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Motherhood and Academia: Exploring the Experiences of Graduate Student and Faculty Mothers within the Southwestern Ontario Context

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Motherhood and Academia: Exploring the Experiences of Graduate Student and

Faculty Mothers within the Southwestern Ontario Context

By

Kimberly Hillier

A Dissertation
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Windsor, Ontario, Canada

Motherhood and Academia: Exploring the Experiences of Graduate Student and

Faculty Mothers within the Southwestern Ontario Context

by

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ABSTRACT

A qualitative narrative approach was utilized to explore the experiences of 11 women who balanced or were currently balancing motherhood and academia. The purpose of this qualitative research study was to explore the experiences of graduate student mothers who were currently enrolled in a graduate program, mothers who recently completed a graduate program within a five-year time frame, and faculty members who were mothers at the time of their graduate student careers. More specifically, this study explored the experiences five graduate student mothers; two recent graduates of a graduate program; and four faculty or adjunct employees, from a local university in Southwestern Ontario. Inductive analysis of the semi-structured interviews and focus groups revealed five key themes concerning motherhood and graduate studies: (a) intersection of work and family; (b) mentoring and networking opportunities; (c) inconsistency between institutional and program policy; (d) support from departmental faculty but lack of support from the university as a whole; and (e) an overall level of satisfaction in being a mother during graduate studies. Implications of these key findings are discussed within the paper and provide evidence on policy, campus resources, mentoring opportunities, and graduate student well-being, while also addressing issues of gender equity.

Keywords: gender and gender relations, motherhood, academia, feminist theories, higher education.

DEDICATION

To my precious *Eva*. Without you, this research would never have come into fruition.

You are the reason for it all and my motivating factor, always.

ACKNOWELDGEMENTS

When looking back on this journey, there are so many individuals that come to mind as having had a pivotal role in the completion of this degree. I would first like to thank and acknowledge my advisor, Dr. Christopher J. Greig for his gracious encouragement, expertise, and mentorship over the past decade.

Dr. Greig, when thinking of how I can wholeheartedly acknowledge the fundamental role you've had in guiding me along my academic journey, I find it easiest to do so by equating it to a metaphorical marathon- a feat you are familiar with. In the beginning, it's best to establish your own pace so that you're successful in the completion of the course. Thank you for helping me find my "pace" and encouraging me to complete all the tasks that I've had to in a manner that best fit mine and my family's schedule. Next, while running, the maintenance of a breathing pattern that will help carry you through to the finish is vital. Thank you for reminding me to breathe and take things one step at a time. While on the course, and even though a pace and breathing pattern has been established, it's inevitable that you'll experience pain and fatigue, particularly during those last few kilometres. What must be accomplished is finding a way to conquer the pain and fatigue and continue on although it is seems, and actually is, excruciating. Thank you for your encouragement and praise for the small accomplishments along the way. Finally, when the finish line is in sight, feelings of pain and exhaustion are overcome with feelings of accomplishment, relief, exhilaration, and joy. Chris, in looking back on this journey, I am so grateful for all you've done to bring me to the metaphorical finish line. It has been such a joy and pleasure learning from you, and I have appreciated your utmost professionalism and wise counsel along the way.

There many people involved in the success of a doctorate degree, and whether your involvement was large or small, it has all come together to bring me to this juncture. You've become a part of my story and growth as a scholar, and in doing so, an imbedded part of my own research. For that, I am eternally grateful and will continue on this path that has brought so much joy and fulfillment into my life. I honour each of you with my sincerest gratitude and share the success of this accomplishment with each of you.

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Legacy

i stand
on the sacrifices
of a million women before me
thinking
what can I do
to make this mountain taller
so the women after me
can see farther

-Kaur (2017, p.213)

Mother Guilt

Let me go here once in a while

Not often or too long

Only we mothers know

What we could have been

Had we been whole

What we missed

When we weren't there

Spoke too soon

Or not enough

Over protected

Or neglected

Too harsh

Too lax

Too busy

Too tired

We know

So let us alone

To grieve for a while

I promise

I won't stay too long

Or I might drown

I won't medicate it

Numb it or

Meditate it away

Instead it's good

To face it

Then super grace it

With God's love

Move on

There are more

Children, teens or

Young adults

To love and care for

If not my own

Then another mother's

We need each other

We mothers

We don't have enough

Of all we need

For this job

- Clark (2017, May 16)

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In North America, due to social change in gender relations, the percentage of female students seeking graduate education programs has increased significantly since the 1970s (Turcotte, 2015). In the American context, for example, Anaya (2012) reports that in 2000, women comprised 45% of all doctoral recipients in comparison to 10% in 1970s. In the Canadian context, the rate of women graduating from Canadian doctoral programs was just over 50% in the 2004-2005 academic year. This compares to 47% of Canadian graduates from the 2003/2004 academic year that were women (Turcotte, 2015). More currently, in 2016, women accounted for slightly over half (50.6%) of young Canadians (aged 25 to 34) with an earned doctorate. Women accounted for the majority of young graduates with an earned doctorate in many fields, including education, social and behavioural sciences and law, health and related fields, visual and performing arts and communication technologies, and humanities (Statistics Canada, 2016). However, women still made up less than half of young graduates with an earned doctorate in fields where women are typically underrepresented such as architecture, engineering, and related technologies, mathematics, computer and information sciences, and physical and life sciences and technologies (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Also demonstrating a social change in higher education is that non-traditional graduate students are enrolling in programs at a higher rate than ever before (Brown & Nichols, 2012). Non-traditional graduate students are defined as "an adult who is pursuing a higher degree part-time while working full-time, or one who returns to school full or part-time after a significant break or interruption (e.g., starting a family, starting a

career, switching careers), while maintaining responsibilities such as employment, family, and other obligations of adult life" (Brown & Nichols, 2002, p. 11). Significant to this study, is the finding that approximately 53% of non-traditional graduate students support more than one dependent and 29% are single parents between the age of 30 and 40 years of age (National Centre for Education Statistics, 2002). Although enrollment rates reflect a change in the populations participating in graduate studies, many Canadian higher educational institutions have not evolved alongside these changing demographics, particularly, graduate students who are mothers (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 2011; Jakubiec, 2017; Allen, 2014).

Although men are included in the population of non-traditional graduate students, this study focuses solely on graduate students who are mothers. Though not to minimize the contribution or challenges of fatherhood, research has demonstrated that motherhood continues to interrupt the trajectory of graduate school in ways that fatherhood does not (Gruosso, 2018; Lynch, 2008; Mason & Goulden, 2002). For example, a study conducted by Mason and Goulden (2002) revealed that the timing of having children during graduate school greatly affected the academic careers of women. In contrast to men graduate students, the timing is imperative for women in education, with implications stretching far into their academic careers after receipt of the doctoral degree. Mason and Goulden (2002) exposed that having a baby within five years of PhD studies undermines women's academic careers making them 30% less likely than women without babies to attain a tenure-track position upon graduation (p. 52). Women with children in contrast to women without are also more likely to face higher attrition rates and lower publication rates (Armenti, 2004). In contrast to graduate student fathers, women graduate students

and postdoctoral fellows who have babies while students or fellows are more than twice as likely as new fathers or childless women to turn away from an academic research career (Mason, 2013). Throughout the literature on motherhood and academia, the most consistent and significant finding is that family formation negatively affects women's, but not men's, academic careers (Acker & Armenti, 2004; Butterwick & Dawson, 2005; Gruosso, 2018; Knights & Richards, 2003; Krais, 2002).

As a result of exclusionary maternity leave policies, which identify women as the primary care provider, as well as a lack of adequate organizational structures on campus that support graduate student mothers, many mothers often experience a hostile atmosphere on campus and increased rates of attrition from their program of study (Lynch, 2008; Hirakata & Daniluk, 2009; Mason & Goulden, 2004; Mirick & Wladkowski, 2018; McCutcheon & Morrsison, 2016; Jakubiec, 2017; Allen, 2014). Although not exhaustive, here is a short list of examples of the way institutions erase mothers from their boundaries: the absence of lactation rooms, maternity parking, childcare centres, and affordable family housing. Given this short list of absences, it is in no way surprising that many graduate student mothers experience a "chilly climate," (Hall & Sandler, 1982, p. 3) during their graduate student careers (Williams, 2004; Williams 2007). For example, maternity leave may be granted for a maximum of three consecutive semesters, whereas paternity leave will only be granted for one (University of Windsor, 2019, p.2). These unequal maternity and paternity leave allotments also reinforce notions of domesticity and a separate spheres mentality (Williams, 2009) which hold that men "naturally" belong in academia and women belong in the home because of their "natural" focus on relationships, children, and their ethic of care. In its original

context, domesticity's descriptions of men and women were in place maintain breadwinner/housewife roles by establishing norms that complimented character behaviours associated with these roles (Williams, 2009). The unequal allotment of maternity and paternity leave may insinuate that there is a hidden preference for who should take on the role of primary caregiver. The ideology of domesticity is discussed further during an overview of key definitions in this dissertation.

Also reinforcing an either/or proposition between motherhood and graduate studies, a study conducted by Williams (2004), found that graduate student mothers interpreted three main themes from maternity leave policies, the organizational structure of the university and resources for mothers, and advisor encouragement. These three themes include: (1) the decision to have children should be made after they attain tenure; (2) if they are aspiring to obtain a tenure-track position, they should not consider having children; (3) having children during graduate school ensures an outsider status. This next section will discuss why graduate students who are mothers are worthy of study, and why doing so is timely and appropriate.

Graduate students who are mothers are worthy of study for a number of reasons. First, graduate students play a unique and significant role on campus and within the research community of their faculties (Allen, 2014). For example, graduate students experience many of the same work-family conflicts as faculty women, which are also caused by environmental forces, such as publication expectations and conferences attendance (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2016). However, despite the unique role that graduate students have on university campuses, their experiences are oftentimes overlooked and disregarded when institutional policies and student regulations are

developed (Kovaleski & Perasse, 2004; Brown & Nichols, 2012, p. 502). Putting graduate students who are mothers in the conversation may also help highlight how the discourses of impossibility and separate spheres operate against women in academe.

Graduate students who are mothers are a unique demographic coming to terms with cultural expectations for both motherhood and academic success (Williams, 2007). They are also a group coming to terms with institutional goal and policies (e.g., diversity, inclusion, and disciplinary and academic programs) that do not accommodate their unique role as both graduate student and mother. They are a group coming to terms with academic expectations for "good" students and societal expectations for "good" mothers (Hays, 1996, p. 30). These expectations and unique characteristics of their demographics and dual roles make them a worthy group to explore and develop research that is dedicated to advancing their equity, success, and unmasking social, economic, and political disparities in power. The following section explores how the rhetoric of choice is used to exercise practices of power and as a way to mask economic, social, and political disparities in power.

Discussions of career aspirations and outcomes for graduate student mothers often use the word "choice" or "choose" as a convenient way to mask social, economic, and political disparities in power. The word "choice" carries push and pull factors that have implications for mothers and women in graduate school and the workforce. Yes, personal agency plays a role in decision making for mothers and women; however, from a feminist perspective, these choices are shaped and influenced through the lens of women's traditional roles in society and shaped by gender role expectations (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012).

Despite the fact that graduate student mothers are an increasing population in graduate programs in Ontario and more broadly, Canada (Brown & Nichols, 2012; Statistics Canada, 2013), the structure and process of higher education has remained largely unchanged. This failure to evolve alongside a changing population results in failing to meet the needs of this unique group and contributes to discriminatory practices (Davis, Evans, & Lorber, 2006). Situating the experiences of graduate student mothers in the conversation of higher education is pertinent and has the potential to change the culture of higher education for the better. However, the scant amount of research on the experiences of graduate student mothers within a Canadian context highlights the marginalization of graduate student mothers and demonstrates the disregard for women's experiences and contributions in higher education.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of graduate students who are mothers or faculty members who were mothers at the time of their study in a variety of graduate programs in a Southwestern Ontario university. By doing so, the research will provide a broader understanding of gender and gender relations, and more specifically, the relationship between motherhood, gender, and higher education. This research will contribute to the literature in the following ways: First, the research will fill a gap in the literature on the experiences of graduate student mothers, specifically within the Canadian context; Second, it will examine the University policy landscape as it relates to family and parenthood; Third, since graduate student mothers extend, amplify, and reflect the culture of women in the academy, the research will contribute to the discussion of motherhood and the academy; and last, seeking to understand graduate

student mothers' experiences as gendered subjects, this study will also challenge patriarchal relations of power, while simultaneously serving as an outlet of expression for graduate student mothers. These aims of this study are shaped and explored by the following research questions presented below.

Definitions

For the purposes of this study, and in acknowledgement of the patriarchal systems and history the term motherhood has been constructed through, motherhood will be defined as a social and historical construction. By viewing motherhood as a social construction, this study acknowledges that motherhood and views of motherhood are fluid and reconstructed with each passing political, cultural, and social wave. In addition to motherhood, other terms central to the body of this research include social construction, motherhood, and mothering. Social construction will refer to the ideological constructs which have been established, adopted, and institutionalized by participants in Western culture who act together within a social framework following a set of conventional rules and behaving as if the rules have been agreed upon (Berger & Luckmann, 1991, p. 83). The term motherhood will be used in reference to the institutionalization of this term. Broadly defined, motherhood can be referred to as "mothers as a collective group, to the state of being a mother, and to the qualities attributed to mothers" (O'Reilly, 2010, p. 1137). However, due to its complexities and inabilities to be defined simply, motherhood then, is better described as, "a principle, a key component in the political and social order of communities: an institution" (O'Reilly, 2010, p. 1138).

According to O'Reilly (2010) definitions of mothering and motherhood are often

premised on "dynamic activity" (p. 1137), which may include caring and nurturing dependents. These dynamic activities shape ways of thinking and acting that then redefine what it means to be a mother. Motherhood then, is not necessarily based on biological relations and creates inclusive spaces for all forms of motherhood such as the case of adoptive mothers, stepmothers, surrogate mothers, and fictive kin (O'Reilly, 2010, p. 1137). Finally, some definitions of mothering draw from the ideology of intensive mothering (Arendell, 2000), which continues to powerfully shape women's lives and ensure that mothers remain close to social regulation so that socially constructed gender roles are adhered to or "performed" (Butler, 1988; Ruddick, 2001). The social construction of maternity rejects the assumption that "practices of mothering, traits of mothers, and meanings of motherhood are in any way natural, biological, essential or inevitable" (Sardadvar, 2018, p. 1134). Conversely, the social construction of maternity suggests that perceptions and experiences of motherhood are the result of processes of social construction. Motherhood, therefore, is a social, political and historical construct that is continually shaped and redefined by members of society through everyday interaction, discourses, and social practices (Sardadvar, 2018). The notion of motherhood as a social and historical construct is also imperative in recognizing its variability based on culture and social organization, and shaped and intertwined with relations of power (Bryant, 1999).

Much of the theorizing on motherhood and mothering derives from an ethnocentric notion of motherhood, often disregarding cultural differences among mothers and perpetuating a binaristic approach to the concept of motherhood and mothering (Bryant, 1999). For example, in African American families, othermothers

could be misconstrued, or even invalidated when considering their role in mothering a child. Collins (2000) describes the othermother tradition in African American communities as a way that women, both with and without children of their own, have taken care of one another and each other's children, "Nurturing children in Black extended family networks stimulates a more generalized ethic of caring and personal accountability among African-American women who often feel accountable to all the Black community's children" (p. 189). Consequently, this exclusion or conformity to a given definition invalidates African American families externalized and internalized realities. This conceptualization also has implications for topics concerning social capital, defined here as an individual's access to resources through membership in social networks (Portes, 1998), and intersectionality. Integrating the variables of culture, race, history, and gender can serve to include a more board conceptualization of motherhood without the direct results on the identity development of women in their role as mothers (Bryant, 1999). Viewing motherhood as a social construction, rather than a mere definition, acknowledges the reality that racism, classism, and gender discrimination affect how women mother (O'Reilly**, 2010).

Lastly, domesticity will be utilized during discussions of domestic labour within the home and the gendered implications of its division. Domesticity refers to "a gender system comprised most centrally of the organization of market work and family work that arose around 1780" (Williams, 1998, p.89). It also includes the genders norms that justify, sustain, and reproduce that specific organization. By the nineteenth century, domesticity set up and organized the system of men working outside the home, leaving women ultimately responsible for child rearing and work within the home. As an

organizing system, domesticity has two defining characteristics. First, its organization of market is founded on the principles of the ideal worker. This worker is dedicated to their job, leaving little time for childrearing and domestic tasks. Given its rigid structure, this defining characteristic caregivers cannot function as ideal workers. The inability to do so gives rise to the second defining characteristic, which is the marginalization of caregivers. Resulting in a cut-off of responsibility and authority, this defining characteristic often renders caregivers powerless (Williams, 1998). In addition to a new structuring of work, domesticity gives rise to a new structuring of the description of men and women (Williams, 1998).

The gendered stereotypes pervasive in the workplace surrounding the perception of men and women's work are partly attributed to the ideology of domesticity (Williams, 1998). The ideology of domesticity maintains that men belong in the workplace because of their "naturally" aggressive and competitive nature. Women, according to the ideologies of domesticity, are deemed more suitable for caregiving given their "natural" nurturing and childrearing capabilities (Williams, 1998, p. 90). Despite the rise of women in the workplace over the last few decades and men's increase in domestic related tasks (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Statistics Canada, 2013), women still manage a larger majority of household duties, and as a contributing result of this domestic workload, access to positions are often comprised. According to Williams (2009), this notion of "moral motherhood" (p. 183) saw women as more suited for private rather than public sphere obligations, based on their natural tendencies as caregivers. Traces of the ideology of domesticity can also be found within institutional policies on campus through unequal

maternity and paternity leave policies and the perceptions of Canadians and who they regard as the most appropriate primary caregiver.

Both the ideology and practice of domesticity are pervasive in today's society and imbedded deeply within individuals' perceptions of caregiving. For example, reflecting unstated and undefended assumptions about who is best suited for childrearing, in just 1999, a majority of Canadians believed that ideally, and for the sake of the child's well-being, women should not work outside the home while their children are young (Michalski, 1999). Despite these ideologies and views on women working outside the home, Canada has seen a near 10% increase in the proportion of all hours of paid work attributable to mothers (i.e., from 29% in 1986 to 38% in 2015) (Houle, Turcotte & Wendt, 2017). However, when put into perspective, the participation rate of mothers in household work in 2015 remained higher than that of fathers (i.e., 93% and 76%, respectively). This difference between fathers and mothers is mainly due to the increased participation of fathers in household work rather than a decrease in the participation of mothers. Men's involvement in the domestic sphere has undoubtedly increased (e.g., Marshall 2012; Bianchi 2011); however, Canadian women and mothers continue to do more, and at times significantly more than men, even when they work full-time (Craig & Mullan 2010; OECD 2011). These social and cultural changes have multiple implications for gender roles and participation in public and private labour spheres for mothers.

Research Questions

Through a feminist theoretical lens (Butler, 1990; Connell, 1995; Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011; Hesse-Biber, 2007), this research will seek to answer the following central research question: How does the concept of motherhood influence the experiences

of graduate students who are mothers? I open with this question to underscore the guiding questions shaping this study. The guiding questions include:

a)   How do institutional policies and practices related to family and motherhood shape the experiences of graduate students who are mothers?

b)   How does motherhood influence, and continue to influence, the experiences of tenured faculty members who are mothers?

Theoretical Framework

Feminist Theories

Feminism is not singular, nor monolithic; feminism means different things to different people. Reflecting a plurality of understandings, feminism, is best understood as feminisms. Despite differences between and among the various understandings of feminism, similarities and commonalities do exist. For example, feminism advocates economic, political, social and intellectual equality for women. Feminism is political in nature. Feminist research positions gender as the categorical centre of inquiry and uses gender as a lens through which to focus on social issues (Hesse-Biber, 2012). When research is grounded in a set of theoretical traditions that privilege women's issues, voices, and lived experiences, it is considered feminist. A theoretical lens informed by feminist theories also views gender as a social, historical, and cultural construct (Butler, 1990; Connell, 1995). For example, females become women through a process whereby they acquire feminine behaviours and learn feminine performance expectations. Ideals and ideas of masculinity and femininity are social constructions, manufactured through relations of power, and built through historical, social, political, and economic processes.

Power and hierarchy undergird the discursive construction of gender identities (Haslanger, 1995, p. 98). Always context dependent, gender identities are enacted, negotiated and performed.

Socialization encourages various acts of gender and perpetuates systems of oppression (Butler, 1990). More specifically, femininities are socially constructed "configurations of gender practice" created through historical and social processes situated in patriarchal relations of power, rather than an essentialist product of biology (Butler, 1990; Connell, 1995; Coulter & Greig, 2008; Martino, 2004). The women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s, began to challenge these essentialist arguments that considered gender innate and biologically determined. Rather than deeming the differences between women and men as "natural" or innate, some scholars began to see gender as "a socially constructed set of social expectations that are attached to a social status, male or female" (O'Reilly, 2010, p.1137). More recently, scholars began to interpret gender as "a central organizing principle of social relations" (O'Reilly, 2010, p. 1137). The basis of this "gender as a structure" is grounded in the assumption that women and men behave differently because "they fill different positions in institutional settings, which include the labor market and families" (O'Reilly, 2010, p. 1137).

These socially constructed gender norms are historically variable, and not natural, unchanging, or reliant on biological determinism (Apple & Golden, 1997). By focusing on knowledge acquisition through the inclusion of women and these social constructs, the specificity of women's lived experiences has become a central component of feminist theoretical research (Hesse-Biber, 2013).

A feminist perspective provides space for the exploration of broader questions of

social justice, while simultaneously addressing multiple forms of structural inequity (i.e., gender, age, race, ableism, ethnicity, class, and sexuality). Research informed by feminist theories fosters empowerment, liberation, and emancipation for women and other marginalized groups and is consistent with the broader aims of gender justice (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007). Feminist theories offer insights into the social construction of gender, in particular the relationship between gender, motherhood, and education.

This study views gender as performative (Butler, 1990). Feminist theorists such as Judith Butler (1990) have highlighted how gender is performative and creates an illusion of an essential gender identity. For Butler, gender is performative. This narrative is sustained by "the tacit collective agreement to perform, produce, and sustain discrete and polar genders as cultural fictions is obscured by the credibility of those productions – and the punishments that attend not agreeing to believe in them" (Butler, 1990, p. 179). Butler's (1990) theory of subversive repetitions questions the ideals of a unified continuous self and suggests that mothering is composed of multiple identities. In this sense, Butler's theory of subversive repetitions sees motherhood as an identity tenuously constituted in time-an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts and performances (Butler, 1988, p. 519).

These identities and cultural performances create an illusion of naturalness and coherence. The cultural performances are constructed through repetitions that are expected by society to be subverted, rather than a genderless learned behaviour that is often challenging, yet undisclosed (Abbey, 2003). The illusion of naturalness is closely connected to the enactment of an ideal notion of motherhood. As Caplan (1989) has suggested, the hard work of mothering is frequently not revealed:

because mothering is supposed to come naturally, few mothers tell their children how difficult it can be. . . In a culture in which mothering is generally undervalued, chances are slim that anyone outside mother is going to teach children how much effort and uncertainty are involved in the job. So, both daughters and sons grow up thinking mothering is supposed to be easy (p. 87).

Performativity of gender is a stylized repetition of acts, an imitation or miming of the dominant conventions of gender (Butler, 1990, p. 520). Butler (1990) argues "the act that one does, the act that one performs is, in a sense, an act that's been going on before one arrived on the scene" (p. 526). In this sense, gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which actions originate; rather, it is an identity instituted from a stylized repetition of acts (Butler, 1990, p. 519). So, in considering the concept of the social construction of motherhood, women who aspire to the 'ideal' must engage in particular acts, time and again, to be perceived by others as an appropriate mother. Of course, conceptually this also means that a mother who subverts the ideal in a small or large way is one who falls short of the ideal, and therefore deemed inadequate.

Socially constructed gender identities have been in place for an extended period of time, which demonstrate their resilience (Butler, 1990). There are many different processes by which the expectations associated with being a boy or a girl are passed on through society. For instance, one could see this from the moment a child comes into the world and from the fact that he/she has to face a "blue" or "pink" existence and any deviation from that norm is often considered taboo. Similarly, women are often viewed as the natural caregivers when it comes to childrearing responsibilities. If women are the "natural" caregivers, then men become by default "unnatural," placing a large majority of

the childrearing responsibilities on the mothers' shoulders. To put differently, when mothers act in ways that are not consistent with the feminine stereotype, they are perceived as unnatural, uncaring, peculiar, inadequate, bad, and decidedly "unfeminine." This ultimately leads to the perception that mothers who do not take on the majority of childcare responsibilities will always be seen as less effective than women who do.

Gender role repetitions are a re-enactment and re-experiencing of a set of meanings already socially established gender norms carried out within social institutions (Butler, 1990, p. 526). For example, given the history of the academic workplace as a typically male enclave, gender role expectations influence both faculty life and family life (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Gender role expectations for women in the workplace become more evident when family life becomes enmeshed between the two roles, and women are faced with the norm that if they are to have children then they must fulfill their role as the primary caregiver; and shortly thereafter, the ideal mother norms that burden mothers (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012, p. 31). Comparative to prevailing postwar notions regarding working mothers, social commentators reinforced the notion that good mothers did not work outside the home, and thereby avoided the potential for their sons to become delinquent members of society (Greig, 2014). As a public action and performative act, gender roles are imposed or inscribed upon the individual or groups of individuals. Such is the case with "good mother" discourses and intensive mothering ideologies (Hays, 1996, p. 30), which continue to powerfully shape women's lives and ensure that mothers remain close to social regulation so that socially constructed gender roles are adhered to or "performed" (Butler, 1990; Ruddick, 2001). These performances of socially constructed gender roles create and perpetuate essentialist mindsets, (Martino,

2008), which will be discussed in the following section.

A feminist theory of gender is also interested in and examines the intersectionality of social class, race, sexuality, ableism and other social justice factors which help complexify and challenge the boundaries of what Martino (2008) calls "essentialist mindsets." These essentialist mindsets reduce gender down to an outcome of biology, thereby reproducing patriarchal relations of power. Moreover, seeking to address structural inequalities (Young, 2011) that produce and reproduce everyday inequities (Smith, 1987), feminist theory supports the premise that women, particularly racialized and minority women, are situated within the gender order (Connell, 1995) in ways that exclude them from the ruling apparatus of society (Connell, 2010). For example, the differences in the narratives of working-class mothers and Black mothers.

Demonstrating the persistent and significant discrimination towards working-class mothers, Walkerdine and Lucey (1989) argue that class distinctions influence how working-class mothers' stories are transmitted and viewed as insensitive and inadequate. Likewise, Caplan (2000) discusses how the difficulties of lower middle-class mothering often go untold, contributing to illusions of naturalness and coherence as discussed earlier. Similarly, Verduzco Baker (2012) outlines how motherhood is often driven by the power and ubiquity of dominant discourses of motherhood, which shape the way society understands these mothers as individuals, citizens and parents. By analyzing how young low-income mothers negotiate dominant discourses of motherhood as they construct understandings of themselves as mothers, Verduzco Baker (2012) makes visible the discursive dynamics through which low-income mothers continue to be positioned as bad mothers (e.g., "welfare queens") and challenge the assumption that young low-income

women are inherently flawed mothers. In doing so, Verduzco Baker (2012) highlights how the good mother discourses leave invisible the reality that good mothering requires a high level of privilege, which many women cannot access. Finally, Bell-Scott (1991) emphasizes the mothering differences between white and Black[1] mothering cultures. She argues that while middle class White women gain status as stay at home mothers, Women of Colour often face stereotypes doing the same. These images of motherhood far too often depict white women as angelic, self-sacrificing mothers and Black women vilified as reckless breeders and welfare mothers (Collins, 2000). These examples highlight how Black women have been historically contextualized as instruments of production (Rousseau, 2013).

Delving deeper into the vilification of Black mothers, the Historical Womanist Theory (HWT) is a useful tool that helps illustrate how Black women, especially mothers, have been historically situated and contextualized as (a) a population of African descent in a nation historically and fundamentally rooted in a racialized slave economy, (b) women in a profoundly patriarchal structure, and (c) laborers: productive, reproductive, and biological, within a capitalist system (Rousseau, 2013, p. 452). Further, Rousseau (2013) utilizes HWT to demonstrate three key assumptions in exploring the issue of rhetoric and welfare reform that continue to vilify Black mothers. These include: (a) The needs of the political economy dictate policies that disproportionately impact Black women; (b) social rhetoric is consciously constructed and manipulated as a tool of

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[1] According to the American Psychological Association, 6th Edition Manual proper nouns require capitalization when referencing race/ethnic groups (i.e. White). By capitalizing these terms, I illustrate the notion for equality between dominant and underrepresented populations in society and discourse (Anaya, 2014, p.1).

oppression; and (c) Black women experience a unique oppression that is at once raced, classed, and gendered.

According to Rousseau (2013), Black motherhood is and has been manipulated from one policy period to the next depending on the needs of the economy. Black motherhood is represented as a burden to be survived during the period leading up to welfare reform, while the period of welfare reform presents Black mothers as desperate to do anything to survive. Drawing upon this example is the vilification of Black mothers in relation to the care of their own children but depended upon for the care of White children. This divergence between White mothers and mothers of Colour is also apparent in how Black and White women were expected to produce as many children as possible; neither having control over their sexuality and reproductive activities, but enslaved Black women were especially victimized because they gave birth to 'property' owned by white slave holders (Collins, 2000). Finally, Black mothers/motherhood are/is silenced or absent in the current so-called post racial period, most notably in their absence from the literature on motherhood and academia and presence in higher education. This work has informed and influenced the way feminist scholarship discusses motherhood and privilege, its institutionalization, and reproduction of a gender-stratified society (O'Reilly, 2004, p. 64).

For the purposes of my own research and for reasons stated above, a feminist theoretical lens will be utilized. More specifically, my research will strive to "give voice" (Leavy, 2007, p. 92) to the women who have been left out of mainstream research models. I will do this by recognizing their life stories as valuable forms of knowledge. Recognizing the diversity of women's experiences, my research aims to reinforce their

plurality and highlight the intersections between gender and other social justice categories.

Contemporary feminist research strives to give voice to lived experiences that are traditionally marginalized, ignored and silenced. Bringing about social change by uncovering the hidden knowledge contained within these experiences is a central goal of feminist standpoint epistemology (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007). Founded as a result of feminist consciousness-raising efforts in academia, the exclusion of women's experiences gave rise to feminist theories. Feminist theories strive to achieve the aforementioned goals of giving voice to silenced experiences by challenging researchers to (1) see and understand the world through the eyes and experiences of oppressed women and (2) apply the vision and knowledge of oppressed women to social activism and social change (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007).

In addition to including lived experiences, uncovering subjugated knowledge will also be at the forefront of my research. For example, uncovering discrepancies between institutional policies, (e.g., maternity leave), and practices (e.g., on-campus childcare options) for graduate students who are mothers. Drawing attention to the lived experiences among graduate students who are mothers, this research aims to highlight the ways in which women, specifically mothers, may experience discrimination due to family and maternity leave policies on university campuses.

Documenting the interpersonal ways mothers are discriminated within higher educational institutions requires that we actively acknowledge and respect women's diverse experiences (Stalker & Prentice, 1998). In addition to describing the lived experiences of graduate student mothers, this research analyzes the potential chasms

between the appearance of inclusion and the reality of exclusion faced by this particular population, if graduate student mothers indeed experience them. The lived experiences of graduate students who are mothers are a central component of my research, and therefore, I will be drawing upon feminist theories and methodologies that are consistent with its fundamental principles throughout this dissertation (see for example, Collins, 2000; Smith, 1987). By examining the lived experiences of the participants, this research also aims to contribute to the discussion of a "double consciousness" (Neilson, 1990; Smith, 1990; hooks, 2004).

One outcome of giving voice to women's experiences is the bringing to light the notion of a 'double consciousness' (see for example, Neilson, 1990; Smith, 1990; hooks, 2004). Briefly, a 'double consciousness' is a sociological concept referring to the way in which African Americans experienced racialized oppression in the context of the project of whiteness. Double consciousness refers to "the position of Black feminist theorists that Black women hold a unique position that allows them to understand the operation of both sexism and racism" (Collins, 2000, p. 256). According to this concept, marginalized populations feel a sense of 'two-ness,' the sensation of feeling both the 'true-self'- and the self-shaped by oppressive structures. In this sense, racialized women, as members of an oppressed group, have cultivated a heightened awareness of the lives of the dominant group (men) and their lives. The experiences of women largely remain invisible to the dominant group, whereas women are tuned into the dominant worldview of society and their minority viewpoint.

Oftentimes, a double consciousness grows out of a compliance with socially dictated roles, such as student and mother. As a result, many women find themselves

meditating between their various roles (e.g., wife, mother, student), contributing to the double day (Weiss, 1988) in the form of household tasks (Smith, 1999). The same concept can also be applied within groups such as White women and Black women navigating the realms of student life and motherhood, which are often enacted through the dominant White culture in school and society (Nielson, 1990). The knowledge gained from women's double consciousness can be utilized to view inequities and injustices and implement solutions that will alleviate and eradicate them (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007). A feminist perspective may provide a space for exploring broader questions of social injustice, while simultaneously addressing many other forms of structural inequity. Drawing upon these experiences may uncover and highlight the key components of feminist research and will assist in drawing upon several key components related to feminist theories. Although not limited to reconstructive feminism or matricentric feminism, further discussion of these perspectives strengthens the focus of graduate studies and motherhood.

Reconstructive feminism is a branch of feminism that explores the way people explore and are molded by femininity and masculinity (Williams, 2009). Seeing gender as a cultural resource people use to shape their interactions, reconstructive feminism views gender as a set of social scripts rather than an inborn identity. Additionally, reconstructive feminism seeks to challenge and change the way individuals discuss and think about gender (Williams, 2009). Acknowledging that the roles of men and women have changed dramatically over the past four decades (see for example, Houle et al., 2017; Marshall 2012; Bianchi 2011), the workplace has changed only incrementally, rendering women and men actively seeking how to successfully navigate the work and

family interface. As a response to this quandary, reconstructive feminism brings about a focus on gender dynamics within which identities are forged (Williams, 2009, p.79). Shifting the focus from women and women's identities, reconstructive feminism argues that although women need equality, the power and privilege of masculine ideology must first be addressed (Williams, 2009).

According to Williams (2009) the central tenet of reconstructive feminism is that "gender differences, real and imagined, create social disadvantage when women are measured against unspoken and unacknowledged masculine norms" (p. 79). For example, reconstructive feminism postulates that working women's pregnancies and increased domestic workloads contribute to gender disadvantages by the way in which society continues to define the ideal worker norm. As previously noted, the ideal worker is someone (man) who works full-time across decades and supported by a spouse (woman) who singlehandedly tackles the domestic sphere and caregiving responsibilities. Working on a timeline that is reflective of a masculine norm, the gender disparities become highlighted to a greater degree once these disadvantages become framed in a way that places masculine norms at the epicenter of discussion. Attending to masculinity and masculine norms has multiple implications for social power dynamics (Williams, 2009).

Masculine norms are a primary catalyst for social power dynamics (Williams, 2009). Feminism, broadly speaking, has undergone three primary debates over the decades. First, the sameness versus difference debate (i.e., differences between men and women), the anti-essentialism debate (i.e., differences among women), and the difference versus dominance debate (i.e., the relationship of gender difference to gender dominance). Rather than using women's identities as the primary focus, as these debates

have in the past, reconstructive feminism challenges the masculine norms and utilizes these as the primary catalyst for social power dynamics. Seeking to identify the main contributing factors to the shift in gender conventions, reconstructive feminism seeks to break down conventional gendered behaviours within social institutions, such as the workplace. Therefore, a mother whom is committed to her career should not be seen as less committed to either role if the gender norms that shape the social expectations of her behaviour are contoured less rigidly (Williams, 2009). Today's current society has yet to reach this ideology of unconventional gendered behaviour, and therefore, many women-especially mothers, continue to face multiple forms of gender discrimination in workplaces that have been historically reserved for men (e.g., academia).

Williams (2009) identifies four main types of gender disadvantage faced by employed women, all of which originate from imbedded masculine norms. First, it is far more difficult for feminine women to establish competence in high quality, highly paid jobs that are typically defined as masculine. Second, these same unspoken workplace norms disadvantage women who act in ways that are traditionally defined as 'masculine.' Third, as masculine norms regulate the strategical behaviour of women (e.g., femmy or tomboy), gender wars emerge between and amongst women, leading to instances of horizontal violence (Freire, 2007). Finally, and most relevant to the discussion of motherhood, are the persistent and negative assumptions of mothers' competence and commitment levels once any indication of motherhood becomes salient leading to the perpetuation of the maternal wall (Williams, 2009). One notable woman who challenged various gender discriminations is American supreme court judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg, whose goal was a society in which women could gain access to roles typically reserved

for men. Pertinent to the discussion of academia, Ginsburg also advocated for part-time academic schedules "for students unable to undertake full-time study because of social family obligations that cannot be met by customary financial aid (notably, the care of preschool children)" (Ginsburg, 1975; as cited in Williams, 2009). This change in academia recognizes and reinforces the reconstructive feminist notion that while women indeed need equality, attaining that equality first requires a change in masculine norms to allow both women and men, to simultaneously have conventional careers and conventional family lives (Williams, 2009). Disadvantaging women because their conventionally feminine life patterns serve to benefit male norms and skewed perceptions of who should be the primary caregivers, simply on the basis of sex. Reconstructive feminism shifts the focus from women's bodies and pregnancy and redirects the focus to social norms in an attempt to defuse justifications for continuing sex-based discrimination (Williams, 2009).

Arguing that motherhood is distinct and deserving of its own category, O'Reilly (2016) developed the concept of matricentric feminism. In her keynote speech and induction into the Motherhood Hall of Fame at the Museum of Motherhood, O'Reilly (2014) contends that mothers need a feminism that positions their needs and concerns as the starting point in theory and activism on and for women's empowerment. Further, matricentric feminism is distinct from maternal feminism and borrows from maternalism in ways that support its specificity to its 21st century context. This mother-centred standpoint also addresses social, economic, political, cultural, psychological, and other intersecting social categories that are so integral to motherhood, mothering, and women's identities as mothers (Museum of Motherhood, 2014). While this discussion outlines

what matricentric feminism is, it is important to also discuss what matricentric feminism is not.

Matricentric feminism is not a replacement for traditional feminist thought or activism. Matricentric feminism is also not a completely accepted branch of feminism, nor is it met with the same respect or recognition as others. On the basis that motherhood is not an intersecting factor, like race, class, and other social categories, matricentric feminism has suffered from the absence of maternity in theorizing gendered oppression and resistance (Museum of Motherhood, 2014). The key concepts and literature presented in the next sections demonstrates how integral discussion of maternity are in discussions of and the theorizing of gendered oppression and resistance.

Key Concepts of a Feminist Theoretical Framework

My research will be drawing upon the following key concepts in connection to feminist theories: (1) Patriarchy; (2) Power/power relations; (3) Hegemony; (4) Ideology; (5) Intersectionality; and (6) Heteronormativity.

Patriarchy. In describing the concept of patriarchy, Johnson (2007) refers to it as a metaphorical 'knot' (p. 4). In order to understand the concept of patriarchy, he suggests that we have to find ways to unravel the knot and this begins with understanding the very nature of patriarchy and its legacy. Rather than tightening the knot through defensive reactions to what people assume patriarchy to be (i.e., men), a clearer understanding of what it means for society and those who live within its legacy, can help in unravel its knot. Patriarchy, therefore, is "a kind of society" (p. 5) and that includes more than a simplistic collection of people, man, collection of men. Rather, patriarchy includes a society in which both men and women inhabit. To further expand the concept of

patriarchy, Johnson (2007) posits that a society is patriarchal "to the degree that is promotes male privilege by being male dominated, male identified, and male centered" (p.5).

Patriarchy is male dominated in the sense that positions of authority are typically occupied and reserved for men. When a woman occupies any given role that is generally reserved for men, society's response is more concerned with how she will measure up to a man's performance in the role. Male dominance also creates power differentials between men and women and can shape culture in ways that uphold and cater to men's collective interests by, for example, seeing men as ideal workers when absent from their familial life. The idea that men are superior to women is also an indicator of male dominance. Although most men as individuals are not superior, the idea that if men occupy most superior positions in society, they must thereby, be superior. Male dominance creates power differences between men and women, while male identification defines the core cultural ideas about men and masculinity (Johnson, 2007).

A patriarchal society is male identified when its core cultural ideas about what is normal or acceptable are associated with men and masculinity. For example, male-identified models of higher education. A career in higher education is defined in ways that assume the career holder has a wife at home to assume domestic and caregiving duties so there is no distraction from work. Women, therefore, face many difficulties and challenges in their ascension to higher ranks within the academy. Other examples of a male identified patriarchal society include the association and praise of qualities such as toughness, forcefulness, and competitiveness to men and masculinities and the fact that leadership roles are also assigned to maleness and masculinity. As a result, women are

often forced to choose between different cultural images of who she is and who she ought to be. Specific to this research is the case of women being forced to choose between academia and motherhood. Although there are women who surpass the challenges of a patriarchal society, they are nonetheless surrounded by powerful men, who interests are maintained by her expected embrace of the core values that are deeply entrenched within the institution (Johnson, 2007).

In addition to a society being both male dominated and male identified, patriarchal societies are also male centered meaning that the focus of attention is on men and what they do (Johnson, 2007). Using male experience to represent human experience, male centeredness suggests that men are at the centre stage and patriarchal mirroring demands it remains this way. Such is the case when a man's reflection is obscured by the demands of a woman's own life, leaving him to feel vulnerable and left out. Control of attention and mirroring are a segway into the fourth element of patriarchy- the obsession with control.

Control is a core value to patriarchy. Control is an essential part of patriarchy given that it elevates one group and oppresses the other. Men maintain their privilege and women are controlled by the need for society to maintain it. Control, in this sense, is far greater than human agency. Control in terms of patriarchy involves an obsessive form by taking a natural human tendency to a detrimental extreme. The effects of patriarchy and this obsession to control are demonstrated in a multitude of ways. One of several ways involves the exclusion of women from major institutions, such as academia. When women are included in various spheres of work, their work is devalued, and at times, practically invisible (Johnson, 2007).

These elements of patriarchy are presented for a conceptual understanding of the term and do not deny that women have indeed made progress in higher academia (Statistics Canada, 2013; 2014; 2016). However, despite women's increased participation in higher academia and faculty positions within the academy, there is an illusion of fundamental change set forth by the power of patriarchy. Rooted in its ability to absorb pressures of superficial change and the symptoms of oppression, its root causes leave deep structures untouched (Johnson, 2007). For example, women, and more so, women of colour, continue to face higher attrition rates (Lynch, 2008), lower access to informal networking in academia among other institutional and structural challenges (Holmes, 2003; Tenenbaum, Crosby, & Gliner, 2003), all while continuing to perform the majority of household and caregiving tasks within the home (Hochschild, 2003). A discussion of other key concepts of a feminist theoretical framework highlights how patriarchy continues to shape power and privilege, and just how deeply rooted its core principles of male-domination, male-identification, male-centeredness, and obsession with control, truly are.

Power/power relations. In close relation to patriarchy, power/power relations is another key concept that warrants discussion. A critical component of feminist theories are power and power relations. An analysis of power relations is central to understanding the nature and causes of various forms of women's subordination. For feminist scholars, power is not something that can be operationally defined with ease. Much of the disagreement over a definition of power comes from how power is defined (Davis et al., 2006). For example, some see power as getting someone else to do what they want them to, an exercise of power-over. Conversely, others see it as an ability or capacity to act; the

power to do something. Stemming from a critical theoretical background, Michel Foucault's (1976/1990) analysis of power contributes to a deeper understanding of the role of power in women's lives.

Although some of Foucault's work can be seen as contradictory to feminist theories, there are specific elements of his work that are highly relevant to the topic of motherhood. First, Foucault's analyses of the powers which operate outside of political domains overlaps with feminist aims of exploring the micro politics of personal life and exposing the processes of patriarchal power at the most intimate levels of women's experience. Second, Foucault's conceptualization of power and its relation to the body and sexuality has contributed to discussions of the social construction of gender, and thereby, motherhood. Lastly, Foucault's notion of the body as the main focus of power, calls into question the role of reproduction, pregnancy, and therefore, motherhood (Fieser & Dowden, 2016; Garwood, 2014). For these reasons, among others that will be discussed in the following section, Foucault's reconceptualization of power offers significant contributions to the concept of motherhood.

Foucault contends that power operates in day-to-day interactions between people and institutions. In this sense, the power is more like something that acts and operates in a certain way and more of a strategy for maintaining social order, rather than a possession. For Foucault, power is exercised from the bottom, not the top; power is about discipline and punishment. In many ways, it is about how power is exercised through disciplinary means in a variety of institutions like schools to maintain the status quo (Garwood, 2014).

Foucault's work on power is relevant to this study in many ways. First, his method of historical analysis, genealogy, explores a form of history, which can account

for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, and domains of objects (Foucault, 1988, p. 265). Rather than assuming that the movement of history can be explained by the intentions and aims of individual actors, his work on power investigates the complex and shifting network of relations between power, knowledge and the body, which produce historically specific forms of subjectivity (Foucault, 1988). His genealogy is a form of social analysis that seeks to explore the possibilities of social change and ethical transformation of oneself. Michel Foucault and his work on power is particularly relevant to the exploration of motherhood in that Foucault was concerned about how disciplinary power, which regulates the behavior of individuals within any social context, has been used to manage not only births and deaths and illness but also reproduction.

