that FBEC respondents with more dependents perceived themselves as more effective researchers than those with no dependents. More of the FBEC than of the GFDA faculty also reported that they effectively managed time for research and teaching, though in each group, both male and female respondents perceived that they were better at managing time for teaching than time for research.

Evaluating Their Places of Work

Issues of interpersonal interaction are important to assess because the institutional support system, including interaction with colleagues, plays a large role in successful transition into a new position (Lucas and Murray Jr., 2002). In order to gauge the level and quality of interaction within a department, respondents were asked to rate their workplaces on a scale of one to ten, where one is negative and ten is positive, using the following statements:

Quality of collegial support you received in your department

Quality of intellectual stimulation you received from colleagues

Your own need for collegiality

Yourself in terms of personal interaction with colleagues

Yourself in terms of giving collegial support

Supportiveness of your chairperson

Supportiveness of other administrators

On a number of these indicators the groups reported relatively similar evaluations of themselves and others, though there are some interesting differences (Fig. 1). GFDA faculty rated their personal interactions with colleagues as more favorable than did FBEC faculty, perhaps reflecting the challenges of cultural differences. FBEC women expressed a lower need for collegiality, but FBEC men were more likely to report quality collegial support, raising the question of how these variables might have been interpreted and related and also whether differences across groups in marital and familial situations influence workplace relationships. Department chairs were rated higher than were administrators in terms of supportiveness, though FBEC women generally rated administrators higher than did all GFDA respondents.

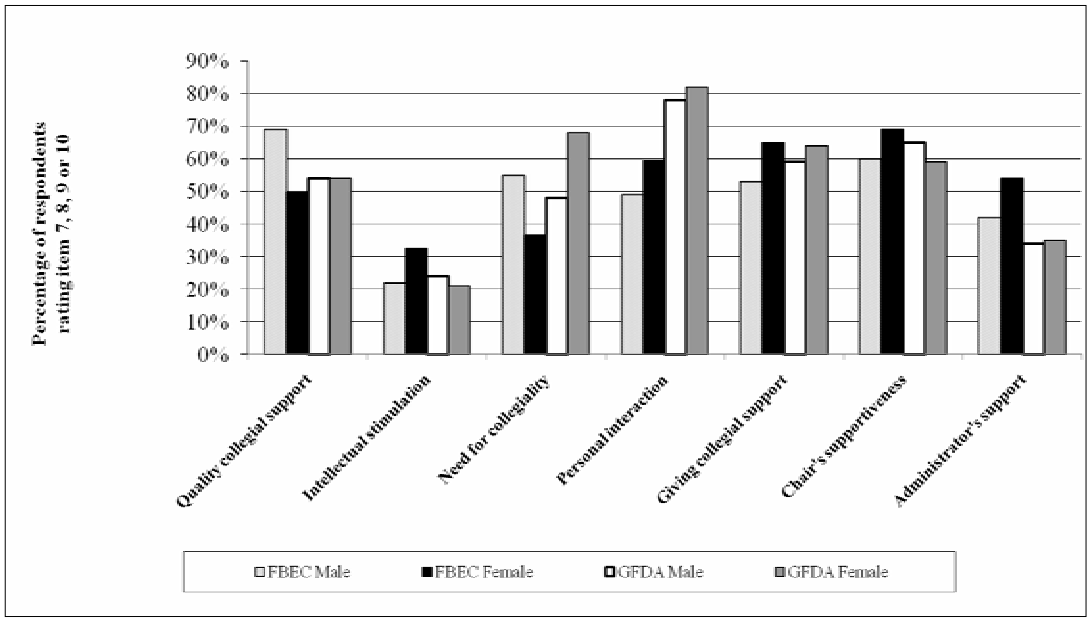


Fig. 1. High ratings for department climate of early-career faculty by gender and survey source.

One striking result is the low rating given to the statement, "Quality of intellectual stimulation you received from colleagues." Not only did less than a third of respondents give a high rating, but over 50 percent of respondents rated it as a 1, or the lowest rating, although foreign-born female faculty gave this statement a higher rating than did others. The complexity of these findings suggests that the topic of departmental interaction deserves further study from a variety of perspectives.