One of the fundamental notions of Foucault's genealogy of the present is that it challenges the commonly held assumption that power is essentially negative, operating through overt forms of repression. This conception of power, which Foucault refers to as 'juridico-discursive' power has its origins in pre-modern societies and sovereign authority (p. 82). As societies evolved more towards the growth and care of populations, new methods of power emerged. These evolved methods centered on administration and management of life and conjoined around two poles. Most relevant to the concept of motherhood is the pole that is concerned with governing the population and management of the life processes of the social body. It involves the regulation of birth, death, sickness, disease, health, and sexuality. The second pole focuses on the regulation of discipline and disciplinary power and views the human body as an object to be controlled. It is within the first pole that the concept of motherhood and the social construction of motherhood are most relevant. Discourses emerging from this pole led to classifications of behaviour

along a scale of normalization, ultimately labeling deviant forms of behaviour that

transgressed their classification and categories.

Classifications of social behaviours that emerged from Foucault's genealogy

suggest that in modern society the behaviour of individuals and groups is controlled

through standards of normality, which are dispersed by a range of knowledges.

Individuals and groups become mediators of their own normalization through processes

of self-regulation, investment in a certain category, and discourses that seek to reveal

identity. This system of power seeks to produce individuals as subjects who are both the

objects and vehicles of power, "'the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and,

conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power (Foucault, 1980, p. 52). This

regime of power has many implications for institutions of power and privilege.

The fundamental idea emerging from Foucault's works (1976/1990) is that the

privileged place to observe power in action is within the relations between the individual

and the society, especially its institutions. For example, through an analysis of power

Foucault (1990) discusses how various institutions exert their power on groups and

individuals and how the latter affirm their own identity and resistance to the effects of

power. Further, rather than viewing power as something that oppresses individuals

through individual institutions, Foucault (1990) proposes an alternative model in which

power relations dissipate through all relational structures of the society, reinforcing the

complex intersectionalities between social justice factors such as ableism, race, class,

gender and their relationship to education. In this sense, power is not something that can

be owned, but rather, it is a relation between individuals. Disseminated by discourse and

something that acts and manifests itself in a certain way, "Power must be analyzed as

something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain

. . . Power is employed and exercised through a netlike organization . . . Individuals are

the vehicles of power, not its points of application" (Foucault, 1980, p. 98). This method

of conceiving power as something that is exerted, often from the ground up, rather than

something that is acquired, acknowledges that power relations are multiple and can take

on many different forms such as family relations, within an institution, or both

simultaneously as is demonstrated by the challenges faced by graduate student mothers.

The type of power and power relations observed in my research may uncover a

type of power that is constantly exercised by means of surveillance and normalizing

tactics, which have been created and maintained by the social constructions of gender,

and in particular, mothers. My research will also recognize that organizations are socially

situated practices in which gender is constructed and that there exists a gendered

substructure. Gender is also demonstrated in organizations through overtly sexual aspects

of masculinities and femininities, which claim their power (Davis et al., 2006). For

example, organizations validate and permit forms of male embodiment while invalidating

or deeming impermissible forms of female embodiment. A discussion of hegemony

further strengthens the discussion of motherhood, gender and higher education by

deconstructing social practices, privilege, and social forms.

Hegemony. Grounded in the work of Antonio Gramsci (2010), the second key

concept that my work will be examining is hegemony. Hegemony refers to "the ideal

representation of the interests of the privileged groups as universal interests, which are

then accepted by the masses as the natural, political, and social order" (Orlowski, 2011,

p. 2). This maintenance of domination is not exercised by sheer force, but rather,

consensual social practices, social forms, and social structures produced in specific sites, such as higher education (McLaren, 2003). Social practices include what people say and do, such as words and gestures. Social forms refer to the principles that provide and give legitimacy to various social practices, such as policies regarding maternity leave in higher education. Finally, social structures refer to the constraints that limit an individual, such as the barriers graduate student mothers face as a result of inadequate campus resources (McLaren, 2003).

Hegemony is a struggle whereby the powerful members of society win the consent of the oppressed members of society, resulting in the oppressed members unknowingly participating in their own subordination (McLaren, 2003). Hegemony may explain, for example, why some graduate student mothers believe they are not capable of completing their graduate school careers and begin to place blame on themselves, rather than blame that can ultimately be attributed to the structuring effects of the university and regulating policies and practices. This permeation of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality throughout society has the effect of supporting the status quo in power relations. Hegemony in this sense, is an 'organizing principle' that is diffused by the process of socialization into every area of daily life. To the extent that the population internalizes this prevailing consciousness, it becomes what is known as 'common sense,' whereby the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite appear as the natural order of things (Boggs, 1976). Further, Gramsci's added division of the superstructure, defined by Marx, into those institutions that were overtly coercive and those that were not, highlight the ways in which school serve to perpetuate hegemony (McLaren, 2003).

According to Gramsci (2010), the domination that structured social classes was

achieved through consent and in contrast to Marx he believed that class conflict is

"effectively neutralized" (p. 180) by institutions such as schools that indoctrinate social

norms (Femia, 1975, p. 31). The school system is an integral part of the system of

ideological hegemony in which individuals are socialized into maintaining the status quo.

For example, Gramsci describes the social character of traditional schools as determined

by the fact that each social group throughout society has its own type of school "intended

to perpetuate a specific traditional function, ruling or subordinate" which takes the

individual up to the threshold of their choice of job, forming them as a person capable of

thinking, studying and ruling, or controlling those who rule" (Gramsci, 2010, p. 40).

When simply examining the structural environment of higher educational institutions, it

becomes quite apparent that they serve to encourage the success of the elite members of

society (i.e., white, male, able-bodied individuals), while stifling the success of others

deemed as inferior (i.e., mothers, differently able-bodied individuals).

  Hegemony is not a process of active domination by the dominant class. Rather, it

is an active structuring of the culture and experiences of the subordinate class by the

dominant class. The dominant culture is able to implicitly set up the ways in which

subordinate groups live and respond to these cultures and experiences. By codifying the

way signs, symbols, and representations, hegemony brings meaning to worldviews. The

dominant class disguises these relations of power and privilege, through institutions like

higher education. To put it differently, a subordinate population gives their consent, to be

subordinated. An individual's "subject position" conditions them to react to these

representations in prescribed ways. For example, "graduate student mother" carries with

it a certain set of ideological baggage and positions these women as subjects in the

subordinate discourse (McLaren, 2003). Other key concepts, such as ideology, aid in the perpetuation of hegemony.

Ideology. Ideology operates alongside hegemony, and refers to the production and representation of ideas, values, and beliefs, and the ways in which they are expressed and lived by individuals and groups (McLaren, 2003). Described as a way of viewing the world, ideologies have implications for social practices and representations that we accept as the norm. Ideologies carry both positive and negative functions. While ideologies can serve as a means to make sense of their social and political world, they are also inevitably an individual's selective perceptions. Furthermore, ideology as a negative function operates through four modes. These modes include legitimation, dissimulation, fragmentation, and reification (McLaren, 2003).

Legitimation occurs when a system of domination is legitimized by representation of justice or being worthy of respect. For example, higher education institutions are often legitimized as just, meritocratic, and as giving all students equitable opportunities. However, as the experiences of graduate student mothers demonstrate that this is not the case. Dissimulation occurs when these relations of domination are denied or obscured. For example, a higher education that presents itself as "family friendly," but does not provide the means or support that graduate student mothers require in order to ensure their success. Fragmentation occurs when these marginalized groups are pinpointed against one another and placed in opposition to one another, which can lead to horizontal violence (Freire, 2007, p. 63). Finally, reification occurs when transitory historical states are regarded as permanent and natural. Failure to evolve with the demographics of nontraditional graduate student demographics and populations, such as graduate student

mothers, represents the stagnation of higher academic institutions and causes them to operate as if they exist outside of time (McLaren, 2003).

Intersectionality. Much of the past and still some of the present literature on the relationships between race, class, gender, and education have treated these demographic characteristics as isolated, independent variables (Crenshaw, 1993; Smith, 1999). Past thinking frequently conflated or ignored intra-group differences (Crenshaw, 1993, p. 1242). However, more recent theorizing has called our attention to fact that these constructs are not autonomous and, in many ways, intersect. As a result, feminist overviews of the concept of intersectionality have multiplied in recent years as theorists have attempted to grasp what this "buzzword" actually means to those who use it (Davis, 2008, p. 67).

Crenshaw (1989, 1991, 1993) uses the term intersectionality to explain the experiences of Black women who, because of the intersections of race, gender, and class, are exposed to exponential forms of marginalization and oppression (Mitchell, Simmons, & Greyerbiehl, 2014). Specific to feminism and feminist theories, it is worth noting that the term feminism, as African American scholars such as bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins have argued, is understood to be a White term for many Black women since it has overwhelmingly and statistically benefited White women disproportionately to Women of Colour (O'Reilly, 2008). This recent feminist scholarship presents race, class, and gender as closely intertwined and argues that these forms of stratification need to be studied in relation to each other, conceptualizing them, for example, as a "matrix of domination" (p. 221) or "complex inequality" (McCall, 2001, p. 32).

According to Collins (2000), additive models of oppression are firmly rooted in

the either/or dichotomous thinking of Eurocentric, masculine thought. One must be either Black or White in such thought systems. Similar to race, this emphasis on categorization and dichotomy of mother/student occurs in conjunction with the belief that either/or categories must be ranked. As a result of the need for society to rank and quantify these categories, one side of a dichotomy is privileged, while its other is denigrated. Privilege then becomes defined in relation to its other (p. 221). Replacing additive models of oppression with interlocking ones creates possibilities for new paradigms and greater insight into various forms of oppression in educational institutions. Focusing on the dimensions of motherhood and academia, this next section will consider how the experiences of non-white women are shaped by intersecting patterns of racism and sexism and how these experiences are often neglected in common discourses (Crenshaw, 1993).

Feminist theories utilize the concept of intersectionality to "describe analytic approaches that simultaneously consider the significance of multiple categories of identity, difference, and oppression" (Cole, 2009, p. 170; hooks, 1984). To understand how these categories depend on one another for meaning, and how they are jointly associated with the outcomes of these meanings, an examination of intersectionality within a variety of social constructs and contexts is necessary. For the purposes of this topic, an examination of intersectionality within educational institutions is considered.

An individual's identity lies at the intersection of race, class, gender, sexuality, and social status, among other social justice factors. It is the combination of these categories that often shapes people's experiences with social structures, such as the educational system (Trahan, 2011; Crenshaw, 1993). Identities do not exist in social and

cultural vacuums and are articulated and constructed within various institutions and social structures. Therefore, gender, is as much a structure of relationships with institutions such as education, as it is a property of individual identity (Kimmel, 2000). For example, women are not simply or only women. Gendering in the construction of women and femininities intersects with other social divisions and differences and are played out in everyday roles. The mere absence of literature surrounding the topic of mothers and higher education speaks to the hidden preference for Eurocentric student representations (i.e., white, able-bodied men). This lack of representation, both in the literature and statistical data, will be explored as the foundation for intersectionality in the education sector and the oppression that continues to flourish among minority graduate students. The broader literature on minority graduate student experience, recruitment, and retention is relevant to this discussion as there is limited research addressing the experiences of those facing continued oppression; for example, Indigenous female graduate student mothers.

Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, Canadian governments and postsecondary institutions have made strong efforts to increase the Indigenous participation in higher education (Pidgeon, Archibald, & Hawkey, 2014). However, Indigenous graduate students are either among the few, or the sole Indigenous person in an entire faculty. The gap between the number of Indigenous people earning university degrees and the rest of the population is significant (Statistics Canada, 2011). For example, according to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (2013), which represents 97 public and private universities and university degree-level colleges notes that 9.8% of Indigenous people in Canada have a university degree, compared with 26.5% of non-

Indigenous people. Pertaining to graduate studies, Statistics Canada's 2011 national household survey indicated that 1.46% of Indigenous persons aged 25 to 64 received a masters' degree, compared with 5.24% among the non-Indigenous population (Statistics Canada, 2011; Hoffman, 2015). There is no current available data indicating the differences among genders and/or family status.

Additionally, as a result of the lack of Indigenous faculty, they usually do not have mentorship or guidance from an Indigenous faculty member or ally. This disparity becomes markedly increased for Indigenous graduate student mothers. While the research on Indigenous graduate student experiences is still developing, the experiences of other marginalized groups provides insight into experiences similar to those of Indigenous students (Brayboy, 2005b). However, this does not suggest that the experiences are mutually exclusive and homogenous. The highly under-researched topic of Indigenous graduate student mothers is unique and presents many deep-seated cultural and historical factors that increase the difficulties faced by graduate student mothers (Brayboy, 2005b, p. 196).

In an attempt to meet the needs of Indigenous graduate students, universities across British Columbia (i.e., University of British Columbia Vancouver, University of British Columbia Okanagan, Simon Fraser University, University of Victoria, and University of Northern British Columbia) have implemented a culturally relevant peer and faculty mentoring initiative-SAGE (Supporting Aboriginal Graduate Enhancement), which serves to better guide institutional change for Indigenous graduate student success. Utilizing a holistic Indigenous framework, the initiative provides a space in which Indigenous students and faculty can come together to critically engage with ideas,

theories, research processes, and lived experiences of being indigenous within mainstream institutions. While the initiative has certainly provided a safe space for Indigenous graduate students, it has not acknowledged the particular challenges of family and student life demands. In fact, one member of the SAGE initiative shared the difficulties of managing family and student life demands, while trying to find time to attend the meetings, "Time. It's difficult to attend meetings during the weekend when I have to look after my family. It would help if you had child-minded activities so that student-parents could attend" (Focus group participant; as cited in Pidgeon, Archibald, & Hawkey, 2014, p. 13). Therefore, the lack of home and institutional supports (e.g., childcare and transportation) continue to present challenges, for graduate student mothers even when initiatives are being put into place to alleviate the cultural oppression faced by minority graduate student mothers. Intersectionality provides a space where cultural knowledge becomes the grounding for understanding the complexities and intricacies of systemic barriers and shared experiences. It is this "basket of knowledge and skills" that allows graduate students to safely work within the academic spaces that often do not value the diverse knowledges minority graduate students bring and faculty bring to the institution (Pidgeon, Archibald, & Hawkey, 2014, p. 15; Meacham, 2002).

Heteronormativity. Given its close alignment and interwoven relationship with the concept of patriarchy, heteronormativity is a key concept that is relevant to the discussion of gender and gender roles, particularly within higher education. Warner (1991) defines heteronormativity as a variety of social policing activities along gender and sexuality categories (Chambers, 2003). Conception of the term heteronormativity can also be traced further back by the works of Foucault (1978) who included the various

oppressions homosexuals face. More specifically, Foucault (1978) criticizes the notion of an innate sexuality and asserts that the conceptualization of "the homosexual" marginalized homosexuals and their heterosexual counterparts (Foucault, 1978, p. 43). Sexuality in this sense can be seen as relational and identifying a grouping of individuals as a "species" (Foucault, 1978, p. 43) meant the imposition of non-heterosexuals as innately different, and thereby inferior, from heterosexuals.

Extending the foundational work of Foucault (1978), further studies of heteronormativity continued to focus on what was considered natural and normal for genders and began to include a discussion of privilege that is deeply embedded in gender and sexuality. Challenging heterosexist privilege, discussions of the lesbian mothers' experiences, for example, reveal how they transgress both gender and sexual norms. More specifically, how lesbian mothers' experiences transgress heterosexuality pairing and also women's assumed natural subservience or dependence on men (Marchia & Sommer, 2019). By extension, this imposition of heterosexuality on women also demonstrates how heteronormativity is inextricably linked to gender and patriarchal norms (Marchia & Sommer, 2019).

Additional to the work of Foucault (1978), Rich (2000), and Warner (1991), Butler (1990) analyzes the ways in which gender is performative and how dominant culture categories certain performances and expressions as deviant. For example, hegemonic masculinity by men and idealized femininity by women are the culturally accepted norms, while any deviation from these norms are considered deviant (Butler, 1990). Specific to the concepts of gender, motherhood, and higher education, Butler's analysis of gender performance helps highlight the ways in which academic mothers are

often scrutinized when they transgress their caregiver role. Echoing Foucault's notion

that sexuality is relational, essentialism further dictates that certain behaviours are deviant

and interpreted as such. Perhaps most relevant to this discussion is how normative roles

and the essentializing of gender and sexuality and their behaviours exist within a system

of patriarchy and heterosexism.

  Supporting the idea that gender and sexuality are linked together within

patriarchy, Rubin (1993) sees patriarchy as the organizing principle in gender and sexual

repression. Repressions of sex and sexuality under patriarchal power contribute to the

oppressive nature of heteronormativity and demonstrations of patriarchy.

She differs by viewing patriarchy as the primary organizing principle of sex and gender.

Though both Rubin and Butler acknowledge patriarchy as a key organizing principle in

gender and sexual repression, Rubin's analysis differentiates itself from Butler's by

adding emphasis on the active repression of sex and sexuality under patriarchal power, in

contrast to Butler's position that these categories themselves are constructed by the

discursive practices of patriarchy. Additionally, though her sex/gender system holds

similar sentiments to Rich's ''compulsory heterosexuality'' and intersectional analysis,

her work suggests that gender and sexuality are different in practice even as they intersect

as social manifestations of patriarchy. Therefore, heteronormativity is not the privilege of

heterosexuality, but rather, a force that links heteronorms to social oppression and

marginalization (Marchia & Sommer, 2019). This force is often inherent in heterosexual

institutions, such as higher educational institutions, and social codes, like motherhood.

  Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the strides women have made in higher

education. While these findings paint the picture of inclusivity and equity, I would be

remiss if I did not also address the bleak part of the picture. For example, although the rate of women graduating from Canadian doctoral programs was has surpassed the 50% threshold in many faculties (Turcotte, 2015), women and especially mothers, comprise a large portion of contingent faculty on campus. For example, the typical sessional instructor is now female (60.2%), between the ages of 30-34, and has an earned doctorate (Field & Jones, 2016). Further, while women have made significant gains over the last three decades in paid employment and education, mothers have not. Mothers in the paid labour force more often find themselves "mommy tracked," making 60 cents for every dollar earned by full-time fathers (Williams, 2000, p. 2). Demonstrating the effects of the maternal wall, the pay gap between mothers and non-mothers under 35 years is now larger than the wage gap between young men and women (Crittenden, 2001, p. 94).

The key concepts introduced in this chapter, which include patriarchy, power/power relations, hegemony, ideology, intersectionality, and heteronormativity, will shape and inform the ongoing discussion of motherhood and academia. The next chapter will discuss in greater detail the societal and institutional barriers that women, especially mothers, are more likely to experience throughout their academic journeys.

CHAPTER 2

Review of the Literature

"...her wings are cut and then she is blamed for not knowing how to fly."

-Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*

In order to understand the experiences of graduate student mothers, it is imperative to survey the literature on the state of women, higher education and key concepts of motherhood. Over the past three decades, the face of women in higher education has changed considerably. For example, the proportion of women aged 25 to 54 with a bachelor or postgraduate university degree has more than doubled, reaching 28% in 2009. Further reflecting the fact that more women than men are now enrolling in university, 34% of women enrolled in postsecondary education aged 25 to 34 attained at least a bachelor's degree in 2009, compared to 26% of men (Statistics Canada, 2013). Specific to graduate studies, the proportion of women master's level graduates is also increasing, having surpassed the 50% threshold in 2008. At the PhD level, the rate of women graduating from Canadian doctoral programs was just over 50% in the 2004-2005 academic year. This compares to 47% of Canadian graduates from the 2003/2004 academic year that were women (Statistics Canada, 2001). However, as this literature review will demonstrate, access to education does not necessarily equate to equity in education.

Despite promising enrollment rates, both the structure and process of higher education throughout the 20th century has remained largely unchanged (Davis et al., 2006, p. 172-176). To strive towards achieving equity and inclusion, women's perspectives and experiences in higher education must no longer be marginalized or

ignored, but rather, recognized, valued, and examined. This requires a deconstruction of inequities and barriers (i.e., structural/institutional, social/cultural barriers) embedded within the fabric of higher educational institutions, which provides advantages for some members and marginalizes or produces disadvantages for other members. Inclusivity is achieved when differences are accepted and embraced, not merely tolerated. Inclusivity also requires that everyday practices of teaching, learning, research and administration reflect tangible respect of all members (Stalker & Prentice, 1998). Current narratives, which fail to discuss these issues of gender, risk-producing research that suggests graduate students share a monolithic and collective identity based on their gender, which is predicated on Western traditions of education, power and privilege (Fitzgerald, 2006). The growing representation of pregnant and parenting graduate students demonstrates the importance and urgency for administrative leaders to consider policies and factors relevant to retaining women in academia (Gappa et al., 2007).

Pregnant and parenting graduate students are enrolling and currently enrolled in higher education at numbers higher than previous decades (Brown & Nichols, 2012). Today, parenting students are enrolled in university programs at rates far greater than ever before. For example, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) reports that approximately 53% of nontraditional students support more than one dependent, and 29% are single parents between the age of 30 and 40 years old (NCES, 2002). Canadian statistics on this subgroup of students have not yet been made available. As the image of the Canadian graduate student evolves, a more serious consideration of the role of family and the challenges faced by this group of nontraditional students is increasingly necessary. Unfortunately, information on graduate student mothers is sparse in the

literature, demonstrating the invisibility of this group in Canadian research. Much of the research on the experiences of student mothers in academia focuses on undergraduate student mothers, women who have successfully attained a graduate degree, or women who are currently in tenure track positions or in the process of obtaining a tenure track position (see for example, O'Laughlin & Bischoff, 2005; Mason & Goulden, 2002). This gap in the literature highlights an interesting paradox. While literature on motherhood in popular culture abounds (specifically, cases in which motherhood can be easily criticized, offered generic advice on managing mother guilt, or generic insight into the universal truths of motherhood from self-proclaimed family lifestyle experts), the lives of mothers do not receive nearly as much notable academic examination, demonstrating that even the very definition of scholarly knowledge is shaped by patriarchy (see for example, Richardson, 2015). A review of motherhood literature reveals scarce resources that look specifically at the experiences of graduate students who are mothers (Brown & Nichols, 2012; Mason & Goulden, 2002; Williams, 2007). This scarcity of resources not only perpetuates notions of patriarchal motherhood, but also reinforces traditional male models for higher education.

The historical legacy of male domination has caused knowledge surrounding men's concerns to construct what is considered the norm in today's society (Stalker & Prentice, 1998). As a result, taking men's experiences as the norm has caused women to be seen as different, and by 'different', I mean viewed as inferior. The glaring absence of graduate student mothers' experiences within the literature also highlights the complex intersectionalities between social justice factors such as age, race, class, gender and their relationship to education. Further, the absence of research on this population speaks

volumes to the hidden preference for the traditional male model of education and higher

academic educational institutions. Considering the dynamic role graduate students play in

the university community, more information on their experiences is needed in order to

retain and ensure their success. In order to highlight these intersectionalities between

social justice factors and education, an examination of the barriers graduate student

mothers encounter is essential. The types of barriers and inequities that will be examined

include institutional barriers (e.g., organizational policies and practices), cultural/societal

barriers (e.g., societal norms and expectations), and personal barriers (e.g., individual

feelings, thoughts, behaviours that are a by-product of other barriers).

Societal Barriers

Graduate students form a vital component of the research community and quite

often, face many challenges similar to those confronted by faculty and postdoctoral

fellows (Allen, 2014). Further, the mean age for graduate students overlaps the average

age of Canadian women at the time of childbirth (Allen, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2014).

As a result, there seems to be a perceived tension between graduation, subsequently

tenure, and the biological clock (Allen, 2014). Unfortunately for many women, their

colleagues, administrators, and institutional policies may also reinforce the perceived

tension between these two roles, making them seem incompatible and mutuality

exclusive of one another, resulting in women facing a double bind between the two roles

(Williams, 2005; Litwin, 2006).

While men are also included in the subgroup of parenting graduate students,

research has shown that motherhood continues to interrupt the trajectory of graduate

school and work in ways that fatherhood does not (e.g., Acker & Armenti, 2004;

Butterwick & Dawson, 2005; Cummins, 2005; Huppatz, 2010; Knights & Richards, 2003; Krais, 2002), particularly in male-dominated faculties, such as STEM (i.e., science, technology, engineering, mathematics) faculties. For example, in the STEM fields, women are not advancing in the field at the same rates as men, and this discrepancy has largely been attributed to pregnancy and family formation. Women currently represent a large part of the talent pool for research science; however, they are more likely than men to 'leak' out of the pipeline in the sciences before obtaining tenure at a college or university (Goulden, Frasch & Mason, 2009). Demonstrating this leaky pipeline, the National Science Foundation's Survey of Doctorate Recipients, a comprehensive longitudinal survey of all those who have received a PhD since 1973, shows that family formation, especially importantly marriage and childbirth, accounts for the largest leaks in the pipeline between earning Ph.D. and the attainment of tenure for women in STEM faculties (Mason & Younger, 2014). Specific to family formation and STEM PhD graduates and tenure track faculty, women who are married with children are 35% less likely to enter a tenure track position after receiving their PhD than married men with children, and they are 27% less likely than males to receive tenure after entering into a tenure-track position (Mason & Younger, 2014).

Graduate students who are mothers often have to work a "double day." In light of the socialization process and prevailing gender stereotypes, mothers who are in the labor force in general, and graduate students who are mothers, often have to take up a "second shift," meaning doing both housework and mothering roles. This juggling act between paid labour/graduate work and completing domestic labour in the home is what Lois Weis (1988) has described as the "double day" (p. 184). For Weis, women in the labour

force, and by extension graduate students and faculty who are mothers, are disadvantaged in their everyday life as the majority of responsibilities for childcare and housework create an additional job. Workplace demands and the many other academic-related stressors academics face such as pressure during pre-tenure years, low entry pay scales, and long working/preparation hours may affect the ability to simultaneously manage work and caregiving responsibilities. These challenges may affect women's abilities to role balance in the areas of work and family life more so than men. For example, women report a greater work-family conflict and perform, on average, 10 additional hours of childcare per week (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2016). A 2013 report publish by the Pew Research Centre demonstrated that 42% of American mothers said they have reduced their work hours because of caretaking responsibilities, compared with 28% of American fathers. In addition, 39% of American mothers said they have taken a significant amount of time off from work because of caretaking, compared with 24% of American fathers (Pew Research Centre, 2013). Reporting similar demands, graduate students often face similar challenges as faculty, leading to a strain between the simultaneous roles of being a student and mother (Allen, 2014).

Within the Canadian context, studies on work-family conflict amongst faculty members indicate that women experience significantly more conflict in balancing their dual roles than men (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2016). More specifically, academic women in this study cited the perceived need to choose between academic work and family. These women felt that they must choose between pursuing a career in academe at the expense of their familial roles or vice versa. Additionally, and also within the Canadian context, Armenti (2004) revealed that women actively engaged in strategies

that concealed their motherhood, such as timing pregnancies around terms or delaying pregnancies until after tenure was granted. Finally, perceived incompatibility with instructor's hours and motherhood led women in Adamo's (2013) study to shy away from motherhood altogether. In both Canadian and American contexts, academic women, including both faculty and graduate students, commonly engage in minimizing the negative repercussions of their motherhood status (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2016). One such way is through the postponement or waiving of maternity leaves despite national benefits allotted to employed Canadians. Below is a review of maternity, parental, and paternity leave policies that mothers may take upon earning the required employment insurance hours.

Employment insurance maternity benefits in Canada. Despite Canada's generous parental benefits, many women find themselves at a precipice when faced with the decision to take them. In Canada, the Employment Insurance (EI) program offers temporary financial assistance to unemployed workers. This assistance includes providing maternity benefits and parental benefits, with the exception of the province of Quebec. The province of Quebec is responsible for providing maternity, paternity, parental, and adoption benefits to residents through a program called the Quebec Parental Insurance Program. EI maternity benefits are offered to biological mothers, including surrogate mothers, who cannot work because they are pregnant or have recently given birth. A maximum of 15 weeks of EI maternity benefits are available through this program. Effective December 3, 2017, these 15 weeks are eligible to begin as early as 12 weeks before the expected date of birth and can end as late as 17 weeks after the actual date of birth.

Employment insurance parental benefits in Canada. EI parental benefits are offered to parents who are caring for a newborn or newly adopted child(ren). EI parental benefits are available in two forms, which include standard or extended parental benefits.

Standard parental benefits. Standard parental benefits can be paid for a maximum of 35 weeks and must be claimed within 12 months after the child was born or placed for adoption. These particular benefits are available to biological, adoptive, or legally recognized parents. The benefits are a total rate of 55% of the claimant's average weekly insurable earnings, up to a maximum amount. Parents have the option of sharing the 35 weeks of standard parental benefits.

Extended parental benefits. If the claimant's child was born or adopted on or after December 3, 2017, Canadians parents have the option to file for extended parental benefits. Extended parental benefits can be paid for a maximum of 61 weeks and must be claimed within 18 months after the child was born or adopted. These benefits are available to biological, adoptive, or legally recognized parents at a benefit rate of 33% of the claimant's average weekly insurable earnings. Similar to the standard parental benefits, these earnings are also up to a maximum set amount and both parents can share the 61-week entitlement. For both standard and extended parental benefits, it is worth noting that the number of entitled weeks of EI maternity or parental benefits receive does not change in the case of multiple births (twins, triplets, etc.) or if the claimant adopts more than one child at the same time. Furthermore, self-employed Canadians can apply for EI special benefits (sickness, maternity, parental, compassionate care and family caregiver benefits) if they are registered for access to the EI program and meet the

eligible criteria for these particular benefits. Each of these benefit programs require that applicants meet the criteria in order to be eligible (Government of Canada, 2019).

In Canada, applicants seeking to claim maternity or parental benefits must meet the eligible criteria set forth by the Government of Canada. The eligibility requirements are as follows: (1) the applicant is employed in incurable employment; (2) the applicant meets the specific criteria for receiving EI maternity or parental benefits; (3) the applicant's normal weekly earnings are reduced by more than 40%; and (5) the applicant has accumulated at least 600 hours of insurable employment during the qualifying period (Government of Canada, 2019).

When applicants are employed in insurable employment, the said employer will deduct the applicable EI premiums from their wages or salary. Applicants must pay EI premiums on all earnings up to a maximum amount. In 2019, for every $100 earned, the employer will deduct $1.62, until the annual earnings reach their maximum yearly insurable amount of $53,100. The maximum amount of premiums to be paid in 2019 is therefore $860.22. Since Quebec has its own program that offers maternity and parental benefits, the Government of Canada has adjusted the premiums accordingly for this specific province. In 2019, the premium rate for workers in Quebec is set at a lower rate of $1.25 for every $100 of earnings, up to a maximum amount of $663.75 for the year (Government of Canada, 2019).

If parents opt for parental benefits, they must share the benefits. Furthermore, both parents are required to choose the same parental benefit option, being either standard or extended. Once the application has been approved and a payment has been issued, it is deemed final and parents cannot change between extended or standard benefits.

However, the criteria for eligibility of employment insurance benefits is not as easily acquirable for graduate students since their hours of employment on campus are typically limited to 10 hours per week (University of Windsor, 2019).

The acquisition of insurable hours on campus can be seen as both an institutional barrier and financial barrier for graduate student mothers. Limiting the number of hours a graduate student is permitted to acquire per week on campus impedes the overall amount of hours that a graduate student can accumulate in the 52 weeks required to file for employment insurance. In additional to the management of acquiring enough hours to collect employment insurance benefits, graduate student mothers often have to grapple with notions of being a good mother and good student.

Graduate students who are mothers have to navigate carefully the tension that exists between the socially constructed definitions of "good student" and "good mother" (Anaya, 2012, p. 19). To be a so-called good student, requires a woman to be fully committed to the task of becoming a productive scholar. Yet, to be a 'good' mother also requires a woman to be fully committed to be a good mother. The socially constructed definitions of a 'good student' and a 'good mother' place graduate students who are mothers in a no-win situation. They cannot be fully committed to two significant endeavors at one time. Compromises have to be made. Choosing to become a mother, for instance, may convey the idea to others in the academic world that a woman is unmotivated, less committed, and less interested in doing the work needed to successfully complete a PhD (Williams, 2002). The flipside of this discourse also works against graduate students who are mothers in that their commitment to completing graduate

studies is often seen by others as coming at the expense of their family in general, particularly, their children.

Given the historical context of higher education, it is imperative to consider how these gender norms govern graduate student mothers' behaviours and the expectations for their behaviours. As mentioned, women often face the expectation to be the primary care giver of their children, and therefore face related expectations of what it means to be an ideal mother. These expectations are often portrayed as conflicting with ideal student norms and norms of higher education, which suggest that children are a distraction from success for women (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012; Drago, 2007; Somerville, 2000). These expectations place undue pressures on mothers to juggle both and perform each to their idealized standards. This leads to women taking on a vast majority of household tasks and childcare responsibilities (Hochschild, 2003). Similarly, Eagly and Carli (2007), contend that although men's participation in household duties and childcare is increasing, women still manage a larger majority of household duties. Hochschild (1989) also refers to these societal barriers on women's career and educational attainment as the stalled revolution.

In addition to the stalled revolution, Hochschild (1997, 2003) refers to four shifts that emerge as a result of trying to balance work and family conflicts and the situations that arise from doing so. The first shift names the constitution of the private-public division and corresponding home-work division. The second shift refers to the dual earner family becoming the socio-political and economic ideal, often resulting in the double day for many women. The third shift refers to the displacement of the emotional and cultural meanings of paid labour and home. It particularly involves the domestic,

family and community work that women come home to when they finish their time at the office or factory. With an aging population and a healthcare system that increasingly expects families to provide informal healthcare for ailing loved ones, women continue to deny themselves of leisure time so they can devote themselves to providing informal healthcare. Education is a third shift for many women, and in particular, for graduate student mothers (Kramarae, 2001). Finally, the fourth includes a situation, in which home, nuclear family and work(place) lose their self-evident power as the organizing principles of one's life. In the fourth shift, the borderline between home and work becomes obscure and dissolved, the inside and the outside of the family intermingle (Hochschild, 1997, 2003; Gerstel, 2000). Hochschild (1997) probed upon the changing and conflicting "emotional cultures" of work and home and their sometimes "parasitic" relationship (Hochschild 2003, p. 202-203), particularly with reference to the third and fourth shift and the increasing infiltration into family institutions due to the internet. As a result, the fourth shift is "like an even, borderless surface, on which the categories of time, space and action melt together and become entangled with each other" (Vähämäki, 2003, p. 166).

Unequal gender relations within the home are referred by Hochschild (1989) as the "stalled revolution" (p. 8). For example, according to the General Social Survey of 2010, which examined the weekly average hours spent on unpaid work, women generally reported a higher number of hours per week than men. In 2010, women spent an average of 50.1 hours per week on childcare, more than double the average time (24.4 hours) spent by men. Similar to childcare, a gap between women and men was evident in the time spent on domestic work. While men reported spending an average of 8.3 hours on

unpaid domestic work per week, women spent more than one and a half times this amount (13.8 hours) (Statistics Canada, 2013). The problem, according to Mason and Goulden (2002), is that the "double day" forces women to make decisions that affect their ability to advance their careers. Eagly and Carli (2007) point out women's domestic workload and responsibilities limits their access to various positions and scholarly activities by reducing the amount of time, energy, and resources they can allocate to pursuing their career goals. The notion of the double shift, double bind, and stalled revolution have continued within mainstream society, as demonstrated by mothers' much slower ascension into top tier academic positions once their graduate school careers have concluded (Hochschild, 1989; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Mason & Goulden, 2002; Patterson, 2005).

According to Mason and Goulden (2002), women who become pregnant and/or have babies during the early years of their academic careers are significantly less likely to achieve tenure than men who become fathers at the same time. Similarly, the gap of women in higher academic positions also continues to widen when babies and children are considered, with mothers being 35% less likely to get tenure-track jobs upon graduation compared to married fathers with children (Patterson, 2005; Wolfinger, Mason, & Goulden, 2009), face higher attrition rates than men with children (Armenti, 2004; Chae, 2002; O'Laughlin & Bischoff, 2005), and face greater anxiety regarding frequency of publications (Eisenkraft, 2012). Additionally, and perhaps most importantly, women with children also have lower publication rates (Acker & Armenti, 2004; Caproni, 2004; Thomas & Davies, 2002; van Anders, 2004). This trend is no small matter when it comes to developing women's academic careers. Bonnie Fox, a professor of

sociology at the University of Toronto, who has served on hiring committees, highlights how publication rates are critical in the early vetting stages. In a recent University Affairs publication (Eisenkraft, 2012) on explaining gap in graduate student mothers' resumes, Dr. Fox states, "We want to find out what the candidate has done. We are looking at the number of publications, how many peer-reviewed articles and/or whether there's a book. With that in mind, we pull out the most promising files" (p. 1). She continues, "If there is a gap or delay, the committee may notice that when it takes a second look at the applications" (p. 1). While the gap in one's resume may not necessarily be a deal breaker, Dr. Fox advises taking the initiative to explain that the gap is not a reflection of erratic behaviours and that demonstrating that you can handle familial responsibilities and academic endeavors is key (Eisenkraft, 2012).

However, the very process of having to explain a gap in one's resume is typically not a task that many male applicants have to face doing. Certainly, explaining the gap in one's curriculum vitae would be a daunting task that many women would feel anxious doing, in fear of being discriminated against. These examples highlight how social systems along with educational policies and their implementation often prevent mothers from balancing childcare and work. They demonstrate how profiles of 'bad' mothers (i.e., those who do not conform to society's traditional expectations of a mother) often mask society's ambivalence towards working or student mothers. This additional task of masking society's ambivalence towards working or student mothers may also contribute to higher levels of emotional labour (Ciciolla & Luthar, 2019).

While any conversation about contemporary academic careers should include a discussion of the academic structures, restructuring, and academic practices (Ward,

2014), the experiences of the women in this study call our attention to the more personal elements of their experiences. Namely, the emotional labour involved in managing their own emotions regarding the ambivalence of their career choices from both the broader society as well as their personal relationships. Hochschild (1983) describes emotional labour as "the induction or suppression of feeling in order to sustain an outward appearance that produces in others a sense of being cared for in a convivial safe place" (Hochschild 1983, Smith 1992, p. 7). Hochschild (1983) also used the term emotion management to describe how individuals control or manage their emotions to make sure that they are expressed in a way that is consistent with social norms or expectations. This emotion management becomes emotional labour and emotion becomes processed, standardized and subject to hierarchical control (p. 153). In relation to motherhood and higher education, emotional labour becomes evident when graduate student mothers and faculty are managing society's ambivalence towards their academic commitment and thereby, a perceived lack of participation in motherhood or duties related to motherhood. Relevant to the topic of motherhood and higher education is that emotional labour has traditionally been identified with women's work and the role of the mother in the family (Gray, 2008). Emotional labour may also become evident when exploring the public and private gendered division of labour and the contentions that arise when women or men transgress socially prescribed roles. Parkin (1993) highlights this notion as he states:

> The public/private divide can be regarded as a useful way to explore gender
> divisions ... Women are consigned to the private sphere – the apolitical, the
> sexual, the emotional. Women have the 'expressive role', men the 'instrumental.'
> The expressive role encompasses physical care of dependent people and of men.

In sum, a gendered division of labour divides emotions and the way they are expressed, by whom and where (p. 168).

This unequal division of emotional labour may also become evident when academic women must supress evidence of a family life through maternal invisibility or the management of others' emotional states within the family. Holding mothers responsible for managing the majority of domestic and emotional labour, as well as criticizing mothers through the 'mother blaming' discourse, allows society to avoid confronting the realities of socioeconomic conditions that continue to plague women and mothers (Abbey, 2003).

Gender stereotyping. At the core of gender bias are prescriptive gender stereotypes operating against women and mothers. For the purposes of this literature review and discussion of graduate student mothers, the literature included in this section discussing gender stereotypes is referring to cisgender masculinities and femininities. Cisgender is a term used to replace 'non-transgender' and is a term representing a person whose self-identity conforms with the gender that corresponds to their biological sex (Aultman, 2014, p. 61).

Gender stereotypes are perhaps one of the most difficult challenges women can experience in the workplace, due to their persistence in society and their resistance to change (Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Williams & Segal, 2003, p. 95) and their relation to patriarchy (Johnson, 2007). For example, although attitudes toward women's rights and professional ambitions have undergone a revolution since the 1960s, gender stereotypes attributed to men and women remain and are consistent across may cultures (Rudman & Phelan, 2010; Williams, 2005). The impact of gender stereotypes becomes highly

increased when they become internalized by the oppressed group and facilitate or

perpetuate horizontal violence (Freire, 2000, p. 63). These cognitive structures are highly

resistant to change and contain both prescriptive and descriptive elements about how men

and women should behave (Hoyt, 2005). Gender stereotypes are present in many of the

aforementioned barriers and demand a great amount of focus in the discussion of

motherhood and tenure. The effects of gender stereotyping also manifest itself in the

perceptions individuals maintain regarding job effectiveness and commitment during

pregnancy and motherhood (Mason & Goulden, 2004), when they are seen to conflict

with (Butler, 1990) assumptions of gender. Where mothers are concerned, coworkers and

bosses often perceive a trade-off between competence and warmth or nurturance

(Williams, 2004). However, and especially when working within a masculine culture

where male norms such as 'job-oriented' and being 'tough' are conflated with

achievement, it is not surprising that women may adopt these attributes in order to

succeed. It is only within the logic of patriarchy that when some women display typical

male attributes, thereby transgressing and troubling gender boundaries (Butler, 1990),

that the association to a bad mother ideology be used, whether by themselves or by

others. Society rewards women for adopting feminine ideals of modesty, niceness,

warmth, and sensitivity to others, and in turn, penalizes women for engaging in

competitive, self-promoting behaviours that men would typically be rewarded (Pradel,

Bowles, & McGinn, 2005). Once these gender norms have been transgressed, society

works to regulate and ensure gender role behaviours are adhered to by classifying their

behaviours as deviant, ill-suited for a mother or woman, and other labels that reinforce

the separate spheres ideology (Williams, 2009). As a result, beliefs of their own

mothering abilities become comprised and often internalized as inadequate. Referred to as "self-depreciation" (Freire, 2007, p. 63), these feelings of inadequacy are another characteristic of the oppressed, which is a result of internalizing the opinion the oppressors hold of them (Freire, 2007), "so often do they hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything—that they are sick, lazy, and unproductive—that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness" (p. 63). Inherent patterns of discrimination and pervasive stereotyping are two key contributing factors that serve to disadvantage mothers and perpetuate the baby penalty for women (Mason et al., 2013).

Throughout the literature, these contributing factors seem to gravitate towards two main notions (Mason et al., 2013). First, the glass ceiling theory, focuses on inherent patterns of discrimination, which bars women from top positions in academic and other institutions. Also important to the topic of motherhood, is the maternal wall, which is the persistent and negative assumption of a mother's competence and commitment levels once any indication of motherhood becomes salient leading to the perpetuation of the maternal wall (Williams, 2009). These barriers are evident in the staggering number of women and mothers in top-tier faculty and leadership positions. They also become salient through the implicit messages graduate student mothers receive regarding the incompatibility between motherhood and academia (Adamo, 2013). Women receiving messages about the incompatibility of academia and family were led to believe that they should be postponing motherhood until after tenure or reject academia a career in academia, altogether (Adamo, 2013). Institutions' historical nature of being shaped and modelled around male norms is another contributing factor to the baby penalty between

men and women in higher education.

The second school of thought regarding the higher presence of a baby penalty for women is the deeply embedded nature of the workplace being configured around a male career model, which ultimately forces women to make choices between work and family (Mason & Goulden, 2002). Working on a timeline that is reflective of a masculine norm, gender disparities create social disadvantage when women are measured against unspoken and unacknowledged masculine norms (Williams, 2009). Touched upon earlier, the rhetoric of choice is fraught with many hidden dangers that not only jeopardize women's career trajectories, but place blame of women rather than the institution from which the discrimination originates.

The problem with the rhetoric of choice is that it eliminates a discussion of power dynamics. Individuals that benefit from the status quo often tend to attribute inequalities to the choices of the oppressed or marginalized. Women of course did not write the patriarchal rules that often govern participation in the home front or organizations (Crittenden, 2001, p. 235). The rhetoric of choice, therefore, is used to rationalize injustices and the status quo, serving a functional value, which masks a variety of disparities in power (Belkin, 2003).

Williams' (2010) framework of work-family conflict among women also highlights the dangers of this common illusion of choice. She notes that while society may perceive women's "opting-out" as their preferred career trajectory (e.g., shifting to part-time or a higher educational institution that is less focused on research and publications), this perception functions as a scapegoat for workplace masculine norms that are pushing women out (Williams, 2010). Focusing on mothers who have left the

workforce, Stephens and Levine (2011) also contend that the prevalent assumption that women's workplace actions are a product of "choice", conceals the imbedded workplace barriers by communicating that men and women's opportunities are equal and that workplace actions are not a product of contextual or environmental influence (p.1). The perpetuation of this illusion of choice has multiple implications for women graduate students in academia. Most notably, the illusion of choice perpetuates the perceived inability to have a successful academic career and family. This "choice" to pre-emptively reject a career in academia in order to prioritize family disproportionally affects women graduate students in comparison to men (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2017). Perpetuating the status quo, the illusion of choice also has many other functional values that serve society's powerful individuals well.

The rhetoric of choice also has a functional value in that is serves to maintain and perpetuate this status quo, masking economic, social, and political disparities in power (Belkin, 2003). Absent from the rhetoric of choice, and by extension the ideology of 'blaming the victim,' is the fact that women are also limited by the resources they have to work with, such as childcare, support from family, institutions, and the workplace (Hewlett, 2002). These findings demonstrate the need to include graduate student mothers' experiences in discussions of family-friendly policy, as well as in research on this particular topic. The lack of research on the experiences of graduate student mothers on Canadian campuses reveals a need to position graduate student mothers within the conversation of family, work, and gender equity, so that inclusionary leave policies, practices and organizational structures can encourage the success of all graduate students.

The road to achieving tenure also follows masculine norms (Williams, 2009; Wolfers, 2016). This journey can be a particularly difficult path for women and mothers, for whom the tenure pressure typically overlaps with prime childbearing years (Statistics Canada, 2013; Wolfers, 2016). The tenure path is also gendered with many early-career male academics being supported by stay-at-home wives, while women more typically wed husbands with their own professional careers to tend to (Wolfers, 2016). Mothers, in comparison, are tending to their double day and taking on household duties and childrearing at far greater rates, while also trekking on the uphill journey to attain tenure (Kramarae, 2001; Hochschild, 2003). Furthermore, while mothers often experience a lag in career trajectories and promotions, fathers experience more praise and promotions in their careers once becoming a parent. As a result of these demands, more faculty women than men have fewer children. Overall, women who attain tenure across the disciplines are unlikely to have children in the household (Mason & Goudlen, 2002). More specifically, 62% of tenured women in the humanities and social sciences and 50% of those in the sciences do not have children in the household. Only 39% of tenured men in social sciences and humanities and 30% of those in the sciences do not have children in the household. Lastly, when comparing women with children and women without children, those without children demonstrated a higher rate of promotion (Aloi, 2005; Correll, Benard, Paik, 2007; Mason & Goulden, 2002).

More recently, Statistics Canada released their 2016 University and College Academic Staff System survey data. This data on full-time faculty at 112 universities and colleges offers a critical glimpse of Canada's professoriate. In 1970, women made up a mere 13% of total full-time faculty, compared to 40% of total full-time faculty

members in 2016 (18,099 women out of a total of 45,660 faculty). Despite this increase, men remain its top earners in 2016 with a median salary for men at $136,844 while women earned $121,872, yielding a gap of about 12% (Statistics Canada, 2018; Samson & Shen, 2018). In 2017/2018, full and associate professors comprised more than one-third of the full-time academic teaching staff in universities; assistant professors for almost one-fifth, and rank below assistant for 8%. Concerning Canadian employment in general, Canadian women are less likely to participate in the economy, and once employed, more likely to work part-time. In January 2018, 61% of women were employed, compared to 70% of men. As well, women who are 25 to 54 are three times more likely to hold part-time jobs than are men (Government of Canada, 2018). According to Statistics Canada (2018), approximately 1 million Canadian women aged 25 to 54 work part-time. Caring for children, aging family members or family members with disabilities are the most commonly cited factors for part-time employment.

Not only does motherhood affect career success and trajectory, it also affects perceptions of workplace productivity and commitment (Aloi, 2005; Correll et al., 2007). According to an experiment conducted by researchers at Cornell University, mothers face multiple disadvantages during the hiring process such as being less likely to be hired, being offered lower salaries and facing a perception that they would be less committed to a job than fathers or women without children (Aloi, 2005). To evaluate the hypothesis that status-based discrimination plays an important role and an audit study of actual employers to assess its real-world implications, researchers sent prospective employers simulated resumes with only one major difference: some resumes indicated that the job applicant belonged to a parent-teacher association. Results of the study demonstrated that

mothers often face status-based discrimination and a penalty for motherhood, while fathers experience the opposite. More specifically, male job candidates whose resumes mentioned the parent-teacher association were called back more often than men whose resumes did not. The strongest difference, however, was between fathers and mothers with women who alluded to parenthood in this way being half as likely to get called back than women who did not (Correll, Benard, Paik, 2007).

Fathers in this study were also characterized as more desirable job candidates than mothers and non-fathers. Additionally, fathers were deemed more competent and committed than mothers or men without kids and were allowed to be late to work significantly more times than mothers or non-fathers (Correll et al., 2007). Masculine workplace norms often make it far riskier for women to negotiate conventional femininity (e.g., engaging in self-promoting behaviours that are acceptable for men) (Williams, 2009). These stereotypes and attributions contribute to notions of hegemonic motherhood, the maternal wall, and intensive mothering ideologies.

Hegemonic motherhood. Hegemony refers to the maintenance of domination through a process known as hegemony. This domination is often perpetuated by the consensual social practices, social forms, and social structures produced in specific institutions such, such as higher educational institutions (McLaren, 2003). Historically, the very definition of 'mothering' and what constitutes a 'good mother' have shifted to the societal context in which it pertains to (Johnston & Swanson, 2003). Ideologies of the 'good mother' permeate society, popular culture, and everyday interactions. These shape our feelings about motherhood and oftentimes perpetuate mother-blame (Abbey, 2003; Bassin, Honey, & Kaplan, 1994). Caplan (2000) states that the 'scapegoat theory' serves

to redirect society's discrimination towards mothers through the process of mother-blame. The less a group is valued, the easier it is to blame for the unjust actions of social institutions. As a result, mothers remain subject to close social regulation, placing pressure on women to conform to unrealistic norms, or risk being subjected to judgmental scrutiny and blamed for the wrongdoings and shortfalls of societal institutions.

Notions of the 'good mother' are institutionalized in social arrangements and practices, and implicitly linked to theories of gender stratification (Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010). As the literature often portrays, 'good mothers' are those who are dedicated solely to their children and providing childcare. For example, contemporary popular culture representations of the 'good mother' often depict a white, able-bodied, youthful, heterosexual woman who is economically dependent and nurturing. Conveniently so, this description excludes mothers from full participation in higher education and the workforce. Additionally, this description favours the history and culture of work, which is committed to the public, rather than the private sphere (Drago, 2007; Somerville, 2000; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). A discussion of hegemonic motherhood smashes these essentialist mindsets and yields new knowledge about motherhood ideals and social processes related to heteronormativity, race, ethnicity, gender, and class (Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010). Despite the fact that representations of motherhood, and their expectations, are in constant flux with the socio-cultural context, the discourse of motherhood has been established as a normative construct (Jewell, 2016, p. 2). As a result, dominance ideologies such as hegemony, patriarchy, and neo-liberalism, continue to police and monitor women into a culture whereby they are defined and judged by standards of a gender-stratified society (Spigel & Baraister, 2009; O'Reilly, 2004).

According to Adrienne Rich (1986), the patriarchal notion of a mother's role works to disadvantage women by setting unmanageable standards, isolating and devaluing their work, imposing binary distinctions between those who mother and those who don't, and by classifying caretaking jobs into low paid employment. This requires that mothers act in 'culturally recognizable and acceptable ways', honoring complacency and compromising with patriarchal values for the sake of family harmony (Abbey, 2003), and those who do not are categorized into discourses of deviancy. For example, Arendell (2000) draws out what a good mother is commonly presented as and what is often used as a criterion by which all mothers are judged:

> The good mother is heterosexual, married, and monogamous. She is White and native born. She is not economically self-sufficient, which means, given the persistent gap in earnings, largely economically dependent on her income-earning husband (unless she's independently wealthy and, in that case, allows her husband to handle the finances). She is not employed (p. 3).

Although Arendell's description of this allegorical being does not reference education, one can presume the attitudes regarding a mother that is pursuing graduate studies, which eventually yields financially stability and employment. Graduate student mothers manage their conduct in terms of the dominant cultural conceptions of what it means to be a 'good mother' and 'good student' (Lynch, 2008). This discourse also highlights how the activities of motherhood are constructed and defined, assigning women as the natural caregivers. Notions of in loco parentis are strictly forbidden, especially in the case of a mother pursuing a higher education, while others care for her child.

Hegemonic motherhood and good mother discourses also serve to regulate and discipline how mothers feel. These discourses construct and define mothers' emotions by considering happy mothers as good mothers and unhappy mothers as failed mothers. Conveniently so, doing so attributes responsibility for feeling unhappy on the mother, rather than institutions and societal norms. An unhappy mother is an unorganized mother who simply cannot manage the demands of motherhood, while a happy mother properly adheres to the standards and norms outlined by society (Johnston & Swanson, 2003).

Hegemonic motherhood and discourses of the good mother serve many functions. By controlling what mothers do, it ensures that women take on the child rearing. By controlling what women feel, it ensures that women will adhere to the socially constructed norms of motherhood and not transgress them. By defining what a stereotypical good mother appears like, it maintains racial, social, and gender-based stratification in society. These functions continue to place undue anxiety on mothers and contribute towards horizontal violence (Freire, 2003) between mothers (e.g., "Mommy Wars"), and perpetuate intensive mothering ideologies (Hays, 1996; Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010).

Maternal wall. While prescriptive gender stereotypes provide an unjustifiable explanation as to why women in various positions often hit a glass ceiling, the maternal wall (Williams & Segal, 2003) is a term used to describe how some women never even reach the glass ceiling. The maternal wall is a term used to describe the difficulties and barriers women in higher education and prestigious positions often face when attempting to ascend up the academic and corporate ladder and their overcompensation having to

"work harder to overcome the powerful negative competence and commitment assumptions triggered by motherhood" (Williams, 2010, p. 92). The maternal wall becomes elicited when any awareness or mention of motherhood becomes salient (e.g., when a mother announces her pregnancy, begins to look pregnant, or requests maternal leave). The maternal wall often contributes to the disproportionate decreases at each level of the academic hierarchy, a phenomenon referred to as the "leaky pipeline" (van Anders, 2004) or the "pyramid problem" (Mason, 2011) and as a result, the illusion of women "choosing" to opt-out of the workplace (Williams, 2010). A combination of prescriptive gender stereotyping and descriptive stereotyping lead some women on a dead-end path to the maternal wall. Benevolent stereotyping may also be classified as a by-product of the maternal wall and occurs when women are policed into traditionalist roles because they are seen as kinder and gentler as a result of their motherhood. For example, if a woman is given a lesser workload after having children so she may "spend more time with her children" or "at home with her children" (Williams, 2005, p. 97). The maternal wall is further exacerbated for women of colour, as it often leads to a greater effect on their careers and family life (Clarke, 2002). Finally, the maternal wall also disservices women who have not yet had children, by pitting non-mothers against mothers, ultimately decreasing their ability to collaboratively counter the effects of the glass ceiling (Williams, 2000). For example, if a fellow female employee is asked to pick up a greater workload while a colleague is on maternity leave, this sense of feeling overwork can lead to feelings of animosity, especially if they themselves do not have children (Hewlett, 2002). The maternal wall affects all women, not just mothers, by creating a workplace that preserves notions of an ideal worker and pins motherhood against this ideal. It

creates an environment that perpetuates prescriptive stereotyping and horizontal violence (Freire, 2000), hegemonic motherhood, and intensive mothering ideologues, thereby making it more difficult to challenge and overcome these barriers. These environments shape how women think about their families in relation to work and higher education (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). A deconstruction and examination of these perspectives provide a means to grasp an understanding of graduate student mothers' experiences.

Intensive mothering ideology. Motherhood and mothering are dynamic social interactions and relationships located in a societal context that is aligned with prevailing gender norms (Arendell, 2000). In many ways, society dictates the ways in which mothers are expected to 'perform,' and therefore, set rigid boundaries of what mothers 'should' and 'should not' do (e.g., Butler, 1996; Chae, 2015; Arendell, 2000; Hays, 1996; Patterson, 2008; O'Laughlin & Bischoff, 2005). Intensive mothering ideologies imply a strong sense of devotion between those who mother and those who are mothered, with mothers acting on their child(ren)'s needs above their own (O'Reilly, 2010). Premised on the notion that mothering requires abundant amounts of time, energy, and resources, intensive mothering ideologies also maintain the idea that in order to be an effective mother, one must invest plentiful amounts of each. In doing so, intensive mothering ideologies disregard the hardships of many single mothers who often experience greater financial hardships and social exclusion (Crosier, Butterworth, & Rogers, 2007), and also maintain that mothers should be the central caregiver (O'Reilly, 2010) – an impractical strategy that could lead to the demise of a graduate student mother's academic career. Intensive mothering ideologies place tremendous strain and pressure on women, often leading to experiences of decreased mental health.

As a result of these rigid role expectations placed upon mothers, many often find themselves striving to live up to unattainable expectations, which oftentimes result in feelings of guilt, failure, and frustration, and adverse effects on maternal mental health, sense of self, sense of agency in private and public spheres, and sense of satisfaction with mothering and with the larger culture (Liss, Schiffrin, & Rizzo, 2012; Maines, 2008). Referring to the combination of motherhood and academia as "the perfect storm," Hallstein and O'Reilly (2012) describe the difficulties inherent in the notion of having it all:

> Contemporary women's status as post-second wave beneficiaries, the intensive and unbounded career-path and ideal worker norms of academia that center on achieving tenure and promotion, and the demanding and also unbounded requirements of the contemporary ideology of "good mothering," intensive mothering. Indeed, we argue that, when the three factors converge- when post-second wave beneficiaries are *both* mothers and professors- a distinct-to-academia "perfect storm" of difficult and almost-impossible-to-meet challenges for academic mothers emerges where they try to have and manage "it all," which also makes academics a more challenging profession for women who want to become mothers (p. 3)

This notion of striving to be a perfect emblem of motherhood has led to the development of what Hays (1996) refers to as intensive mothering. For graduate student mothers, intensive mothering is a conflicting experience with each role demanding full devotion (Lynch, 2008). Graduate students are judged on their devotion to their careers, often as much as their grades or output (Lynch, 2008). Similarly, intensive mothering holds that

mothers must demonstrate total commitment to their child(ren) in order to be positively judged as culturally appropriate mothers. Because of their conflicting demands, graduate student mothers often find themselves utilizing 'maternal invisibility' while engaged in academic tasks and 'maternal visibility' while engaging in mothering tasks (Garey, 1999, p. 29). Doing so allows mothers to privately preserve their identity as graduate student and mother simultaneously.

Intensive mothering holds the mother primarily responsible for child rearing and dictates that the process of motherhood is to be child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labor-intensive, and financially expensive. To add, Hays (1996) indicates that there are three main themes of intensive mothering and include: (1) childcare is the primary responsibility of the mother; (2) parenting should always be child-centred; and (3) children are sacred and delightful (Hays, 1996). Hays (1996) also suggests that notions of intensive mothering not only affect the welfare of the mother, intensive mothering is also an ideology that supports the desires of men, the middle class, whites and capitalism in general because it perpetuates the status quo in which women are the agents of child-care, no matter what the costs. This ideology has developed out of societal expectations and cultural pressures that increase even more drastically when mothers pursue goals related to work and educational endeavors (Johnston & Swanson, 2006). Hays (1996) argues that the pursuit of self-interests in today's society perpetuate ideas about mothering and create ambivalence and competitiveness between mothers. As a result of dealing with this ambivalence pertaining to self-interests, unrealistic expectations have been placed on mothers, making it an opposing force and tableau for cultural ambivalence to be projected on.

Institutional Barriers

Support for Canadian graduate student parents is inconsistent across both universities and funding agencies (Allen, 2014). While some aspects of institutional support are similar, such as parental leaves and extended degree-completion timelines, other provisions such as financial support remain inconsistent. On campus childcare and student housing are also inconsistent and remain a large conflict in terms of affordability and convenience for graduate student mothers. Finally, program requirements such as networking and student obligations will be discussed in this section of institutional barriers, as they often conflict with familial obligations for graduate student mothers.

Financial support. In Southwestern Ontario, the type and amount of financial support often varies from one institution to the next. For example, Western University, University of Toronto, University of Waterloo, McMaster University, and Queens University, to name a few, provide graduate student parental leave bursaries. The amount of the parental leave bursaries range from a minimum of $1,500 (Western University) and upwards to the amount of $5,000 for the first term and $3,000 for the second (University of Waterloo), is based on full-time enrollment, and subject to an application process. According to the University of Waterloo, "the bursary is intended to maintain income at about 95% of the average level of income received by the student during three previous academic terms, net of tuition…" (University of Waterloo, 2019). The bursary is also subject to compatibility with other financial assistance and awards, such as Tri-Council Agency awards:

"The Agencies will provide parental leave supplements paid out of grants within six months following the child's birth or adoption to eligible students and

postdoctoral fellows who are paid out of agency grants and who are primary

caregivers for a child. The supplement will be paid to students and fellows as per

their current agency-funded salary/stipend for up to six months. If both parents

are supported by grant funds, each parent may take a portion of the leave for a

combined maximum of six months. The supplement will be pro-rated if the

student or postdoctoral fellow is being trained in research on a part-time basis"

(Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, 2017).

Further, if a graduate student is supported by a government fellowship, then they

are entitled to interrupt their award and take unpaid parental leave for up to three years.

However, during this time, graduate students on leave cannot work or pursue studies

during this time and they must be devoted full time to childrearing. The option of a paid

leave for four months if funded by SSHRC or NSERC is available; however, only if the

funds are available. As well, NSERC recipients receive a T4A, which affects their

pension collection, and are also paying income tax on the funds provided. This inability

to pay into employment insurance (EI) affects postdocs' and students' ability to receive

parental benefits through EI (Kent, 2014). This discrepancy with maternity leave

eligibility was voiced by Dr. Tracey Penny Light, an assistant professor at the University

of Waterloo, in a recent University Affairs interview discussing the challenges of timing

childbirth and graduate studies.

In her interview, Dr. Light shares the challenges of beginning a family while also

beginning her graduate student career (Koblyk, 2012). Her first child was born the month

she started her PhD studies, and so she did not qualify for maternity leave. She was

eligible to take one term off. However, had she been eligible for parental leave, she

would have had more time. Because of that term off, Dr. Light did not have grades available when funding applications were due. As a result, she described her finances and time constraints as mutually worrisome stressors. In order to manage financial constraints, Dr. Light began to work full-time, while switching her studies to part-time. In their interview, Koblyk (2012) and Dr. Light highlights how timing affects funding and paternal leave eligibility, while simultaneously demonstrating how graduate student mothers can alternatively look for funding when they do not meet eligibility requirements (Koblyk, 2012).

While switching to part-time studies offers mothers a range of personal benefits, including an increased amount of time with their child and the time to negotiate the dual demands of graduate studies and motherhood, this decision may cost mothers immediate funding opportunities and their future eligibility for funds (Lynch, 2008). Part-time studies are cited as a decision that may compound mothers' economic difficulties as they become 'cut off' from internal and external sources of present and future funding (Lynch, 2008, p. 591). Therefore, while provided increased time to balance the dual demands of motherhood and graduate studies, part-time status operates as a constraint on the financial success of graduate student mothers. The lack of consistency in financial support for Canadian graduate students highlights a disregard for the importance of supporting graduate student mothers in completing their studies (Allen, 2014). On-campus childcare and parenting related facilities are also varied across institutions.

Childcare and graduate student housing. On-campus childcare programs in Ontario are licensed and monitored by the Ministry of Education under the Day Nurseries Act. The regulations of the Act are designed to ensure standards for the children's health,

safety, development, and learning, in settings where more than five children of different parents are cared for, are met. While enacted on-campus programs are government regulated, access to these services is not. Across Ontario universities, access to on-campus childcare facilities is widely varied in terms of enrollment, location, and fees. For example, at the University of Western Ontario, on-campus childcare is operated by the YMCA of Western Ontario. Flexcare (i.e., childcare that provides flexible hours) is located on the Western campus in the University Community Centre (UCC). They accept children three months to preschool and priority is given to children of parents who are Western Undergraduate students. Children of parents who are Western graduate students, post-docs, faculty and staff may also be accepted for care at the centre (University of Western Ontario, 2016). On-campus childcare at the University of Western Ontario is also provided through the University Laboratory Preschool and is administered by the Department of Psychology as a state-of-the-art preschool and as a research and demonstration facility. The lab school is open to families in the general London community from September through June of every year. Up to 100 children from one through five years attend their available programs.

At the University of Toronto, all childcare centres are staffed by professionally qualified early childhood educators and also operate in accordance with Day Nurseries Act in Ontario. Each centre is separately incorporated as a not-for-profit and is licensed by the Province of Ontario. Childcare subsidies are available, and all of the centres give priority to University of Toronto families. However, enrollment in these childcare facilities is often a barrier, as waiting lists are exponentially long and oftentimes, leave students with having to find alternative childcare. This barrier is often cautioned directly

on the university's website, and was found on the University of Toronto's childcare information page as it states, "Please note that the waiting lists for the U of T childcare centres are very long and so parents are advised to apply early" (University of Toronto, 2015).

Childcare services are provided by a non-profit organization, which offers its students, faculty, and staff flexible childcare choices proximate to the campus. It operates a pre-school program for children ages 16 months to six years old. The childcare centre is staffed by qualified early childhood educators, and is licensed by the Ministry of Community, Family and Children's Services. The centre also administers home-based childcare services for children aged six weeks to 12 years. Fee assistance is available to qualified families and is based upon family household income and subsidy qualification criteria (University of Windsor, 2015).

Unlike the previously mentioned universities, the University of Waterloo conducts their on-campus childcare fees according to the program the student is enrolled in. At the University of Waterloo, the centres offer care for children three months through school age and include full and half day programs. Similar to the other on-campus daycares, the University of Waterloo's on-campus childcare is fully licensed and inspected under the Ministry of Community, Family and Children's Services and meets the requirements of the Day Nurseries Act. Families who are unable to pay for their childcare costs may be eligible for Childcare Subsidy, through Children's Services at the Region of Waterloo. Eligibility for childcare subsidies is determined through a financial needs test and upon approval, families may be eligible for a full or partial subsidy. Again, due to the demand for services on campus, early contact is strongly advised, and each

child is automatically placed on a waiting list (University of Waterloo, 2019). While

many universities do provide on-campus children or childcare that is adjacent to the

campus, many parents are confounded by fees and extended wait list delays. Similar to

on-campus childcare, on-campus facilities that are available to parents, specifically

graduate student mothers (e.g., lactation rooms) are also varied and oftentimes,

inadequate. The University of Waterloo for example, provides female students (with an

office) Danby compact refrigerators that can be loaned out for the purposes of storing

breast milk in individual offices (University of Waterloo, 2019). Arrangements are made

through the Equity Office. In contrast, many other universities do not provide

refrigerators or a safe and private place to pump. Affordable on-campus or nearby off-

campus affordable housing is another challenge faced by graduate student mothers.

In recognition of the demands of balancing graduate studies and parenting, some

universities have adapted their resources and initiatives to assist graduate student parents.

At the University of British Columbia for example, housing assistance includes aid from

the Rental Assistance program, which provides cash assistance to help with monthly rent

payments. To be eligible, students must be a Canadian resident with household income of

$35,000 or less, have at least one dependent child, and have been employed at some point

over the last year. However, similar to the challenges of on-campus childcare, the waiting

list for subsidized housing is extensive. At the University of Western Ontario, off-campus

student housing offers amenities necessary for comfortable family living and is located

near elementary schools, daycare facilities, shopping and public transportation. The

residence also offers the "Platt's Lane Playgroup" on a drop-in basis, every Thursday.

Again, waitlists for the complex are extensive and no information on subsidization of

rental fees was available online (University of Western Ontario, 2016).

Finally, at the University of Toronto, Student Family Housing is a family-oriented residence reserved for University of Toronto students in a full-time degree program with partners and/or children. Amenities include childcare access on premise run by George Brown College, pet-friendly rooms, and embedded residence life staff and counselors from the Family Care Office and the Centre for International Experience. However, rent is not subsidized and ranges from $725.00 to $1,188.00 per month. Students must also meet eligibility requirements; which partially includes a shared bank account, shared credit-card, or shared utility bills, insurance or proof of engagement (if married). Single parents must show proof that they have majority custody of their child (minimum 50% custody), separation/divorce/custody papers, birth registration papers, and child support paperwork if they are a single parent. These barriers often carry over to other aspects of graduate student life, such as networking, since these activities require time and participation. Networking and program obligations often place tremendous pressure and role strain on graduate student mothers and their success in their program.

Networking and program obligations. Networking in graduate school requires a high degree of face time through departmental functions, seminars, and professional conferences. In fact, in their discussion of the third shift (Hochschild, 2003), graduate school itself was identified as a contributor to the role strain placed on graduate student mothers (Kramarae, 2001). While the student obligations in each program vary, the pressure to network remains a consistent theme. Networking often includes additional student activities in addition to the basic coursework obligations, such as conference presentations, workshops, and student committee representations (Holmes, 2003).

Networking, also referred to as the 'political game' (Peters, 1997), is about building a professional presence, something many graduate student mothers simply do not have the time for. For many graduate students, future success depends on the relationships built during graduate school with professors, colleagues, and so on (Peters, 1997). Networking is crucial to the advancement of a graduate student's education or career. Therefore, for many graduate student mothers, this advantage found in networking is often lacking and thereby seen as an additional barrier to their success during graduate school and upon receipt of their degree.

Networking often contributes to success in graduate school and a more positive experience. For graduate student mothers, reliance on networks as a source of social support is also critical, and having this support contributes to a more positive experience of being a graduate student mother. For example, in a study conducted by Tenenbaum, et al. (2001), instrumental help and networking help contributed positively to productivity (i.e., publications, posters, and conference talks) and had implications for their experience. Psychosocial help contributed to students' satisfaction with their mentor and with their graduate school experience. Interestingly, most female graduate students worked with male mentors, however, there was no discussion of family formation and the support provided for graduate student mothers.

Further complicating the conflicting nature of motherhood and mentoring in graduate school, the intersection of race poses further implications on networking experiences, with Black female graduate students often receiving even further limitations to networking opportunities and engagements. In a study conducted by Johnson-Bailey (2004), the relationship between networking and race emerged as a primary factor in

Black female graduate student's success because these women's lived experiences are framed differently by society. For example, the women related that traditional mentoring approaches were not usually applicable to them since cultural issues often inhibited the mentor-protégé relationship that is normed on White middle-class male interactions. This finding not only demonstrates the intersectionality of gender, race, and class, but also highlights a disparity in access to networking and ultimately impeding the success of some women and graduate student mothers. Despite the overwhelming research on the challenges of balancing motherhood with other endeavors, such as work and school, there is a small amount of research that highlights the potential benefits to having children during graduate school.

Though not as popular as the literature on the barriers and challenges of balancing graduate studies or work and motherhood, there indeed exists research that suggests there may be potential benefits of doing so. For example, in a longitudinal study conducted by Ward & Wolf-Wendel (2012), this narrative of possibility found that women in their mid-academic careers appreciated the autonomy, flexibility, and fulfillment found within their academic lives. By offering insights into the positive elements of combining academia and motherhood, this literature may offer a vision for a future where graduate student mothers and faculty mothers will find both their professional and personal lives can work together and in conjunction with one another as oppose to an either/or proposition (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Research on the benefits of combining work and family also suggest that some women feel an added level of perspective to life that was not present prior to having children (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Having children has also been found to increase women's efficiency and organization. Though efficiency and

organization has been found to increase, work hours interestingly did not increase. Many women in this particular study utilized the art of "satisficing" (Simon, 1981, p. 35). Originally an economic term to describe decisions that are good enough, the women in this study managed to complete their work despite time limitations, energy, and resources. Feelings of being content with not being the very best are common in discussions of satisficing, which seem to help mothers strike a healthy balance between work and family (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). Maintaining personal leisure time (i.e., time spent embracing personal leisure activities and not family leisure activities) also contributes to mothers finding a sense of balance between work and family life (Trussell, 2015). The significance of social relationships and friendships among new mothers also contributes to an increase in overall happiness (Mulcahy, Parry, & Glover, 2010; Sullivan, 2013). This can have particular implications for graduate student mothers, since graduate studies are oftentimes a very lonely journey (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). These findings also speak to the significance and impact of social policies on leisure engagement opportunities (Trussell, 2015). Overall, the literature that presents a counter-narrative to the challenges of balancing graduate studies and work with family is few and far between. The challenges and barriers of doing so are far more common and demonstrate that there is still considerable work to be done in the topic of graduate studies and motherhood.

Conclusion

The barriers addressed in this literature review direct our attention to significant educational and human rights issues, while simultaneously demonstrating the need to examine the experiences of graduate student mothers in order to offer insight into policy

and programming to help ensure their success. Additionally, highlighting these issues may lead to important research and policy recommendations regarding how to improve the experiences of graduate student mothers in terms of accessibility and policy changes, as well as an overall awareness to the needs of this unique population, in order to ensure retention and success in their academic endeavors.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

Narrative Inquiry

This research employed qualitative research methods and employed narrative inquiry to explore the experiences of graduate student mothers and faculty. Narrative inquiry is a "profoundly relational form of inquiry since researcher and participants are always in the midst of living and telling their stories" (Clandinin, 2007, p. 17). Narrative inquiry is a way of thinking about experience and as a methodology, entails a view of the phenomenon. To use narrative inquiry entails adopting a particular view of experience as phenomenon under study (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 375). Finally, narrative inquiry is a way to endeavour into the understanding of experience through "collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 20). Because the emphasis of this research was placed on the lived experiences of graduate student mothers and faculty and the future possibilities of these lives, narrative inquiry was the most appropriate methodology.

Narrative inquiry, the study of experience as story, is "a way of thinking about experience. Narrative inquiry as a methodology entails a view of the phenomenon. To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular view of experience as phenomenon under study" (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 375). This relation to experience draws heavily upon Dewey's conceptualization of experience as continuous (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In relation to feminist theories, narrative inquiry is also a way of understanding and inquiring into experience through "collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with

milieus" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 20). In exploring whom one is and whom one is becoming, and in viewing oneself and their participants as always in the midst of stories, narrative inquirers embody their ontological and ethical commitments to live and inquire alongside one another, relationally (Clandinin & Caine, 2012). Narrative inquiry enables the researcher to represent women's experiences more adequately, as it is articulated freely and in their own terms (Stewart & Cole, 2007). For the purposes of this study, this research is presented in the form of personal narratives (i.e., my personal experience story) and narrative interviews (Creswell, 2008). A personal experience story is a narrative study of an individual's personal experience found in single or multiple episodes, private situations, or communal folklore (Denzin, 1989, p.87). Through narrative interviews the narrative researcher provides a voice for seldom-heard individuals in educational research (Creswell, 2008). In contrast to other methodologies, narrative inquiry contains three commonplaces of inquiry. These commonplaces include temporality, sociality, and place (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Commonplaces are dimensions that need to be simultaneously explored in undertaking a narrative inquiry. Exploring experience through inquiry into all three commonplaces is what distinguishes narrative inquiry from other methodologies. Through attending to these commonplaces, narrative inquirers are able to study the complexity of the relational composition of people's lived experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Each of these commonplaces will be explored in the research and taken into account.

Temporality. Temporality is a term used to describe the idea that an experience is temporal (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Temporality allows the researcher to inquire and

understand past, present, and future circumstances of people, places, and things under study (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). Experiences taken collectively are also temporal. Therefore, narrative inquiry explores not only how life is experienced here and now, but also how life is experienced on a continuum. With the understanding that events under study are in temporal transition and ever evolving, temporality appreciates the evolution of participants' lives, places, things, and events (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006).

Temporality can also be used to triangulate the data. For example, Denzin (1978) advised that we should use the same method to explore as many different areas as possible. Much like temporality, areas can be divided by time, space, and person. Interviews may be used to investigate women when they are in different time periods, and specific to temporality, in different locations, and compare them. Triangulation can be used between women to determine and locate a pattern of experiencing obstacles, specifically within higher education.

Higher educational institutions and women's gendered experiences within these institutions are in constant temporal transition. Just as individuals' lives are embedded within larger narratives as social science inquiries, the institutions and practices within them are contextualized within a longer-term historical narrative. Therefore, in narrative inquiry research, an event is not something seen as happening in one specific moment, but as something that is an expression of something happening over time. Any event or occurrence has a past, a present, and an implied future (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Sociality. Narrative inquirers not only explore personal conditions, but also social conditions. Personal conditions include "feelings, hopes, desires, aesthetic reactions and moral dispositions" (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 480) of the inquirer and participants.

Social conditions refer to the milieu, the conditions under which individuals' experiences are unfolding. These social conditions are understood, in part, in terms of cultural, social, institutional and linguistic narratives. Narrative inquirers cannot remove themselves from this inquiry relationship due to the connection between the researchers' and participants' lives (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; 2006).

Place. According to Connelly and Cladinin (2006), place is "the specific concrete, physical, and topological boundaries or sequences of places where the inquiry and events take place (p. 480). This commonplace acknowledges that all events take place somewhere and identities are linked with the experienced in these particular places. Likewise, context is imperative for making sense of any person, event, or thing. Such contextualizing allows the narrative researcher to demonstrate that various experiences within a context play a different role to different people (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; 2006).

In addition to these three commonplaces, seven major characteristics can also be found within narrative research. These characteristics include individual experiences, chronology of the experiences, collecting individual stories, restorying, coding for themes, context or setting, and collaborating with participants (Creswell, 2008). Although most narrative research focuses on one individual, narrative research may also include a study of a group of people, for example, graduate student mothers and faculty members. Regardless of the number of individuals in the study, the researcher is most interested in studying the experiences of the individual(s). In relation to chronology of the experiences, Dewey held that one criterion for experience is continuity. Continuity is the notion that experiences grow out of other experiences and these ultimately lead

individuals to new experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). A chronological perspective of individuals' experiences allows the researcher to capture the essence of the person's lived experiences.

In order to grasp the chronological perspective of the participants' experiences, narrative researchers often ask participants to tell a story (narrative) about their particular experiences. Derived from group accounts or individual accounts, these stories include a process of retelling. These personal accounts can be collected in the form of field texts, (e.g., interviews), journals, letters, family stories, photographs, and memory boxes (Creswell, 2008). After the individuals tell their story, the narrative researcher retells, restories, or remaps the story in their own words. This is done in order to provide order and sequence to a story that may be lacking these qualities. Restorying is the process in which "the researcher gathers stories, analyzes them for key elements of the story (e.g., time, place, plot, and scene), and then rewrites the story to place it in a chronological sequence" (Creswell, 2008, p. 509). The data is then coded into themes or categories and described within specific contexts or settings. Finally, these characteristics are all done while simultaneously involving the participant in the inquiry as it unfolds (Creswell, 2008).

Vignettes. Complimentary to narrative inquiry and restorying, is the use of vignettes as a key feature of the methodology. The use of vignettes is common among qualitative research and "combines the stories of multiple participants to tell a more compelling story that cuts across the individual interviews to illustrate key points" (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012, p. 25). The vignettes will be derived directly from the interviews and will combine quotes and paraphrases from the participants. Vignettes are a

nontraditional way of representing qualitative data which in turn allows the data to be more readable, accessible, and relatable to the reader. The vignettes will help convey shared experiences among the participants and demonstrate patterns and trends among graduate student and faculty mothers alike (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012).

Restorying. Once the data was collected, I analyzed the stories collected through the semi-structured interviews and focus groups through the process of restorying. This was conducted in order to provide order and sequence to a story that may have been told out of sequence. Consistent with qualitative restorying techniques outlined by Creswell (2008), the interviews were transcribed from an audiotape. Next, the raw data was transcribed by identifying the key elements of the story. Finally, the participants' recollections were re-storied by organizing the key codes into a sequence. As is common in qualitative research, the stories will be presented as vignettes in the results section that combine the stories of multiple participants as well as direct quotations embedded within the findings. Vignettes have been chosen as an additional way to represent participants' stories due to the fact that they allow results to be more readable, accessible, and "vehicles that carry with them an interpretation of data" (Ely, Vinz, Anzul, & Downing, 1997). These vignettes will be a means of conveying graduate student mothers' experiences, as well as faculty members who were mothers during graduate school, while simultaneously demonstrating patterns and trends of motherhood and higher education (Ward & Wolf-Wendel 2012).

Specific to the focus groups, the discussions sought to tell someone else's story, required active listening and understanding. Analysis of the focus groups (and interviews) began with careful listening. In contrast to quantitative data analysis, qualitative analysis

requires researchers to begin at different points with fewer assumptions and openness to alternatives (Krueger, 1998). Analysis began with revisiting the intent of the study and the research problem. The research problem drove the analysis and was the cornerstone of the study. Specific to focus group analysis, the complexity embedded within the analysis became difficult when respondents answered using different words that shared the same meanings. These considerations were explored using follow-up probes for the respondents to provide examples or elaborate on the issue. As moderator and researcher, I sought to identify evidence that was repetitive and was common to several participants. I was also be cognizant of the range and diversity of experiences and perceptions. Identifying opinions, ideas, or feelings that repeat, even though they are expressed differently among respondents were carefully identified (Krueger, 1998). A consideration of the principles that guide qualitative analysis assisted in developing valid and enlightening research.

Throughout the data collection process, as well as my own experiences with motherhood and graduate studies, a reflective journal was also kept. According to Barnes (2010), reflective journaling can help students concentrate on their feelings and may produce a modified outlook. The reflective journal is a recommended approach to keeping the thoughts, feelings and experiences of the researcher visible and accountable in qualitative research (Ortlipp, 2008). Rather than trying to control or minimize the impact of the researcher, the qualitative approach to this research upheld the importance of acknowledging and embracing the decisions and interpretations of myself (Ortlipp, 2008). Through the research process, my experiences, opinions, thoughts, and feelings were visible and an acknowledged part of the research process through keeping reflective

journals and using them in writing up the research. Aspects of my experience were also incorporated among the themes for graduate student mothers and faculty and integrated within the vignettes within the results section.

Next, consistent with qualitative data analysis, the data was segmented into themes. The identification of themes provided the complexity of a story and aided in the understanding of their experiences of being a graduate student mother. A number of themes were identified and were incorporated into the discussion of motherhood and academia.

Data Analysis

Following the semi-structured interviews, the interview data was transcribed verbatim and analyzed according to narrative inquiry and qualitative analysis procedures (Creswell, 2008; Kruger, 1998). Detailed analysis involving review of the transcripts and tapes, as well as any fluctuations in voice, were emphasized in the transcription. After careful review of the transcripts, various themes emerged from repetitious words and topics. Common themes were then organized and a total of five consistent themes emerged from the transcripts.

For the purpose of evaluating the quality of this proposed research and data analysis, I offer Krueger's (1998) nine ways to appraise qualitative analysis. The critical components that comprise qualitative analysis, and more specifically, focus group and semi-structured analysis, state that analysis: (1) must be systematic; (2) be verifiable; (3) is jeopardized by delay; (4) should seek to enlighten; (5) should entertain alternative explorations; (6) is improved by feedback; (7) is a process of comparison; (8) is situationally responsive; and (9) requires time. The idea that analysis must be systematic

ensures that the research results will be as authentic as possible. The systematic protocol

of the focus group and interviews reminds the analyst of upcoming steps and also

communicates a sense of diligence within the study and research questions. Systematic

steps that have proven to be beneficial in qualitative research, including focus groups and

semi-structured interviews, include: sequencing of questions to allow maximum insight,

allowing participants to become familiar with the topic and giving each a chance to

recollect personal opinions and listen to opinions of others, electronically recording the

data, coding of data, participant verification and allowing participants to summarize their

thoughts, and sharing reports with participants (Krueger, 1998).

Next, for analysis to be verifiable, another researcher should be able to arrive at

similar conclusions using available documents and raw data. Verifiable data must also

include a sufficient trail of evidence, which will begin with notes and recordings taken

during the focus group, an oral summary of key points during the focus group and

interviews, and a debriefing following the focus group. Since focus group and interview

time may affect analysis quality, care was exercised in scheduling the data collection and

how the notes were taken. Doing so preserved the sense of the group, the mood of the

discussion, and the eagerness with which the participants wanted to discuss issues with

one another. These steps also aided in providing enlightenment on the topic of

motherhood and graduate studies and lifted the issues embedded within the understanding

of this this topic to a new plateau. An environment that encourages a free exchange of

ideas also provided enlightenment and facilitated openness to finding disconfirming

evidence (Krueger, 1998).

As a means of ensuring the accuracy of the qualitative data in this research study,

I provided a brief summary of critical points at the end of the focus group and interview sessions. Participants were invited to amend or change this summary to ensure their voices and opinions were represented adequately. Similar to member checking, this strategy was done as a way to validate the data provided by participants. When providing feedback to the focus groups, the group was asked to confirm or correct the new ideas.

Qualitative data is dynamic and therefore, it is also situationally responsive (Morgan 1998). Specific to focus group interviews, participants constantly influence one another, opinions change, and new insights become revealed. Constant reflection on the research plan and research questions and objections kept this study grounded and rooted in the characteristics of strong qualitative research (Krueger, 1998). The number of focus groups, interview participants, the categories of people selected for the focus groups, and other demographic factors will all help guide the analysis process and aid the study in providing enlightening information on graduate studies and motherhood. This analysis will be conducted through the process of narrative inquiry and restorying, while honouring the previously mentioned principles of qualitative analysis.

Data analysis for the focus group sessions were analyzed comparatively to the data derived from the semi-structured interview. The analysis slightly varied in that upon completion of a focus group session, the audio recording was listened to and transcribed to confirm that all the main points were included. In doing so, the "note-expansion" approach (Bertrand, Brown & Ward, 1992, p. 202) was utilized, whereby "the reporter listens to the tape in order to clarify certain issues or to confirm that all the main points are included in the notes" (p. 202). Following the conclusion of this approach, the notes and transcriptions were analyzed inductively for major themes/points that were discussed

and coded and categorized into pre-existing themes from the semi-structured interviews or an entirely new category, if applicable.

Inclusion Criteria

Before commencing to the results of this dissertation, it is vital to delineate the parameters of the participants. As previously discussed, while men are also included in the subgroup of graduate students who are parents, research has shown that motherhood continues to interrupt the trajectory of graduate school and work in ways that fatherhood does not (e.g., Acker & Armenti, 2004; Butterwick & Dawson, 2005; Cummins, 2005; Huppatz, 2010; Knights & Richards, 2003; Krais, 2002). Bouts of nausea, vomiting, and extreme fatigue are a reminder that women experience many challenges well before the birth of their child. The physical immediacy of pregnancy affects women in ways that are impossible for men to experience (Trussell, 2015). Furthermore, the societal expectations placed on mothers are far greater when considering the work and family interface (Hochschild, 2003). Given the historical context of higher education, it is imperative to consider how these gender norms govern graduate student mothers' behaviours and the expectations for their behaviour. Therefore, for the purpose of this research, only mothers' experiences will be included in this study. Though not to minimize fathers' experiences, the scope of this research was limited to motherhood and graduate studies for the reason identified through the literature review and in this section. Mothers with children of various ages were considered to enrich the findings. The graduate student mothers were both either full and part time students and were at different stages of their graduate student careers. This study also included recent graduates of a graduate program, within a five-year range. A range of five years was selected so that recollection

of experiences was at the forefront of their memories. Mothers of all ages, backgrounds, and family dynamics were considered for this study. To allow for a greater level of triangulation and temporality, faculty members who were mothers during their graduate studies were recruited to discuss and reflect upon their own experiences as graduate student mothers. In doing so, this data strived to speak to the disparities Williams (2004) highlights in his research on tenured faculty with child(ren).

The Participants

A total of 11 participants were included in this study. Although this study set out to recruit a larger sample, the limitations of doing so became quite apparent. A lack of participants from certain faculties (i.e., science, technology, mathematics, and engineering) spoke to the low numbers of women so commonly highlighted in the literature (see for example, Adamo, 2013; National Science Foundation, 2019). This study did however recruit a variety of women from a range of disciplines and faculties across campus including the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Faculty of Education, Faculty of Nursing, Faculty of Human Kinetics, and School of Creative Arts. This study was devised into separate groups which included graduate students and recent graduates who are mothers ($n=6$) and faculty/sessional instructors who were mothers during their graduate school careers ($n=5$).

The participants ranged in age from 57 years old to 28 years old (*M= 36*). Eight participants were White, two Asian, and one identified as "Arabic." The average age of current and recent graduate students who are mothers was 31 years old (*M=31*) and the average age at the time of birthing their first child was 28 years old (*M=28*). The average age of faculty or sessional employees who are mothers was 42 years old (*M=42*) and the

average age at the time of birthing their first child was 26 years old (*M=26*). Concerning

number of children, eight of the women had their first child while in their program of

study, one in high school at the time of their child's birth, and two women had an

additional child upon graduating from their program of study. All of the participants were

in heterosexual relationships. However, it is imperative to acknowledge that women and

mothers of all sexualities face issues related to work-family conflict (Tuten & August,

2006). There was one mother who identified her child as having a learning disability;

however, no other special needs arose in the discussion of their children. Two of the

women in the faculty and sessional grouping had children prior to the start of their

graduate studies, while the remaining mothers had their children within the first few years

of their academic careers as graduate students. The demographics of this study, along

with the insights of the women, oppose the widely held belief that graduate studies and

motherhood are incompatible and mutuality exclusive of one another (Williams, 2005;

Litwin, 2006) and highlight the myth that women are foregoing graduate studies to

pursue motherhood (Bacon, 2014). Age is also an important demographic characteristic

since the mean age of graduate students, about 27 to 39 years at some Canadian

universities (i.e., University of Alberta and University of British Columbia), overlaps

with the average age, 28 to 30, of Canadian women at the time of childbirth (Allen,

2014). Women's biological and tenure clocks run simultaneously, and in a culture where

academic promotion and tenure are based largely upon independent scholarly production,

academic women with children are faced with meeting both parenting and academic

demands (Davies, 2005; O'Laughlin & Bischoff, 2005). Echoing this pattern of

productivity is the reality that academia is structured in a way that the pressure to be

highly productive and work additional hours are intensified at the beginning of one's career. This comes at a time when women are at prime childbearing age and the demands of parenting are at their peak. These demands from both spheres of life force women to make imperative decisions about their careers and families at a time when both are at their ultimate peak (McCutcheon & Morisson, 2018).