Male and female faculty members responded similarly to items about teaching and service, but differed markedly in their evaluations relating to research, workplace, and personal issues (Table 6). Women from both groups had less favorable views of themselves as productive researchers than did men, perhaps linked to difficulty with managing the time needed for research, although this affects GFDA women's perceptions to a considerably greater degree than it does those of FBEC women.

Table 6. Selected perceptions about faculty work and personal considerations with a difference in item mean score of more than .75 in either survey by gender.

Male	Female	Total	Difference in Mean Score by Gender
Perception Item Mean Score by Gender and Survey Source			
I am a very productive researcher.			
	FBEC Survey		
3.76	3.65	3.72	**.11**
	GFDA Survey		
3.78	2.83	3.45	**.95**
I effectively manage the time that I dedicate to research.			
	FBEC Survey		
3.61	3.07	3.39	**.54**
	GFDA Survey		
3.29	2.10	2.88	**1.19**
My chair's expectations for research and scholarly activity are clear to me.			
	FBEC Survey		
4.15	3.76	3.99	**.39**
	GFDA Survey		
4.33	3.55	4.06	**.78**
My department compares favorably with departments at similar types of institutions.			
	FBEC Survey		
3.98	3.21	3.68	**.77**
	GFDA Survey		
2.40	3.10	2.64	**.70**
I have experienced workplace discrimination on the basis of my gender.			
	FBEC Survey		
1.38	2.28	1.75	**.90**
	GFDA Survey		
1.91	1.86	1.89	**.05**

These ratings may suggest less self-confidence among women than among men, possibly greater commitments by women to familial care, their representation in the lower rank positions, and perhaps also gender issues in communication. Chairs are more likely to be male than female, and both GFDA and FBEC women report less clear communication regarding their chair's expectations for research and teaching than do men. GFDA women, who were less satisfied with guidance from chairs than were other respondents, may also have higher expectations of chairs than did other foreign-born or male respondents. Though across the groups assessments of discrimination were low, importantly it was FBEC women who most often noted that they had experienced gender discrimination. When all the criteria are considered, these evaluations by

early-career faculty of their places of work suggest that gender distinctions are more pronounced than differences between the native- and foreign-born faculty members.

What Influences Faculty Members' Evaluations?

With the aim of clarifying how different groups of faculty evaluated aspects of their academic life, I analyzed responses to a selection of personal attributes (Figs. 2 and 3), among them gender, self-reported fluency in English, ethnicity, and place of origin.[9] All GFDA respondents are native speakers of English as are some FBEC. The views of men and women are on opposite sides of the mean response, with women being less likely to assess themselves as effective instructors and more likely to report their departments as stressful places to work. Language fluency is key in self-evaluations of effectiveness of teaching, though interestingly neither language fluency nor being "ethnic other" emerges as important in assessments of departments as stressful places to work. Perhaps this implies that other collegial or political aspects of a department's culture are more critical in assessing the workplace.

Another possible indicator of relationships focuses on whether the institution or department is seen to value or respect international perspectives, and whether there were different expectations from those in their countries of origin (Fig. 4). Asians and Europeans felt least positive about their situations. Respondents from English-speaking countries found departmental expectations less different than did those from other countries. Notably, the foreign-born faculty did not see their institutions as particularly valuing international perspectives, with values as low as 35 percent for Asian origin and below 20 percent for those of European origin. Participants in the Geography Faculty Development Alliance workshop in 2007 also commented that

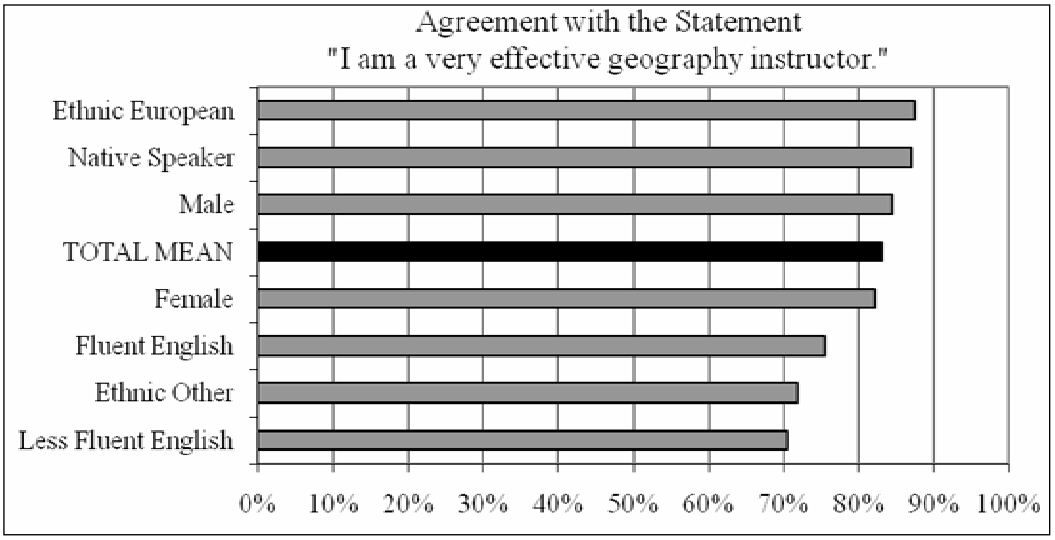


Fig. 2. Positive responses to statement regarding effectiveness as geography instructor compared by ethnicity, language ability, and gender.

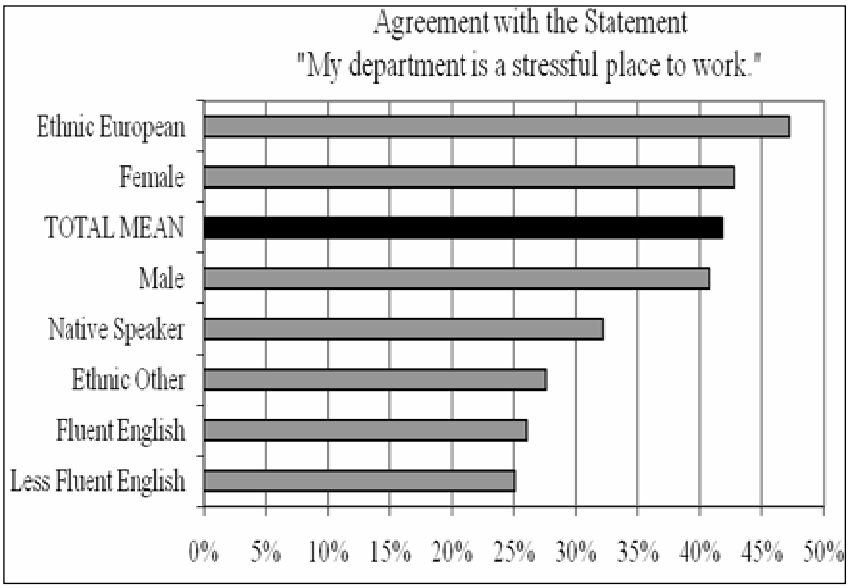


Fig. 3. Positive responses to statement regarding stressfulness of department compared by ethnicity, language ability, and gender.

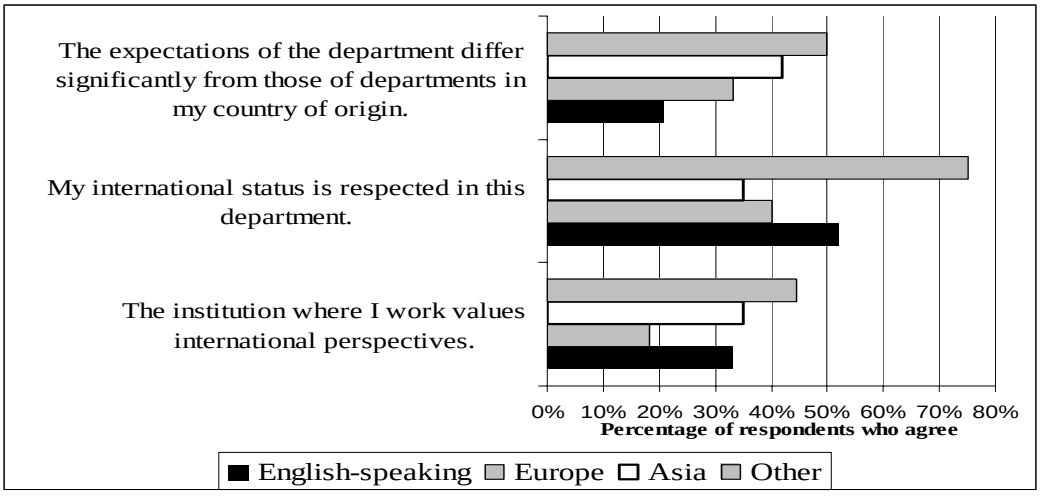


Fig. 4. Perceptions about and attitudes toward workplace rated by foreign-born early-career faculty by region of origin.