Table 1 (Appendix A, page 281) provides a summary of the demographic characteristics of faculty and sessional employees who participated in this study. The characteristics included in Table 1 includes: employment position, number of children, highest level of education, year of study at time of first pregnancy, age, age at child's birth, and faculty membership. Table 2 (Appendix B, page 282) provides a summary of the demographic characteristics of faculty/sessional instructors who were mothers at the time of their graduate studies. The characteristics in the Table 2 include: employment position, number of children, highest level of education, year of study at time of first pregnancy, age, age at child's birth, and faculty membership.

Sampling & Recruitment

Participants for this study were recruited via purposeful sampling techniques that also included snowballing methods to recruit a heterogeneous group of graduate student mothers and faculty/sessional members. This recruitment method is based on the rationale for the maternal focus on research indicating that graduate student mothers face greater challenges than other populations in their graduate student careers (see for e.g., Acker & Armenti, 2004; Caproni, 2004; Thomas & Davies, 2002; van Anders, 2004; Williams, 2004; Litwin, 2006). I expected this sampling methodology to afford the maximum opportunities for comparable analysis of mothers from various backgrounds,

race, social classes, and ethnicities, however, as the limitations will demonstrate, this was not necessarily the case.

In purposeful sampling, researchers intentionally select individuals and sites to learn or understand the central phenomenon (Creswell, 2008). More specifically, the participants were both a homogenous sample, due to their membership in a subgroup (i.e., graduate school and motherhood) that had defining characteristics, while also representing various social backgrounds. I also utilized snowball sampling, which is a form of purposeful sampling that typically occurs after a study begins and occurs when the researcher asks participants to recommend other individuals in their subgroup (Creswell, 2008). The sample size of the study was determined with an estimate of reaching data saturation (Creswell, 2008). When the collection of new data did not uncover any further outcomes on the issue under investigation, satiation had been reached. In contrast to quantitative research, because this study is primarily exploratory by nature, the question of how much data to gather in advance is undetermined at this point (Adler & Adler, 1987). What is known is that because of the need to report details about each individual's experience, a larger number of participants may have become unwieldy and resulted in superficial perspectives (Creswell, 2008). To recruit participants by these means, flyers were disseminated in faculty buildings in a variety of high traffic areas (e.g., bathrooms, women's centre, student centres, faculty lounges). The flyers met research ethics board expectations and approval criteria.

Trustworthiness

In order to uphold the highest level of reliability within this study, a variety of methods were utilized. For example, methods of respondent validation (Creswell, 2008),

external auditing by committee members, triangulation, and member checking (Janesick, 2000). External auditing was obtained by having my advisor and committee members provide insights and reviews of the different aspects of the research. Insights included reviews on whether or not the study's inferences were logical and justified, the degree of researcher bias, and strategies used for increasing credibility and reliability (Creswell, 2008). A form of member checking was also employed as a method for ensuring conformability within the study. Member checking is a qualitative process during which the researcher asks one or more participants in the study to check the accuracy of the account (Creswell, 2008, p. 259). Participants were asked whether the description is complete and realistic, if the themes are accurate to include, and if my interpretation of their perspective was fair. Member checking was conducted at the conclusion of each focus group by providing a brief summary of critical points at the end of each type of session. Participants were invited to amend or change this summary to ensure their voices and opinions were represented adequately.

Lastly, triangulation was also utilized as a way to increase the study's trustworthiness. This process of corroborating evidence from different individuals (e.g., graduate student mothers from various backgrounds and faculties), types of data (e.g., semi-structured interviews and a focus group), or methods of data collection (e.g., interviews and focus groups) in descriptions and themes in qualitative research strengthens the research and supports its credibility. Converging data derived from multiple methods (i.e., personal narratives, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups) is a strong approach to qualitative research allowed the study to have blended strengths of one method, while simultaneously balancing the weaknesses of the other.

Data Collection

Data included in this study was collected using semi-structured interviews and focus group sessions. These methods were chosen as the source of data collection given their complimentary features with the theoretical framework and purpose of the study. A detailed description of these methods and the purpose of their selection is outlined below.

Semi-structured interviews. In narrative inquiry research, the narrative researcher asks the participant to tell a story (or stories) about his or her experiences. The face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted in accordance with criteria set forth by feminist theoretical aims as well as narrative inquiry. In doing so, these methods recognize the notion of "experience" as central to feminist activism and structured conscious raising methods (DeVault & Gross, 2007). Feminist theorists such as Sandra Harding (1991) and Dorothy Smith (1987) encourage and rely on the collection of experiences through interview methods. Feminist and narrative interviews research are conducted by talking with participants, gathering their stories and learning about their experiences and perspectives (DeVault & Gross, 2010). Semi-structured interviews are a less structured and rigorous form of interviewing that allows empathetic and interpersonal dialogue, which are key components of feminist research (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012b). Consistent with narrative research methods, the semi-structured interviews began by asking participants to share their stories, either by responding to the semi-structured interview questions; by engaging in conversation or dialogue; by telling stories triggered by various artifacts such as photographs or memory box items. All semi-structured interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. In addition to the semi-structured interviews, focus groups were also conducted with a group of available

participants.

The face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted in accordance with criteria set forth by feminist theoretical aims as well as narrative inquiry. In doing so, these methods recognized the notion of "experience" as central to feminist activism and structured conscious raising methods (DeVault & Gross, 2007). Semi-structured interviews are a form of interviewing that allows for empathetic and interpersonal dialogue regarding experiences academic motherhood (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012b). The purpose of the semi-structured interview is to ascertain participants' perspectives regarding an experience pertaining to the research topic of academia and motherhood. In comparison to other styles of interviews, the semi-structured interview utilized in this study consisted of questions that were asked of all participants in the same order, and all data were analyzed systematically item-by-item (McIntosh & Morse, 2015). Consistent with narrative research methods, participants were invited to share their stories, by either responding to the semi-structured interview questions; or by engaging in conversation or dialogue. Additionally, the semi-structured interviews were conducted by talking with participants, gathering their stories and learning about their experiences and perspectives (DeVault & Gross, 2010). This created a welcoming and empathetic environment, which was conducive to facilitating personal discussion of such intimate topics.

The semi-structured interview allowed for open-ended conversations concerning the main themes of the study (i.e., work and family balance, campus resources, childcare). Prior to the start of the interview, the participants were again oriented to the purpose of the study, a restatement of the research questions, and provided with a brief review of the literature. The women were then invited to speak about their child(ren)

from a range of modalities (e.g., picture, description, journal). Women were subsequently

invited to discuss their pregnancy experiences, followed by an open-ended question about

their experiences of being a graduate student mother. For each question, there was no

fixed range of responses and questions followed the interview protocol (see Appendix G).

The interview protocol was very specific, with carefully worded questions, covering a list

of topics to be covered. The topics of the interview guide were based on the research

questions concerning motherhood and graduate studies and developed within a feminist

theoretical lens. In addition to the questions directly related to the themes under

investigation, the semi-structured interviews also use a variety of probes that were

utilized to elicit further information or build rapport through the use of active listening

skills and the shared experience of motherhood. All semi-structured interviews were

audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. With the exception of two participants (i.e.,

Marian and Mary) all semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face.

Scheduling conflicts and difficulties interfered with the face-to-face method of

interviewing and resulted in the questions being emailed to these two participants. The

interviews lasted a total of approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour in total. If needed, follow

up emails were sent to clarify any of the statements or experiences shared.

In addition to the characteristics of semi-structured interviews mentioned above,

semi-structured interviews are especially useful in research questions where the concepts

and relationships among them are relatively well understood with a group of individuals,

such as in the case of graduate student mothers. Because of the degree of structure in

semi-structured interviews, the resulting text is a collaboration of investigator and

informant. Lastly, in order to ensure interpretive validity and avoid biasing the data, the

questions allowed for an open-ended evaluation of their experiences without leading the participants in any direction (Given, 2008). Women who participated in the study were compensated with a $10 gift card to Tim Horton's and a reimbursement of any parking fees they paid to be on campus for the interview.

Focus groups. In addition to the semi-structured interviews, two separate mini focus group sessions were conducted. The women were invited to participate in the focus groups both through the letter of information and at the conclusion of the semi-structured interview. Participants were asked if they would like to be contacted for future participation in a focus group in the letter of information. If participants indicated a desire to be contacted to participate in an upcoming focus group, they were emailed an invitation to do so. Not every participant that participated in a semi-structured interview opted to participated in the focus group. Time constraints, lack of availability, and scheduling conflicts were the most commonly cited constraints to their inability to participate.

The two focus groups consisted of current and recent graduate student mothers (*n= 3)* and faculty/sessional instructors (*n=3)*. The focus groups were conducted separately to avoid any power differentials between students and instructors, which would interfere with the research objectives of conducting the groups in a safe environment. The focus groups were both conducted by the principle researcher and lasted approximately 45 minutes in length. The utilization of focus groups to complement the semi-structured interviews is a method that aligns well with the aims of feminist research and the goals of qualitative research analysis (Hesse-Biber, 2007; Krueger & Casey, 2009).

Focus groups are a common method utilized by feminist researchers, especially when those with participatory approaches to research (Moss, 2007). More specifically, focus groups refer to a "nondirective technique that results in the controlled production of a discussion of a group of people" (Flores & Alonso, 1995, p. 84). In comparison to other modalities of data collection, focus groups can provide richer and more in-depth information because of the interaction that takes place between participants and among participants themselves (Lederman, 1990). Focus groups also allow participants to "express their ideas in a spontaneous manner that is not structured according to the researchers' prejudices" (Bertrand, Brown & Ward, 1992, p. 199).

The purpose of utilizing focus group interviewing for this qualitative research is to gather further information on any shared experiences that may deepen and extend the established themes from the semi-structured interviews (Krueger & Casey, 2009). While it is acknowledged that all experiences in motherhood are vastly different, focus groups may highlight common experiences that can be discussed. The focus groups were characterized by homogeneity regarding motherhood and academia but had sufficient variation among participants to allow for contrasting opinions (Creswell, 2008). Focus groups also reinforce the participatory nature of the research and can also provide a healing opportunity for those who may have experienced marginalization (Mallon, 2009).

Recruitment for the focus groups proved to be somewhat of a challenge. Upon the completion of a semi-structured interview, the participants were then invited to participate in the focus group at a later date. The women who expressed an interest in participating were then emailed a list of dates and times that may accommodate their schedules. Given time restrictions and the hectic nature of motherhood and academia, a

limited number of women were able to participate in the focus groups. While it can be argued that the focus groups were too small to be called focus groups, other research and literature on the size of focus groups (see for example, Morgan, 2019) state that there are in fact benefits to conducting smaller mini-groups while conducting qualitative research. For example, a smaller focus group may facilitate a more intimate approach to research, which in turn may allow the participants to open up about personal issues and experiences (Richardson, 2014). In doing so, participants may become more supportive of one another, allowing them to encourage and build on each other's input, which is typically not feasible within a larger focus group setting (Richardson, 2014).

Ethical Considerations

To protect the confidence of the women with whom I spoke to, each participant and when required, their child, were given a pseudonym. The assigned pseudonym was made known to the participants and used in the reporting of this dissertation and all specific markers (i.e., child(s)' names, spouse's names, faculty of study, experiences that may jeopardize the participant's confidentiality) were omitted. Participants who wished to not disclose certain experiences while being transcribed or details of their experiences were given that option and opted to disclose them off record.

Consistent with the Research Ethics Board expectations, all materials used in this study were kept under lock and key and made available to the primary researcher and advisor. Each participant was reminded of the option to voluntarily withdraw at any point in the research study and the letter of information, consent to participate in research, and consent to audio recording forms were reviewed and signed prior to commencing the interviews. Further use of the data was outlined to each participant and each were

informed that the data will be used for future publications and conference presentations. Prior to the recruitment and interview stage, there were many steps taken to ensure this study was conducted under the highest degree of ethical consideration possible.

Prior to the recruitment of this study, a formal Research Ethics Board application was submitted to the Research Ethics Board. The application was reviewed by the Research Ethics Board Committee and was granted clearance to proceed. Flyers were then disseminated across all high traffic faculty areas. Interested participants sent an email to the primary researcher and were then provided with a letter of information in response. Interview times were set up according to the participants' schedules. At the time of the interview, the participants were asked to sign the consent to participate in the semi-structured interview and consent to have the interview audio-taped. After a period of approximately one month, the participants were individually invited, through email, to participate in a focus group session with their appropriate group (i.e., faculty/sessional or student). Times and dates for the focus group session were collaboratively arranged, but each participant was communicated with separately. Consent forms were once again signed at the focus group (consent to participate in research and audio-taping of the focus group). A preliminary summary of findings was posted to the Research Ethics Board website.

Conclusion

This study utilized both semi-structured interviews and focus group sessions to explore the experiences of graduate student and faculty/sessional instructors' experiences with motherhood and academia. This study consists of current and recent graduate student mothers as well as faculty and sessional instructors that were mothers at the time

of their graduate student careers. Recent graduates in this study were within a 5-year timeframe so the recollection of their most recent experiences was still relatively new. Faculty members whom were mothers at the time of their graduate student careers were granted additional time given their full range of experiences while pursuing a tenure track position. The results of the semi-structured interviews and focus group sessions provide a multitude of experiences, both positive and negative, that occurred during their graduate school careers and shed light on the complex relationship between gender, motherhood, and academia.

CHAPTER 4

Findings and Analysis

The data in this study were collected to explore the experiences of current and former graduate student mothers and faculty who were mothers at the time of their graduate student careers. All data in this study were collected via semi-structured interviews and focus groups and analyzed using a qualitative content analysis approach. The specific type of content analysis used in this research was directed content analysis for the semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

Broadly speaking, qualitative content analysis is a research method used to analyze text data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Research that utilizes qualitative content analysis focuses on "the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text" (Hsieh & Shannon, p. 1278). For this particular study's design, directed content analysis was the most appropriate type of content analysis.

A directed approach to content analysis was utilized for this particular study given the existing knowledge of academic women's experiences. Though not exhaustive, literature on motherhood and academia was available and referenced prior to developing the semi-structured interview protocol and focus group protocol. Although one may argue that because of the scarcity of literature on Canadian academic women, particularly mothers, a conventional content analysis could be used, related literature guided the development of key themes. Although limited, existing and prior research exists about the experiences of academic mothers and gender relations concerning motherhood. However,

the literature is undoubtedly scarce and incomplete and may benefit from further description.

The goal of a directed approach to content analysis is to validate or extend a theoretical framework or theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Since existing research helped focus this studies research questions and interview protocols, it is characterized as a directed approach to content analysis. A deductive category application (Mayring, 2000) helped to identify the relationships among variables, thereby assisting with an initial coding scheme or relationships between codes, such as the relationship between the intersection of work and family and the need for strategic planning and time management. Existing research on academic mothers guided a more structured process to the semi-structured interviews and focus groups. However, open-ended questions were still asked and flexibility in discussion was encouraged during both types of data collection.

Data collected from the semi-structured interviews and focus groups yielded five key themes concerning motherhood and graduate studies: (a) intersection of work and family; (b) mentoring networking opportunities; (c) inconsistencies between institutional and program policies; (d) support from departmental faculty but lack of support from the university as a whole; and (e) an overall level of satisfaction in being a mother during graduate studies. A graphic representation of these key themes (Figure 1) helps to organize the findings according to their themes and subthemes. This chapter will discuss and present these five key themes mentioned above.

Intersection of Work and Family

Across the literature, researchers have found that the experiences of balancing

academia for men and women, and in particular, mothers and fathers, is substantially

different (Butterwick & Dawson, 2005; Cummins, 2005; Mason, 2013; Krais, 2002;

Palepu & Herbert, 2002; Williams, 2004; 2007). One of the most commonly noted

findings is that women take a larger proportion of domestic and caregiving related tasks,

resulting in greater rates of work-family conflict (Hochschild, 2003; Trussell, 2015; Ward

& Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Three recently published studies have demonstrated that

housework is still largely considered women's work (Cerrato & Cifre, 2018; Pepin,

Sayer, & Casper, 2018; Thebaud, Kornricj & Ruppanner, 2019). Cerrato and Cifre,

(2018), for example, found that for men, while men are giving more time to domestic

chores in general than in the past, they do not do 'traditional feminine' chores, and the

division of domestic labor is not close to being equal. So, what the researchers found was,

one way for men to live up to masculine standards is to typically do male chores, and

another way was to refuse to do typically female ones. Thebaud, Kornricj and Ruppanner

(2019), found that, socially, women were judged negatively by others for having a house

that was messy, and housework not completed. This was not the case for men. Men, the

researchers found, did not have to be responsible for how a house appeared to others and

they were not likely to be judged negatively by visitors if the house was not in order. The

intersection of work and family is also referred to as work-family conflict. Work-family

conflict can be defined as the extent to which "work demands clash with adequate and

pleasurable performance in non-work roles" (Taris, Beckers, Verhoeven, Geurts,

Kompier & van der Linden, 2006, p. 140).

In order to offset the demands of work and family, graduate students who are

mothers, as well as faculty who are mothers, often have to work a "double day" (Weis,

1988, p. 184). The presence of the double day was a common theme consistent in managing the demands of work and family for many of graduate student mothers and faculty in this study and in the literature. For example, McCutcheon and Morisson (2018) assessed work-family roles of 143 male and female faculty members in psychology departments across Canada and found that women experience higher degrees of work-family conflict than men and performed an average of 10 additional hours of childcare per week (McCutcheon & Morisson, 2018, p. 232). Similar to the "double day," the presence of working a "second shift" (Hochschild, 2003) and even at times, a third and fourth shift were a common occurrence for many of the mothers. According to Mason and Goulden (2003), the problem with the double day and second shift is that it forces mothers to make decisions that ultimately affect their career paths and trajectory of their careers. In an attempt to offset the demands of the intersection of work and family, this theme had five additional sub-themes that emerged during analysis. These sub-themes included (1) strategic planning and time management; (2) flexibility, or lack thereof, in academia; (3) sacrificing personal desires for the sake of the family and child(ren); (4) mother guilt; and (5) a strong reliance on support from immediate family members, such as their parents and siblings, as well as close friends.

Strategic planning and time management. Beginning with the double-day, many mothers in the study found themselves working long hours during the day and then having to complete school related tasks in the evening once their child(ren) were asleep. This presented a challenge for many graduate students who were mothers due to the mental, physical, and emotional exhaustion they experienced during the day. For

example, Sandra, a second-year graduate student and mother to her one-year old son, discussed the challenges of trying to complete academic related tasks in the evening:

> *I think the biggest challenge is time. Time limitations, right? Because when* [child] *is awake I want to be with him and take care of him and you know it's of course it's fine to send emails, but you can't focus on dissertation work either while he's awake…*

As the primary caregiver, she makes clear the division of labour, as predominantly her work. Her husband, a lawyer, works during the day and so the responsibility of caregiving is primarily hers. She demonstrates what is common to many mothers and women, which is the double day (Weiss, 1988) and second shift (Hochschild, 2003). For Weis (1988), graduate student mothers and faculty who are mothers, are disadvantaged in their everyday life as the majority of responsibilities for childcare and housework produce a heavy workload. But let me be more specific. Sandra's double day begins when she puts her son to bed and continues to study throughout the night:

> *… the second he goes down I'm back to work, but that means no time for myself and you're constantly go, go, go. So, by this time, when he's actually in bed for the night and I can work for a couple of hours, my brain is just done. The physical toll as well as finding the time… you just have to be very strategic about time management.*

Sandra's comment reveals how the experiences of working a double day shape her capacity to work on her dissertation. Clearly, for Sandra, taking care of a child is mentally and physically exhausting, leaving little energy or motivation to tackle her academic work. Her "brain," not surprisingly given the demands of the day, is "done" by nightfall. Workplace demands and the many other academic-related stressors academics face, such as pressure during pre-tenure years, low-entry pay scales, and long working/preparation hours may affect the ability to simultaneously manage work and caregiving responsibilities for many women academics who are mothers.

This is, perhaps, an example of what Foucault meant when he talked about 'power' being 'everywhere' and comes from 'everywhere.' Power, although located in institutions, also emerges out of interactions and decisions that shape the experiences of everyday life. Women who are mothers, situated in the academic world, attempt to negotiate demands of childcare with the demands of an academic life, but each experience emerges from a structure of power that keeps men at the top.

Nonetheless, these challenges may affect women's abilities to role balance in the areas of work and family life more so than men. For example, women report a greater work-family conflict and perform, on average, 10 additional hours of childcare per week (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2018). The challenges of trying to manage familial obligations and complete academic related tasks was echoed by Lisa, sessional instructor and mother of two children under the age of seven, as she discusses divided attention given to both school and her children. This was followed by a brief statement that mimics a sense of guilt when academic mothers feel as though they are not providing enough nurturing for their children:

> *When he's in preschool he goes Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and at night when they go to bed and if I can get some stuff done during the day and if I can get to my email, great. There are 2 things… The first thing, obviously you want to give full attention to the academic work that you're doing, and you can't when your kids are running around because you have to be [laughter] monitoring them. The second bit is that obviously it's not a matter of just making sure that they don't get hurt but that you're nurturing them.*

In Lisa's response to what a typical day as a graduate student mother looks like, she touches upon ideal worker/student norms as they interact with gender. Working uninterrupted for an extended period of time is seen as the norm and a deviation from that may indicate a lack of commitment and devotion to her studies (Ward & Wolf-Wendel,

2017; Sallee, 2017). Similar to Lisa, Marian, a 36 year old recent master's graduate and mother of two children under the age of seven, felt both the mental and physical challenges of completing academic related tasks as she states, "Challenges were staying motivated attending class and getting assignments done due to being sleep deprived and guilt for leaving my baby at 5 days old to go to class." Although many of the mothers did set out to prioritize, plan, and manage their time efficiently, the complex demands of motherhood often conflicted with their carefully set out plan to do so. This posed a challenge for Lucy, master's student and mother of two children under the age of six, as she explains how the reality of motherhood oftentimes interferes with her attempts to carefully balance the work and family interface:

> *Well I try to dedicate my morning or my days at school like focusing on studies so that I have time on the evenings and weekends to focus on my family. This semester has been really hard to do that. It's very emotional and stressful when I have to take time in my evening and weekends away from my kids because I feel guilty.*

As this quote from Lucy illustrates, guilt is not only pervasive and deeply gendered, but reached a point where it become detrimental to her well-being. Let me backtrack here for a moment to draw out, briefly, the relationship between guilt and gender. Guilt as a result of attempting to balance work and family, needs to be understood as gendered (see for example, Seagram & Daniluk, 2002; Korabik, 2015; McDelwain & Korabik, 2004), since it is a more frequent experience for women. For example, in a study conducted by Seagram and Daniluk (2002) maternal guilt in eight mothers of preadolescent children was studied. Maternal guilt as a result of feeling responsible that they needed to prepare their children for life's challenges, while balancing work, resulted in a sense of inadequacy and emotional depletion (e.g., feelings of anger, frustration, exhaustion, and

resentment). More recently, a study conducted by Korabik (2015) indicated that work-family guilt was a common occurrence.

The majority of both men and women said that although they felt guilt both toward balancing their work roles and their family roles, the guilt was strongest in regard to their family responsibilities, especially those regarding the well-being of their children. The participants, both men and women alike, believed that there were gender differences in work-family guilt, such as women being more prone to feelings of guilt than men. Reinforcing prescribed gender roles, some respondents felt that men and women experienced work-family guilt differently because women were more emotionally sensitive than men or because women were more able to verbalize their feelings than men were. Other participants felt that these gender differences stemmed from societal expectations that men and women should fulfill traditionally prescribed gender roles (Seagram & Daniluk, 2002; Korabik, 2015; McDelwain & Korabik, 2004).

Also evident in Lucy's response is the emotional labour involved in management her feelings of guilt. Not only is she attempting to manage her time while the children are in school, she is also grappling with the emotions felt by having to do so in the first place. At no point in her argument, however, is the indication that her husband perhaps should assist with the management of scheduling childcare to alleviate some of the emotional labour involved in having to constantly do so. Highlighting the ideal worker/good mother ideologies, the men and women felt that higher expectations were put on women than on men (Korabik, 2015). Echoing a common ideology in postwar households regarding masculine domestic involvement for fathers, the central responsibility here for childcare and household management lies primarily with the mother (Greig, 2014). Highlighting

the stronger expectations placed on her role as a mother, Lucy continues to describe the

increased responsibility she would be faced with should one of her children become ill:

> *I thought it would actually be easier our oldest starting JK [junior kindergarten].*
> *I thought it would be easier, but now I know it's harder on them going back and*
> *in the winter, they get sick and especially when they're sick it seems like I have*
> *always had something to do and papers to write and I feel stressed when I have to*
> *take time away from something that's due to be home because I know I can't get*
> *anything done because you have to dedicate that time to them.*

Again, Lucy demonstrates how she has internalized a deep sense of being

primarily responsible for the logistical aspects of childcare and childrearing. She also

demonstrates an intensive mothering approach to the time that is allotted to her children.

She makes clear that time at home is hands-on and solely dedicated to the care of her

children. In addition to increased responsibility and work-family guilt, Lucy touches

upon the factor of children's age and how that plays a role in balancing graduate studies

and motherhood. Speaking to these complexities of being a graduate student mother to

younger children, Christina retrospectively discusses the differences of having been a

graduate student mother when her children were older, compared to the challenges

involved in trying to complete her PhD when her children were younger. She also talks

about her experiences of trying to balance graduate studies, while attending her children's

extracurricular activities. Having to constantly work on her studies, Christina felt the

continual pressures cited in the literature for mothers of younger children. Christina's

experiences also highlight the gendered nature of a mother's workload and demonstrate

that she was often responsible for bringing her children to extracurricular activities.

Christina's experiences of having to manage extracurricular activities for her children is

consistent with broader patterns of gender relations that produce an unequal division of

labor when it comes to childcare issues. Here is Christina explaining:

> *Well, as I mentioned to you, even when I was at my son's hockey practices or my daughters dance classes, I was the mother in the corner reading, writing, or scoring research instruments. I was constantly working.*

These reflections were consistent with the research conducted by Hirikata and Daniluk (2009), which found that the sense of continual compromise was significantly higher for women with preschool aged children. While all the women in the study conducted by Hirikata and Daniluk (2009) reported feelings of pressure and anxiety to some extent, those experiencing multiple stressors were tenured and new mothers with their second or third child. This specific group of women described their experiences as "stressful and demanding" (p. 289). Participants in their study who were pre-tenured and new mothers with their first child described their experiences as "overwhelming" (p. 289).

Specific to this study and reinforcing Sandra's idea that completing a graduate degree with younger children is more difficult, Christina, a tenured faculty member and mother of two adult children, felt that the demands would have been similar. Age of children was a common topic when discussing the family and work interface, particularly, when discussing planning and time management:

> *It would've been really, really difficult … my children were older at that point. I don't know how I would've managed as well because I did find writing the dissertation to be pretty challenging. I don't know… it wasn't my experience so I can't really say, like I would go down I had an office in the basement I would go for like 15 hours and I wouldn't even know I'd look up from my computer and go "it's been 15 hours!"*

Christina continued to outline the demands of having older children while in the program, particularly in terms of having to bring her children to extracurricular activities and complete homework in addition to completing her own school related activities:

Every minute was spent working. And so, when I say working, I mean that when they were done that and we were home, I made them dinner and then we did their homework. But there wasn't a lot of free time.

Through discussions of her children's extracurricular activities, Christina describes her double day in a way the reveals how many women feel compressed for time, challenged by competing obligations of care and work (Weiss, 1988). The challenges inherent within the double day, as Christina's testimony notes, may affect women's abilities to balance work and family life more so than men (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2017). For example, women report a greater work-family conflict and perform, on average, 10 additional hours of childcare per week (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2017). Reporting similar demands, graduate students often face similar challenges as faculty, leading to a strain between the simultaneous roles of being a student and mother (Allen, 2014). The strain felt by balancing the double day and responsibilities of motherhood were a common experience shared by the women in this study, as well as mothers in the broader literature. For example, Aycan and Eskin (2005), found that women reported higher levels of guilt than men in relation to employment outside the home. Guilt, as the literature demonstrates, is a gendered experience, complexified by intersections of class and race (Korabik, 2005; Crenshaw, 1991; Aycan & Eskin, 2005). Flexibility in scheduling and planning was a factor that seemed to alleviate the stress for tenured women faculty, but the lack of flexibility for sessional women who were mothers only seemed to compound and add to their distress.

While children's age and stage in their graduate degrees certainly affected the degree to which planning was possible and feasible, there also seemed to be stark differences in the ability to plan and have a certain level of flexibility among graduate

student mothers and faculty members who were mothers. Sessional instructors presented

a unique challenge to their precarious employment when speaking to the ability to be

flexible in their positions when balancing the demands of work and family. Lisa, a

sessional instructor and mother of two children under the age of seven, spoke to the

reality that would incur should one of her children become sick during the week when her

classes were scheduled:

> *I have no idea what I will do when I have a sick child this year. I really don't. I admit that freely I have no plan. My husband can't cancel patients. I can't cancel class. They're coming with one of us. They'd have to be in the hospital for me to cancel class. I have absolutely no… [pause]… my employment is precarious, and I can't afford it. I just can't afford it. I can't afford a student complaint. I can't afford cancelling a class for an ill family member because of what that could do for student complaints or reputation. There's too much at stake.*

Lisa's comment is noteworthy for a variety of reasons. It demonstrates quite clearly how

it is most often the women's responsibility to deal with childcare issues. In a 2019 book

titled, *Making Motherhood Work: How Women Manage Careers and Caregiving*,

American researcher Caitlyn Collins, who interviewed 135 middle class working mothers

in Sweden, Germany, Italy and United States, found that almost every woman she

interviewed talked about how it was her 'duty' to work out childcare services, take a

leave of absence if necessary, find a babysitter, and seek advice from friends when it

came to childcare issues and so forth. Clearly, Lisa's experience must not be understood

as isolated from the broader pattern of gender relations that produce an unequal division

of labor when it comes to childcare issues (Collins, 2019).

Moreover, inherent in Lisa's testimony regarding the negotiation of taking a day

off, is the way in which society rewards men and women differently for tending to

familial matters (Williams, 2009). Facing high social costs for taking a day off to be with

her children should they become ill, Lisa feels as though she would be evaluated

unfavourably by her students if she needed to cancel a class. Similar to salary

negotiations in their study, Pradel, Bowles, and McGin (2005) found that women often

tend to shy away from riskier job choices (e.g., in this case, taking a sick day and

cancelling class) due to steeper social and professional costs if they do so. These social

costs are communicated through unspoken messages within departments that may play a

crucial role in creating women's reluctance in doing so (Williams, 2006; 2009).

Masculine workplace norms often make it politically riskier for women to take any sort

of risk in their profession, especially when it involves tending to familial obligations. The

inflexible nature of sessional work and masculine workplace norms was also evident in

Jennifer's, discussion regarding the rescheduling and/or cancelling of a class.

Jennifer, a sessional instructor and mother of two, also spoke to the inflexible

nature of instructing when it comes to rescheduling or cancelling a lab when her children

are sick or other life circumstances call into play, "When I'm teaching clinical, I can't not

go to clinical." Although Jennifer highlighted that there are emergency plans in place

should a clinical instructor have an extenuating circumstance beyond a child being sick

(e.g., speaking to the time when a colleague's mother passed away and other instructors

filled in the hours so the students' lab hours would not be displaced), Lisa admits there

are no policies in place should a sessional instructor, or graduate student employed as a

sessional instructor, require time away due to a family emergency. Recalling one class

being cancelled due to her being in labour, she restates the perception of what could

potentially incur should a class be cancelled while in a sessional instructor position.

> *I sat on council here for 2 years and I sat on [the faculty association] as well, I do*
> *not ever recall there being any kind of discussion around that. I think… my*

perception, my opinion, because in this particular faculty, we have had all tenured and sessionals, and so if you're tenured, there are very few people who have children who are school aged. There are some but it's not the majority for sure and if you're tenured and your child is you know throwing up, they may well just cancel the class … but as a sessional ya, I simply feel like I can't. I missed a class when I was in labour and I missed a class when my sister was admitted into the hospital years ago for something serious that thankfully she's recovered from now… but for my personal reason it was only when I was in labour.

The precarious nature of sessional positions held by temporary faculty instructors was a key feature in determining the perceptions of cancelling a class for family emergencies, which ultimately made it very difficult to strategically plan for last minute family emergencies. Fear of retribution from both students rating their performance as instructors, as well as the possible negative judgment from administration was a common motive for not cancelling a class, or even considering cancelling a class. Both Lisa and Jennifer felt that cancelling a class at the last moment would affect their performance rating by students on their course evaluations, which they felt could potentially affect their ability to be rehired as sessional or considered for a tenure track position. However, according to Article 24 in the University Faculty Association's collective agreement, full-time faculty members have very clearly stated policies in place for Compassionate Leave, Family Medical Leave, and Critically Ill Childcare Leave. Although a child being temporarily sick may not call upon a sessional instructor to take such action, should they be required to do so, the following Article does not include sessional instructors and is limited strictly to full-time faculty. Under Article 24:01 of the Collective Agreement:

It is recognized that certain emergencies and other circumstances such as death or serious illness requiring immediate and short-term absences from the University may arise in a member's personal life. Notification of absence shall be given to the Head (or Associate University Librarian, or Law Librarian) who will notify the Dean or University Librarian as appropriate prior to departure or as soon as possible thereafter. The length of absence with full salary and all other rights, privileges and benefits shall be determined by the Dean or University

Librarian or Law Librarian in consultation with and following the approval of the Provost as appropriate in accordance with this clause 24:01. Clause 24:01 does not apply to circumstances in which a member is entitled to Family Medical Leave or Critically Ill Childcare Leave under this Article 24 (University of Windsor, 2016).

The clearly stated policies surrounding absences due to a family emergency are also clearly defined in Article 24:02 and the Family Medical Leave Act as they too state that:

(a) A member is entitled to a leave of absence in accordance with the provisions of Section 49.1 of the Ontario Employment Standards Act and with the benefits described below.
(b) A member who is qualified for Employment Insurance benefits, whether that member has applied for Employment Insurance benefits or not, is eligible for a supplementary employment benefit of one hundred percent (100%) of her/his normal salary for the two week Employment Insurance waiting period, and the difference between the Employment Insurance benefits to which the member is entitled and one hundred percent (100%) of her/his normal salary for the next two weeks of leave and the difference between the Employment Insurance benefits to which the member is entitled and eighty percent (80%) of her/his normal salary for the following four (4) weeks of leave.
(c) The member who is not qualified for Employment Insurance benefits shall be paid 100% of her/his normal salary for the first four (4) weeks of such leave. The member shall be paid eighty percent (80%) of her/his normal salary for the following four (4) weeks of her/his leave (University of Windsor, 2016).

Lastly, similarly to the two articles above, Article 24:03 and the Critically III Childcare Leave, have existing policies should a faculty members child become critically ill. They state:

(a) A member is entitled to a leave of absence in accordance with the provisions of Section 49.4 of the Ontario Employment Standards Act and with the benefits described below.
(b) A member who is qualified for Employment Insurance benefits, whether that member has applied for Employment Insurance benefits or not, is eligible for a supplementary employment benefit of one hundred percent (100%) of her/his normal salary, inclusive of the Employment Insurance waiting period, and the difference between the Employment Insurance benefits to which the member is entitled for the first four (4) weeks of the leave and the difference between the Employment Insurance benefits to which the member is entitled and eighty percent (80%) of her/his normal salary for the following four (4) weeks of leave. Any period of leave beyond the eight (8) weeks and up to twenty-nine (29) subsequent weeks of critically ill childcare leave will be without pay.
(c) A member who is not qualified for Employment Insurance benefits shall be paid 100% of her/his normal salary for the first four (4) weeks of such leave. The member shall be paid eighty percent (80%) of her/his normal salary for the following four (4) weeks of her/his leave. Any period of leave beyond the eight (8)

weeks and up to twenty-nine (29) subsequent weeks of critically ill childcare leave will be without pay.
(d) A 'child' means a child, stepchild, foster child or child who is under legal guardianship, and who is under 18 years of age (University of Windsor, 2016).

In contrast, when searching various databases for articles that discuss the compensation given to sessional and adjunct employee positions, it was evident that they simply do not exist. Without clearly defined policies and Articles in place, it may come as no surprise that sessional instructors forego their right as a parent to cancel a class in order to care for a sick child, regardless of how urgent the circumstance may be. Given the perceived need to be back to work despite maternity and contracted agreements with the university, most women were not willing to risk their job security, which led to decreases in their sense of overall flexibility.

Flexibility within the workplace was a commonly discussed topic within this study for the mothers. When there was a lack of flexibility inherent in their positions as sessional instructors or graduate assistants, they felt an increased level of guilt and stress. Flexibility was more commonly present for tenured faculty, and less likely for those in sessional teaching positions. Like most experiences the mothers had discussed in this study, flexibility was also a gendered experience. This became apparent in discussions of its utilization and perception of that utilization.

Flexibility, or lack thereof, in academia. Flexibility in academia among tenured faculty mothers was a common and complex topic of discussion. Beginning with tenured faculty mothers, flexibility in academia was a frequently cited advantage to balancing the demands of the work and family. The gendered nature of workplace flexibility presented itself in the degree to which the mothers felt they had a sense of flexibility and balance in

their lives. However, the discussion of flexibility within academia also highlighted the complex nature of gender dynamics within the academy itself.

Using discourse analysis to explore the ways in which women academics interpret and understand what it means to achieve work-life balance relative to their own work-place, Toffoletti and Starr (2016) use discourse analysis to connect language to wider social relations of power and inequality. Analysing how women approach the concept of work-life balance can shed light on the social effects of a dominant discourse of work-life balance and how it operates to position women relative to gendered norms and expectations around work and care (Toffoletti & Starr, 2016). More specifically, understanding work-life balance from this perspective can highlight the power of discourse to sustain gender inequalities in the spheres of paid work and the private domain.

Qualitative accounts on the topic of work-life balance in academia are typically centered around two approaches. First, accounts of conflict and tension experienced between work and family life, and second, the policies in place to ameliorate these tensions. Both accounts place gender at the categorical center of inquiry of how work-life issues are approached and discussed. Demonstrating the first approach to work-life balance is Aida, a tenured professor. In her account, Aida highlights how her flexibility has at times been limited by her perception of how leaving work earlier to tend to the needs of her children may impact her career:

> *The main thing is that you're juggling a lot and I know that a lot of times if I had to pick up my kids after school, you could never say why. Although I do find that fathers will say they're going to pick up their kids after school, but I would never say I was going to pick up my kids after school. I just feel like there would be a stigma attached that you're using work time to pick up kids. But you know how it*

> *is, were so lucky in our jobs, I love my job and my research, but I mean you do the time, but it's a great job for families because it's so flexible.*

It goes without saying that men and women are judged differently and held to different standards by society. In the university context, women must deal with a well-entrenched double standard when it comes to gender acceptable behavior and childcare. This is exactly what Aida is suggesting. Demonstrating the double standard some women may face in the academy, Aida often elected to forego the interwoven flexibility as an advantage to her career out of fear of retribution from top-tier administrators and those overseeing a potential tenure-track position appointment. This double standard is common among women, and in particular, mothers (Mason & Goulden, 2012). Williams (2004) describes the double standard many mothers often face once they have been affected by the maternal wall:

> When a childless woman is not in the office, she is presumed to be on business. An absent mother is often thought to be grappling with childcare. Managers and coworkers may mentally cloak pregnant women and new mothers in a haze of femininity, assuming they will be empathetic, emotional, gentle, nonaggressive- that is, not very good at business. If these women shine through the haze and remain tough, cool, empathetic, and committed to their jobs, colleagues may indict them for being insufficiently maternal (p.1).

In order to make sense of how women academics construct meaning about work–life balance, it is necessary to take into account the gendered nature of the paid workforce and domestic realm that informs women's social realities and their discursive accounts of them. Barbara Pocock's model of work/care regimes (2005) provides a critical

consideration of how gender frames the ways academic women and mothers perceive work-life balance. At the centre of Pocock's argument is a recognition that work/care regimes are shaped by a variety of forces — economic, social, historical, political, and therefore, needs to be understood as situational and dynamic.

Within the context of graduate studies and academia, women's increased participation in academia coupled with work intensification has significant impacts on personal life, including work and leisure in the domestic sphere and other aspects of maternal involvement (Pocock, 2005, p. 35). These changes are more pronounced for women who continue to shoulder the burden of unpaid household labour, despite the increase of dual earner families overtaking the traditional male breadwinner/female homemaker family model (Pocock, 2005, p. 36). Pocock attributes work/care regimes as contingent on a gender order that, while variable, is strongly influenced by historical and social power relations. Within this work/care regime, women are expected to be primarily responsible for unpaid labour, such as childcare and management of the domestic domain. This manifests not only at the level of the cultural expression of dominant values and norms, but institutionally in terms of individual actions, behaviours and preferences (2005, p. 39), as was demonstrated by the experiences of mothers in this study.

While mothers often experience a lag in career trajectories and promotions, fathers often experience more once becoming a parent. Highlighting this finding, research by Mason and Goulden (2002) revealed a consistent gap between women and men who have children and the effects on tenure track positions in education. A 24% gap was found between men and women's rates of having achieved tenure 12 to 14 years after receiving a PhD. Also, worth noting is the finding that fathers across all fields of

education, achieve tenure at a slightly higher rate than men and women who do not have children (Mason, Wolfinger & Goulden, 2013). Mason et al. (2013), found that family negatively affects women's, but not men's, early academic careers. Furthermore, and in contrast to men, academic women who do advance through the faculty ranks pay a considerable price for doing so. Research by Mason et al. (2013) revealed what they termed the "baby penalty", which often came in the form of much lower rates of family formation, fertility, and higher rates of family dissolution. For men, however, there was either neutral or even net-positive benefits to having a child (Mason et al. 2013). When looking at this difference in family formation and career advancement through a gendered lens, there are contributing factors that may account for the "baby penalty" among women.

Faced with a catch-22, women are also penalized for tending to familial obligations or exposing their motherhood status because of the same masculine workplace norms (Williams, 2009). This perception of being viewed as less committed to scholarly tasks was prevalent in discussions of work and family with Aida as she continued to explore her own personal experiences:

> *It's kind of this burden on women, like men they can do whatever they want, it's not a problem but with women it's kind of a bit of thing, right. You know sometimes … women are keeping pregnancies private because it's something to do with work… I never did that, there's a lot of tenuous stuff … it's that issue of hiding your family. I kind of feel like it's a bit of a double standard, men can have their pictures out and all that kind of stuff but it's just a little more fraught with women.*

Once again, the evidence provided by this study demonstrates another kind of double standard that disadvantages women. Having to adopt a sense of maternal invisibility (Lynch, 2008), Aida describes how she avoids cultural conflict between being an

academic and mother. Academic mothers manage their conduct in interaction with dominant cultural conceptions of what it means to be a 'good mother' and 'good worker' (Lynch, 2008). For Aida, maternal invisibility throughout her department was an obvious strategy utilized by mothers to manage the conflicting nature of both roles. Workplace gender privilege is built into time and worker norms that systematically disadvantage women, especially mothers, and most notably in cases like Aida's. While many women cited differences between what is acceptable for men and women in various faculties, flexibility was a conditional advantage in some circumstances.

Christina continues to discuss the differences in flexibility between graduate students and faculty members and draws upon the power differentials between the two. The power differentials between graduate students and faculty members seems to play a part in how much flexibility is granted. This relationship between flexibility and power/power dynamics also highlights the ways in which social capital plays a part in the level of flexibility mothers are able to utilize:

> *As a graduate student, you're answering to other people. You're answering to supervisors, you're answering to instructors, you have rules and conditions, and while you do have rules and conditions as a faculty member, there is a broad range of ability to choose what you're willing to do at that moment.*

Inherent within this statement is the hierarchical nature in which graduate students are embedded. To put simply, most graduate students don't have access to sources of power that faculty members do. Concerning motherhood, this becomes a larger issue when a graduate student mother requires a greater sense of flexibility but is ultimately only given what those higher in authority are willing to allow. This may lead to further implications when flexibility, or lack thereof, affects a graduate student mother's social leverage, which refers to using network ties for social mobility (Portes, 1998). Since a large part of

graduate student success is grounded in faculty references and appraisals, many graduate

students may feel constrained by the power differentials when attempting to utilize any

flexibility they may have.