their foreign-born background was seen as a detriment when they tried to provide classroom examples related to difficult topics, such as America's positions in foreign policy or climate issues. Foreign-born faculty also face a number of concerns not confronting the native-born, and particularly saw immigration issues as affecting their effectiveness as academics (Fig. 5) and as more burdensome than anxiety arising from discrimination related to language issues or, for most groups, aspects of maintaining familial contacts.

Notably, about half of those from Asia, the Middle East, Africa, South and Central America expressed that their effectiveness as an academic has suffered because of the time involved in dealing with immigration issues.

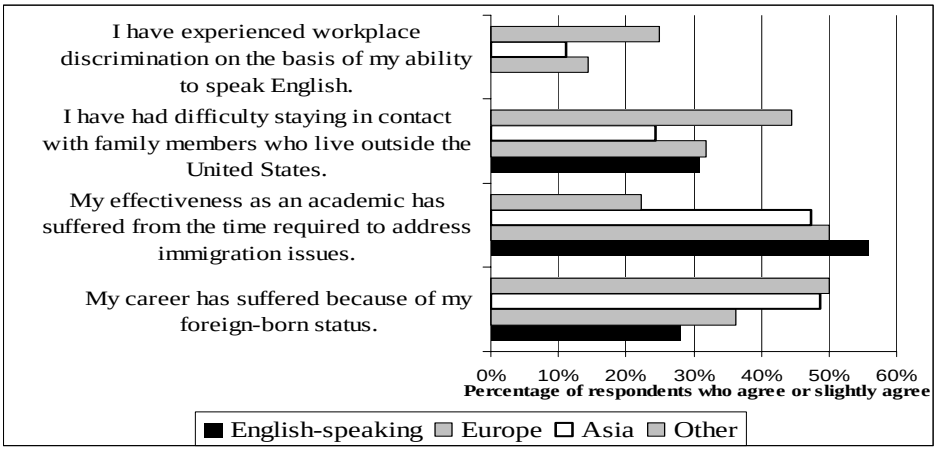


Fig. 5. Perceptions about and attitudes toward personal issues rated by foreign-born early-career faculty by region of origin.

Perspectives

The challenges of individuals in the workplace are not easily discerned through the use of ranking and statistical analysis. The following section offers some comments by foreign-born faculty and administrators on the situation of early-career faculty. These reveal that foreign-born faculty members' expectations of students in the classroom, regarding both behavior and subject matter, are often mismatched with the situations in which they find themselves. Multiple foreign-born respondents, from various countries of origin, reported that it took some time, either as a new faculty member or as a teaching assistant in graduate school, to reevaluate their assumptions and approaches in the classroom. American students, particularly undergraduates, were not only considered to be poorly prepared and less dedicated to their studies than those in faculty members' home countries and in other countries in which they have taught, but were reported as less respectful of outside perspectives and accented English. The comments from this survey reinforce studies of student attitudes toward foreign-born faculty and graduate assistants undertaken at other institutions in the United States, and suggest that institutions of higher education, while being places in part designed to open young people to the world, must not count on general exposure to achieve this objective (Alberts, 2008; Collins, 2008). Some department chairs noted concerns regarding foreign-born faculty's performance in areas such as advising and collegial interaction.

Practical Matters

Foreign-born faculty respondents to my survey were provided with several opportunities to record their

thoughts in open-ended questions. They expressed concern about discrimination because of English-language ability and logistical complications arising from being far from home. “There is a cultural divide which takes time. Also the visa and green card process[10] creates a lot of stress (for example your spouse not being allowed to work.)” observed an English-speaking male. Several respondents observed that while they were in the process of obtaining a green card, they were unable to leave and return to the United States. This presents problems not only personally, such as when a parent falls ill, but also professionally, when faculty members are unable to attend international conferences to present papers or develop collaborative opportunities. Respondents noted that department chairs varied in their understanding and tolerance of the situation.

Visa and immigration restrictions are perceived to limit opportunities, as noted by a European female: “My university will not sponsor a green card till I get tenure; therefore I am not eligible for early career funding from NSF or NASA compared to American colleagues. I had to take a job which emphasizes teaching (13-18 credit hours per semester) because I do not have the same access to research funds as my American colleagues.” While citizens and permanent residents have similar guidelines when applying for most research funding, individuals on temporary visas are often more restricted in their opportunities. Perceived access to funding may be as important as actual ability to apply, both for the individual and for supervisors who evaluate their achievements. When asked if they were looking for jobs or to leave academia, very few indicated they were, although several respondents indicated they were pursuing positions at other institutions because of insufficient assistance with visa regulations. Foreign-born faculty recognize the precariousness of both their work and personal situations, particularly in the area of immigration regulations and requirements.

Professional Interaction

Most respondents agreed that there were few professionally-organized opportunities to share experiences as foreign-born faculty and though no respondents spontaneously identified a need for international faculty support groups, they did observe that day-to-day interaction can be draining as international faculty are often considered the “other”, as one European male remarked:

> Dealing with collegial relations in terms of how to deal with others in a homogenous manner (normal issues to me might be considered offensive to others and vice versa). Being typically regarded, whether negatively or positively, as a foreigner despite obtaining US citizenship and living in the US for decades prevents me from feeling really part of a community, irrespective of the transience involved in academic settings. Culturally, it is also awkward to have to explain often one’s identity, which suggests that there is a normal US identity, often assumed to be Anglo, white, Christian, male-like.

The majority (78 percent) reported that their undergraduate or graduate advisees’ backgrounds were similar to those of their colleagues’ advisees. The remainder identified connections between themselves and

the types of advisees they attracted, such as women professors attracting a disproportionate number of women advisees. One Asian male noted that he primarily advises international graduate students. However, the primary connection for particular students related to area specialization, especially when the faculty member was the only individual teaching that subject, as for example, a European woman who reported that she is the only one in her institution with geospatial expertise and thus handles all the work in that area. Five respondents noted that they are randomly assigned undergraduate advisees.

Gender and Family Concerns

Gender-related issues recur in the comments of the women faculty highlighting issues that link to their being foreign-born or in the early-career stage. One non-European woman, for example, who participated in a pre-survey focus group, noted that in the United States she has so much to do to survive. “When I’m in home country I know how to deliberately annoy or please, it’s unstressful. Even officially, I’m not always sure about the appropriate way to do it. Once I was invited to a house, we had a big dinner, and I didn’t write a thank you note. Even officially, there are times when I want to do something and I’m not sure about the appropriate way. Or even, who do I ask.”

In a new situation, navigation points are important. Learning how to become a member of a group requires observation and inquiry (Shankman and Allen, 2008), and experience in one culture may not transfer to another. For women, minorities of color, and foreign-born faculty, signposts are often less obvious than for white males.

The comments of department chairs also offer examples of perceived challenges in cultural interactions. When asked to consider problematic issues that might face non-native faculty, they cited examples of times when foreign-born faculty members made an accommodation to their adopted place of residence, or when there was a glitch within the department because of a cultural misunderstanding. They commented that classroom interaction was often challenging for women. This example from a masters’ institution department chair describes how a signal can be misread:

> I think several times in the class, students would ask questions that she thought were ... she never met anyone who hadn’t done trig, and had been to the best universities in China and the United States, and giggled when people asked questions. And that is something that in Chinese culture women can do, quietly and cover their mouth if they’re appalled by something, and that’s not something that in our culture ... giggling at students asking questions isn’t an okay thing. Students were really, really offended. That was probably the biggest faux pas anybody ever committed.

One department chair from a research university observed that there is a gender dimension regarding the presence of children among faculty.