Reflecting on this discussion, I am reminded of the time my request for transfer

from full-time studies to part-time studies was denied. Citing increased familial and

workplace obligations, my request was initially denied on the basis that financial

constraints do not warrant a change of enrollment status. As per the requirements of filing

an appeal, I required a letter of support from my advisor. Once again citing the

importance of supporting students with familial obligations from both myself and

advisor, I was granted approval to switch to part-time studies. Denying a mature student

the right to make a one-time change to enrollment status on the basis of increased familial

and workplace demands, can be viewed as an example of how power differentials can

affect the success and trajectory of graduate student mothers' success in graduate

programs. Allowing for greater flexibility and autonomy sends the message that familial

obligations are valued and supported, not placed in juxtaposition against one another.

In contrast to Aida's experiences, Christina recalls utilizing her flexibility often

and cites her autonomy as an academic as another advantage:

> *I think that there is a lot of autonomy and I think that does suit motherhood well.
> If you have to be away and take off to a doctor's office, you can usually work
> around your teaching schedule, being an academic.*

Although commonly referenced as a benefit in being a faculty member, flexibility is a

perk that should be carefully described as being an advantage. While it is true that faculty

members can customize their schedules to a certain degree, flexibility is not merely

enough to compensate for the cultural and structural barriers that mothers may face in the

academy. As described earlier, 70% of tenured men have children, compared with 44% of women (Mason et al., 2013). This gender discrepancy among tenured faculty can be attributed to academia's rigid career timeline. As a result, women with children fall off the tenure track and employed as contingent or sessional faculty. Oddly enough, once in contingent positions, many mothers find themselves cutting their maternity leaves short because of upcoming contracts and potential work. Nearly as common as flexibility among tenured faculty, was the idea that the academia is largely inflexible for sessional employees. This finding was highlighted in many discussions with sessional employees, in a range of faculties. For example, Jennifer recalls having to end her maternity leave because of an upcoming contract:

> *I was very lucky to take a bit of that maternity leave. But. . . as a sessional instructor, it's really a maternity leave and there's no top up. So. . . I got my EI* [employment insurance]*, but the second a contract came up and it's the end of a semester, I needed to get back.*

Consistent with the research of Hirikata and Daniluk (2009) Jennifer felt vulnerable about the potential risk to her career if she took her entire maternity leave. Similar to Jennifer, Lisa also discusses how her unstable employment was a leading cause in bypassing her entitlement to a maternity leave and instead returning to work a week after the birth of her son:

> *It was a maternity leave from the program, but I didn't take maternity leave from sessional instructing. I was already a sessional here I was in the hospital having her for one of the classes and I was back the next week and my son... the students were on practicum and I didn't miss... I don't think I missed any classes with him actually. That's just kind of how it had to go . . . I believe that our collective agreement says 5 weeks for sessional instructors; however, when you have precarious employment, it's not in your best interest to take those up.*

Jennifer, a sessional and clinical instructor, also felt the need to return to work early, but raised an interesting discussion concerning a tactic she used to secure employment.

Although the Canada Labour Code, Human Rights Code of Ontario, and the Employment

Standards Act of Ontario, each guarantee job protection for Canadian women on

maternity leave, most provinces grant exceptions to account for major changes to the

business, such as staffing restructuring or downsizing (Lindzon, 2017). Securing her

position and seniority was a concern for Jennifer, and was advised by an individual in an

administrative role to do so:

> *I was told by someone, to put into HR* [human resources] *to tell them for the sake of seniority, that I wasn't knocked down in any way of seniority, like I wouldn't accrue anymore, but I think it kept me level. That year that I was off. . . I think I could've suffered because I don't get a mat leave from the university for working sessional. I only work contracts. I don't get sick pay or I don't get anything like that* [pause] *but. . . they told me to kind of put that "I will be away on mat leave from such and such a time to such and such a time" and so I think that just kept me, because I do accrue seniority hours and because of that now I pay into the pension. I could get benefits if I wanted to because I have been here for so long, so that kept me status quo from what I understand.*

Likewise, Zara, a master's student, felt she would rather quit her job than ask for

accommodations at work, such as something to sit on. When asking about her current and

past employment, Zara stated, "I used to be a cashier in the student supermarket, but I

quit my job once I noticed I was pregnant. I didn't want to stand too long or ask for a

stool." Zara, although she was enduring physical discomfort during her pregnancy, felt as

though she was unable *to ask for a workplace modification. The Human Rights

Commission of Canada ensures that "*Women in the workplace are valued employees

entitled to equality, dignity, respect and accommodation of their needs when they are

attempting to become pregnant, while they are pregnant, and as they return to work

following a pregnancy-related absence" (2019). However, what this study demonstrated

is, is that regardless of policy, the perception of how their motherhood would be

perceived by faculty, students and administrators certainly affected their disclosure of family and pregnancy/pregnancy related needs, such as Zara's case.

For Lisa, her trepidation about how her status as a mother would interfere with her status as an instructor infiltrated into the classroom. Not mentioning family to students was a common pastime and something she felt was necessary. However, realizing the need to shift the conversation around work and family, she has since shifted her thinking and purposely aims to bring greater discussions of work and family into her own classroom:

> *As my children have grown and as my time here at the faculty has increased, I have started being more upfront with my students* [by saying] *I have small children at home, if you don't receive a response from me on the weekends it's because I have other responsibilities. I didn't used to do that and that was a mistake, I think.*

As Lisa reflects on how her perception of openness regarding family has increased, she also demonstrates a heightened level of confidence in doing so. Stemming from greater job security, she now feels more self-assured in being able to open up about family to her students. As earlier discussions on mothers in new sessional positions demonstrate, this openness regarding family, is not something that all mothers felt they could "afford." Fear of family status affecting their promotion and perception of commitment level, many mothers continue to keep family matters private until they have developed a strong social capital and have established their commitment to their career within their faculty. Reflecting on how she felt motherhood would affect her career, Lisa continued to state:

> *I used to be very wary about talking about family in the classroom because it would stigmatize me as a young female. It probably still does. But I had a couple of students ask me "you know… you have kids how do you do this teaching thing and this kid thing?" And I went home, and I remember thinking to myself I have done these students a disservice by not talking about family…*

Coming to the realization that she was by default, and through her powerful role as an academic mother, modelling how both roles can be achieved, Lisa came to appreciate the example she was setting,

> *They don't see young female mothers in roles like the one that I have and that's colouring their perception of what is possible and what is impossible… and if we don't change the conversation, it's just going to continue status quo.*

The importance of modelling work and family success is important for those considering a career in academia. Young academic women and mothers internalize messages of work-family compatibility from those in senior positions (Mason et al., 2013). These messages may place mothers in an either-or-proposition and impose a sense of guilt when attempting to resist this proposition. For example, Mason et al. (2013) found that female participants with children perceived academia incompatible and were twice as likely to want to avoid a career in academia. Conceptualizing women within a student only orientation culturally categorizes them as academics only. In turn, the academy cannot respond effectively to the needs of graduate student mothers when they are hidden (Lynch, 2008). Discussions surrounding family were often met with questions of when the best time to discuss family was and how this discussion would be responded to by students, peers, and superiors.

Regardless of employment or student status, it seems as though most mothers had to master the act of when to expose their motherhood and when to keep it private. When mothers were concerned with their job status, overt measures were taken to secure seniority and additional work. When attempting to utilize the highly cited flexibility inherent in academia, some mothers opted to not disclose their motherhood. And in Zara's case, it seems as though the culture on campus, specifically in her case with her

employment at the student supermarket, has not fostered an open dialogue for accommodations while pregnant, ultimately leading her to quit her position. Here we see again, the power of patriarchy and its ability to mask the deeply imbedded power structures on campus.

Flexibility, or lack thereof, was therefore contingent on many factors including: job status (i.e., tenured vs. sessional), timing of contracts, purpose for utilizing flexible hours (i.e., family related, or work related), and whether or not mothers felt comfortable enough to discuss workplace accommodations. One consistency that ran through nearly each discussion was the self-sacrificing nature of the mothers in this study for the sake of their family. Whether returning to work early to financially support their family, pausing publications, or placing goals on hold, many of the mothers cited many instances of self-sacrifice for the sake of their family and child(ren).

Sacrificing personal desires for the sake of family. In addition to the many decisions mothers in academia or graduate school must face, some of the women discussed making decisions that may ultimately affect the advancement of their careers, a common theme cited by researchers Mason and Goulden (2003). Similarly, participants in the study conducted by Hirikata and Daniluk (2009) expressed that they often felt torn between their passion for their research careers and their desires to be the best mothers they felt they could be. Reports of inadequacy were reflected in their feelings of being unable to give either role the energy it required or deserved (Hirikata & Daniluk, 2009). Eagly and Carli (2007) found that women's domestic workload and responsibilities often limit their access to positions by reducing the amount of time, energy, and resources they are able to

dedicate to their studies and careers. This was evident when Lisa discussed how

motherhood placed a brief hold on her publication pursuits and academic activities:

> *Ultimately what happened was my research went to the wayside by necessity because being a full-time mom and also teaching here at the university a couple of courses a semester meant that I wasn't able to keep up a research program. So, I didn't actually publish anything until about 2 years after my PhD was done.*

The decision to postpone academic advancement for the sake of the family was a primary

decision for many of the mothers. In some cases, registration adjustment changed as a

result of the demands of balancing graduate studies and family life. Registration changes

common in the results of this study occurred as making a switch from full-time studies to

part-time or moving from a thesis stream to course-based. For Mary, a recent graduate

from the Faculty of Nursing and mother of two children under the age of four, the shift

from her thesis-based stream to course-based was made after the birth of her first child.

Despite feeling torn between her priorities, she ultimately felt it was a necessary

adjustment, regardless of her desire to pursue a thesis:

> *The program was very accommodating, I had initially started my graduate studies as a thesis student and after having* [first child] *I had to re-evaluate what path I wanted to take as motherhood became a big priority in which I believe I did not have the time to juggle further research… As much as I initially did not want to compromise my thesis, I felt that at that moment it was not the right decision for me to continue.*

In further discussions of academic and career related goals, Mary continued to express

how her desire to pursue further education is postponed until her children are older:

> *At this point in time I would like to continue to strengthen my abilities as a* [occupation omitted to maintain confidentiality] *in my professional career and move into more teachable positions such as a trainee that will help me fulfil academic needs to learn more. As for further education, I do not think this will be a thought for the next five years as my children will be in an age group that will be busy with their own education and experiences. I have always had a passion to return for further education but will wait until my kids are older.*

Deferring further graduate studies was common amongst the women's discussions concerning their 5-year plan. The demands placed on the family while pursuing her graduate degree became evident when Jennifer discussed her desires to continue to pursue a doctorate degree, but chose not to, ultimately for the sake of her family. She also discussed the differences between herself as a mother and two other friends in the graduate program who did continue to pursue their doctorate degrees, citing the fact that they do not have children, and also touching upon the difficulty her husband had with her graduate studies as well:

> *… two of my friends … they are both starting in PhD programs; but, neither of them has kids and my husband, as I mentioned, had a hard time with this grind…*

Reflected in Jennifer's statement is the difficulty graduate studies had on her marriage; particularly, the difficulty her husband had with the length of time it took her to complete it. The shift in domestic responsibilities was a leading factor in this difficulty. Although Jennifer maintained the majority of the household domestic responsibilities and childrearing, in addition to her graduate studies and clinical instructing, her husband faced a difficult time during these six years. Perceived domestic entitlement, which manifests as feeling justified in doing less domestic labor than one's spouse was often present in the discussion of marital support for the women in this study (Fedderolf & Rudman, 2014).

Expanding this discussion in the focus group session, Jennifer spoke to the toll that completing a graduate degree took on her marriage and how it ultimately become a deciding factor in the reason she is delaying her pursuit of a doctorate degree at the moment. She discusses the marital challenges involved in the completion of her master's

degree as well as the contradictory nature of her decision to pause the pursuit of her

doctorate and her own personal beliefs about empowerment:

> *My husband was a huge resource for me, but he built up in resentment over years of me getting through this program and this is why I can't do my PhD yet. Everyone asks me when I going to do it and I'm like "when my husband is ready" and that's so limiting of me because I'm so... I feel so strong as a woman.*

Although Jennifer, an independent and determined career mother, identifies as such, she

reverts to a traditional model of domestic equality and gender construction:

> *I mean, not do what I want, when I want because it is a partnership and I have to respect my husband, but at the same time, it sounds so 1950s to me like oh "I can't go to school because my husband would have a hard time with it" so that's something we're pushing through now.*

Identifying in her own response, this traditional model of domestic equality and gender

construction, the gendered nature of her response highlights Jennifer's attempts to

neutralize her career aspirations (Butler, 1990). Consistent with gender construction

theories, which posit that couples "perform gender" (Butler, 1990) by engaging in

behaviours that define gender roles and relations within the home, Jennifer's reluctance

to further pursue her doctorate demonstrate her reversion to more traditional roles within

the home instead (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014). Ultimately resulting in a higher level of

marital conflict, the gendered nature of domestic labour became increasingly apparent

when Jennifer had to tend to academic responsibilities:

> *But literally I had to drag him to counselling because were at a precipice right now and we need to work on this and we need a third party because all of our baggage keeps coming up every conversation would somehow related back to well you did your thesis, do you realize how much I gave up or how much I had to do to help you through your thesis? He had to do a lot of the cooking and picking up the kids and all of that and the housework because I have a paper due and I literally have to push all things aside and focus.*

The gendered nature of unpaid domestic labour, as well as emotional labour, became

evident in some of the discussions surrounding work and family, and in a few instances,

like Amanda's above, became a leading cause of tension and resentment in some of the

women's marriages. Having to compensate for the workload was a point of contention in

Angela's marriage, especially when it involved her husband having to take on additional

domestic work after working at his regular job:

> *My husband is supportive, now. I don't think he knew what he was in for when I started the program, and I didn't neither. He just felt like it was never going to end and it caused a lot of tension…*

Angela, 36-year-old mother of one, and recent graduate from a master's program,

continued to describe a specific situation that often leads to martial conflict. When her

husband works overtime, resulting in a higher degree of income, she noticed he becomes

more resistant to the performance of domestic labour:

> *The one thing he's not supportive of I guess… because he gets paid by the hour, he doesn't always want to help me catch up on work. If he's working overtime, he doesn't want to come home and take on stuff because he doesn't get to make up those hours, but other than that, he's supportive.*

Highlighted in Angela's narrative is the relative resources perspective, which suggests

that the relationship between resources and domestic work can be explained by relational

power. Higher levels of resources in comparison to one's spouse, such as more income,

may be associated with lower levels of domestic work, as reflected in her husband's

resistance to more after working overtime. To the extent that one partner has greater

resources than the other, they may hold more power which can then be used to avoid or

resist doing domestic labor (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014; Bianchi, Robinson & Milkie,

2006; Bittman, England, Folbre, Sayer & Matheson, 2003; Coltrane, 2000) .

What is also present in Angela's comments regarding domestic labour, is what Williams (1990) refers to as a reflection of "a system of gender privilege'' (p. 352). Women are often not afforded the capacity to allocate childcare responsibilities to their partners as many professional men do (Williams, 1990). Angela's quotation further illustrates institutionalized gender norms inherent within some family structures. Contrary to men, women are often not afforded the capability to shift childcare responsibilities to their co-parent, which serves to affect women in high-intensity careers, such as academia (Williams, 1990). Although Angela often assumes childcare responsibilities when her husband is working overtime, she observes that there is a level of resentment when she attempts to allocate the same responsibilities to her husband. Her statements reflect gendered inequities that operate at both a private level in her home and ones that are reinforced and perpetuated at a broader societal level.

Unlike mothers who very regularly take on a the second, third, and even fourth shift, many fathers and husbands of the women in this study seemed to resent the idea of having to do so, especially when it interfered with their high-paying jobs. A majority of the mothers in this study relied on their husband's income during their graduate studies, which reinforces the earlier discussion of the relative resources perspective (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014). Greater income is related to less housework for both men and women (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014). Given that many of the mothers in this study took time away from paid employment to focus on their graduate studies, they were entirely dependent on their husbands for income during this time period. Relative resource perspective posits that income also affects the distribution of childcare responsibilities, with women and men completing less of the childcare as their proportion of the

household income increases. Also gendered in nature is the finding that although women with more income than their spouses may do less domestic labour than women with fewer resources, they still perform more domestic labour than their partners (Bianchi et al., 2003; Bittman et al., 2003; Coltrane, 2000; Greeinstein, 2000; Schneider, 2011).

Many of the mothers in this study reported taking on even more of the domestic tasks if they recently asked their partners to compensate for their inability to. A sort of token exchange system was in place for some couples whereby the husbands would be given additional self-care time or alone time if they had recently taken on domestic tasks during a busy time in their wife's semester. Some mothers, like Jennifer for example, recalled making sure that if one weekend she was not as available, her time with family was compensated the following weekend, even if that meant placing self-care on hold so long as her time away from family was made up for. Finding a sense of balance in time compensation, Jennifer recalls this balancing act during her graduate studies:

> *...self-care kind of falls by the wayside a lot and then you feel like you're not giving enough time to your husband and spending anytime doing this and that and it was tricky in grad school too. It's like "well have to read so I'm not going to be with the family this weekend and I'll get caught up next week on this and oh that paper is due so sorry friends and family, this weekend I'm out and I'll just have to put my head down and do it and I'll be back" so I feel like day to day it was a tough grind, but overall there was balance. Like if I had to be selfish one weekend, I feel like I gave it back the next.*

Because domestic labour is closely aligned with the female roles of wife and mother, and socially expected by women to be adhered to, women who challenge this societal expectation can neutralize their gender deviance by taking on the majority of the housework and childcare (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014). Reports of the mothers in this study taking on even greater amounts of domestic labour after a retreat from it because of academic related tasks, reflect this neutralization and internalized sense of gender

deviance. As a result, many of the women in this study continued to sacrifice their own personal self-care so that their husbands could continue to receive theirs.

Drawing heavily upon this neutralization was Lucy in her of recollections of making sure her husband's self-care was accounted for both during her studies and after she graduated from her master's program:

> *... It was hard on our relationship when I went back to school. We came out okay, but my husband's role changed where he was the primary caregiver and so we were both tired, we were really tired ... a lot of weekends I would go and study as well and I would have to leave, and I knew that exercising and the stuff he liked that was good for his mental health, would be on hold and he needed that as well, so then we'd rely on our in-laws so he could have his stress relief, because you could kind of lose yourself.*

Lucy, whom at the commencement of her graduate studies had applied for a leave from her paid employment and was rejected, was not employed at any point during her master's studies. Relying on her husband for financial and emotional support, her opinions and gendered behaviours also reflect the relative resources perspective. Despite the fact that she is in a position that should be facilitative of equality and one that could lead to greater income than her husband's, she continued to maintain her neutralization of gender defiant behaviour even after her graduation (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014). Continuing this gendered compensation after graduation, Lucy finds herself taking on much of the childcare needs, "And now my husband [I say] "it's okay, you relax, we'll do something, we'll have fun, you just you do whatever you want."

In addition to domestic equality and gender construction, childcare was a large topic of discussion among the mothers in this study. Foregoing an additional day of childcare to accomplish academic related tasks was also discussed and oftentimes, mothers felt guilty for utilizing daycare to finish academic related tasks. Attributing this

to a sense of guilt, some of the mothers chose to be home with their child(ren) for that additional day, ultimately sacrificing time child-free time that could be utilized to finish academic tasks. For Jennifer, utilizing daycare for personal reasons was not an option until the children were in school:

> *So, if I had a class, I would take a daycare day before kids were in school and if I had to work, I would take a daycare day for that, and I would take a daycare day to get work done day, but I would have to split that with my marking. So, I felt horribly guilty adding in another daycare day, paying that amount of money because I couldn't work much during grad school, so there was always this fine line I was kind of walking.*

Drawing on the relative resource perspective, Jennifer refers to her decrease in resources during graduate studies as a "fine line." Stating that she was unable to work much during graduate school makes clear her decreased financial contributions, and as a result, her guilt ensued. She discusses feelings of guilt over adding an additional day of childcare, despite knowing that would have allowed greater time to complete work-related tasks. Therefore, as Jennifer's contribution to the household income decreased, she felt more obligated to do increased levels of housework and childcare. When academic or work-related tasks supervened, feelings of guilt, as she continues to discuss, ensued. It was finally when her children were in school that her feelings of guilt subsided:

> *But once they were in school full-time, that was glorious, and I could hammer it out. Summer is tricky, because my husband is off and I would have to say, "I'm going to have to bring some reading to the cottage." But when the kids got older, they understood that mommy has to do her work and the more mommy works on it, the faster I'm going to be done.*

In stark comparison to many accounts of personal sacrifice, Iris, a recently married mother of to her seven-year-old son, chose to see her motherhood as a benefit to graduate studies and self-care. As a single mother, Iris recalls using her weekends for activities with her son that lead to a greater sense of happiness and stress-relief:

I think that there are benefits to being in the program. I think a lot of students that are in grad programs, especially mine, don't have good work-life balances and work all of their waking hours, which isn't healthy and leads to burn out. I see a lot of people who are really stressed and don't take time to do things that are enjoyable. When you have a child and you go home at 5:00 [pm] and then from til 8:00 [pm] or 9:00 [pm] when they go to bed you're kind of forced to do fun things and like I spend my weekends going to the water park or going to the zoo and stuff like that and I think there's a real mental health benefit to that.

While most mothers felt as though they had to sacrifice their time, self-care, and career goals for the sake of their families, some also felt that motherhood was a motivational factor in seeking out more enjoyable activities with their child(ren). When husbands were required to take on more of the domestic tasks, this at times lead to resentment and marital distress, due to their perceived domestic entitlement (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014). After graduating and even during the time their husbands took on a greater domestic workload, some mothers felt as though they owed time back to their husbands for the time they lost from their own self-care routines and activities, even if it meant even less time for their own. Reflecting behaviours that attempted to neutralize their gender 'deviant' behaviour of tending to academic related tasks, many of the mothers in this study took on even more of the domestic related tasks and childcare when those busier times subsided and gave way to more time. When a greater sense of work-life balance was present, a greater sense of overall happiness followed suit. A greater level of marital satisfaction also seemed to be present when the husbands were able to maintain traditional gender roles in the household, such as being the primary breadwinner and translating their income into a sense of relational power that allowed them to perform few domestic tasks, all of which function to support patriarchal relations, and demonstrate to some degree or another how the interests of men often trump the interest women. To put simply, if women are the primary breadwinners, this can leave men

feeling powerless and emasculated (Connell, 1995). However, when academic tasks and work called for the mothers to be more absent from familial obligations, a strong sense of "mother guilt" was sure to follow. Discussion of domestic inequality and a continued discussion of mother guilt is important because its persistence undermines gender equality in the culture at large (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014).

      Mother Guilt. Many mothers find themselves at the core of cultural norms and expectations, dictated by the moral orders and values of society (Lindely, 2016). For any mother who transgresses these expectations and cultural norms, she can be sure to face scrutiny and judgement. Mothers consistently face remarks that dictate how they should be raising her child(ren), a function of the dominant discourse in society (Lindely, 2016). While some of these messages and remarks are ubiquitous and come from institutions in society, others can be quite overt and originate from fellow mothers (Young & Holley, 2015). When these messages become internalized, they place mothers in an either-or-proposition and impose a sense of guilt when attempting to resist this proposition. For example, Mason et al. (2013) found that female participants with children perceived academia incompatible and were twice as likely to want to avoid a career in academia. This is in stark contrast to male students who were also surveyed, citing little to no incompatibility between the dual roles (Mason et al., 2013). Although women's organizations have established women's right to participate in defining their motherhood and mothering practices, these advances have not simplified the process of doing so (Kirkley, 2000). A polarization of theories and ideologies spread across a continuum between varying points of view is often the result, leaving mothers with a sense of unwavering guilt when deciding which path to take. This particular subcategory focuses

on the mothers' subjective experiences of guilt, their ideologies surrounding the topic of guilt, and the possible implications of these experiences.

For many mothers in this study, guilt was a pervasive and regular emotion that was commonly mentioned throughout the interview and focus group sessions. Looming over nearly every discussion in the interviews, guilt emerged as a pressing theme to the mothers' daily lives. Although difficult to operationally define, for the sake of this research, mother guilt is thought of as the subjective experience felt by some of the mothers in this study when they tended to their academic commitments and research, as oppose to domestic and mothering tasks (Korabik, 2015). Guilt is an important topic to the discussion of motherhood because of its gendered nature and adverse effects on health that are often the result of it. Guilt has been found to be associated with a variety of adverse effects including time inflexibility, depression, and lower satisfaction with life, organizational policies, parenthood, and time spent with children (Aycan & Eskin 2005).

 For some mothers, their sense of guilt prompted questions regarding the normative constructions of motherhood and ideas of the ideal mother and student, leading to an empowering sense of motherhood. For others, the guilt they felt became at times, quite overwhelming leading to struggles with overall mental health. Carrying with it a transformative potential, guilt was viewed as an affective construct that could propel mothers on the difficult days or impede progress when they felt a sense of control over their hectic and busy lives.

When conducting a search of the word "guilt" in the transcribed interviews, the word guilt/guilty was the most commonly repeated word(s) in the participants' responses with a total of 59 usages. Nearly every interview mentioned the word "guilt" or "guilty"

to some degree. Guilt was a term that was used to describe the overall subjective experience felt when the mothers were called to complete academic tasks that pulled their attention away from domestic and familial obligations. For example, when asked to describe a typical school day, Lucy master's student and mother of two, discusses the emotional toll that being away from her family can often take, ". . . sometimes if my schooling gets really demanding and I'm doing a lot with studying or papers and I have to spend time away from them, I feel that guilt. . . The mom guilt. . . it's very real." Lucy then continues to discuss how her husband's diversion from household tasks causes her to feel more guilty. Reflected in Lucy's statement is a sense of entitlement her husband may have towards the allotment of time for his own self-care, regardless of the affects these may place on her own, "So, I just have to go away and then I feel guilt even when my husband. . . you know. . . on Saturdays if he has to stay home on Saturdays, I feel guilty that he's missing things that he enjoys." By contrast, in highlighting how patriarchal relations of gender insidiously privilege men as a group over women as a group, husbands' levels of guilt when engaging in a task related to their career were lower in comparison to mothers' levels of guilt when engaging in the same type of activities (Korabik, 2015).

Struggling to strike a balance between wanting to be present, but unable to complete academic-related tasks at home, Lucy describes the guilt felt from being absent during busier times in the semester, as well as the guilt felt in relation to activities her husband is missing out on. As previously discussed, determining the factors that contribute to domestic inequality, and in turn mother guilt, is important because its insistence undermines gender equality in the culture-at-large (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014).

In the recent previous discussion on domestic inequality and marital satisfaction, relative resources and gender construction theories were used to examine economic and psychological factors affecting both housework and childcare responsibilities (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014). The same constructs are used here to examine the origins of the pervasive theme of mother guilt.

Present in the responses of mother guilt was the relationship between the participant's partner's increase in domestic labour and their overall sense of guilt. This relationship between domestic labour and guilt was exacerbated when their partners worked additional hours in their paid employment and were needed to perform domestic labour after work. For decades, women have been performing a second and even third shift (Hoschild, 1989; 2003). The relative resources perspective discussed earlier posits that both psychological and economic factors, such as income, affect the distribution of childcare responsibilities (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014). Both women and men complete less childcare as their proportion of the household income increases (Raley, Bianchi & Wang, 2012). However, women perform the majority of the domestic labour even when their income is greater than their husbands, when their careers are more prestigious than their husbands', and may actually do more domestic labor than women who earn the same as their spouses (Schneider, 2011; Tichenor, 2005). Because men have historically been the primary breadwinner, some may feel more entitled to the domestic power that this role provides, compared with women (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014). This gendered sense of entitlement was demonstrated in this study when the husbands resisted taking on greater domestic workloads.

Because men's roles at home as husband and father have not historically been associated with domestic labour, some men may feel entitled to do less housework and childcare than their wives regardless of their income, simply because these roles have always yielded them that luxury (Feterrolf & Rudman, 2014). This pattern of results would support gender construction theories because it reinforces traditional gender roles. Greater financial income may also result in greater resources and this may translate to a form of relational power (Feterrolf & Rudman, 2014). This relational power may be used to avoid doing housework and childcare. Societal and familial expectations to be the mother and wife, and thereby, primary caregiver and domestic labourer, were often met with feelings of guilt by the women in this study. At times when academics called for their attention, these feelings of guilt were greater. Oftentimes, the guilt stemmed from their partner's resistance to taking on the additional domestic labour in addition to paid labour. For the women in this study did who not have paid employment outside the home during their graduate careers, these feelings of guilt were even greater. This increased level of guilt coincides with the literature which suggest that the greater their spouse's income level is, the fewer domestic tasks they may expect to undertake. Allotting greater increases in time for their partner's self-care were also present among the women's responses, even at the expense of their own.

Many of the mothers expressed higher levels of overall guilt when referring to the tasks their partners or husbands took on while they tended to their academic work. However, when discussing a typical day for themselves, the topic of guilt was virtually absent when referencing the second, third, and even fourth shift they were required to take on when roles were reversed. For example, Lucy admits she felt guilty for the

additional tasks her husband took on while she was engaged in academic tasks, "it was nice in a sense he was able to help with the kids so I could go back to school but it also caused me to have a lot of guilt as well for the work he was doing." For Lucy, it seems as though despite support from her husband, she still continued to battle those feelings of guilt in addition to work and family obligations of her own. Mothers taking on a greater sense of guilt is a common phenomenon in the literature (see for e.g., Williams et al., 2013; Borelli, Nelson-Coffey, River, Birken, 2017). In addition, it is noteworthy to make mention of how Lucy positioned her husband in relation to childcare. She mentioned that she was happy that he was able to "help" with their children. The way of constructing relationships in this way, demonstrates that Lucy has internalized in a deep way that she is primarily responsible for the care of her children, and her husband is there to help, when possible. This scenario is reflective of Pocock (2005) work/care regime, which is contingent on a gender order that, while variable, is strongly influenced by historical and social power relations whereby mothers who work outside of the home are still held responsible for the daily care and well-being of their children (Richardson, 1993). Within this work/care regime, women are expected to be primarily responsible for unpaid labour, such as childcare and management of the domestic domain, as Lucy demonstrates in her account of who is primarily responsible for childcare related tasks. Once a woman becomes a mother, she is bound by the expectations attached to her new role (Lynch, 2008). The underlying assumption is that children require constant nurturing from a primary caregiver, preferably the mother in accordance with the prevailing ideology of motherhood (McMahon, 1995), and fathers, grandparents, childcare providers are inadequate (McMahon, 1995; O'Reilly, 2004). As a result of these prevailing ideologies,

care giving responsibilities for children are expected for women in ways that are not as intensive for men (Lynch, 2008).

Mothers' and fathers' perspectives on working inside and outside the home have been discussed in many qualitative studies (e.g., Hochschild, Williams et al., 2013; Borelli et al., 2017; Douglass and Michaels, 2004). In nearly each study, it appears as though guilt about the conflict between work and family is far more pervasive among mothers, and more specifically, mothers of young children (Borelli et al., 2017). For example, in a study conducted by Borelli et al. (2017), when asked open-ended questions about their work, mothers' narratives conveyed stronger feelings of guilt pertaining to work-family conflict, and specifically, its impact on their children, than did those of fathers. Moreover, the gender differences persisted above and beyond general guilt, suggesting that guilt is a common reality faced by many working mothers. Finding time to themselves once their child(ren) were in school, many mothers also found this to ease the burden of guilt.

Once their child(ren) began school, many mothers found that they struck a balance between managing the work-family relationship and feelings of guilt associated with it. For Jennifer, having her kids in school was "life-changing" and lead to a decrease in feelings of guilt and pressure to complete academic related tasks during family time,

> *. . .my kids are both in school full-time so it could be during the day any nobody notices, it's good. . . my family is away doing their thing, so it's guilt free time. Because it's hard to take away like, "oh I want to go do that with you guys, but I can't or need to. . ." I finally figured out a nice balance.*

Still navigating the unknown terrain of academic motherhood, a hopeful Sandra speaks to her feelings of guilt when discussing her transition from maternity leave back into graduate studies:

> *So, I guess at first it was pretty rough. I expected to come back to school and just fall back into place, but I had had a year of maternity leave a year of work and I came back and it was completely different so I didn't really have any time management skills because I could stay awake until 3:00 am when I was single with no kids, right? And I guess it caused a lot of problems in my house and I just felt guilty all the time. I think I've turned the corner and I guess in the long run it's going to make me stronger as an academic.*

Relating her feelings of guilt back to the social construction of motherhood and societal expectations placed on mothers, Sandra continues to reference how many of her feelings of guilt originated from a perception of shame and judgement,

> *The biggest thing that comes to mind* [when thinking about mother guilt] *is the judgement and shaming of mothers, and especially mothers that mother at work in terms of pumping or breastfeeding or whatever it is. I think there's still a lot of judgement that goes with motherhood and mothers that are made to feel guilty in either which way. Whether or not they choose to work in formal work after having children, which is a personal decision, it's a decision that a mother makes with her partner.*

Interestingly, although Sandra utilizes the word "choice" in her vignette, there is an implication of coercion since the choice women often make is not voluntary (Williams, 2010). Further, speaking to the consequences of transgressing societal expectations and cultural norms, she recollects experiences of witnessing judgement in a variety of institutions, which again, is a common function of the dominant discourse in society. Expanding her thoughts on this ideology, Sandra emphasises its insurgence in recent years and how this judgment and shaming came as a surprise to her in her newfound motherhood, "I've heard horror stories. And I think motherhood in general. . . I think there's a long way to go in terms of the support we can provide to mothers."

The cultural shift in motherhood has become more evident in recent years. Whether it is the cultural push to exclusively breastfeed for two years or the essentialist view of motherhood that eludes our bodies are built for this journey, it is undeniable that

mothers are facing levels of guilt and shame at an increased rate (Abbey, 2003). While

the very definition of 'mothering' shifts along with the societal context in which it

pertains to (Johnston & Swanson, 2003), our current ideologies of what constitutes a

'good mother' have undergone an insurgence of unrealistic expectations that are virtually

impossible to maintain (Abbey, 2003; Bassin, Honey, & Kaplan, 1994).

Noting the shift in cultural expectations placed on mothers, Jennifer compares the

guilt she and her fellow colleagues routinely feel compared to her own academic

mothers' past experiences,

> *I have put a lot of guilt on myself and I've tried to talk to my mom about this who*
> *is also faculty here and she doesn't understand what I'm talking about the guilt.*
> *She said "I don't think my generation experienced that. I did what I needed to do,*
> *you grew up, and you were raised well and okay. If I needed to work, I worked, if*
> *I needed to take care of you, I took care of you. You got what you needed. We*
> *didn't feel that" and I'm constantly checking in with my mom friends and we're*
> *all feeling it.*

Highlighting instances of intensive mothering ideologies in her response, Jennifer

continues to discuss the differences between current and past generations. Attributing the

shift to the demands currently placed on mothers and families in today's society, Jennifer

emphasizes the expectations placed on herself as an instructor. These changes in recent

years are also attributed to existing research, which frequently presents parenting

decisions as either-or propositions (e.g., breastfeeding vs. formula feeding, staying home

vs. working, (Schmied & Lupton, 2001; Williams et al., 2012). However, according to

Marshall, Godfrey, and Renfrew (2007), existing research focuses far too heavily on the

biomedical and health aspects of parenting choices to the exclusion of the lived

experiences of the mothers themselves, the diversity of family structures, child-raising

practices, prevailing sociocultural meanings, and context that frame the two alternatives

(Williams et al., 2007). As a result of this either-or proposition of decisions, the societal implications of promoting various ideologies (e.g., 'breast is best') becomes conflated with being a 'good mother' and perpetuates constructions of the good mother/bad mother dichotomy (Anaya, 2012; Lee, 2007; Williams, 2007).

Ultimately shaping our feelings about motherhood, these ideologies permeate society, popular culture, and everyday interactions, oftentimes perpetuating mother-blame, and in turn, feelings of mother guilt, inadequacy, isolation, commonly experienced by the women in this very study. Expressing feelings of isolation, frustration, and failure were commonly cited as an implication of mother guilt. The tendency for today's generation of mothers to feel a greater sense of guilt is a critical component to the discussion of motherhood and academia/paid labour and society's perception of their increased participation in the workforce. The increase of women into the workforce, specifically academia, runs against traditional thinking that women must choose between family and career. Being condemned as selfish, unnatural and even dangerous to their children and society (Wilson, 2006), mothers are often still faced with a backlash against their participation in the workforce and held to unattainable expectations.

These expectations, however, are specific and privileged (Orleck, Jetter, Taylor, 1997; Arendell, 2000; Crenshaw, 1993). The "good" mother in stark contrast to the "bad" mother reinforce motherhood in the larger picture of acceptable social norms because "…bad motherhood' is also conflated with race, class, and sexuality: poor mothers of color and lesbian mothers have become the repository for social anxiety about changing gender roles and family dynamics" (Orleck et al., 1997, p. 225). Holding on to this deeply ingrained ideology serves the purpose not only of maintaining the status quo,

strengthening the institution of motherhood, and perpetuating social norms associated with gender roles and the family (Arendell, 2000; Hays, 1996; Orleck, et al, 1997). The prevailing ideology in North America is that of intensive mothering (Hays, 1996). Intensive mothering ideologies maintain that mothering is exclusive, child-centered, emotionally involving, and time-consuming (Hays, 1996). According to Hays (1996), intensive mothering ideologies also serve to maintain idealized notions of the family and image of the idealized White, middle-class heterosexual couple with its children in a self-contained family unit (p. 1194).

Further, Douglas and Michaels (2004) suggest that the "Perfect Mom" (p. 4) has become the new cultural icon. They also use the term, "New Momism," which they define as a "set of ideals, norms, and practices, most frequently and powerfully represented in the media, that seem on the surface to celebrate motherhood, but which in reality promulgate standards of perfection that are beyond your reach" (p. 4). These ideologies are powerful forces which set unattainable standards (Douglas & Michaels, 2004). Throughout this study, the mothers consistently demonstrated the ways in which they negotiated their guilt and gender performances in terms of mothering.

Dominant discourses relating to how mothers should feel and behave are often perpetuated by social policies that shape and reproduce these assumptions (Cheek & Gibson, 1997). A common topic in the interviews and focus group, feelings of isolation, inadequacy, and frustration, and at times, failure seemed to coincide with choices that challenged the dominant discourse. For Jennifer, questioning herself as a mother seemed common during graduate school, especially at times when society would typically expect her to be the primary caregiver; for example, when her children got sick:

Some days I feel like I have it all together, and all sorted out and then other days, a kid is sick and something comes up and there's a lot of mom guilt and I've spoken to a lot of my friends, and asked the same things "are we doing enough, are we not doing enough?"

Minimizing the many pragmatic and social difficulties many mothers encounter while balancing the work and family interface, especially while juggling the demands of graduate school, the dominant discourse functions to moderate who the primary caregiver should be and the decisions women and mothers ultimately make (Wallace & Chason, 2007; Williams et al., 2007). Perhaps the most overt demonstration of this discourse and how advice often focuses far too heavily on the biomedical and health aspects of parenting choices is Zara's concern over whether or not her time spent working and artwork on the computer may harm her unborn baby. Being advised by her obstetrician that radiation could potentially be harmful to the baby and having her husband moderate that as well, Zara found herself bound by both medical advice and unwarranted control from her spouse:

I do some drawing on the computer, but I don't think it's good for the baby because the computer has something. Radiation? I don't think it's good because I'm holding the computer all the time. I still have to use it if he [the doctor] doesn't let me. My husband prevents me from that, but I don't listen to him.

The subjective experience of guilt was a shared experience among the women in this student. Regardless of stage in their graduate student career or academic careers, nearly every mother expressed feelings of guilt at some point in their interview. Attributing their feelings of guilt to the heightened expectations placed upon them as mothers to resistance of societal expectations when they were expected to be the primary caregiver, guilt was both a debilitating experience as well as an empowering one when the consensus of doing the best they could was reached. A strong reliance on support from immediate family

members and friends was a common source of strength when battling the difficult periods of motherhood and academic studies.

A strong reliance on support from family and friends. It has been well documented that a perceived sense of social support has impacts on maternal mental health and well-being, which in turn, affect child development (see for example, Meadows, 2011; Robinson, Magee, & Caputi, 2014; Strange, Bremner, Fisher, Howat, & Wood, 2016). Reflecting on the African proverb, "*it takes a village to raise a child*" (Unknown), many mothers in this study emphasized the importance of building and maintaining a strong support system they could rely on for a multitude of reasons. Ranging from childcare, personal support, and emergent situations, a strong reliance on support from family and friends was a common occurrence throughout the interviews and focus group sessions. Similar to the concept of guilt, support is a subjective feeling and perception and so for the purposes of this study, 'social support' is defined as the support individuals perceive is available to them from others in their lives (Hewitt, Turrell, & Giskes, 2012).

Perceived social support has multiple implications for maternal health and well-being (Robinson et al., 2014). These implications are amplified for single mothers (that is, mothers without another co-resident parent), who often experience greater financial hardships and social exclusion (Crosier et al., 2007). Experiencing poorer health and well-being, single mothers tend to experience greater levels of chronic stress and depression in comparison to partnered mothers (Afifi, Cox, & Enns, 2006). These implications are important due to their direct influence on daily functioning, mental health and well-being, and parenting style (Price, Nam Choi, & Vinokur, 2002). Based on

the frequency of which mothers expressed their need and gratitude for social support from a variety of individuals, perceived social support was a key theme in their success within the program and overall level of well-being.

The most prevalent source of perceived social support came from the women's husbands and partners. Despite the additional perceived stress that arose from discussions concerning domestic labour distribution and resentment of such, "my husband" was the most commonly cited individual when asked about perceived levels of support. Second to husband were friends within the program and outside of graduate school. The third most commonly cited source of support was immediate and extended family members such as their own parent(s) and in-laws. Nearly each of the mothers in this study were married to their heterosexual partner, while completing their graduate studies with the exception of Angela and Iris who were recently married but partnered with their significant other for the majority of their graduate school careers.

Speaking to the perceived challenges that may arise if she were in this journey as a single graduate student mother, Sandra discusses how having a supportive partner, who is also the sole financial earner, greatly benefitted her ability to take a maternity leave and time off graduate school. Reinforcing more traditional ideals of domestic equality and gender construction, Sandra states:

> *Having a supportive partner who earns enough for the mother to take an unpaid maternity leave* [laughter] *is huge. Because I can't imagine. And I know there are mothers in our department right now and just the financial challenges of being a grad student and then on top of that being the primary and sole financial earner in the family, I can't even imagine that. Because if I... if* [husband] *didn't have a stable job, I couldn't have taken a year off to be on mat leave.*

With this statement, Sandra not only demonstrates her supportive opinion toward more traditional gender roles, she also touches upon the topic of power and power relations that

can arise from solely relying on one's spouse for economic support. Proving to be a limitation of the study, many of the women in this study were not only socially supported by a partner (i.e., husband), but were also financially stable. The insufficient structural avenues available to finance their graduate school careers led many graduate student mothers to feel as though their spouse was the greatest source of both emotional and financial support. At times, this led some of the mothers to feel as though they lost their sense of economic independence, but this loss was less than the loss of not being able to complete their graduate studies due to financial constraints. The majority of the women were also married to men in professions that warranted upper-middle class financial stability, flexible hours, and weekends off. What Sandra does not take into account with her statement above, however, are the power relations that can arise from this type of dynamic. Higher levels of resources in comparison to one's spouse, such as more income, may be associated with lower levels of domestic work by the partner who earns more. To the extent that one partner has greater resources than the other, they may hold more power which can then be used to avoid or resist doing domestic labor (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014; Bianchi et al., 2006; Bittman et al., 2003; Coltrane, 2000).

The social class of the participants has many implications for this research on motherhood. First, racialized and minority women are situated differently within the gender order (Connell, 1995), and in ways that exclude them from the ruling apparatus of society (Connell, 2010). For example, lower middle-class mothering narratives often go untold, contributing to illusions of naturalness and coherence as discussed earlier. Furthermore, low-income mothers continue to be positioned as bad mothers without the recognition that good mother discourses leave invisible the reality that good mothering

requires a high level of privilege, which many women cannot access (Verduzco Baker (2012). This is at times manifested in the perception of being a stay at home mother among White and Black women (Bell-Scott, 1991). While White upper-middle class women gain status as stay at home mothers, Black women of the same class often face stereotypes for doing the same. With the exception of Iris, who was just recently married and a mother of one, the mothers in this study did not face the challenges many single mothers do.

In comparison to the family dynamics of many of the women in this study, single mothers may experience poorer health and well-being because of greater role strain due to higher demands of parenting alone, and lower resources available to balance work and family demands compared to partnered mothers (Robinson et al., 2014). Although mothers in lone-parent families, are increasingly equipped with skills at the bachelor's level or above, with 20.4% of lone mothers aged 25 to 64 earning a bachelor's degree or higher in 2016, their educational attainment was still lower than that of other women. For example, nearly doubling that of lone-parent families, 39.0% of mothers aged 25 to 64 who are married or living common law had a bachelor's degree or higher in 2016. Attesting to this struggle, Iris reflects on her former support as a single mother as oppose to her newfound role as a married woman with more support from her partner and freely admits things are "much easier" now.

Emphasizing the importance of social support, tenured faculty member, Christina, recalls the importance of relying on family members during her graduate school career and also being able to effectively delegate childcare tasks to others during hectic times in the semester:

> *. . . people in your support system have to come to the floor to help the mother get through periods of studies. Not the whole thing, but the periods that are more challenging. And whereas maybe you are the primary caregiver in certain aspects, you might need to delegate that to a partner or someone else in your circle during that period because I think it's really necessary. It's really necessary to do the work.*

Speaking to her current role as a faculty member, she reflects on the flexibility within her role and its compatibility to her role as a mother, but also tries to connect that compatibility to a single mother and realizes the financial and logistical challenges of doing so:

> *So, I would say as a faculty member, there's probably a better fit, in terms of motherhood and trying to balance. It certainly can be done, but it just means that you need support. I'm trying to think of someone who is a single parent, but you might have friends that you feel free to call upon and "I'm going to need you to take the children, ya know, two nights a week for the next few months." Often you can't, if you're a single parent, you can't* [pay childcare] *you know if you're working and going to school.*

The assistance inherent in a dual-parenting partnership, along with the financial stability that came with it, was highly evident in the discussions regarding support. Recognizing the difficulty in attempting to complete a graduate level degree without the proper levels of support, graduate school is also typically confounded with the presence of those who are somewhat financially stable and have access to being granted an acceptance into their program of study. Support (i.e., emotional and financial) from their significant other was the most commonly cited source of support, with friends in the program at a close second.

Reliance on friends from within their graduate school program and beyond was often cited as a common source of support. Private daycare facilities were the most commonly cited form of childcare, with the cost of childcare being paid out-of-pocket. Faced with the reality of having to relocate for either graduate school or jobs, many of the

women re-established strong relationships with friends, commonly other mothers, in their

programs. Some of the mothers in this study were relocated from areas such as

Vancouver, Calgary, London, and China. Zara, an exchange student from China and here

without her family or husband, spoke about different cultural challenges and having to

support herself. When asked about her support system, she speaks of her friends and

herself, "My friends, because I am alone here without my family here. They're going to

come in February. So, before that I will support myself and my friends. So maybe they

can take me grocery shopping and whatever else I want. But mostly I am supporting

myself." Aida, originally from Vancouver and relocated to Toronto during her graduate

school career before resettling, recalls the challenges she faced as a young academic

trying to balance motherhood in a new city, with no family support:

> *I had no family support, my husband had gotten a job at the* [omitted to preserve confidentiality], *which was great, but I had nobody to look after my son. I guess he was taking time off of work, I actually don't even remember what we did with my son when I went, but I think my husband looked after him, my husband was working as a PhD. That was rough* [laughter]. *In fact, he was working 6.5 days a week, he would take Sundays off, I had no family, I'm in Toronto, I'm not from there, I'm from Vancouver, so it was really rough. In fact, if I had to do it all over again, I think I would be demanding of a little more support from my husband.*

When family was absent, friends within the program often stepped up and served as a

pseudo family for mothers like Iris:

> *Luckily in my program what's been the most supportive is my peers. This past semester I had an evening class that was twice a week and I had 2 friends in my program and one of them watched my son every Monday and one of them watched him every Wednesday. When you have such a small program, there's 100 people in our program in my year there's 12 people you become really close to your peers and the others in your program, so I was really lucky to build really supportive friendships that way.*

For Iris, the support from immediate family was limited in a logistical sense. The tight

knit nature of her program allowed for the facilitation of building close bonds and

networking with others. Relying on her friendships for emergent situations, regular

childcare, and emotional support, Iris demonstrated a level of confidence and assurance

that she attributes to having a network to call upon should the need arise:

> *All of my family lives in* **[city omitted for confidentiality]***… I think the friendships I've built with peers in the program has been a big source of support for me. I probably have like 6 or 7 people where if something came up in the evening and they didn't have something going on they would watch my son. I don't have family in* **[city omitted for confidentiality]** *so that's been really important to me.*

Similar to Iris, Lisa being away from home, felt the logistical strain on childcare

arrangements in urgent situations. Noting that both of their parents were still working,

this presented as a challenge. Despite this challenge however, she utilized this support

system when necessary:

> *Well, my husband obviously* [is a source of support]. *He works very long hours, but when he's on, he's on. He's the biggest support. We don't have any family that live out this way. That said, both sets of parents come out to visit and when they do they'll stay for a few days a week, and when the tough gets going I know that I can call and say is there any way you can take time off work. That's the other tricky thing is that all 4 of them are still working so it's not a matter of them being retired and they can just come. There have been many times and things have gotten hectic and I have made that call and they come. And that can be tricky too because you want to spend time with your family, but you have to get down to business and write.*

Most women in this study felt some degree of perceived support from either their

significant other, colleagues, and immediate friends and family. These perceptions have

been shown to improve coping, self-esteem and competence, a sense of belonging, and

attachment (Berkman, Glass, Brissette & Seeman, 2000; Gottlieb, 2000). Moreover,

perceived social support contributes to over health outcomes, including mental and

physical well-being (Schwarzer & Leppin, 1991). The psychological and physical

benefits of social support make it an important resource for mothers in meeting academic and family demands and supports the aphorism argued by Hrdy (2009) that, "mothers need others" (Hrdy, 2009; p. 3). The mental health and well-being of graduate students, particularly parents, has been shown to decline during the early stages of parenthood and the challenges faced become further exacerbated by the demands of graduate school (World Health Organization, 2019).

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), maternal mental health problems are considered as a major public health challenge, with about 10% of pregnant women and 13% of mothers experiencing a mental disorder, primarily depression (WHO, 2019). Add to this the "strikingly" high rates of depression and anxiety among graduate students and mother guilt described above, and we have here, a potential crisis in the mental health of some graduate students (Flaherty, 2018). Depression, anxiety, feelings of low self-worth are common experiences among graduate student populations (van Anders, 2004; Palepu & Herbert, 2002). Amplification of these feelings and mental health challenges are common among graduate student mothers who experience higher rates of isolation and a decreased level of physical and emotional well-being (Hirikata & Daniluk, 2009). Access to resources and mentoring opportunities is a potential way to alleviate the stressors associated with graduate studies and motherhood alike. Hirikata and Daniluk (2009) suggest that counsellors may also support women in the identification of their unique needs and acquisition of beneficial self-care practices. For example, (a) helping women set realistic expectations as mothers and academics; (b) ways they may manage and identify institutional culture and demands within it; and (c) methods to reach out for support without provoking feelings of inadequacy. However, when discussing

access to resources and available institutional support across campus, many mothers felt as though the services provided on campus were insufficient. The next section will discuss graduate student mothers' experiences with mentors and networking, and touch upon the implications of these topics for mental health.

Mentoring and Networking Opportunities

When discussing mentoring opportunities, many of the women in this study had a positive relationship with their immediate faculty advisor, naming them their strongest mentor in their graduate program experience. Attributing their success in their program to their understanding, compassion, and empathy for the demands in their own personal life, as well as the space to manage them, many, if not most of the women expressed a high degree of gratitude for their faculty advisor. Support and strong mentoring from faculty is attributed to both overall levels of satisfaction in student programs, as well as higher retention rates among graduate students (Kovach, Murdoch & Keotting, 2009; Shelton, 2003). However, this is not always the case. For example, according to Jakubiec (2017), who surveyed 100 graduate student mothers and fathers across Canada, challenges associated with being a graduate student included lack of quality mentoring and funding opportunities. Although many of the shared challenges were attributed to the simultaneous role of being both a parent and a graduate student, the effects of mentoring (i.e., positive or negative) were present in her findings.

The graduate student-advisor relationship is so integral, it has been identified as being critical to effective graduate education (Gelso & Lent, 2000) and student retention (Shelton, 2003). In this study, positive relationships with their academic supervisor often led to greater satisfaction in their graduate program. Mentorship is integral for career

progression (Sandberg, 2018). However, when viewed from a gendered perspective, men often have an easier time acquiring and maintaining these mentoring relationships (Sandberg, 2018). Given this difficulty in finding a mentor, women have increasingly taken steps to seek out their own mentor, rather than mentors selecting proteges based on their potential for growth and common interests (Singh, Ragins, Tharenou, 2009). This gendered selection process, however, creates issues for women who are trying to advance their careers.

High-potential women may often face difficulty seeking a mentor because they conflate their need for a mentor with the inability to perform their job independently (Sandberg, 2009). As a result, senior level men continue to gravitate toward and mentor those with similar interests and commonalities, most often- younger men (Sandberg, 2009). Since there are far more men in top-tier leadership positions, the old-boy network continues to dominate corporations and institutions. Add to this difficulty women face, the tendency for men without children to select similar individuals as them, and one can see how difficult it may be for a young mother to acquire a mentor. Time constraints, the deeply rooted gendered disadvantages discussed above, and perceived sexual context of male-female relationships, all place women and mothers in a double bind (Sandberg, 2009). Sandberg (2009), believes that when senior men mentor women, it benefits the entire culture-at-large:

> It's wonderful when senior men mentor women. It's even better when they champion and sponsor them. Any male leader who is serious about moving forward toward a more equal world can make this a priority and be part of the solution (p. 71).

While many of the women did in fact have positive relationships with their faculty supervisors, both men and women, it was clear that it was important to the mothers that no academic exceptions that undermined their abilities were made. They also made clear the importance of having a mutual understanding of family demands and the need for scheduling flexibilities, should an emergency arise. In doing so, their academic potential and abilities were not undermined, and the importance of their family was maintained. For example, Iris describes the enthusiasm from faculty members regarding the inclusion of her son at networking functions, as well as the understanding that her familial obligations at times take precedence over faculty events. This was reflected in the way that Iris describes how her faculty facilitates an understanding of family and graduate studies:

> *... they [faculty] just being understanding of trying to find ways to work around my schedule and not expecting me to do things during the evenings or weekends because there are times, I have my son and I can't be there. But I've never felt like anyone's blamed me for that. They've always been amazing.*

The flexibility and understanding from her faculty provide Iris with the reassurance that her blended identity as a graduate student and mother should not result in guilt or punishment. This understanding from faculty allows Iris to maintain a sense of being a "good mother" and "good student" simultaneously, rather than feeling guilty about tending to one over the other.

Positive Relationships with Faculty Supervisors

Students who report greater perceived faculty support are more likely to persist throughout their program than students who withdraw either voluntarily or because of academic failure (Shelton, 2003). More specifically, to promote levels of student retention, faculty need to provide a caring atmosphere of a mentoring relationship and

direct assistance to facilitate student learning (Shelton, 2003). The role of a faculty

mentor or advisor is so strong that a study by Kovach et al. (2009) found the relationship

with one's advisor was a significant single predictor of graduate student success and a

moderator of the effects of career choice satisfaction and global stress for graduate

students.

Although the term mentor and advisor has been used interchangeably, it is

important to clarify a difference between the two. For the purposes of this section, the

term advisor will be used to signify the faculty member who has had the greatest

responsibility for helping the student through the program (Schlosser & Gelso, 2001).

Advisor was selected as the most appropriate term because students' advisors organically

became categorized as their mentor. The term mentor signifies special kind of positive

relationship beyond that is found between student and advisor (Kovach et al., 2009, p.

584). Coincidently, motherhood was often the catalyst for facilitating a stronger bond

between advisors and graduate student mothers. A mutual understanding of the demands

of motherhood forged the strongest relationships, and a general understanding for the

demands of parenthood between male faculty advisors who were fathers was also a factor

in facilitating a positive relationship founded in understanding and encouragement.

A sense of comfort and ease was often noted in the relationships between

graduate student mothers and their advisors. For Lisa, the relationship with her advisors

was one that she felt "eternally grateful" for and expressed her gratitude and appreciation

for what could have been the "other way",

> *They were both extremely supportive. I was very lucky in that regard. It does so*
> *happen that my advisor was a mother herself and had her children when she was*
> *a young academic and so she [pause] there was a relationship there that extended*
> *beyond the academic relationship, so I was very fortunate in that way. We would*

> *have supervision meetings I would be nursing [daughter] or changing a diaper and that was just how it was, and I remain eternally grateful that I had that kind of experience because it so easily could've been the other way.*

Similarly, Angela discussed the positive relationship she had with her advisor and relief she experienced when she learned that, contrary to her own fears about disclosing her pregnancy, she was not bypassed for any opportunities in the program. Her relationship with her advisor was so significant that when asked to describe her greatest source of support, her advisor was mentioned as such. When discussing the overall support from her predominantly male faculty, her experiences were not as positive. Expressing a fear of retribution for speaking up about negative experiences in relation to motherhood, she hesitated to confide in her advisor or speak of her specific experiences in this study in fear of being identifiable:

> *Well, I let my advisor know* [**I was pregnant**] *right away because she had all these plans for me, and I thought she maybe wouldn't want to give me those opportunities if I was going to be tied down. But that was never an issue for her, she never held back so I guess she was super supportive, like above and beyond. The faculty in general I guess is mixed, right? I think they expect me to be too busy to do stuff sometimes or not as much involved as the other students.*

A common ground of motherhood often served as a catalyst for forging a positive relationship between the women in this study and their advisor. When the women experienced a mutual understanding of the demands of motherhood, their overall satisfaction in terms of faculty support and mentoring increased. For Sandra, it was important to maintain a sportive relationship grounded in understanding, especially when it came to deadlines. However, this establishment of understanding by no means meant a decrease in academic expectations:

> *I was supported in the sense that I felt the faculty were understanding and many of them were women themselves and mothers themselves, so they were understanding for where I was and what that meant for me in the program, even*

though I was in the comprehensive exam process, which is intense. But, at the same time, I didn't want to take advantage of me being pregnant if that makes any sense. Like, I didn't want any kid of special treatment, especially during exam time, I didn't want anyone to go easy on me because I was pregnant.

While many women attributed the positive support given by their advisors and some faculty members to the shared experience of motherhood, Jennifer recalls the acknowledgement made by a male faculty member when a friend whom had just given birth, attended a class:

And all our profs are moms, except for one prof who is a dad, and he's a dad of six. My friend gave birth and two weeks later came to stats class, and he pretty much gave her a standing ovation and he was like commending her and said, "I didn't expect to see you and I want to acknowledge the fact that you are here and thank you for coming" So [I felt] very well supported and promoted. I didn't feel any negativity against it.

A sense of support and experience of mentorship increased the overall attitudes and experiences of the graduate studies for the women in this study. When graduate student mothers felt supported and mentored by their advisor, feelings of gratitude and relief were present in their testimonials. Many of the mothers attributed this relationship to the shared experience of motherhood when their advisor was a mother herself. It is important to note however, that although this study lacked a degree of diversity, the notion of forming alliances based on a shared experience of motherhood, is not applicable to all women. In a study conducted by Johnson-Bailey (2004), the relationship between mentorship and race emerged as a primary factor in Black female graduate student's success because these women's lived experiences are framed differently by society. For example, the women related that traditional mentoring approaches were not usually applicable to them since cultural issues often inhibited the mentor-protégé relationship that is normed on White middle-class male interactions. This finding not only

demonstrates the intersectionality of gender, race, and class, but also highlights a

disparity in access to mentoring relationships and an impediment in the success of some

women and graduate student mothers.

In addition to many women faculty members being supportive, when men in their

faculty were supportive, it was attributed to their role as a father and a mutual

understanding of the demands of parenthood in general. The women in this study did not

identify any male advisors as a "mentor" per se. However, when discussing their

experiences with male faculty and courses, when the men were fathers, their overall

perceptions of support increased. Despite the majority of women citing positive

experiences and identifying their advisors as their mentors, this was not the case for Aida.

When Aida was a graduate student, she recalls what began as a positive

relationship with a woman she identified as the assistant professor she was assisting

during her teaching assistantship. Also described initially as an early mentor, the woman

was a successful professor who advised her in areas of motherhood, such as navigating

maternity leave benefits. However, when she returned from her maternity leave, the

entire dynamic of their relationship shifted dramatically:

> *Ironically, when I came back after that, in the second semester and I was TAing [teaching assistant] for her, that woman made my life a living hell. She was brutal. For example, she made us come to classes, which was fine. . . that's totally fine. . .* **[city omitted for confidentiality]** *is in the middle of nowhere, and I lived downtown, I had no family support, my husband had gotten a job at the [*omitted*], which was great, but I had nobody to look after my son.*

She continued to describe the inflexible nature of the professor's demands, later realizing

she was no longer a mentor figure to her, but someone who was projecting their own

insecurities onto her own experiences and perceptions of motherhood:

> *. . . And she wanted to have meetings during the week ... I asked if I could call in and this professor said, "No! You need to be here!" and I just* [pause] *I couldn't do it and it's not really like me. If I can't do it, I really cannot come to these one-hour meetings. She was horrible to me she was so mad and at a certain point, we had this verbal confrontation and she said "you're a student, you're a teacher, you're a mother, and a wife. . . you cannot be all of those. I'm a professor and a wife. . . you can't be. . ." it was so obvious that she had compared it to her that what she was saying is "I'm a mother and a professor, you can't be four things because I'm two…"*

Rather than building upon a shared experience of being a woman and mother in academia, Aida experienced what Freire (2000) refers to as horizontal violence. The term 'horizontal violence' is used to describe the lashing out at one's own oppressed group member(s). Freire (2000) describes the term 'horizontal violence' (p. 63) as a way of acting out the internalization of negative stereotypes placed upon the oppressed individual by the dominant societal group, in an attempt to regain a sense of power. The statements made by the professor here clearly indicate the power differentials between her as a professor, and Aida as a graduate student.

These power relations can create horizontal violence as indirect aggression (such as placing unrealistic or over demanding expectations on an individual) or as intentional and harmful behaviour (such as the discouraging advice given to Aida during their verbal confrontation). Horizontal violence can also become evident through competition between female coworkers, an inability of to view one another as team members, suspicions as to how fellow female colleagues earned positions of power (insinuating inappropriate relationships with supervisors), reluctance to speak out about discriminatory practices, and generational conflicts with younger female leaders (Jones & Palmer, 2011). It comes as no surprise then that women in the study conducted by Hirikata and Daniluk (2009) found that their male colleagues were more supportive and

trustworthy than their female counterparts. This reported lack of support was attributed to "backlash" (p. 290) and based on the assumption that senior female colleagues struggled as mothers while obtaining their roles and by virtue of this struggle, the aspiring women academics were to do the same (Hirikata & Daniluk, 2009).

In complete contrast to the other women in this study and their positive relationships with their advisors identified as their mentors, Aida unfortunately found herself in the complete opposite scenario. Rather than continuing to assist Aida through the challenging terrain of new motherhood, which she did in the beginning of their relationship, she turned to adding unnecessary stress to her already stressful experience. Aida recalls a verbal confrontation with her GA instructor in which she was told she basically cannot tend to all obligations because her instructor may have felt she could not. For Aida, the rift in their relationship upon her becoming a mother highlighted potential insecurities inherent in her GA instructor, which ultimately reinforced notions of expected forms of intensive mothering on Aida's part. What was also inherent in the verbal confrontation was the separation between mothers and non-mothers in academia. This separation has been discussed in the literature as one that reinforces horizontal violence among women as a whole in academia (Freire, 2000) and what psychologist Joyce Benenson refers to as the 'sister ceiling.' The sister ceiling (2018) is a term used to describe the theory that women are more apt to not support women to whom they are not related, by socially excluding women seen as their competition or rivals, or not mirroring their views of acceptable style or demeanor, ultimately resulting in a separation between women in the workplace or academia (Sheppard & Aquino, 2014). Reflecting this sister ceiling mentality is Aida's narrative of how a professor she was working with as a

graduate assistant challenged the number of roles she currently had within her life.

Recalling these events, Aida describes a verbal confrontation that ultimately reinforces a

divide between mothers and non-mothers in academia:

> *...she was horrible to me she was so mad and at a certain point, we had this verbal confrontation and she said "you're a student, you're a teacher, you're a mother, and a wife... you cannot be all of those. I'm a professor and a wife...you can't be..." it was so obvious that she had compared it to her that what she was saying is "I'm a mother and a prof, you can't be 4 things because I'm 2" and so it was obvious that the reason why she was so inflexible that she wouldn't let me call into meetings and excluded me completely was because she had her own hang ups. And that is kind of the thing in academia there's the mothers vs the non-mother.*

Forming a network of positive support among colleagues and a network of sorts were

both named as two factors that could have alleviated the difficulty of this situation for

Aida:

> *I mean what I went through with that lady, I mean she was just a nasty lady, but you know. . . cause it's that issue of hiding your family. I kind of feel like it's a bit of a double standard, men can have their pictures out and all that kind of stuff but it's just a little more fraught with women. So, having some kind of acknowledgement that. . . And I think women can be a little judgy towards women who choose not to. I mean I'm not because I feel like a lot of people maybe weren't suited for it, should've thought about it but or whatever. . . Maybe just some sort of job training on how we can deal with people and families. Some people are caring for disabled partners, I mean there's a whole range of dependent situations.*

Inherent in Aida's response is the finding that women in academia commonly engage in

strategies to minimize the negative repercussions of their motherhood status on their

work in order to avoid disapproval from colleagues (Armenti, 2004). These strategies

may include delaying or timing pregnancies around the academic year and hiding

pregnancies. Additional obligations such as networking and academic engagements are

often based on a male normative model and schedule, which do not take into account

familial schedules (Adamo, 2013). While networking is often attributed to graduate

student success, for graduate student mothers, networking and program obligations often

place tremendous pressure and role strain on graduate student mothers which may affect

their success in the program (see for example, Hochschild, 2003; Kramarae, 2001; Peters,

1997).

In this particular study, graduate student mothers faced a variety of networking

experiences that were both positive and negative. The role of a mentor can also either

persuade or dissuade graduate students from perceiving the academy as either family

friendly or incompatible for mothers. In the discussion of career aspirations, Sandra

uncovered the subtle ways in which she was dissuaded by other faculty members from

perceiving academia as something she could take on as a mother. When asked about her

career aspirations over the next five years, Sandra commented:

> *That's a tough one too. I think I've sort of ruled out tenure track professor.* **[Why is that?]** *... Just because I know of other students and I know of other faculty who are working to move from associate to assistant and I don't think I would want to do that. I know other people who are full-time sessional instructors and love the freedom and flexibility that comes with it and I know others who have gone on to just be researchers, which is something that I would love as well because I love teaching and I actually have an education background and my B.Ed. and my Masters are in Education as well.*

Sandra's comments regarding her five-year plan reflect similar findings in the research by

Young and Holley (2015) and Adamo (2013). Young and Holley (2015) found that when

women perceive androcentric norms regarding work and family, they were more inclined

to find academia and motherhood incompatible. Further, women receiving messages

about the incompatibility of academia and family were led to believe that they should be

postponing motherhood until after tenure.

Additionally, Adamo (2013) found that perceptions of incompatibility between tenure track positions and having child(ren) caused some women to reject a career in academia altogether. Since attrition rates in graduate programs are gendered and more pronounced among women, especially women with children, it is increasingly important to document attitudinal shifts in graduate student women and mothers in order to demonstrate the impact of implicit and explicit messages about academia and motherhood. Most relatable to the Canadian literature, Sandra's perceptions echo the findings by McCutcheon and Morrison (2018) that well before becoming a faculty member, female graduate students are making career related decisions and sacrifices based on the perceived incompatibility of work and family. In doing so, women graduate students set out to pursue a career in the academy weigh the costs and benefits related to their career and family aspirations and perceive a "forced" choice option and either/or impasse. More specifically, findings from McCutcheon and Morrison (2018) demonstrate that graduate students in particular noted that it was difficult to balance their work and family roles within the academy ultimately resulting in prioritizing their families at the expense of their work. This, however, was not free from perceived consequence. Some graduate students recognized that early decisions about prioritizing one's self and family as opposed to work carries with it, perceived consequences (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2018). Overlapping these findings within the literature, Sandra's perception seemed to be skewed by contradicting advice. In one instance, she was led to believe that motherhood and academia were mutually incompatible. On the other hand, she was told that having a child during graduate school was an optimal time:

> *I was actually told by a few people that it's a good time to start a family during your PhD and actually that I started a family at the perfect time. When you're*

done coursework and done your exams. So, I think that would be my only advice.
Thinking if I became pregnant during coursework, I don't think I could've
handled it. I don't think I could have. Just the timing and demands of coursework.
Once you're into this stage you have a lot more flexibility with time I think, which
could be a plus or minus, depending on how motivated you are to finish.

Here, Sandra contradicts the former advice she was given and shares that she was told

that (by instructors) that starting a family during PhD studies is in fact, a "perfect time."

Though not to support the idea that motherhood and graduate school are incompatible,

what is concerning here is that there are mixed messages being delivered by members of

her program of study that are clearly influencing her goals for her career and five-year

plan. While it is acknowledged that individuals may not share the same perspective on

balancing motherhood and graduate studies, research demonstrates that messages of

incompatibility from other women in academia may lead to attrition from the program

and a loss of interest in a career in academia (Lynch, 2008). This has implications for the

presence of women in academia and the research that is conducted on a variety of topics

(Young & Holley, 2005). From this information, it can be concluded that the role of a

mentor, and their perceptions of motherhood and graduate school, have the ability to

either persuade or dissuade graduate students from exploring various avenues within their

field of study. These are important considerations for graduate students, especially

mothers, when deciding whom and which activities are most beneficial for their career in

academia.

Networking

As noted earlier, networking in graduate school requires a high degree of face

time through departmental functions, seminars, and professional conferences. While the

demands of networking and academic participation vary from faculty to faculty, the

pressure to network remains a consistent theme. Networking includes additional student

activities in addition to the basic coursework obligations, such as conference

presentations, workshops, and student committee representations (Holmes, 2003).

Reports of concern about the potential impact of being unable to attend committee

meetings and out-of-town conferences are, however, a common cause of trepidation for

academic mothers who are returning from maternity leave (Hirikata & Daniluk, 2009).

While networking often occurs through a variety of unpaid activities, networking can at

times, be a build in advantage to the graduate program. For example, in the faculties of

Psychology, Nursing, and Education, networking can often occur organically through

practicum placements. However, other faculties, networking is seen as an additional

requirement that many mothers simply do not have the time for.

Networking often contributes to success in graduate school and a more positive

experience. In this particular study, the degree of flexibility and willingness to allow

children to participate seemed to affect overall experiences of networking. For example,

Iris often felt as though her son was always welcome at social events that occurred after

the hours of regular program requirements:

> *My supervisor is great. In my program, we have social events and things like that,*
> *and I know I'm always able to bring my son because they're usually in the*
> *evenings. If I wasn't able to bring him, I wouldn't be able to go to them. Everyone*
> *in my program is generally very supportive of that so anytime [I ask] "is it okay if*
> *I bring him?" they're always like "Of course! Why wouldn't you bring him?"*

Similar to the experiences of graduate students in the study conducted by Tenenbaum et

al. (2001), having a sense of psychosocial help seemed to contribute to Iris' satisfaction

with her faculty and with her graduate school experience. Likewise, Jennifer also felt

included by her faculty when opportunities to network through presentations that arose

while she was on maternity leave. Knowing she would be two weeks postpartum, her professor extended an open invitation to her and her newborn son, "It was the professor who approached me and said "Hey how are you feeling? I know you're about 2 weeks postpartum but there's presentations coming up. Do you want to bring him to class?" I didn't even expect that. . . super, super supportive." These findings are consistent with those of Jakubiec (2011) whereby graduate student parents rated their supervisors as moderately to extremely supportive because they were compassionate, understanding, flexible, and patient. Unfortunately, for Angela, invitations were not extended, but rather, withdrawn when she became a mother. Although she chose to forego providing details into the conversation between her and a tenured faculty member, she was no longer invited to various faculty engagements. Reflecting on my own experiences, I can identify with both sides of the networking spectrum.

Financial Stress

For many graduate students, financial stress is a common occurrence (Tenenbaum et al. (2001). For example, in a study conducted by Lynch (2008), respondents felt that too little financial support was offered to them by their academic institution. Further, the financial support that was offered often seemed better suited for single and/or childless individuals rather than women with children (p. 589). While full-time graduate students are offered graduate assistantships to assist in the financial costs of graduate school, they are not sustainable for the entire duration of a student's graduate school career. As a result, graduate student mothers often cite having to scramble for additional funding, pay educational costs out of pocket, or seek employment elsewhere (Lynch, 2008). While this is a common occurrence for both graduate student mothers and fathers, graduate student

mothers in this study felt as though their status as a mother compounded the issue. When it comes to the topic of networking, financial stress hits a high note. In order to network by presenting at conferences, one must be in the financial position to do so. I can recall a time when my student loan debt reached its maximum and I was torn between being accepted to present at reputable conferences, but not having the financial means to do so. Although I was a full-time graduate student, this meant that my student loans were being paid to my $3500 tuition and $2000 residency each July. Although various universities may provide opportunities for travel grants, this is only an available option for full-time students and those who meet the criteria set in place by the Faculty of Graduate Studies.

The funds for a travel grant are for full-time graduate students who have made presentations of their research at an academic conference. The amount of each reimbursement does not exceed $500 (Canadian) for travel within North America, and $750 (Canadian) for travel outside of North America. Master's students are eligible for a maximum of one (1) reimbursement within the first 6 terms of registration. Doctoral students are eligible for a maximum of two (2) reimbursements within the first 12 terms of registration. Given that the average cost to register for a conference is approximately $300 and hotel fees per night are approximately $150, this leaves transportation and food the sole financial responsibility of the student. Though it may not seem like a lot, when tuition fees are adding up and there is a mortgage, daycare, and other expenses to be paid, networking through conferences seems to be more challenging than anticipated. While there are other opportunities to network like serving through committees, this may pose as a challenge to certain faculties.

Being a student at the Faculty of Education makes this task quite difficult since the hours of participation are during work hours. If one if working in a long-term or even on an occasional teaching basis, taking the time off to serve on a committee can undoubtedly become a pragmatic challenge. Participation in interfaculty activities may also become a challenge since many of these are also during work hours. For example, Brown Bag Seminars typically occurring during lunch hours are only available to those who are on campus, not working at a business or institution related to their field. And while many faculties provide funding through graduate assistantships, these expire after an average of four years into the program and employment beyond ten hours is typically discouraged while in a graduate program. In a study conducted by Lynch (2008), graduate assistantship stoppage was a leading factor in graduate student mothers' consideration of leaving their programs and lead 61% of mothers in the study to seek employment outside of the academe. All of the mothers in the study conducted by Lynch (2008) felt their academe progress was slowed by this expiration of funding and most felt that their status as mothers affected their chances for funding.

Networking is an additional costly component of graduate studies and requires a degree of time and preparation. In a graduate program, time is money. This challenge was also felt by Iris. Although she was satisfied with her invitation to have her son accompany social events, she spoke to the employment issues many graduate students face. When discussing the financial challenges of graduate school and how she affords tuition and other costly aspects of a graduate degree, she stated that, "In the program, we're discouraged from seeking employment outside of the program because it is very demanding. So, at times like previously before grad studies I did work part-time, but now

all my work is related to my program." The discouragement to seek outside employment is often at odds with the fact that institution-based funding is insufficient to cover immediate needs such as health care or childcare, as well as insufficient in covering the entire duration of graduate studies (Lynch, 2008). This insufficiency forces many graduate student mothers to search outside of their programs for financial support (Lynch, 2008). As a single mother, Iris is responsible for juggling the demands of graduate student tuition, maintaining the financial credit to do so, as well as having to provide for her son. Add to that $700 to present at a local conference, $3000 for a semester of tuition over an average of five to six years, and one can imagine how difficult adding a conference presentation to a curriculum vitae can be. While networking for many mothers was something that seemed to be built into their program of study, further academic obligations may pose a greater difficulty when the funding does not cover the cost to do so.

While networking can occur in a multitude of ways, many networking obligations cost graduate student mothers either time or money. Both are commodities that are typically not abundant in graduate school. While some mothers in this study were satisfied in networking opportunities that allowed them to bring their child, others, like myself, felt that networking opportunities are often costly and offered at inconvenient times. Being invited to participate in networking opportunities allowed some of the mothers in this study feel included. However, opportunities for funding and childcare can be better developed so that graduate student mothers can participate without feeling financially or logistically impeded to do so. Funding and childcare are two elements of

institutional program policies that must be aligned with graduate student obligations, in order to be executed properly and effectively.

Inconsistencies Between Institutional and Program Policies

For the purposes of this research, the specific policies this section will discuss include parental leave, maternity leave, paternity leave at the intuitional and governmental level. Maternity, parental, and paternity leaves will be discussed in the context of higher education among students, as well as employment benefits among the women who were employed as faculty or adjunct faculty members at the time of their semi-structured interview. A review of the policies from Southwestern Ontario universities, may help shed light on the availability, and oftentimes, stigma, associated with assuming the available leaves, despite their earned entitlement.

Maternity Leave from Graduate Studies

Within the Windsor, Ontario context, the Faculty of Graduate Studies stipulates that "Graduate students may request a maternity leave for no more than three consecutive terms without prejudice to their academic standing. Time limit/funding eligibility will be extended by the duration of the leave" (University of Windsor, 2019 p. 2). A term is defined as a four-month period coinciding with the academic calendar (January to April; May to August; and September to December) (University of Windsor, 2019). Paternity leaves, however, are reduced to simply one term, "In recognition of a father's role, a graduate student may request paternity leave for no more than one term without prejudice to their academic standing. Time limit/funding eligibility will be extended by the duration of the leave" (University of Windsor, 2019, p.2). So, while mother's may be granted 12 months of maternity leave, fathers are eligible for four months. While a parental leave

policy is available, this policy states that it is "intended to recognize that there may be a need for a pause in studies in order to provide full-time care in the first stages of parenting a child. Either or both parents may request one term of leave without prejudice to their academic standing. The request for leave must be completed within twelve months of the date of birth or custody. Time limit/funding eligibility will be extended by the duration of the leave" and is again, four months rather than 12 (University of Windsor, 2019, p. 2). Modification of policies concerning maternity and paternity leaves may help strengthen universities (Lynch, 2008). Parental leave policies have implications for student retention, student success, and student recruitment (Lynch, 2008).

Within the broader scope of Southwestern Ontario, institutions such as Western Ontario, University of Toronto, and University of Waterloo do not differentiate between maternity or paternity leave and allow graduate students (mothers and fathers alike) to take a leave of absence for parenting. The University of Guelph and McMaster University also allow graduate students to decide for themselves who will be the primary caregiver of the child and who will take the parental leave. Aside from a separate "pregnancy leave," parental leaves are not distinguished based on maternity or paternity status at these institutions within Southwestern Ontario.

Maternity leaves among graduate student mothers highlighted a combination of many different themes and each circumstance differed in terms of paid maternity leave benefits and maternity leave from their program of study. Concerning paid maternity leave from the government, some of the graduate student mothers simply did not have enough insurable hours to receive a paid maternity leave and had to immediately return to their studies as a source of income. Concerning maternity leave from their program, some

mothers returned to their studies within weeks of giving birth, while others chose to take a full 12-month maternity leave from their program. Lastly, and in Zara's particular case, being an international exchange student interfered with receiving domestic maternity leave benefits. The financial, academic, and personal repercussions of taking a maternity leave became even more apparent when discussing this topic with sessional and faculty employees.

Maternity Leave from Sessional/Faculty Positions

Every Canadian higher educational institution has a collective agreement that outlines the leave benefits afforded to faculty (e.g. parental, medical, or sabbatical leaves). For example, upon the adoption of an adoptive child or birth of a biological child, faculty receive a "top-up" which includes the faculty member's salary within approximately 95% of their original one for an outlined number of months, as per the specific university's collective agreement. Upon expiry of the outlined number of months, women faculty can apply for employment insurance (EI) which is then provided up to a maximum of 55% of a woman's salary or a maximum of $543.00 per week. Universities also provide a tenure and promotion ladder, which begins with a tenure-track Assistant Professor position and, after (approximately) five to seven years, tenure, based on performance evaluations. This appointment is followed by the promotion to Associate Professor, and subsequently, Full Professor (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2018). Despite the maternity leave policies outlined in institutional policies and collective agreements, many faculty women and adjust/sessional faculty felt that they needed to forego their right to take them.

For many women in this study who were sessional instructors, maternity leaves

were something that were typically not taken in their entirety. Although some of the

women were entitled to take a maternity leave from their programs or jobs for the

maximum allotment of 12 months, as per their collective agreements, many did not.

Discussions surrounding the topic of maternity leaves shared a common theme, which

was- although the women were aware of their maternity leave benefit entitlements, they

felt it was necessary to forego or cut their leaves short. This was particularly the case

with mothers in adjunct positions, citing their "precarious" work as the number one

source of reason in foregoing their 12-month maternity leave. Regardless of

circumstance, one consistent theme ran through each of the mothers' testimonials

concerning their perceptions of maternity leave- if they took their full maternity leave

entitlement from either employment or program of study, it could affect their career

trajectory in some way, shape, or form and to some degree. As discussed earlier, this was

the case for Jennifer and her reason for having to end her maternity leave because of an

upcoming contract:

> *I was very lucky to take a bit of that maternity leave. But. . . as a sessional*
> *instructor, it's really a maternity leave and there's no top up. So . . . I got my EI*
> [employment insurance]*, but the second a contract came up and it's the end of a*
> *semester, I needed to get back.*

Similar to Jennifer, Lisa also did not take a paid maternity leave from her sessional

position, but did take an academic leave from her graduate studies:

> *It was a maternity leave from the program, but I didn't take maternity leave from*
> *sessional instructing. I was already a sessional here I was in the hospital having*
> *her for one of the classes and I was back the next week and my son… the students*
> *were on practicum and I didn't miss… I don't think I missed any classes with him*
> *actually. That's just kind of how it had to go.*

Highlighting an implication of coercion in returning to work, Lisa brings to light the lack

of women often face in returning to work, despite policies that provide maternity leaves

from employment (Williams, 2010). Lisa demonstrates in her statement that her return to

work was not entirely voluntary and continues to discuss how doing so may have affected

her social leverage (Portes, 1998) as a sessional instructor, trying to achieve a tenure

track position, since the choice women often make is not voluntary.

> *I believe that our collective agreement says 5 weeks for sessional instructors. However, when you have precarious employment, it's not in your best interest to take those up.*

Fear of retribution by administrators surfaced in each of the discussions of paid maternity

leave, particularly with sessional instructors. All organizations have some form of a

hierarchy, and therefore, someone's performance is assessed by someone else's

perception (Sandberg, 2009). In this case, Lisa feared how her leave would be perceived

by administrators and students she was currently educating.

Echoing a concern of their leaves affecting social leverage and perceptions of

being uncommitted to career in academia, mothers in this study who were employed as

sessional instructors and graduates of either a master's or doctoral program, often

sacrificed their right to a full maternity leave. Despite the Canada Labour Code, Human

Rights Code of Ontario, and the Employment Standards Act of Ontario, securing her

position and seniority was a concern for Jennifer, a mother of two and sessional

instructor, was advised by an individual in an administrative role to do so:

> *I think I could've suffered because I don't get a maternity leave from the university for working sessional. I only work contracts. I don't get sick pay, or I don't get anything like that* [pause] *but. . . they told me to kind of put that "I will be away on mat* [maternity] *leave from such and such a time to such and such a time." I could get benefits if I wanted to because I have been here for so long, so that kept me status quo from what I understand.*

Embedded in this statement are two conflicting thoughts. On one hand, Jennifer is

exercising her social capital as an individual who has ties to insider information that

could benefit her seniority and social leverage. On the other hand, she is also a sessional

employee without a contracted permanent position and must privately advocate in order

to ensure employment upon her return, despite her legal ability to do so according to the

Canadian Human Rights Commission (2019). Therefore, despite the availability of

maternity leave contracts from their positions, as well as national and provincial

legislation protecting their positions upon return, many of the mothers simply did not feel

comfortable with the risk that a 12-month maternity leave may generate. The need to

forego paid employment was a reality that Iris discovered in her program. Reinforcing the

stipulations in paid employment by the Faculty of Graduate Studies, Iris states:

> *We're strongly dissuaded from taking even part-time work. They explain that to
> you when you apply to the program that this is a very demanding program and
> part of the reason you have GAships and different scholarships is because they
> expect all your focus is on this program. . . If I were to take on part-time work
> outside of the program, that would just cut into my time with my son and I would
> be spending less time with him, and having him in childcare on the evenings and
> weekends. . . which for me is not an option, and I just absolutely wouldn't do that.*

Seen as an either-or dilemma, Iris faces the decision of whether or not to work

employable insured hours or focus more on her studies and child. Luckily for her,

practicum hours are considered paid employment; however, she would not meet the 600-

hour minimum to be eligible for employment insurance benefits. Also faced with the

challenge of not accumulating enough hours was Zara, an international student from

China. Although employed as a graduate assistant, she is only eligible to work 20 hours

off-campus when her graduate assistantship expires. International student study permits

allow international students to work on-campus without a work permit but are only

allowed to work up to 20 hours per week in off-campus employment (Government of

Canada, 2019). If a graduate student is employed in part-time employment, being paid

minimum wage, a 20-hour per week maximum allots a gross total of $1,200 per month in income. This is hardly enough to cover the cost of housing, childcare, basic needs such as food, and other utilities necessary to sustain a comfortable living.

In addition to a lack of insurable hours, graduate students also faced a quandary if they were receiving a scholarship from the Government of Ontario or other Tri-Agency Research Training Awards, such as Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), (Research Council of Canada), Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), and the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC). Before April 1, 2017, all Tri-Agency Research Training Award holders were ineligible for paid parental leave. Prior to this date, training award holders had to confirm they were not eligible for other parental leave benefits programs in order to be eligible to receive the Tri-Agency Research Training Award (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, 2017). Holders of NSERC or other grants who plan to take family-related leave or medical leave may be able to extend their funding,

> *"The Agencies will provide parental leave supplements paid out of grants within six months following the child's birth or adoption to eligible students and postdoctoral fellows who are paid out of agency grants and who are primary caregivers for a child. The supplement will be paid to students and fellows as per their current agency-funded salary/stipend for up to six months. If both parents are supported by grant funds, each parent may take a portion of the leave for a combined maximum of six months. The supplement will be pro-rated if the student or postdoctoral fellow is being trained in research on a part-time basis"* (Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, 2017).

Depending on the grantee's circumstances, the options include: (1) extending the period for using funds in the current grant by up to two years; (2) adding up to two years of funding at the same level as the current grant; and (3) deferring submission of a renewal application (NSERC, 2019). Further, a grantee who becomes the primary

caregiver immediately following a birth or adoption of a child who is eligible for an extended maternity, parental or adoptive leave through the institution but foregoes taking the leave may be eligible to receive a one-year grant extension with funds at a level up to but not exceeding the current grant amount. Despite this change to the Tri-Agency's Training Award's criteria, graduate students receiving the Ontario Graduate Scholarship still face limitations in the number of hours they are able to work while receiving the award.

The Ontario Graduate Scholarship (OGS), is a merit-based scholarship which assesses and ranks applications using criteria determined by the school one attends. The OGS provides $5,000 per term and is granted for up to three consecutive terms. The recipient student must attend a full-time graduate program in Ontario during the course of the scholarship award but may not hold part-time employment of more than 10 hours per week (Government of Canada, 2019), which is also consistent with graduate student protocol to maintain full-time registration (University of Windsor, 2019). Lastly, recipients whose registration status changes (i.e., who withdraw, transfer to part-time studies, fail to complete a session, register as a special student, interrupt their studies) after they have received the OGS funding for any given session or sessions, will be required to repay any amounts received prior to the change (Government of Canada, 2019). This poses a unique challenge to those who are facing the demands of academia and family. At the PhD level, the majority of full-time students continue to be men, though women are steadily increasing in their representation (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 2011). The percentage of female doctoral students grew to 46% by 2000, and has increased only marginally since then (AUCC, 2011). When the numbers

are further broken down by sex, full-time male graduate students outnumbered male part-time students, yet part-time female graduate students outnumbered full-time female graduate students (Sample, 2010). While there are no statistics on the number of female graduate students who are mothers and have changed from full to part-time studies, one can imagine that there are some women who have had to make that decision based on a variety of practical decisions. The obligation to pay back the OGS funds because of a switch from full to part-time studies is dismissive and insensitive to the demands those balancing graduate studies face, particularly, graduate student mothers.

Reflecting on my own experiences, though I was not an OGS holder at the time of my doctoral studies, I did have to make the difficult decision to transfer from full to part-time studies due to financial and employment circumstances. Being an educator, I was given the opportunity to work in a full-time teaching position during my fifth year of doctoral studies. Faced with the choice to continue to study full-time, but not be able to work more than the suggested 10 hours per week regulation, I was faced with the decision to continue my studies on a part-time basis. Because many students studying in their given field are also employed in their field during graduate studies, the switch from full to part-time studies should not be a complicated transition that requires letters of support, numerous emails to the Faculty of Graduate Studies, appeals to the Faculty of Graduate Studies when denied the request to transfer from full to part-time studies, and the obligation to pay-back a scholarship that is based on merit when awarded.

Although Canada's Tri-Agency Research Training Award Council and the Ontario Graduate Scholarship program has lifted their restrictions on award eligibility and maternity leaves, there are still challenges and limitations embedded within these

prestigious awards. Employment hour restrictions, pay-back clauses when transferring from full to part- time studies, and criteria to even be eligible (i.e., conference presentations, publications, and field of study) are a few that have proven to be a challenge for graduate students, particularly mothers. As discussed earlier, many graduate student mothers face time, networking, and financial limitations. These challenges were seemingly a by-product of a lack of institutional support from the university as a whole, despite feeling supported by one's faculty or advisor.