> I've noticed the young women in my department are less likely to complain or have their kids with them in the department, whereas the young fathers in my department … sort of their cool factor is increased if they show up with their kid, right? And so I think young women in my department are still under pressure to be sort of scientists, geographers, professionals, and if they show up with a baby on their hip they lose it. Whereas the guys, could show up with a baby and it's like, they're cool.

Family interactions and trade-offs also complicate the existence of foreign-born faculty. One European female respondent wrote, "International faculty takes all opportunities to work almost any place; willing to commute, to leave children and spouse." Other faculty, particularly women, mentioned issues of connecting with and caring for elderly parents and grandchildren in disparate locations, as well as stresses related to travel in times of family emergencies. This was especially problematic during visa application procedures. Personal stresses are difficult to alleviate without family support and cultural accommodations.

> … having family in another country that you cannot see as frequently or rely on regularly for support in the balancing act of teaching/research/service and personal life is the single greatest stress I face as a foreign academic in the United States. As a female professor with small children who lives in the US and aging parents who live abroad, the stresses of combining professional and family life that affect all academics are compounded by gender and the global span of our family. (Canadian female)

An additional challenge to women involves navigating a professional career with men and women from their own cultures who may have different expectations of the role a woman should be playing. One Asian woman recounted how she had not been accepted at work or in the larger community. Even though the area in which she and her husband lived had a large ethnic community, they were an interracial couple and were not completely included in cultural events or celebrations. In addition, the wives of the men had a difficult time accepting a professional woman in their circles, and at gatherings she usually ended up in conversation with the men. "I needed some place of support, but I didn't have it at work or in the community, which made it hard. I gardened continually."

Institutional Support

New faculty members require a variety of support mechanisms, some with teaching, others in moving publications forward, and others in adjusting to the routines of a department. A European woman noted, "There has been very little effort to mentor and bring me along. I have to ask. I would rather have it be more normal as opposed to having the chair only going to visit classes in problem cases." Structured and non-judgmental efforts to assist faculty with the transition to academic life should be a part of every department plan for developing new faculty.

Department chairs face challenges when trying to decide how to make mentoring assignments – should you connect people of similar ethnicity? of the same gender? One department chair at a masters' university observed:

> In a particular case, with a Latino faculty member who came this year, I made sure that he got somebody as a mentor to work with, she's a friend of mine and I know her well, and she also is a Latina, she's from [--]. And they really hit it off and it's just wonderful.

A goal of mentoring is to ensure that new colleagues are not "left out and neglected", or worse, steered in the wrong direction, as some foreign-born faculty have reported (Manrique and Manrique, 1999: 73). A chair at another masters' university noted that they might make an informal connection for a new faculty member beyond the official mentor designed by the college or university.

> I don't know what criteria [the staff member doing assignments] uses. ... one of my casual observations of who he assigned for our junior faculty, it looks like sort of equal levels of kinds of achievers. For example, we have a brand new faculty member, ethnic Chinese woman and her assigned faculty mentor is one of our most senior old white guys. It's really interesting. Would you have a woman as a mentor, and all these other issues? But, no, it turns out that she is … very technically-oriented and this very senior guy is also technically-oriented. One of our most productive scholars, and I thought, ok, maybe that's the way he's going. But I don't really know. So … I suggested a few more senior women faculty, because I feel it's very important for young women faculty members, regardless of ethnic background, to have solid women role models. What are the pitfalls that might be coming their way as young, women scholars? And challenges there?

Conclusion

Recruiting foreign-born faculty members to be part of the international mix of individuals on campus is one way for a higher education institution to demonstrate a commitment to globalization. The United States has seen substantial growth and change in the nature of representation of foreign-born faculty as this case of the discipline of geography illustrates. Foreign-born faculty are represented in higher proportions among early-career faculty than in the past, and they comprise a markedly increasing proportion of technical geographers. The origins of foreign-born faculty have also increasingly shifted towards Asia and included greater numbers of women, with both native- and foreign-born entering the discipline. While foreign-born faculty face many of the same challenges as native-born early-career faculty (e.g. balancing teaching and research, balancing work and family, and achieving tenure), they also confront additional issues of unfamiliar language, instructional cultures, and community norms. Immigration issues, including the stress of relying on institutions to complete required forms and the time and cost needed to deal with them, are major concerns

for faculty members without permanent residence status. Additional inconveniences, such as separation from family and friends, also add to the professional tensions of being an early-career faculty member.