Support from Faculty of Study but Lack of Support from the University

Perhaps one of the more positive themes in this study, most of the participants expressed a great degree of happiness and support from their faculty and advisors. However, when discussing the sense of support felt by the university as a whole, the level of happiness and satisfaction plummeted, indicating a great divide between faculty and institutional support. While many of the mothers in this study expressed a high degree of gratitude for their faculty advisors and program advisors, feelings of dissatisfaction arose from on-campus support staff such as placement coordinators, library staff, secretarial staff, on-campus childcare, scholarships, and the Faculty of Graduate Studies. For example, Marian, a graduate student who returned to her studies five days after giving birth to her son, found herself having to self-advocate when her practicum application to an agency was lost. As a result, she was told she would have to be placed out of town, "when that option almost fell through as a placement, they wanted to send me to Sarnia or Chatham for a placement. I had to advocate for myself that an out of town unpaid placement was not conducive with a young child." What seemed to be the largest source

of dissatisfaction with institutional support was the lack of knowledge or information on the options available.

One of the largest areas of lack of information, and ironically, one of the most important elements for graduate student mothers, was childcare. More specifically, many of the mothers were not aware of their location, hours, age requirements, and flexible care options. Once they did realize there was the option of on-campus childcare, the waitlist was far too long forcing them to seek childcare elsewhere. Reponses ranging from "I wasn't even aware there was an on-campus childcare" to "I don't think I was really aware of very much on campus. I still wouldn't say that I am aware of things that are available for supports on campus" revealed a dire need for greater dissemination of on campus support for graduate student mothers. Greater dissemination of resources can lead to lower attrition rates for mothers who continue to pursue their graduate degrees (Lynch, 2008). Further, if the graduate student mothers did seek out their own information, they were often met with little to no response from on campus supports. For example, Sandra, a new mother seeking childcare, attempted to contact the on-campus daycare, Great Beginnings, to no avail as she states, "I called and left a message a couple times and left a message and I never heard back." Their waitlist and minimum age requirement were also a concern for Sandra. While she decided to take the three terms off for maternity leave, she expressed a concern regarding childcare when the time from her academic maternity leave has expired. Prior to the interview with Sandra, the on-campus childcare centre, had a minimum age requirement of 18 months. As of January 10, 2019, the minimum age requirement was lowered to 6 weeks. However, the hours of the on-campus childcare continue to remain inconsistent with the times mandatory classes are typically offered.

Iris noted that contrary to her previous university, the on-campus childcare hours are not reflective of graduate class hours,

> *It* [previous on-campus childcare at former university] *was right in the university. They had extended hours so anytime there were classes going on or exams or anything, they were open. Their hours were made around university hours. I feel like the biggest thing is that I'm not aware of a lot of resources here… if there are any?*

The hours of the advertised "near" campus childcare are Monday to Friday from 7am to 6pm. Given that many graduate level courses are often offered in the evening, the closing time of 6pm was impractical for many mothers. While they do offer licensed home childcare with flexible hours, the waitlist was far too extensive and again, lack of information and correspondence when attempting to seek information often limited mothers to this option. The absence of on or near campus childcare hours that recognize scheduling needs creates a conflict laden path for many graduate student mothers. Old patterns of support simply do not mesh with new patterns of graduate student enrollment, particularly for mothers, and have therefore created new and intensified personal dilemmas and social conflicts (Lynch, 2008, p. 595). In addition to financial and scheduling conflicts, an additional layer of complexity may arise when special needs arise in the childcare.

Limitations in availability also became apparent when in home childcare was denied due to a medical exceptionality resulting in differential feeding strategies (e.g., Nasogastric feeding tube (NG tube), Nasojejunal feeding tube (NJ tube), Gastrostomy tubes, or Jejunostomy tubes. Lack of staff training in tube feeding for example, limits childcare options for those seeking alternative arrangements. When asked if the on-campus childcare centre provided care to children requiring a special medical

need, particularly a feeding tube, the response received during a phone with the centre was, "while our students with special needs are of course integrated, we do not have staff trained in that area." Limitations in staff training when special needs are considered was not an immediate concern for any of the mothers in this particular study, however, one can imagine there will be a time when a mother who has a child with a special need may be denied childcare due to a lack of training. Given the rising demographic of graduate student mothers, on-campus childcare should be readily equipped to manage a variety of special needs so that no parent is turned away for childcare. Cost of childcare was another challenge, and despite subsidized care for qualifying mothers, obtaining subsidy for childcare was ridden with its own set of limitations.

Within the city of Windsor, childcare subsidy may be available to families who are looking to access licensed childcare centre-based, school-based or home childcare programs (for children newborn -12 years of age), as well as High Five Accredited recreation programs (for children 6-12 years of age). In order to qualify for childcare subsidy individuals need to meet the following criteria: (1) be a resident of Windsor/Essex County or in Windsor/Essex on a student/work visa and in receipt of the Canada Child Benefit (CCB); (2) be the child's parent/legal guardian/temporary or kinship parent, and the child must reside with the applicant; (3) file a Federal Tax Return (in accordance with Revenue Canada guidelines) for the most recent tax year; (4) have a demonstrated need for childcare by either attending school, working, or having a referral in writing by an agency, doctor, or other professional who is currently working with the family. Following the fulfillment of these criterion, the amount is calculated based on line 236 of the current year's Notice of Assessment (NOA) or the family net income stated on

the current year's Canadian Child Benefit Notice (CCB) for one or two parent families as applicable. Individuals who have not lived in Canada for more than one year and have not filed a tax return, may still qualify for childcare subsidy.

Filing for subsidy, however, can pose a challenge to graduate level students. While undergraduate level students and college diploma students are granted subsidy without discrimination, graduate students may face additional challenges when filing their applications given the lack of "necessity" involved in obtaining a graduate level degree. This challenge was experienced by Lisa, when she received notification that a subsidy would no longer be provided to their childcare costs given the fact that she was in a graduate level program:

> *When my daughter was born, we had fully subsidised childcare for her. She wasn't in full-time childcare I don't know if we would've had access to that. But, after a certain amount of time that she had been in care, we were told we would no longer be subsidised for her childcare and we had to fight. What they said was that … I forget exactly how they worded it, but what they said was that because we were in graduate studies and not in undergraduate studies or in a college diploma program … because we went beyond that first tier… if you will… that they were not going to subsidize childcare for us.*

Inherent here is the assumption that Lisa, as a graduate student mother was financially supported in other ways and therefore, responsible for her own full childcare payments. She continues to describe how she was nearly forced out of her program:

> *If my memory serves, we wrote letters to city officials, we threatened to take it to the newspaper. We really had to go big or go home because we simply could not afford childcare costs and knew that if we didn't have childcare costs, I wouldn't be able to finish the program. I would have to drop out, or, pay an extra… I would have to pay an extra semester of tuition which we also could not afford.*

Speaking to the gendered attrition rates in graduate programs, which are more pronounced among women, especially women with children, Lisa highlights how she was

nearly forced out of her program because of financial constraints. While the societal attitude towards attrition rates paints a picture of "opting out", we see here how at the governmental level, mothers facing challenges in terms of childcare are left with very few options. This either-or dilemma is often regarded as mothers making a choice between mothering and graduate studies, but as we see here, there was hardly any room for choice or negotiation. Finally, Lisa's experience demonstrates that it is increasingly important to document attitudinal shifts in graduate student mothers in order to demonstrate the impact of implicit and explicit messages about academia and motherhood.

The financial limitations in subsidy qualifications are often met when mothers who are employed or receiving Tri-Council Agency awards are denied due to their individual or combined household income. In addition to the financial pressures many of the graduate student mothers faced as a result of inconsistent policies and predetermined lifestyle decisions made on their behalf, tensions between a sense of support from their faculty, but lack of support from the university, added to an overall sense of dissatisfaction with the university as a whole. Structural barriers and limited access to safe spaces on campus, such as lactation rooms, were another area that decreased some of the mothers' overall sense of satisfaction and perceived level of support.

In Ontario, the Ontario Human Rights Commission prohibits discrimination and protects the rights of pregnant and breastfeeding women. In all agencies and organizations, it is against the law to discriminate against a woman who is pregnant or breastfeeding. According to the Human Rights Commission (OHRC), an employer should provide a breastfeeding mother with enough time to breastfeed or express breast milk for her child. Further, employees who require breaks for breastfeeding or expressing

breast milk should be given these breaks and shall not be asked to forgo regular breaks not should they be asked to work additional time to make up for breaks taken (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2019).

In an attempt to normalize and promote safe spaces for breastfeeding mothers, the Ontario Human Rights Commission has included sample policies focusing on creating breastfeeding friendly workplaces for employees and even policies on creating breastfeeding friendly environments for the general public. These samples can be applied to any institution. The following are two examples of model policies which could serve as prototypes for agencies/workplaces, including higher educational institutions.

First, the OHRC recognizes that breast milk is the recommended and normal food for healthy growth and development of infants and young children. Employers that promote and support breastfeeding and the expression of breast milk by employees who are breastfeeding when they return to work. Management staff of the employees shall work with breastfeeding employees to determine mutually agreeable hours or work, assignments and breaks which support breastfeeding practices, are compatible with the collective agreement and other workplace policies. Agencies and organizations should recognize that breast milk is the recommended and normal food for healthy growth and development of infants and young children. Finally, agencies and organizations should openly state that they promote and support breastfeeding by members of the public while they are using the premises (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2008). While these prototypes may serve as a reference tool, the lack of standardization for breastfeeding support across the province sets up many new mothers to not only fail when they attempt to breastfeed but assume that spaces are provided across all institutions. The lack of

lactation spaces on campus makes these prototypical messages nearly impossible to uphold, when the overall message of absence speaks louder than any words in a printed document.

While the standards for the protection and upholding of rights for employees who are breastfeeding are clear under the Ontario Human Rights Commission, insofar as having model policies that serve as prototypes for agencies, the rights of graduate students who are breastfeeding are far from being safely upheld across campus and reflect a detriment in basic Human Rights on campus. This revelation became highly apparent when Christina, an advocate for Social Justice in her department attempted to secure a safe space for lactating mothers:

> *A colleague of mine here, we tried to get a breastfeeding room. We worked on it for a couple of years. It wasn't that the faculty wasn't supportive of the idea. We'd find a room and someone else would be in the room and so it never got off the ground. We actually applied for funding through the Office of Human Rights,* Equity & *Accessibility stating it was a safety issue. The Ministry only gives so much funding for women's safety … I think it's every year or two years and we were told it's not a women's safety issue.*

Despite having applied for funding and justifiably recognizing the lack of lactation rooms on campus as a women's safety issues, Christina was unable to secure a consistent and safe space for breastfeeding mothers. Clearly, a women's safety issue, it was not surprisingly that is was disregarded and dismissed. 'Not surprisingly' is used here to emphasize the overall masculine norms entrenched in campus cultures. While having a space for lactation rooms on campus is a mere bandage solution to changing the overall campus culture and masculine-normative institutional policies and practices that guide academics' behaviour around work and family roles (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2018), it was still dismissed on unreasonable terms. Although students have a legal right

to breastfeed or pump anywhere on campus, as is the case in all public places, campuses

are not required to accommodate their needs in any way.

Having to take matters into her own hands, Christina describes how she assisted graduate

student mothers on an individual basis:

> *If a student tells me, "I need to pump my breasts," usually they don't have the baby with them. It's about pumping the breasts I would set something up in the office and they would get access to be able to put the breast milk in a refrigerator and so we would just do that on an individual basis. It's not that people… it wasn't advertised that this is available, but some younger mothers would say to us… and we would make it happen.*

Although Christina was able to independently secure a room and amenities, what is left

unaddressed is a culture of support and policies to hold up that claim. The issue of

official lactation spaces, as well as the dissemination of information about them, is a

critical part of the discussion about building family-friendly campuses and breaking

down the masculine norms that often guide policy development on them (Hoecker, 2017).

 A divisive campus culture disproportionately affects graduate student mothers

(Hoecker, 2017). The lack of safe lactation space on campus leaves some graduate

student mothers feeling as though they must choose between continued breastfeeding and

their education — despite the well-established health benefits breastfeeding to mother

and baby, which can also act as another catalyst for the pervasive, mother guilt (Hoecker,

2017). Again, here we see how graduate student mothers are often pushed out of

programs, contributing to overall attrition rates and lack of women in faculty positions

(Adamo, 2013; Armenti, 2004; O'Laughlin & Bischoff, 2005).

 Not only does this scenario of denied access to a breastfeeding room grant violate

the rights of a woman who chooses to breastfeed, it is a health and safety issue, among

others. While the Womxn's Centre is promoted as a plausible room for breastfeeding or

pumping, the lack of privacy it offers as well as improper resources for the proper storage of milk, limits its use. In addition to an overall shift in the gendered nature of unequal labour within the women's homes, what also needs to occur is a shift in the overall campus culture and attitudes regarding the presence of rooms that encourage women, particularly mothers, to be seen on campus. Until the overall cultural attitudes regarding the allotted space for these types of amenities occurs, they will continue to be seen as mere bandaid solutions for boarder social issues.

The Womxn's Centre operates as a free campus service providing a safe space and welcoming environment for people of all backgrounds and expressions. As an actively pro-choice, feminist space, the Womxn's Centre provides students and guests with "resources and information, as well as a positive, supporting environment and redirection to more specific resources if required" (University of Windsor, 2019). Its mission is the following: advocacy of the fundamental rights of womankind; to educate others on issues surrounding women; and to promote and enhance the status of women. In order to fulfill this mission, the Womxn's Centre attempts to: support all women, as individuals or groups, whose needs and aspirations are consistent with our mandate; to advocate for an educational system free of sexual bias; to educate our community on women's physical, economic, social and mental conditions; to ensure accessibility to all women, especially womxn who face intensive discrimination; and to eliminate myths, stereotypes, and ignorance about the Womxn's Centre, thus increasing participation and bridging gaps in the community (University of Windsor, 2019). The University of Windsor did recently add a breastfeeding room in the year 2017 that is available to students and staff.

At the University of Toronto, the Family Care Office has prepared a list of places on the three University of Toronto campuses to breastfeed or pump. These places include a list of spaces that are comfortable, quiet, some are private, and some are open to pumping in addition to breastfeeding. Throughout the three campuses, there are a total of 26 locations that are described online as breastfeeding/pumping friendly. The list includes the location, amenities included, level of privacy, available hours and map for each designated location (University of Toronto, 2017). Maintaining and promoting an overall family friendly culture regarding breastfeeding and pumping has many benefits for mothers, infants, and the university.

Creating a family friendly atmosphere for breastfeeding mothers and mothers alike has many advantages. First, breastfeeding is well recognized as a means to protect, promote and support the health of infants and young children. It is also recognized for its many benefits to mothers' overall health and well-being (Health Canada, 2014). Second, as outlined in the Ontario Human Rights Commission's "Policy on Discrimination Because of Pregnancy and Breastfeeding", an employer has an obligation to accommodate the needs of breastfeeding employees (OHRC, 2017). Students in a higher educational institution should be no exception to this mandate. Third, in order for mothers to be successful in their feeding journeys, women need spaces that are supportive of their needs. A family friendly environment may also alleviate feelings of isolate that so often contribute to a "chilly" climate graduate student mothers often face on university campuses Williams, 2004; Williams 2007). Other efforts including grant allocations for women's safety have increased over the years; however, meeting the parameters and

criteria for consideration seems to be an ongoing struggle of interpretation for what is considered to be a grant worthy cause.

Recognizing their attempt to uphold women's safety on campus, safety grants are put in place to address a variety of women's safety issues on campus. The Women's Campus Safety Grant Committee is a "Presidential standing committee established to address women's safety issues on campus, and in so doing, to establish, promote and improve facilities, programs and services" (University of Windsor, 2017). The Grant has been funded by the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities since 1991. The Committee is chaired by the Director of the Office of Human Rights, Equity, and Accessibility, and other members of various on campus groups that recognize the vital role in upholding women's safety issues. For example, the Office of Human Rights, Equity, and Accessibility (OHREA); Student Disability Services; Residence Services; Campus Police Services; Organization of Part-time University Students (OPUS); Facility Services; Faculty Association (WUFA); University of Windsor Students' Alliance (UWSA); Graduate Student Society (GSS); Womxn's Centre; Leddy Library and the Office of Occupational Health and Safety.

The committee meets three times a year to discuss the allocation of funds. If an eligible submission meets the parameters for the Grant, but are not successful in the first round, they may be carried forward into subsequent rounds and given consideration for future meetings. Submissions are required to support one of the following categories: (1) awareness/education (e.g., workshops, websites, awareness campaigns; (2) student services/supports (e.g., walk-safe programs, sexual assault prevention); and (3) faculties and equipment (e.g., lighting, mirrors, security cameras, emergency phones). Given the

outlined criteria and parameters of the Grant funding, it is highly concerning that

providing an adequate lactation room in a department was not considered a women's

safety issue at the time and dismissed as such. Other structural barriers such as safe

walkways and accessibility with a stroller became apparent in the discussion of

institutional support.

During a rather cold and snowy interview, Zara, a 6-month pregnant graduate

student mother discussed her experiences of on-campus support and overall accessibility,

"Not today. It's not safe right now. I have to walk very slowly because it is slippery." The

University's Grounds Maintenance department is responsible for maintaining the

functionality, safety, and aesthetics of the exterior campus environment. Its specific

responsibilities include landscaping and maintaining turf, snow removal and salting,

recycling and waste removal. Attempts to maintain a safe and healthy work and

educational environment for all of its employees, students, and visitors through the Office

of Health & Safety are handled by: (1) managing the university's overall health and safety

program with the goal of preventing injuries and illness; (2) managing the Chemical

Control Centre; and (3) developing and implementing policies and procedures to meet the

requirements, duties, and standards set by the Occupational Health & Safety Act and its

applicable regulations and other applicable legislation. However, on this specific day, it

was evident that Zara did not feel safe in her commute across campus. Sandra also

experienced difficulty navigating her way through elevators and buildings with a stroller:

> *I don't remember if it was first floor or second floor, but honestly even just navigating the building now with a stroller, that's been ... I realize how difficult it is for people that have to use elevators, even just finding elevators and walking around to them in [**building name removed for confidentiality**] means me walking all the way down the hallway to other side, taking the elevator, coming*

back, I didn't realize the challenge in that.

What is concerning here is that strollers are generally ergonomically designed to navigate tight spaces. One can imagine then how difficult it could be when navigating campus hallways and walkways without the added ergonomically friendly feature of a stroller designed to manage tight spaces. Sandra inadvertently observed that the physical layout of the campus is not as accessible as it should be. Considerations in walkway safety and maneuverability could also fall under the category of women's safety, especially when the safety of an unborn child is at risk if a fall were to occur. This inaccessibility again demonstrates a quiet or hidden preference for whom the campus is designed for as well as the inaccessibility of campus buildings. The accessibility of campus buildings and corridors is a topic that has been explored, with troubling findings. For example, a study conducted by Holloway (2001) found that for those students with mobility impairments, access to campus buildings was challenging and frustrating. Highlighting these structural barriers helps shed light on the ways in which higher educational institutions can increase their level of institutional support, including the accessibility of campus grounds.

In the discussions of institutional support, for information dissemination was clear. When it came to information pertaining to resources that were offered nearby or on-campus, many of the mothers were completely uninformed and unaware. The largest area of absent information was childcare. Many mothers expressed that they were simply unaware of any nearby or on-campus childcare. When mothers did become aware of the affiliated childcare centre, they were not successful in receiving a call back. If in fact they did receive a call back, far too much time had passed resulting in their child being placed on an extensive waitlist. Hours of childcare availability as well as lack of staff training

was another limitation in on-campus childcare resources.

In addition to childcare, many mothers expressed a concern regarding the multiple health and safety, as well as human rights issues on campus. Lack of safe spaces to breastfeed or pump were evident across campus and when confronted, were met with the response that it was not a women's safety issue. Unsafe walkways and pathways that were difficult to maneuver with a stroller were other structural barriers that were addressed. Funding was discussed as a limitation to these issues; however, grant allocations indicate that these issues fall well within the guidelines for consideration. Despite these concerns, the final theme of this study indicated that overall, there was a deep level of fulfillment in the journey and process of being a graduate student mother.

An Overall Level of Satisfaction and Fulfillment in Being a Graduate Student Mother

"The birth of a child instantly changes how we define ourselves. Women become mothers… Couples become parents. Our priorities shift in fundamental ways. Parenting may be the most rewarding experience, but it is also the hardest and most humbling."

-Sheryl Sandberg, *Lean In*

Despite the presence of trials and adversities many mothers faced with their dual role of being a graduate student and mother, each participant, to some degree, expressed a expressed a sense of satisfaction and fulfillment in having completed or currently completing graduate school, while simultaneously being a mother. While acknowledging the struggles inherent in being a graduate student mother, the women named a corresponding advantage to their academic journey and had valuable advice to offer other women who may be balancing or consider balancing family and academia.

One of the main objectives of this research was to highlight the experiences of

graduate student mothers and refute the false dichotomy that graduate studies and motherhood are mutually incompatible. Although many of the themes did in fact underscore a sense of struggle, this final theme demonstrated that the challenges were worthwhile and for many of the women, were experiences that strengthened their overall distinctiveness and identity. Demonstrating this finding is Lucy's rationalization for the more challenging points in her graduate student career,

> *I have this quote that I've written on all my pages and in my planner to help put me through and it says, "they didn't say it was going to be easy, they said it was going to be worth it." So, I just tell myself that to be tough. . . it's not going to be easy. . . but it'll be worth it in the end. So that kind of keeps me going.*

Noting their children in what gave the women a strong sense of satisfaction, being a role model and participating in academic conversations was also seen a "gift." For Christina in particular, she described her graduate student career as being worthwhile and felt that her academic career contributed to a sense of having a fuller life. When describing her experiences, she also caught and corrected herself when she noted that mothers have to be organized. Recognizing that this requires effort on part of the family unit and not just mothers, she corrected this statement, avoiding the assumption that women should be the primary caregivers, contributing that the double day described in the literature:

> *I think it's very worthwhile. I think you have to be organized. I think I've said that a number of times, but it's really, a mother has to be organized…I should say a family, I shouldn't throw it all on the mother, a family needs to be organized.*

Retracting her earlier statement that "a mother has to be organized" Christina shifts her perspective to "a family needs to be organized." Her earlier statement reflects how she has positioned herself in relation to childcare. At first, she mentions that it is the mother's primary responsibility to be organized. This automatic assumption demonstrates that perhaps Lucy has internalized, in a deep way, that she was primarily responsible for

the care of her children throughout her graduate career, with her husband there to help whenever necessary. The literature has consistently demonstrated throughout the discussion of the allocation of domestic responsibilities (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2014; Kramarae, 2001; Hochschild, 2003), that the division of domestic labour is gendered and positioned within a system that grants men far greater time to pursue career related tasks.

Christina continues to discuss how being in a graduate program in the past and in a current faculty position has given her the opportunity to share enriching discussions with others, even referring to this privilege as, "a gift":

> *It's so interesting. It's like a gift to go to classes. I loved going to classes and the discussions and I loved that people were so different and came at things differently that I did and so intellectually, it was a gift ... being in with a group of people that are like no others in terms of the intellectual, I just can't believe how smart some people are. It's such a gift to talk to them. And you're also a great role model for your children.*

What's inherent here is the very fact that being part of a graduate program entails a certain level of privilege that not all mothers can afford. The topic of social class and class privilege is embedded within this statement and highlights that while it is certainly engaging and beneficial to discuss pressing topics with other scholars, not all mothers are able to do so. Working class mothers, and racialized mothers are simply less likely to appear in graduate programs (Clark, Mercer, Virgil & Dufrene, 2012; Espinoza, 2007; Ratcliffe & McKernan, 2013; Hamilton, 2017). As Christina was discussing these benefits, an overall sense of satisfaction and happiness was apparent in her tone and facial expressions but serve as a reminder that not all women have access to this level of academic enlightenment.

Again, and it is worth repeating, the social class of the participants has many implications for this research on motherhood. First, Christina's statement serves as a

reminder that racialized and minority women are situated differently within the gender order (Connell, 1995), and in ways that exclude them from the ruling apparatus of society (Connell, 2010). Furthermore, low-income mothers continue to be positioned as 'bad' mothers without the recognition that good mother discourses leave invisible the reality that good mothering requires a high level of privilege, which many women cannot access (Verduzco Baker, 2012). For example, Christina mentions that being a graduate student carries with it the benefit of your child seeing you read and therefore, a good role model to your children, "They see you reading books …" Again, social class privilege is inherent in this message here and highlights the access to various resources that low-income mothers may not have (Verduzco & Baker, 2012).

Finally, Christina discusses the need to compartmentalize your life as a graduate student mother. Again, highlighting the gendered nature of the domestic division of labour, she places onus on the mother to do so, "You have to compartmentalize your life a little bit…that of mother, that of partner, wife, family member, then student. And then employee too. [friend if you have time, laughter] you have to have a life." In contrast to the ways in which the other mothers in this study delegated childcare responsibilities to their husbands, Christina suggests compartmentalizing roles. While doing so may allow for a temporary solution to the stress of being a graduate student mother, it may ultimately defeat the overall purposes of creating a campus culture that is inclusive of mothers. Although it is suggested that people who have compartmentalized minds which enable them to behave differently and appropriately in a variety of situations such that they can behave like a boss or worker while performing their job and a spouse or parent at home, are mentally stronger individuals, it may impede the efforts of normalizing

motherhood on campus. To be competent in each area and compartmentalize each area requires "having boundaries" so that one role does not blur into another (Goulston, 2014). However, doing so maintains boundaries between higher educational institutions and home- the very opposite of what needs to occur in order for campuses to develop more family friendly cultures.

Family matters will, at times, infiltrate work and that needs to be readily accepted for the sake of all individuals involved. The concept of leaving personal matters completely at home may sound appealing in theory, but in practice, this means not bringing our whole selves to work, an impossible feat at times for any parent, especially mothers as this research has demonstrated (Cerulo & Mazur, 2019). Decompartmentalization does not suggest that it is healthy to allow all elements of one's personal life to infiltrate their work or studies. Rather, it suggests and welcomes a space for mothers to be able to be open about their personal life. This ability to do so may allow mothers to gently incorporate their diverse identities as student or faculty, and mother (Ellis, 2006).

While becoming a mother is both life altering and exhilarating, it can also be a very perplexing time for a mother's self-identity. In fact, the construction of a mothering identity is believed to be one of the most significant identity transformations of adulthood (Golden, 2001; Maushart, 1999; Johnston & Swanson, 2007). For women in academia, motherhood is at times, described as living a "split life" (Hirikata & Daniluk, 2009, p. 287) whereby women do not feel they belong in the academy or the realm of non-academic mothers. Attributing the challenges associated with the newfound identity of motherhood to the rise of expert systems (Giddens 1990; Kedgley 1996), Golden (2001)

contends that this identity transformation is a further result of less proscribed models of

motherhood, the increasing pluralization of our social worlds and experiences, and the

increase in social learning through mediated experiences (Gumpert & Drucker 1998; as

cited in Johnston & Swanson, 2007). Furthermore, competing mothering ideologies also

place additional stress on mothers and reinforce good mothering and intensive mothering

ideologies (Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010; Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Rizzo et al, 2012).

Harper (2008) states that this negotiation in identity may contribute to role conflict and

guilt. Difficulties in this transition may be attributed to an increase in mental health issues

as well (Rizzo et al., 2012). Supporting this finding are the results of Jakubiec's (2011)

survey of 100 Canadian graduate student parents and the presence of mental health issues

and challenges that were shared by all of those who completed the online survey.

For some new mothers, their transition to motherhood is described as a paradox

between grieving who they once were, while simultaneously enjoying the fulfillment of

their new role (Kolman, 2016). This paradox may result in new mothers struggling to

maintain their pervasive self-identity as a mother, with their greater self-identity.

Struggling to grapple with their newfound identity among other mental health risk

factors, 13% of women who have just given birth experience a mental disorder, primarily

depression (World Health Organization, 2019). However, mental health problems are

often undiagnosed, because many of its core features such as fatigue and poor sleep are

also commonly associated with motherhood, the gender stereotype of what motherhood

should entail, and intensive mothering ideologies (Hays, 2003; World Health

Organization, 2019). Engaging in activities that new mothers enjoyed prior to becoming a

mom is a strategy that can help alleviate a lot of tension while navigating this novel and unfamiliar terrain (Kolman, 2016).

Attesting to the mental health benefits of motherhood, Iris noted that the activities she engages in with her son have helped her enjoy many different activities she would otherwise not be engaging in. She states:

> *When you have a child and you go home at 5 and then from until 8 or 9 when they go to bed, you're kind of forced to do fun things. I spend my weekends going to the water park or going to the zoo and stuff like that, and I think there's a real mental health benefit to that.*

Supporting the notion that parenting can actually contribute to an increased level of happiness, Nelson, Kushlev and Lyubomirsky (2014) found that age of mothers (and fathers) affects levels of happiness with middle-aged and older parents tending to be as happy or happier than their childless peers, while parents younger than 25 seem to experience less happiness. Related to this is the finding that older parents report feeling more mature, competent, and established than younger parents, while younger parents report more feelings of restlessness, isolation, and stress about finances. Having more emotional maturity, and more financial and material resources, assists with the stressors and strain of parenthood and increases overall levels of happiness (Nelson et al., 2014). Relating this finding back to on-campus resources is relevant in that access to resources and funding opportunities may increase the level of happiness for graduate student mothers and alleviate the additional stressors associated with being a graduate student and mother. However, Nelson et al. (2014) also suggest that the question of whether parents are more or less happy than their childless peers is not the most meaningful one. Differences in demographic factors (e.g., age, gender, socioeconomic status, child's age),

specific circumstances that relate to parents' happiness (and unhappiness), psychological

factors (e.g., social support) all work together to moderate parents' well-being.

Interestingly, differences in gender were apparent in the study conducted by

Nelson et al. (2014). Fatherhood is consistently associated with more benefits to well-

being, though the results for motherhood have been mixed. Fathers also report that time

spent with their child is primarily play and leisure time. Mothers, in some cultures on the

other hand, are more likely take on child-rearing responsibilities than fathers, which

could leave them with more daily stress. For Iris, a single mother, engaging in these

leisure type activities led to an increased level of overall happiness, and a reduction in her

levels of stress. This finding is consistent with Trussell (2015) that maintaining personal

leisure time (i.e., time spent embracing personal leisure activities and not family leisure

activities) contributes to mothers finding a sense of balance between work and family life

For Jennifer and Lucy, it was the feeling of "missing" out on the everyday tasks of

motherhood that lead to the opposite feelings, despite a sense of knowing it was all worth

it.

Supporting the notion that engagement in motherhood can increase levels of

happiness, Jennifer and Lucy both expressed a deep sense of "missing out", which often

lead to increased levels of stress and a general sense of unhappiness in that regard. In

their comments concerning the challenges of motherhood and academia, both women

expressed a sense of unhappiness and stress when they had to forego family activities,

and a sense of joy in fulfillment when they were able to "make up for it." This is

consistent with Nelson et al.'s (2013) finding that when the positive affect parents

experience while taking care of their children is compared with that experienced during

the rest of the day, childcare is associated with greater positive affect than other daily activities.

Having just recently graduated from her graduate program at the time of the focus group session, Lucy expressed her sheer sense of happiness related to being able to be more present in the parenting process and enjoy more leisurely activities with her children, "Oh my gosh. I want to spend every second with them now to kind of make up what I've missed." Using this as an incentive to carry herself through the program, it was this time with her children that primarily motivated her to complete graduate studies. Likewise, Jennifer spoke of her increased level of happiness when she was able to complete school related tasks when her children were in school and had a greater understanding of what she was doing, "when the kids got older they understood that mommy has to do her work and the more mommy works on it, the faster I'm going to be done." For these women, leisurely engagement with their children were not only mental health buffers, but also a primary reason and motivation in completing their graduate studies.

Finally, it is worth noting that even when the women experienced marital tensions due to their dynamic with their partner or shifting roles in their household due to the demands of graduate studies, they still felt it was worth it. For Angela, returning to graduate studies after having her son placed the most tension on her marriage, but she continued to focus on the personal and academic benefits of being a graduate student mother. This focus helped alleviate the stressors associated with the newfound tensions of graduate studies and motherhood:

I guess at first it was pretty rough [the transition of returning to graduate

studies]. I expected to come back to school and just fall back into place, but I had had a year of maternity leave from work and I came back, and it was completely different. I didn't really have any time management skills because I could stay up until 3am when I was single with no kids, right? I guess it caused a lot of problems in my house and I just felt guilty all the time. But I think I've turned the corner and I guess in the long run it's going to make me stronger as an academic.

Time management, focusing on the end goal, and engaging in as many leisurely activities with and without their children allowed some of the women in this study to achieve a greater sense of well-being and overall happiness in being a graduate student mother. Engaging in the everyday tasks of motherhood also contributed to a greater sense of happiness, as was demonstrated when levels of happiness tended to decrease when the opportunity to do so was interfered by academic tasks.

Conclusion

These findings, along with their remarkable experience, allowed the women in this study to offer great insight and advice for those considering becoming a mother in graduate school or for those who already are managing this dual role. The women in this study cited key themes that are central to the discussion of otherhood and academia. Within the findings, the intersection of work and family, flexibility, mentoring and networking opportunities, and inconsistencies between intuitional and program policies offered many insights into the need for increased structural and policy supports for mothers on Ontario campuses. Despite the challenges the women faced in this chapter, an overall level of satisfaction in being a graduate student mother was a common experience and one that allowed the women to offer sound advice to other women considering motherhood. Advice offered by the women in this study for those considering motherhood and academia are offered below in the discussion section of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

Thorough analysis of the 11 semi-structured interviews and two focus group sessions revealed several conclusions which will be reviewed below. Broadly speaking, it is clear from the data that power and gender relations continue to exist within higher educational institutions and in ways that affect the experiences of graduate student mothers and faculty members. Highlighted within the findings, is that contrary to the historical legacy of male domination that continues to influence knowledge surrounding men's concerns (Stalker & Prentice, 1998), this norm has caused women's to be seen as different, and therefore, lesser and inferior. This not only leads to the glaring absence of graduate student mothers' experiences within the literature, but also illuminates the complex intersectionalities between social justice factors such as age, race, class, gender and their relationship to education. Throughout the interviews and focus groups, it was highly evident that graduate student mothers and faculty members who are mothers are still trapped inside a legacy of patriarchy. The existence and promotion of male dominance, male identification, and male centredness within higher education was consistent through each of the stories the women so graciously shared and key topics for this discussion.

Within each of the interviews, it was clear that many of the women expressed that they had support, and yet, continued to manage the majority of household tasks and logistical elements of their childcare scheduling. Often facing backlash for their dedication to their studies, the women in this study cited feeling they needed to prioritize their husband's self-care above their own, that they owed their husbands the time they

took away from their family, and that feelings of contention over their husbands assuming primary caregiving led to marital distress. Each of these circumstances demonstrate how male dominance infiltrates not only at the institutional level, but also the home. While the women in this study stated that their husbands were supportive of their studies, many women also simultaneously stated that they were taking on and facing a double day, sometimes triple, day. Aida, recognized this pattern and stated that, in relation to her husband's assistance within the home, she would have demanded more assistance from him by stating, "In fact, if I had to do it all over again, I think I would be demanding of a little more support from my husband." The acceptance of their husbands performing less domestic work can be interpreted as a sign of superiority, a trained incapacity that inadvertently protects their privileged status as men (Johnson, 2007). When their husbands expressed disarray with their role as primary caregivers, this created tension within their marriage and also demonstrates that many felt the work of a woman was inferior to their status as a man.

In addition to male dominance demonstrated through unequal divisions of household labour, many women also experienced how higher educational institutions, as well as the home, are very male identified. All too common was the difficulty many women faced with scheduling of courses, the work and family interface, double day, and challenges in securing affordable and convenient childcare options. What this demonstrates is that the idea of an academic career trajectory is designed on the basis and assumption that assume the career holder or graduate student has something like a wife at home to perform the vital work of raising children or performing the domestic related tasks (Johnson, 2007). The provision of effective and affordable childcare options for

working mothers and graduate students would allow women to attend to caring functions, which society values so highly- on a sentimental level. Negotiations with their new identities as mothers also demonstrated how many women who stand in a world beyond a caring sphere often finds themselves having to choose between two cultural images of who she is and who she ought to be (Johnson, 2007). This was exhibited by Sandra as she recounts her transition to new motherhood upon returning to her graduate studies:

> *It's been tough. Ya. It's been really tough. The first transition to motherhood of course was tough. But I think…I think I was expecting it to be tough, but it's a little but more challenging than I thought so I'm really hoping that (pause)... I just started back in the beginning of the semester in September so I'm really hoping that the more I get into a routine, the less challenging it'll get.*

Expecting how tough the transition would be, Sandra continued to describe how she is constantly negotiating between her two identities as mother and graduate student. Noticing the small space for the responsibilities of motherhood within the sphere of graduate studies, Sandra and many of the other women noticed how ideal student and worker norms utilize a male model as the standard for preferability and acceptability (Johnson, 2007).

In addition to the example of the women's experiences with male dominance and male identifications, male centredness was also at the forefront of the interviews and discussions with the participants. Although this study focused on the experiences of women graduate students and women faculty members, a great majority of the interviews centered on their husband's experiences with support, childcare, guilt, self-care, and their overall level of happiness or unhappiness. The tendency for the women to revert the conversations back to how their partners felt as a result of their graduate student or faculty careers demonstrates how far too often, the focus of attention is primarily on men

and what they do or feel. Oftentimes, the women in the study would reflect or amplify their husband's level of support with childcare or domestic tasks, all the while disregarding their own efforts, which were far greater. Male centredness was particularly evident in the conversations about how their husbands became resentful with having to take on the role of the primary caregiver. According to Johnson (2007) "when men's reflection is obscured by the reality and demands of women's own lives, men are vulnerable to feeling left out and neglected" (p. 12). This quotation supports the idea that when the men took on a larger bulk of the caregiving tasks, they often felt neglected, which caused the women to focus more on their husband's feelings and needs for self-care at the expense of their own. These findings are often unnoticed given the scarcity of research on the topic of women's and mother's experiences within higher education.

The absence of literature surrounding the topic of mothers and higher education also speaks to the hidden preference for Eurocentric student representations (i.e., white, able-bodied men). This lack of representation, both in the literature and statistical data, served as the foundation for intersectionality in the education sector and the oppression that continues to flourish among minority graduate students. In order to highlight these intersectionalities between social justice factors and education, an examination of the barriers graduate student mothers encounter was essential. The types of barriers that were examined include institutional barriers (e.g., organizational policies and practices), cultural/societal barriers (e.g., societal norms and expectations), and personal barriers (e.g., individual feelings, thoughts, behaviours that are a by-product of other barriers). Emerging from these barriers, this study offers five key findings that help shed light on the experiences of graduate student mothers in a Southwestern Ontario university. A

summary of these themes contributes to the discussion of motherhood and academia.

Intersection of Work and Family

The intersection of work and family was present in each of the interviews with the women. Whether it was in the discussion of time management or personal sacrifice, the intersection of work and family was the most common, and complex of all themes. Within this particular theme was four additional subthemes that emerged during the analysis. First, in order to manage the demands of work and family, many of the mothers noted that they developed a strong ability to strategically plan and manage their time. Attempting to complete academic related tasks during their child's sleeping hours, school hours, or extracurricular activities, many of the women felt the pressures of being an academic mother during these times. Feeling the effects of role strain and the double day, many women carefully navigated this challenge by delegating childcare responsibilities to their partners or family and friends, battling feelings of mother guilt, and sacrificing their own personal desires for the sake of their family. Doing so was not an easy feat as many mothers reported many negative side effects of attempting to do so. These included: immense feelings of guilt, tensions between wanting to be a "good student" and "good mother" (Anaya, 2012), exhaustion due to the pressures of the double day (Kramarae, 2001; Hochschild, 2003), and finally, marital conflict as a result of role delegation and as a consequence to that, resentment by their spouse or partner. For example, when husbands were required to take on more of the domestic tasks, this at times lead to resentment and marital distress. After graduating, some mothers felt as though they owed time back to their husbands for the time they lost from their own self-care routines and activities, even if it meant even less time for their own. When a greater

sense of work-life balance was present, a greater sense of overall happiness followed suit.

When academic tasks and work called for the mothers to be more absent from familial

obligations, a strong sense of mother guilt arose leading to a decline in general happiness.

The challenges related to this theme, especially the sacrifices they felt their families has

to make during their graduate school experiences, caused many of the women to feel as

though they needed to a break upon graduation. Even if the women wanted to pursue a

doctoral degree, they felt as though they could not "put their families through" the

demands of graduate school again, or so soon after. Placing their desire to further pursue

another graduate degree was a common result of this outcome. While in their current

programs however, in order to alleviate the effects of mother guilt, role strain, and marital

conflict, many of the mothers also called upon extended support systems such as

immediate and extended family members, friends within their program, and childcare

services in the city. This however posed many additional challenges to their ability to

network effectively. The importance of a strong mentor was crucial for many women in

their overall level of success in their graduate program.

Mentoring and Networking

Within the theme of mentoring and networking, both positive and negative

experiences arose from the conversations. Citing mostly positive relationships with their

mentors/faculty advisors, many women reported that having a mentor who supported

their role as a mother, was critical. The support of their immediate faculty supervisor was

one of the most crucial relationships the women had, often naming them their strongest

mentor in their graduate program experience. Conversely, according to Lynch (2008),

those who experience a lack of support from their faculty and advisors experience high

levels of dissatisfaction within their academic environment. Many women attributed their success in the program to their understanding, compassion, and empathy for the demands in their own personal life, as well as the space to manage them. A strong sense of gratitude was present in the conversations surrounding their faculty members. The support the women received from their advisor is essential, since support and strong mentoring from faculty is attributed to both overall levels of satisfaction in student programs, as well as higher retention rates among graduate students (Kovach et al., 2009; Shelton, 2003). Citing a strong sense of comfort, understanding, and ease, the demands of networking were alleviated through the support of their advisors. Inviting their children to participate in after-school activities within the department, many women continued to be able to be present for additional faculty functions. Some women, however, did not always experience a positive support system from faculty members.

With the exception of most faculty supervisors, some women did report being discriminated against for being a mother. Reports of horizontal violence (Freire, 2000) from faculty members, alongside tremendous demands for face time and classroom presence, were present in the discussion of mentoring and networking. Consistent with the literature (Hirikata & Daniluk, 2009), participants' experiences of horizontal violence were more common among female-oriented faculties and between women in positions of power. Salient messages of incompatibility between motherhood and academia were often present in the discussions with faculty and persuaded some of the women's desire to pursue a career in academia. These messages, along with direct personal experiences of balancing motherhood and academia, had the ability to either persuade or dissuade graduate students from exploring various avenues within their field of study, leading to

an increase in stress and indecisiveness. Institutional and program policies unfortunately lead to more feelings of stress, as a result of their inconsistencies with one another.

Inconsistencies Between Institutional and Program Policies

The largest inconsistency between institutional and program policies was found in the area of leave policies and paid maternity leave from the government. Experiences differed for graduate students and faculty members/sessional instructors. This difference is noted mostly to the paid and unpaid leaves that characterize paid employment maternity leaves and unpaid student maternity leaves. What was common among both groups of participants was the fear of retribution if the entire duration of their leave was utilized. Citing the perception of being viewed as less committed to their academics, the instability of precarious employment, and possibility of being overlooked for new contracts, creating noticeable gaps in their curriculum vitae, lack of insurable hours, and financial implications, the majority of mothers did not, or could not, utilize their maternity leave benefits (paid or unpaid).

Concerning maternity leave from their graduate program, some mothers returned to their studies within weeks of giving birth, while others chose to take a full 12-month maternity leave from their program. The financial, academic, and personal repercussions of taking a maternity leave became even more apparent when discussing this topic with sessional and faculty employees. Regarding paid maternity leave from the government, some of the graduate student mothers simply did not have enough insurable hours to receive a paid maternity leave and had to immediately return to their studies as a source of income. Faculty and sessional instructors noted the implicit messages from other faculty members regarding the utilization of maternity leave and felt the presence of a

maternal wall should they take the leave in its entirety, despite their legal and contracted right to do so. Discussions of returning to work revealed a consistent new theme concerning the lack of resources on campus for working mothers and graduate student mothers.

Support from Faculty but a Lack of Support from the University as a Whole

Although many women reported a high degree of satisfaction with their immediate academic faculty and departments, they simultaneously reported that they were dissatisfied with the lack of access and information to various resources. Beginning with childcare, this was the largest area of frustration and lack of information. Many of the women stated they were not aware of any on or near campus childcare. Untimely correspondence from the near campus childcare added to their level of frustration as well as incompatibility between hours of operation and hours of courses.

When the women had to be on campus, the lack of available space to breastfeed posed as a challenge. The lack of pumping rooms, parking, walkway safety in the winter months, and accessibility to various departments and buildings was a commonly cited barrier and indicator of a quiet or hidden preference for childless women on campus. When these issues were brought to administration's attention, for example, trying to obtain the space for a lactation room, the issue was determined to not be a "women's safety issue", despite the direct implications for women's health and safety by not being able to breastfeed their child while on campus or pump their breasts to relieve discomfort and avoid complications such as mastitis and plugged milk ducts. Given this list of absent on campus resources, it is in no way surprising that many graduate student mothers experience a "chilly climate" during their graduate student careers (Williams, 2004;

Williams 2007). However, despite the challenges posed by this chilly climate and lack of access to resources, many women in this student continued to achieve an overall level of satisfaction in being, or having been, a graduate student mother.