My research indicates, however, that gender distinctions complicate the experiences and perceptions of both native-and foreign-born faculty members. Women remain less represented than men among faculty, and more often outside the tenure track positions, especially if they are foreign-born. Both groups of women are more likely to be single and to be in lower-status positions while foreign-born women more often report having experienced gender discrimination. As disproportionately single, widowed, or divorced, they are likely to have less personal support, even as they also have more dependents than the native-born women. The support they receive from colleagues and institutions is mixed; many foreign-born women report encouragement from department chairs and administrators, though with less consensus regarding support from colleagues and in social relations.

In some institutions the concerns surrounding “diversity” of faculty, students, and attitudes are changing to be defined in terms of “multicultural” and to include gender, age, ethnicity, race, country of origin, differently-abled, and sexual orientation (Manrique and Manrique, 1999), though this is not universal and diversity may remain limited specifically to faculty of color and women (Office of Diversity and Equity, 2001). Restricting the concept of ethnic diversity to domestic faculty of color compounds confusion of how to incorporate international faculty into the mix of the department and institution. Definition of who one is reflects both heritage as well as labels proffered by the receiving society (Subedi, 2006), and international faculty are not a homogeneous group, as my research demonstrates. More attention needs to be given by institutions to recognizing the complexities and implications of diversity on campuses and in departments, including those individuals working as foreign-born faculty members and with the intention to create ways of supporting all early-career faculty, so that each individual is nurtured and encouraged to reach his or her potential on campus.

This assessment of international migration at a professional level and of gendered social change within higher education suggests that institutions of higher education should continue to expect increasing challenges in managing their faculty populations. As with other professions, the growth in the representation of women brings complications particularly related to family responsibilities, and the increase in foreign-born faculty members increases opportunities for miscommunication and confusion as well as for enhancement of campus life and research perspectives. The primary question is whether the individuals, particularly at the early-career stage, who are offered employment in an academic department will be provided with a variety of tools and frameworks that may allow for a smoother transition from graduate schools or other institutions, or whether part of their test as an academic will be surviving in a “sink or swim” culture. This study of early-career faculty indicates that all individuals could benefit from a variety of mentoring programs, clear departmental regulations and practices, and open communication among department members. Women and foreign-born faculty may encounter proportionately more stress, more often, than native-born white males, but supporting new faculty in their endeavors should be a priority no matter who is hired.

Notes

1. In US institutions, faculty usually undergo a probationary period of six years before being evaluated for permanent (tenured) positions. Additionally, the proportion of faculty in short-term, non-tenure eligible appointments has been increasing.
2. Non-resident aliens are those who have not yet secured permanent resident status or become naturalized citizens.
3. The Geography Faculty Development Alliance provides early career faculty and advanced doctoral students with the theoretical and practical knowledge to support learning and teaching of geography in higher education (Foote and Palmer, 2005).
4. A full description of the development, reliability and validity of the 2002 survey is provided by Solem and Foote (2004).
5. Since 1973, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has published classification of colleges and universities which it developed by using empirical data regarding enrollment, number of degrees granted, composition of instructional program, and structure of the institution to support its program of research and policy analysis. The Carnegie Classification "has been widely used in the study of higher education, both as a way to represent and control for institutional differences, and also in the design of research studies to ensure adequate representation of sampled institutions, students, or faculty" (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2006: 1).
6. Responses were offered on a 5 point scale, where "5" signals agreement with the statement and "1" disagreement.
7. "Other" refers to individuals whose country of origin is in Central or South America, Africa, or the Middle East.
8. I assumed that dependents are children and not spouses, although respondents were not asked to specify; in open-ended responses, no respondent identified "dependent" as an elderly relative, although some did discuss family situations.
9. Information about country of origin, race/ethnicity, and country of citizenship were available only about the FBEC respondents, limiting comparative information with the GFDA respondents. In examining responses to the Likert scale statements of the FBEC, most were not differentiated by ethnicity and so are not included in this review.
10. The green card is the common term for the permanent resident card.

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Submitted: Jan. 13, 2009
Revised: May 6, 2009
Accepted: Jun. 9, 2009