An Overall Level of Satisfaction in Being or Having Been a Graduate Student Mother

Despite the understandable difficulty inherent in being a graduate student and mother, each participant, to some degree, expressed a sense of satisfaction and fulfillment in having completed or currently completing graduate school, while simultaneously being a mother. For each of the women, their child(ren) were the primary source of fulfillment because of the example they were setting for them. The benefits of being a graduate student mother included the cited advantage of flexibility (i.e., for tenured faculty) despite the cautionary literature against that widely held belief, the feeling that the academic journey they were embarking on would be worth it in the end because of greater job opportunities (e.g., increased pay, more job options), the opportunity to engage in a variety of activities with their child(ren) leading to a decrease in stress levels, engagement in scholarly conversation and discussions, and the maintenance of their self-identities of being scholars. The experiences encountered in the women's academic journeys had valuable advice to offer other women who may be balancing or consider balancing family and academia.

Prior to this study, the experiences of graduate student mothers focused primarily on those within an American context (e.g., Kemkes-Grottenhaler, 2003; O'Laughlin & Bischoff, 2005; Mason & Goulden, 2002). An abundance of research, also American, focuses on the undergraduate student experience of mothers (e.g., Werth & Johsnon,

2010; Beeler, 2016; Ruiz, 2010; Yakaboski, 2010) and the experiences of tenured faculty (e.g., Mason & Goulden, 2002; Connelly & Ghodsee, 2011; Trussell, 2015). A comprehensive search of Canadian graduate student mothers' experiences yielded one relevant study, conducted in Saskatchewan (see for example, McCutcheon & Morrison, 2018). This particular study focused on both the experiences of current faculty women and graduate students, both within the faculty of psychology, and was mostly limited to the topic of work-family conflict. Concentrating on concerns of motherhood, this study does not incorporate the positive elements of motherhood and academia. Failure to incorporate the positive elements of academia and motherhood limits the discussion of the topic and may pathologize the subject of women and academia. When it is assumed there are only concerns to draw from the topic, the researcher(s) omits a layer of information that some women may find highly relevant and relatable. Research on the topic of motherhood, particularly graduate student mothers within an Ontario context, is quite limited. Conducting research that allows for a broader exploration of experiences is critical. Doing so may provide a greater understanding of a large scope of experiences, both positive and negative. This in turn may potentially improve the overall culture of higher education within that specific campus, and quite possibly, extend into the homes of those still compounded by limitations in unequal divisions of domestic labour.

Conducting a study on the experiences of graduate student mothers within a Southwestern Ontario context is, to my knowledge, the first of its kind. Past studies have been conducted in different provinces (i.e., Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan), but have either not included different faculty perspectives (e.g., McCutcheon & Morrison, 2018) or have included the perspectives of fathers and mothers (e.g., Jakubiec, 2017).

Concentrating on the perspectives of tenured and untenured women (see for example Hirikata & Daniluk, 2009), studies often exclude the perspectives of graduate student mothers. Other studies concerning student parents in Ontario have included undergraduate perspectives (e.g., Rhijn, Quosai, & Lero, 2011) without a utilizing a gendered lens specific to the experiences of mothers, failing to account for graduate student mothers' experiences which are often cited as similar to those of faculty members (Brown & Nichols, 2012; Allen, 2014). Incorporating the experiences of former graduate student mothers as well as faculty members who were mothers at the time of their graduate school careers, makes this study unique and a starting point for further discussions of motherhood and higher education. This uniqueness of the study may offer multiple contributions to the field of higher education and study of motherhood in the several ways.

First, the very act of sharing one's experiences of motherhood and academia paves the way forward for discussions that involve gender and gender relations and highlights the ways in which higher academic institutions can evolve. Since higher education is based primarily on a male normative model, women faculty and graduate students may avoid these discussions out of fear of retribution for their motherhood status (Armenti, 2004). However, engaging in these discussions and sharing experiences of motherhood and academia can help others to see that it is in fact possible to balance both. Second, sharing experiences and bringing the topic of motherhood and academia to the forefront may alleviate the perceived belief that academia and motherhood are mutually incompatible causing many talented women to shy away from a career in academia due to perceived androcentric norms. For example, Young and Holley (2005) found that women

who perceive androcentric norms surrounding work and parenting perceive a career in academia and childrearing to be incompatible. This has critical implications for the attraction and retention of women in academia, which in turn affects the types of research being conducted. A discussion of this second contribution of research on academia and motherhood warrants a deeper discussion as its implications are so widespread.

Though not an easy feat, shared experiences may uncover practical strategies for managing both roles and lessen the perceived challenges. This perceived incompatibility of motherhood and academia has proven to be a large factor in deterring women from academia altogether. For example, Adamo (2013) found that women in the field of biological sciences shied away from academia entirely due to the perceived challenges and consequences for women balancing the demands of the work and family interface. Including the stories of women who are currently in these fields may attract more women, leading to greater retention of women faculty and graduate students. This is important because research will include the perspectives of women and these perspectives become disseminated (Schiebinger, 2017; National Science Foundation, 2019). Rather than perpetuating research that is largely homogenous and derived from the perspectives of white heterogeneous men, research may be far more diverse if more women are included and retained in academia. Further, Schiebinger (2017) contends that as more women get involved in the sciences- or any field historically dominated by men- the general knowledge in that field tends to expand. Schiebinger (2017) also maintains that there is a direct link between increase in number of women and outcome in knowledge. As such, more women are needed in research to increase the range of research and breakthroughs that come from looking at problems differently than men

typically do. Including gender in research could attract more women as well because careers and avenues of research can become more relevant to women and the issues that impact their lives directly (Del Giudice, 2014). Engaging in dialogue about motherhood and academia not only draws attention to the challenges faced by graduate students and faculty mothers, but also provides women with the opportunity to share helpful advice that other women contemplating motherhood and academia or living the experience of balancing motherhood and academia, may find particularly valuable. Shared below are words of advice from current graduate student mothers, recently graduated mothers, and women faculty/sessional who are mothers or were mothers at the time of their graduate student careers.

Advice from Graduate Student Mothers and Faculty

A key goal of this research was to begin and continue on a dialogue of the experiences graduate student mothers face while balancing these two roles. Through interviews and a focus group discussion, this research aimed to uncover a variety of experiences, both positive and negative, in the hopes that all career aspirations and avenues can be thoughtfully explored and serve as a model for those in similar situations. The topics of advice here range from emotional coping skills, practical and logistical advice for both the university and mothers, pedagogical advice for faculty and sessional employees in higher education.

Advice concerning the emotional demands of being a graduate student mother and faculty/sessional employee at the university were the highest in frequency. Perhaps related to their own unique challenges, each participant touched upon their own struggles when thinking of what type of advice to offer future or current graduate

student mothers. For example, Lucy (near completion of her master's degree) offered

cautionary advice for the wave of guilt that may infiltrate graduate student mothers, but

added a positive note that it is indeed a short-term sacrifice for a long-term outcome:

> *Wow that is a good question* **[What advice would you offer to other future or current graduate student mothers?]**. *Um I would definitely say just be prepared for the guilt. I hate to like to put a damper on it but it's hard. It's a struggle but they're* **[child(ren)]** *also the driving force of it. It'll be worth it in the end but it's difficult. I'm sure it doesn't matter how old your kids are. I thought it would be easier when they're younger, but it's tougher when they're younger… but definitely do it. It'll be worth it in the end. It's a short-term pain for a long-term gain. And you have other mom friends to help you.*

Offering similar advice, Christina (tenured faculty) reflectively recalls the need to

"compartmentalize one's self and the importance of summoning personal strength and

passion for academia:

> *You have to compartmentalize your life a little bit…that of mother, that of partner, wife, family member, then student. And then employee too. Friend if you have time [laughter]. You have to have a life. But what's wrong with having a full life? There will be times when you have challenges but keep the passion and decide why are you doing this. I've talked about being in with a group of people that are like no others in terms of the intellectuality. I just can't believe how smart some people are. It's such a gift to talk to them.*

Other women focused on offering recommendations for institutional change. This advice

stems from their experience with lack of information and frustration with navigating

masculine workplace norms that are embedded in their institution and caused them to

experience a tension in balancing their academic and family roles. This was especially

true for Aida (faculty employee). Her advice was directed at the university and

dissemination of information:

> *I don't know* **[pause]**. *I would almost give more advice to the institution that they coalesce the information and make it more accessible. Like they really need to get the information out there. It should be very visible on the website. You should be able to google mother in the search engine and it should be able to give you all the information.*

Expanding her thoughts, Aida continues to suggest that the university offer training on how to recognize and cope with the complexities involved in different family dynamics. To date, the only required training for faculty members includes Health & Safety in the Workplace, WHMIS, and Violence & Harassment Prevention in the Workplace Awareness Training (University of Windsor, 2019). Aida then redirects her advice back to graduate students or faculty members and suggests having a support group that may or may not be facilitated by the university:

> *Maybe just some sort of job training on how we can deal with people's families. Some people are caring for disabled partners… I mean there's a whole range of dependent situations. Advice I would give, I don't know [pause]… get a network of friends, maybe the university can facilitate that by having groups that get together? That would be great. That would be really great.*

As variable as funding opportunities and paid leaves, institutional support in the form of support groups highly variable and typically dependent upon student organizers. A limitation to this suggestion is the business of this particular demographic population on campus, as well as limited meeting spaces. Offering training to effectively manage the demands of different familial circumstances is a mere bandage solution to changing the overall campus culture and masculine-normative institutional policies and practices that guide academics' behaviour around work and family roles (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2018).

Continuing with advice for the practical, emotional, and pragmatic components of being a graduate student mother, Iris (second year PhD student) offers her advice around drawing on support, the importance of accepting help, and emphasizes the importance of faculty support:

I think if you're in a research program, having a supervisor or faculty members in your programs that are supportive is important. I'm somebody who doesn't like people to help me, so when my friends offered to watch my son I said "I'll pay you! I don't want to put this burden on you." I think really allowing people to help you is also really important because nobody can do everything on their own especially when you're taking on so many things. It's okay to take help from people.

For Iris, social support and faculty support are two key elements that have contributed to her success in the program thus far. Again, the emphasis on faculty support and mentorship permeated the discussion of advice and supports the notion that the negative rather than affirmative messages about having a child(ren) in graduate school, as well as perpetual reminders of the difficulties they will experience if they pursue academia and incorporate motherhood into their lives simultaneously (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2018), are not the type of mentoring graduate students are striving for. The incorporation of positive advice and useful strategies can send a more welcoming and hospitable environment for graduate students with families and warm up the often cited "chilly" (Williams, 2004; Williams 2007) culture of higher academic campuses.

Offering advice to fellow faculty and sessional employees, Lisa (sessional instructor) discusses the importance of opening a dialogue on family matters and inviting students to do the same. She also recognizes the importance of modelling the management of her two simultaneous roles:

If you're teaching as a grad **[graduate]** *student, to try to be open about that with your students... about that journey... motherhood and academia and what it's like navigating that. I don't know what your experiences have been, but I didn't talk about that at all for a couple of years. And it's only been within the last couple of years that I did talk about those experiences because I did feel quite strongly that that would label me... as a young woman that is aspiring for tenure track position. What does it mean if you're putting your family ahead of your career? I* **AM** *putting my family ahead of my career, and I think that if we, as a community, to talk about those things, the more those stigmas will hopefully start to disappear.*

What's important to note here however, is that although Lisa suggests that graduate students discuss their experiences, she discusses her former hesitation in doing so as a paid employee of the university. If you recall, Lisa was one of the many sessional instructors that did not take a full maternity leave:

> *I was already a sessional here I was in the hospital having her for one of the classes and I was back the next week and my son the students were on practicum and I didn't miss I don't think I missed any classes with him actually. That's just kind of how it had to go.* **[Did you feel like you would've been able to?]**. *I believe that our collective agreement says 5 weeks for sessional instructors; however, when you have precarious employment, it's not in your best interest to take those up.*

Reflecting William's (2010) argument that society perceives these actions as a "choice" many women do so because of the masculine workplace norms that are deeply entrenched in higher educational institutions. While she speaks of the importance for graduate students in particular to vocalize their experiences, she demonstrates, that doing so is not without consequence. Similar to Lisa, McCutcheon and Morrison (2016) found that participants in their studies also expressed 'grave' concern about the implications of these leaves, and how doing so may affect their ability to obtain funding and maintain eligibility for promotion (p. 245). Lisa's advice of speaking about family challenges notions of the "good" student/worker norms, as well as the notion of what constitutes a "good" mother. What is also significant about Lisa's advice, is that it touches upon the importance of the explicit and implicit messages being given on campus, which in turn affect the overall campus culture. McCutcheon and Morrison (2018) found that these messages about motherhood and academia serve to reinforce and perpetuate the masculine-normative model of the "ideal worker." Drawing on her past experiences of being one of the only mothers within her faculty with young children, Lisa stresses the

criticalness of why she feels she must include more discussions of family with her

students:

> *There are now folks on faculty who have young kids, but there weren't when I had my two. There was no one else who was pregnant, no one else with infants, no one else with toddlers, and so... you do feel... **and** I'm a sessional on top of all that. And I'm young, and I **look** young, so you feel there are all those factors weighing on you and you read the experiences that others have you know... quite terrible sometimes, you know... of being ostracized, or being gossiped about, or being viewed in a certain way. And I just felt there was too much at stake. Now I feel there's just too much at stake not to.*

Speaking to the pressures felt as a sessional bound to precarious employment, Lisa feared

being viewed as less committed than her counterparts; a fear often expressed by women

faculty (Williams, 2005) and had a firsthand of the maternal wall when she noticed that

she was seemingly the only woman in her faculty that was pregnant. This led to feelings

of fear of retribution, and the need to closet her motherhood, until recently. Noting the

implicit messages being sent in not discussing motherhood in years past, Lisa now

recognizing the importance in doing so in order to challenge these messages of exclusion:

> *As my children have grown and as my time here at the faculty has increased, I have started being more upfront with my students...* **[by stating]** *"I have small children at home, if you don't receive a response from me on the weekends it's because I have other responsibilities."*

The importance of encouraging a discussion of the work-family interface is salient in

Lisa's advice and a critical component to the attraction and retention of women graduates

students. Messages of acceptance and inclusion refute the widespread belief that the two

roles are incompatible and may decrease the tendency for women graduate students with

children to avoid a career in academia based on preconceived notions of work and family

(Mason et al., 2013). Lisa then continues to touch upon the implications of power

dynamics for novice sessional instructors, whom are largely dependent on high course

evaluations and peer referrals for potential tenure track positions:

> *And I didn't used to do that and that was a mistake, I think. I used to be very wary about talking about family in the classroom because it would stigmatize me as a young female. It probably still does. But I had a couple of students ask me "you know… you have kids how do you do this teaching thing and this kid thing?" and I went home, and I remember thinking to myself… I have done these students a disservice by not talking about family because they don't see young female mothers in roles like the one that I have and that's colouring their perception of what is possible and what is impossible… and if we don't change the conversation, it's just going to continue status quo.*

The power dynamics of Lisa as a novice sessional employee did not afford her to do so.

People in low-power positions are more hesitant to share their personal views and often

sensor these views if they are shared (Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson, 2003). For

women, speaking honestly about a personal view, while in the workplace, carries with it

additional fears of how topics such as motherhood are perceived (Sandberg, 2009). In

Lisa's case, her fear of openly discussing family stemmed from how that discussion could

be perceived. Would her students view her as less committed to her teaching? Would she

be taken less seriously than her male counterparts if she openly discussed motherhood?

After realizing the importance of openly discussing family, her fear of others' perceptions

was outweighed by the criticalness to unveil the multidimensional lives of women in

academia.

Supporting the notion that academia and motherhood are indeed compatible roles,

Mary offered her encouragement to prospective graduate student mothers, but again

reverted back to the need to adjust enrollment status. This advice supports the notion of

compatibility, but also reinforces the reality that oftentimes, mothers are faced with the

challenge of balancing these two roles due to scheduling conflicts and role strain:

It is totally feasible and not to be scared to take the plunge in having a family during this academic progress. Emphasis should be placed on just trying to stay organized and having a very supportive group of people who will help you through the process including faculty. One should continue to stay in open communication with staff so you can plan ahead and either evaluate and look at taking the option of doing part-time depending on your own situation and schedule.

The commonality of adjusting enrollment status has implications for policies and procedures for doing so. Currently, many graduate programs limit graduate students' ability to easily do so. Instructions for the application for status change include the following five regulations:

"In order to change to part-time status, a student must have fulfilled the residency requirement of her/his program and must be registered as a full-time student. Changing to part-time does not extend the student's time limit. This form must be completed by the student and submitted to the Department for recommendation. Recommendation is required by the Advisor(s) and the Department Head or Graduate Coordinator. This form must be forwarded to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for approval by the Dean/Associate Dean before the end of the second week of the term. Once a decision has been made by the Faculty of Graduate Studies, notification will be sent via email to the Department and to the student" (University of Windsor, 2019).

Further, citing "financial implications for the University" additional stipulations for status application changes include:

"Changing status from full- to part-time has financial implications for the University and will not be granted for financial reasons alone. Starting a full-time job, medical issues which make it difficult to study full-time, or changes in the student's domestic responsibilities from the time of initial registration (e.g. having a baby) are examples of conditions which would likely lead to a change in status. All of these conditions require the student to submit documentation to support his/her claim. In the case of full-time employment, the student should submit an offer of employment and pay stubs (with pay rate or salary blacked out) to show that the work is full-time" (University of Windsor, 2019).

Applications are ultimately granted approval or denied based on the adjudication of the Faculty of Graduate Studies. Applications can be denied despite citing changes in

domestic responsibilities, as was the case for my very own initial change of status application form. Following a written appeal, from both myself and faculty advisor, the request was approved; however, having to file an appeal demonstrates that changes in enrollment status are not encouraged or an easy feat, again reinforcing the notions of an "good student" (Anaya, 2012, p. 19). These ideals challenge the feasibility of completing graduate studies and speak to the quiet or hidden preferences for the Eurocentric model of the typical graduate student. Revising the stringent conditions for making a change to enrollment status would ultimately benefit graduate student mothers given their increase in other familial demands so often cited in the literature (e.g., Hochschild, 2003; McCutcheon & Morrison, 2018; Mason & Goulden, 2003). Further recommendations for institutional change are discussed below as well as continued advice for those considering balancing academia and motherhood.

Advice offered by some of the women in this study ultimately supported the idea that motherhood and academia are in fact compatible roles. However, many of the women also added cautionary advice that dealt with the emotional, pragmatic, and logistical challenges of balancing these two roles. Offering advice for current and prospective graduate student mothers, as well as recommendations for institutional change, the women in this study felt it was critical to include discussions of work and family in the classroom in order to refute the widespread belief that the two roles cannot be balanced. The importance of drawing on support, accepting help, and emphasis on the significance of faculty support were noticeable topics and themes in the women's advice. The added feature of advice from current and former graduate student mothers, as well as faculty, is a key contribution of this study. These contributions, however, are not without

limitations. A discussion of these limitations is presented below.

Limitations of the Study

The primary limitation of this study was the demographic composition of the participants. This study focused primarily on the public and private sphere of work and family. With such a focus, it is important to note that the delineation of public and private work is largely accessible to white women (and men) with middle-and upper-middle class backgrounds (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Therefore, the context of the research itself and the women's different resources to balance both work and family, is an issue that is undoubtedly rooted in socioeconomic privilege (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012; Williams, 2000; Tuten & August, 2006). Most of the women in this study were white, heterosexual, able-bodied women, who had the resources to pursue post-graduate education. This absence of diversity within higher education highlights the complex intersectionality between social justice factors such as race, class, gender, sexuality and their relationship to motherhood and higher education. For many groups of historically disenfranchised women, work has always been a necessity, with little to no regard for how it impacts family formation (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Negotiating the tensions of work with other familial or extracurricular obligations within different norms of rules and expectations is not uncommon. However, the demographic composition of this study highlighted the presence of privilege in some cases, which ultimately allowed many of the women to focus solely on their graduate studies and motherhood, without the additional stressor of work within the public sphere.

Therefore, although the women were facing structural and institutional challenges based on gender, they also benefited from a privilege system based on race, class and

ableism. The absence of diversity was a finding that speaks volumes to the quiet or hidden preference for the 'ideal student' referred to earlier (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012; Drago, 2007; Somerville, 2000). These demographics further limit the ability of this study's external validity.

Another limitation that relates to the demographic composition of the participants is that this study focused solely on motherhood. While it is known that motherhood affects the trajectory of women's careers in ways that fatherhood does not (Mason and Goulden, 2002), it can also be argued that fathers also face challenges balancing their dual roles (Reddick, Rochlen, Grasso, Reilly, & Spikes, 2012). However, given the effects of the timing of having children for women, and the ways it undermines women's academic careers, the finding that family formation negatively affects women's, but not men's, academic careers was the primary impetus for exploring women's experiences only (Acker & Armenti, 2004; Butterwick & Dawson, 2005; Cummins, 2005; Huppatz, 2010; Knights & Richards, 2003; Krais, 2002). Exclusionary maternity leave policies, which identify women as the sole care provider, as well as a lack of adequate organizational structures on campus that support graduate student mothers, this study attempted to fill gaps that have been historically unattended to on higher educational campuses in order to pave the way forward for motherhood and academia in a Canadian context.

Recommendations

This study indicated multiple areas on campus that require significant improvement. To start, many women in this study highlighted the need for greater dissemination of information. It is clear that the university has been inadequate in

offering information and resources to graduate student mothers and faculty on a variety of topics. Concerning childcare, the near-campus daycare must improve upon their communication with graduate students. Far too often, the graduate students in this study expressed a lack of communication and correspondence when attempting to secure childcare in preparation for their return to graduate studies. It is acknowledged that the near-campus childcare centre did lower their minimum age requirement, which tremendously aids the women. However, this way forward is only beneficial when mothers can rely on prompt correspondence to secure a spot for their child.

Next, upon return to graduate studies, mothers should have a safe and private spot or room to breastfeed or pump their breasts, should the need arise. This also includes having the resources that keep their milk safe and fresh for their infants. Many mothers also expressed the desire to engage in group chats or meetings to share some of their most common challenges and share information with one another. The need for an on-campus establishment that handles matters related to family is quite apparent and is something the information form this study can assist with. However, unless the overall culture of the academy changes and unequal gender distributions of labour continue to exist within the home, academic mothers may not take advantage of these structural and institutional resources. Although the findings of this study highlighted the multiple implications for institutional and structural changes on campus, there is also a strong underpinning for mental health implications.

This study highlighted many instances where the mental health of graduate student mothers was brought to the forefront of the discussions. Through the semi-structured interviews and focus groups, it was evident that there needs to be a greater

awareness of the need for emotional support for graduate student mothers. The vulnerability and isolation inherent in many of the responses indicated a need for the campus to consider the many ways it may assist women in navigating the emotional terrain of graduate studies and motherhood. Time constraints and access to resources limited the amount of help many of the mother sought for themselves. Self-care was a luxury that oftentimes fell to the wayside, resulting in a decrease of overall mental health. On campus counsellors and counselling services would benefit from a discussion of the unique needs of this increasing graduate student population. Opening the conversation to the vulnerabilities and stressors common among graduate student mothers is another step that serves to improve the overall culture of the academy. Beginning to see these vulnerabilities as strengths demystifies and debunks the myth that vulnerability is weakness and destigmatizes feelings of vulnerability among scholars. This notion of vulnerability as strength and the implications for the negative perceptions of its exposure, is reinforced by Brown (2012) as she states, "vulnerability is about showing up and being seen. It's tough to do that when we're terrified about what people might see or think" (p. 135). In order for graduate student mothers to feel comfortable with expressing their sense of vulnerability and seeking the support they often strived for, the overall campus culture must demonstrate acceptance, tolerance, and a hospitable stance on motherhood and academia.

Making changes to the overall culture of the academy is seemingly, one the most difficult challenges of all. Although not identified as a major challenge in the interviews, the unequal division of domestic labour within the home is also a problematic challenge for the women in this study. Like all social systems, patriarchy is difficult to challenge

because its roots are complex and deeply entrenched in male-dominance, male-identification, male centredness, and control (Johnson, 2007). While the core-principles of patriarchy are deeply rooted, its trunk is mainly composed of the intuitions and institutional patterns that are shaped by its roots. The branches are the communities, organization, groups, and other systems where we live our lives. And finally, individuals are the leaves who draw their lives from the entire composition of the tree (Johnson, 2007). However, unless the root of the issue (i.e., core principles of patriarchy) are uprooted, the other recommendations are sure to breakdown. Challenging the unequal gender division of labour and power within the domestic and public spheres is an area that requires greater attention.

Returning to Aida's recommendations for institutional change, it seems practical for the university to offer sensitivity training to faculty and sessional instructors, as well as administrators. Doing so may assist them in recognizing their own explicit and implicit messages they are sending, as well as offer practical strategies in helping students manage the demands of the work and family interface. Not a far-fetched suggestion, some universities are taking to sensitivity training for faculty members and administrators (Lynch, 2008; Queen's University, 2019). Opportunities for faculty to learn how to effectively mentor graduate students would also ameliorate the many concerns with mentoring and networking. Similar to the recommendations made by McCutcheon and Morrison (2018), devising a committee to oversee the concerns and interests of those on campus would ensure that student and faculty concerns are being brought to the forefront and addressed. This would provide graduate student and employees to openly and anonymously discuss concerns without fear of retribution.

A final recommendation concerns the topics of mentoring, networking, and class scheduling. Often in this study, the women expressed their difficulties in attending functions that allowed for greater networking. Practical and logical limitations (e.g., finances, childcare, and scheduling conflicts) often limited the women from participating. Class schedules that catered to "good student" ideals also posed challenges for graduate students, with little institutional support in the way of childcare to counterweigh for these demands. Greater scheduling flexibility in the ways of online courses, local practicum placements, and offering networking opportunities during more convenient times were some of the ways the mothers in this study felt they would be better able to participate in them. Since patriarchy is male identified, its core cultural idea about what is considered good, desired, and preferable are associated with men. Challenging institutions to rethink their male-identified culture is key and may create a resemblance of core values that are better reflective of our society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Summary of Demographic Information of Faculty/Sessional Instructor Employees

Table 1

Summary of Demographic Information from Mothers in Faculty/Sessional Instructor Employee Positions

Name*	Christina	Jennifer	Angela	Aida	Lisa
Employment Position	Tenured Faculty	Sessional/ Clinical Instructor	Sessional Instructor	Faculty	Sessional Instructor
Number of Children	2	2	1	2	2
Highest Level of Education	PhD	Masters	Masters	Masters	PhD
Year(s) of Study When First Pregnant	Prior to Graduate Studies	Year 1	Prior to Graduate Studies	Year 2	3rd & 4th Year
Marital Status	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married
Age in Years	**	39	36	44	33
Age in Years at Child's Birth	** & **	30 & 33	31	26	26 & 28

Note. Names have been changed to participants' assigned pseudonyms

Appendix B: Summary of Demographic Information of Mothers in Graduate Programs/Recently Graduated

Table 2

Summary of Demographic Information of Mothers in Graduate Programs/Recently Graduated

Name*	Lucy	Zara	Iris	Sandra	Marian	Mary
Year of Study	Graduated in 2018	Graduated in 2018	Year 4	Year 2	Graduated in 2015	Graduated in 2017
Number of Children	2	1	1	1	2	2
Highest Level of Education	Masters	Masters	Masters (Year 3 MA/PhD Program)	Masters (Year 2 PhD)	Masters	Masters
Year(s) of Study When First Pregnant	Prior to Graduate Studies	Year 1	Prior to Graduate Studies	Year 2	Year 1	Year 1
Marital Status	Married	Married	Recently Married	Married	Married	Married
Age in Years	34	28	28	30	36	32
Age in Years at Child's Birth	29 & 31	27	21	29	30	29

Note. Names have been changed to participants' assigned pseudonyms

Appendix C: Consent to Participate in Research Form

**CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

**Title of Study: Motherhood and Academia: Exploring the Experiences of Graduate
Student and Faculty Mothers within the Southwestern Ontario Context**

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by **Kimberly Hillier, under
the supervision of Faculty Advisor,** ███████████████ , from the **Faculty of
Education** at the ██████████████ . The results and data collected from this study
will be used in the doctoral student, Kimberly Hillier's, doctoral dissertation.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel to contact faculty
advisor, ██████████████ , **at the Faculty of Education** *via email*
██████████████

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY
The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between gender/gender roles,
graduate studies, and motherhood. This study seeks to explore the experiences of
graduate student mothers and faculty from a variety of disciplines. This includes pregnant
graduate students, graduate student mothers with child(ren) of any age, former graduate
student mothers within a 5-year time period, and faculty members who were mothers at
the time of their graduate studies. This study is being conducted in order to understand
and identify the various and complex experiences mothers have had with balancing
graduate studies and parenting. This study is also intended to fill an existing gap in the
Canadian literature on the experiences of graduate student mothers. Doing so will allow
the principal investigator, participants, university administration, and all members of
society to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between gender, graduate
studies, and motherhood.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study's semi-structured interview, you will be asked
to participate in a semi-structured interview regarding your experiences pertaining to
motherhood and graduate studies. The interviews are anticipated to be approximately 1
hour in length and at a location that is most convenient for you. All participants have the
option of participating in a follow up focus group. Parking expenses will be compensated
if required. If interested, you may opt-in to participate in the focus group session, by
selecting the option of the letter of consent. A variety of venue options for the interviews
will be presented.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Given the personal nature of the experiences that may come forth, participants may feel a sense of distress or emotional stress. A list of contacts that may be of benefit to graduate student mothers and faculty members will be provided prior to commencing the interview.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

This study aims to bring forth new research on the topic of motherhood and graduate studies, which in turn will provide a forum for voices that have typically been overlooked in the past. By providing graduate student mothers with an opportunity to discuss their experiences with motherhood, this study may allow you to critically reflect on the current status of women and higher education, as well as parenting. By engaging in critical dialogue about your experiences with graduate studies and motherhood, this research will assist in developing greater understanding about the social structures that oppress some members of society, while advantaging others.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION
In appreciation of your participation, all participants will be given a $10 gift card to Tim Hortons at the time of the interview. Parking payment will be paid for by the principal researcher in the form of direct payment at the time of the interview or focus group or by issuing a refund for the parking costs at the time of the interview.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. All participants will be given a pseudonym for data collected during the semi-structured interviews. During the semi-structured interviews, audio digital recording will be utilized to record participants' verbal reflections on motherhood and graduate studies. Only in the event that faculty disclosure is relevant to the literature being discussed, your faculty membership will not be disclosed. If faculty membership is pertinent to the research, the exact faculty will not be mentioned, but the general grouping will be (i.e., Arts and Social Sciences, STEM, etc). All transcripts and audio recordings of the interview will be discarded by the principal researcher after the dissertation has been defended.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You have the right to withdraw from this study at any given point and time. Should you choose to withdraw from the study, you may keep the gift card.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

Upon completion of the study, you will be emailed an electronic copy of the project summary. A reader-friendly summary of findings will also be made available online at ████████████.

Web address: ██████████████
Date when results are available: March 2017

SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in subsequent studies, in publications and in presentations.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, █████████████, ██████, Ontario, N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: ethics@uwindsor.ca
SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE
I understand the information provided for the study **Motherhood & Academia: Exploring the Experiences of Graduate Student Mothers** as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____
    Name of Participant

_____   _____
    Signature of Participant   Date
SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

_____   _____

Appendix D: Consent to Participate in Research Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
FOCUS GROUP SESSION

Title of Study: Motherhood and Academia: Exploring the Experiences of Graduate Student and Faculty Mothers within the Southwestern Ontario Context

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by **Kimberly Hillier, under the supervision of Faculty Advisor,** ███████████████, from the **Faculty of Education** at the ████████████. The results and data collected from this study will be used in the doctoral student, Kimberly Hillier's, doctoral dissertation.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel to contact faculty advisor, ██████████████████, **at the Faculty of Education** *via email* ████████████

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY
The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between gender/gender roles, graduate studies, and motherhood. This study seeks to explore the experiences of graduate student mothers and faculty from a variety of disciplines. This includes pregnant graduate students, graduate student mothers with child(ren) of any age, former graduate student mothers within a 5-year time period, and faculty members who were mothers at the time of their graduate studies. This study is being conducted in order to understand and identify the various and complex experiences mothers have had with balancing graduate studies and parenting. This study is also intended to fill an existing gap in the Canadian literature on the experiences of graduate student mothers. Doing so will allow the principal investigator, participants, university administration, and all members of society to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between gender, graduate studies, and motherhood.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study's semi-structured interview, you will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview regarding your experiences pertaining to motherhood and graduate studies. Participants will be asked if they would like to participate in a subsequent focus group session. All participants have the option of participating in a follow up focus group. Parking expenses will be compensated if required. If interested, you may opt-in to participate in the focus group session, by selecting the option of the letter of consent. A variety of venue options for the interviews will be presented.
POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Given the personal nature of the experiences that may come forth, participants may feel a sense of distress or emotional stress. A list of contacts that may be of benefit to graduate student mothers and faculty members will be provided prior to commencing the interview.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

This study aims to bring forth new research on the topic of motherhood and graduate studies, which in turn will provide a forum for voices that have typically been overlooked in the past. By providing graduate student mothers with an opportunity to discuss their experiences with motherhood, this study may allow you to critically reflect on the current status of women and higher education, as well as parenting. By engaging in critical dialogue about your experiences with graduate studies and motherhood, this research will assist in developing greater understanding about the social structures that oppress some members of society, while advantaging others.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

In appreciation of your participation, all participants will be given a $10 gift card to Tim Hortons at the time of the interview. Parking payment will be paid for by the principal researcher in the form of direct payment at the time of the interview or focus group or by issuing a refund for the parking costs at the time of the interview.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. All participants will be given a pseudonym for data collected during the semi-structured interviews. During the semi-structured interviews, audio digital recording will be utilized to record participants' verbal reflections on motherhood and graduate studies. Only in the event that faculty disclosure is relevant to the literature being discussed, your faculty membership will not be disclosed. If faculty membership is pertinent to the research, the exact faculty will not be mentioned, but the general grouping will be (i.e., Arts and Social Sciences, STEM, etc). All transcripts and audio recordings of the interview will be discarded by the principal researcher after the dissertation has been defended.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You have the right to withdraw from this study at any given point and time. Should you choose to withdraw from the study, you may keep the gift card.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

Upon completion of the study, you will be emailed an electronic copy of the project summary. A reader-friendly summary of findings will also be made available online at

Web address: ██████████████
Date when results are available: March 2017

SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in subsequent studies, in publications and in presentations.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, ████████████████, ████████, Ontario, N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: ethics@uwindsor.ca
SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

I understand the information provided for the study **Motherhood & Academia: Exploring the Experiences of Graduate Student Mothers** as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____
Name of Participant

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

_____   _____
Signature of Investigator   Date

Appendix E: Letter of Information for Consent to Participate in Research Form

LETTER OF INFORMATION

Title of Study: **Motherhood and Academia: Exploring the Experiences of Graduate Student and Faculty Mothers within the Southwestern Ontario Context**

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by **Kimberly Hillier, under the supervision of Faculty Advisor,** ███████████████, from the **Faculty of Education** at the ███████████████. The results and data collected from this study will be used in the doctoral student, Kimberly Hillier's, doctoral dissertation.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel to contact faculty advisor, ████████████████████, **at the Faculty of Education** *via email* ████████████████.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY
The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between gender/gender roles, graduate studies, and motherhood. This study seeks to explore the experiences of graduate student mothers and faculty from a variety of disciplines. This includes pregnant graduate students, graduate student mothers with child(ren) of any age, former graduate student mothers within a 5-year time period, and faculty members who were mothers at the time of their graduate studies. This study is being conducted in order to understand and identify the various and complex experiences mothers have had with balancing graduate studies and parenting. This study is also intended to fill an existing gap in the Canadian literature on the experiences of graduate student mothers. Doing so will allow the principal investigator, participants, university administration, and all members of society to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between gender, graduate studies, and motherhood.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview regarding your experiences pertaining to motherhood and graduate studies. The interviews are anticipated to be approximately 1 hour in length and at a location that is most convenient for you. All participants have the option of participating in a follow up focus group. Parking expenses will be compensated if required. If interested, you may opt-in to participate in the focus group session, by selecting the option of the letter of consent. Participants who have expressed interest in participating in the focus group will be contacted via email provided. A variety of venue options for the interviews will be presented. The focus group sessions will be held after regular business hours in the Faculty of Education building (room to be determined based on availability).

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Given the personal nature of the experiences that may come forth, participants may feel a sense of distress or emotional stress. A list of contacts that may be of benefit to graduate student mothers and faculty members will be provided prior to commencing the interview and focus groups. The focus group is a group event. This means that while confidentiality of all the information given by the participants will be protected by the researchers themselves, this information will be heard by all the participants and therefore will not be strictly confidential. Faculty and graduate student focus group sessions will be held at separate times and in separate groupings. Faculty members and graduate students will not be grouped together for the focus groups.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

This study aims to bring forth new research on the topic of motherhood and graduate studies, which in turn will provide a forum for voices that have typically been overlooked in the past. By providing graduate student mothers with an opportunity to discuss their experiences with motherhood, this study may allow you to critically reflect on the current status of women and higher education, as well as parenting. By engaging in critical dialogue about your experiences with graduate studies and motherhood, this research will assist in developing greater understanding about the social structures that oppress some members of society, while advantaging others.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION
In appreciation of your participation, all participants will be given a $10 gift card to Tim Hortons at the time of the interview. Light refreshments will be provided during the focus group session. Parking payment will be paid for by the principal researcher in the form of direct payment at the time of the interview or focus group or by issuing a refund for the parking costs at the time of the interview or focus group.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. All participants will be given a pseudonym for data collected during the semi-structured interviews. Given the nature of the focus groups, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. The focus group is a group event. This means that while confidentiality of all the information given by the participants will be protected by the researchers themselves, this information will be heard by all the participants and therefore will not be strictly confidential. Graduate students and faculty members will be grouped separately, should they choose to participate in a follow-up focus group session. During the semi-structured interviews and focus groups, audio digital recording will be utilized to record participants' verbal reflections on motherhood and graduate studies. Only in the event that faculty disclosure is relevant to the literature being discussed, your faculty

membership will not be disclosed. If faculty membership is pertinent to the research, the exact faculty will not be mentioned, but the general grouping will be (i.e., Arts and Social Sciences, STEM, etc).

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You have the right to withdraw from this study at any given point and time. Should you choose to withdraw from the study, you may keep the gift card.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

Upon completion of the study, you will be emailed an electronic copy of the project summary. A reader-friendly summary of findings will also be made available online at

████████████████

Web address: ████████████████
Date when results are available: March 2017
SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in subsequent studies, in publications and in presentations.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, ████████████████, ████████, Ontario, N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: ████████████████

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

I understand the information provided for the study **Motherhood & Academia: Exploring the Experiences of Graduate Student Mothers** as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____
Name of Participant

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

_____   _____
Signature of Investigator   Date

Appendix F: Consent for Audio Taping of Interview/Focus Group

CONSENT FOR AUDIO TAPING

Research Subject Name:

Title of the Project: **Motherhood and Academia: Exploring the Experiences of Graduate Student and Faculty Mothers within the Southwestern Ontario Context**

I consent to the audio taping of my interview/focus group session.
I understand these are voluntary procedures and that I am free to withdraw at any time by requesting that the taping be stopped. I also understand that my name will not be revealed to anyone and that taping will be kept confidential. Tapes are filed by number only and stored in a locked cabinet in the principal investigator's home.
I understand that my confidentiality will be respected and that the audio tape will be for professional use only.

_____   _____
          (Research Subject)   (Date)

Appendix G: Interview Protocol for Semi-Structured Interviews

Group A: Current/Former Graduate Student Mothers
Before I begin the interview, I'd first like to thank you for your generous time and willingness to participate in this research study. Both are so greatly appreciated.
I'd like to begin the interview by asking you to share, as much as you're willing, about your pregnancy. For example, when you were pregnant, any complications that may have been experienced. This is an entirely open-ended question and so I'd like you to share only what you're completely comfortable doing so.
At what point in your academic career did you become pregnant?
Describe your child(ren) to me.
Describe your experiences of being a graduate student mother.
Do you feel supported by your graduate program faculty?
Do you feel supported by your institution?
What campus resources do you or have you utilized? For example, funding, on-campus childcare, student housing?
Did you take a maternity leave from your program? If so, how long was your leave?
If you have had or currently have a paying job in addition to being a graduate student mother, please compare the duties of each.
How do you balance being a mother and graduate student?
What or who is your biggest source of support?
Describe your support system at home.
What are your career aspirations upon graduating?
When do you typically complete school related tasks?
What is your sense of how motherhood is viewed upon within your own faculty?
Describe a typical school day for yourself, from the time you wake, to the time you go to sleep.
When/how do you complete your academic work?
What advice would you offer to future graduate student mothers, or women considering become a graduate student mother?
Where do you see yourself, academically or professionally in 5 years?

Group B: Faculty Members Who Were Graduate Student Mothers at the Time of Their Graduate Studies
Before I begin the interview, I'd first like to thank you for your generous time and willingness to participate in this research study. Both are so greatly appreciated.
I'd like to begin the interview by asking you to share, as much as you're willing, about your pregnancy. For example, when you were pregnant, any complications that may have been experienced. This is an entirely open-ended question and so I'd like you to share only what you're completely comfortable doing so.
At what point in your academic career did you become pregnant?
Describe your child(ren) to me.
Describe your experiences of being a graduate student mother.
Describe your experiences being a faculty member and mother.
Did/Do you feel supported by your faculty department?
Do you feel supported by your institution?

Did you feel supported by your institution when you were a graduate student mother?
What campus resources do you/did you utilize? For example, funding, on-campus childcare, student housing? Were these available when you were a graduate student mother?
Did you take a maternity leave from your program? If so, how long was your leave?
Did you take a maternity leave from your professional academic career? If so, how long was your leave?
How do you balance being a mother and graduate student?
What or who is your biggest source of support?
Describe your support system at home.
What are your career aspirations upon graduating when you were a graduate student?
What is your sense of how motherhood is viewed upon within your own faculty?
Describe a typical day for yourself, from the time you wake, to the time you go to sleep. When/how do you complete your academic work?
What advice would you offer to future graduate student mothers, or women considering become a graduate student mother or faculty member?
Where do you see yourself, academically or professionally in 5 years?

Appendix H: Interview Protocol for Focus Groups
Focus Group Protocol/Guide

Group A: Current/Former Graduate Student Mothers
[Thank You]
[Review Letter of Information]
Researcher invites participants to share which faculty they are from and a brief introduction.

Questions concerning work and family interface:
I'd like to invite anyone to share a typical day in the life of a graduate student mother from your own perspective.
What type of support do you have in terms of childcare?
When do you typically complete academic work?

Questions concerning institutional support:
What institutional support do you currently utilize? For example, scholarships, bursaries, childcare, student housing.
Do you feel your faculty supports the idea of being a mother in graduate school?

Questions concerning leisure:
What do you like to do in your spare time?
Did being a graduate student mother impact your social life?

Questions concerning motherhood:
What is the best part of being a graduate student mother?
What is the most difficult aspect of being a graduate student mother?
[Thank you]

Group B: Faculty Members Who Were Graduate Student Mothers at the Time of Their Graduate Studies
[Thank You]
[Review Letter of Information]
Researcher invites participants to share which faculty they are from and a brief introduction.
Questions concerning work and family interface:
I'd like to invite anyone to share a typical day in the life of a faculty member and mother from your own perspective.
What did a typical day look like for you as a graduate student mother?
What type of support do you have in terms of childcare?
When do you typically complete academic work?
Questions concerning institutional support:
What institutional support do you currently utilize? For example, childcare.
Do you feel your faculty supports the idea of being a mother and balancing an academic career? Did you feel your faculty supported you as a graduate student mother?
Questions concerning leisure:

What do you like to do in your spare time?
Did being a graduate student mother impact your social life?
Questions concerning motherhood:
What was the best part of being a graduate student mother?
What was the most difficult aspect of being a graduate student mother?
What is the best part of being a mother in academia?
What is the most difficult aspect of being a mother in academia?

Appendix I: Recruitment Poster

Are you a graduate student mother or mother-to-be?
Are you a faculty member who was a mother during graduate studies?

If so, this study may be of particular interest to you!

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the experiences of graduate students and faculty members who are mothers.

Who?

- Graduate students who are mothers or mothers-to-be.
- Recent graduates from a graduate program (within 5 years).
- Faculty members who were mothers at the time of their graduate studies.

How long will it take?

Participants who meet the requirement criteria are being asked to participate in a 1hour (approx.) semi-structured interview regarding their experiences of motherhood and graduate studies. Opportunity for focus group discussions as well.

Graduate research participants needed for a doctoral study on motherhood and graduate studies!

What are the benefits of participating?

Participants will have an opportunity to share their experiences of graduate studies and motherhood, which may potentially lead to improved services and resources on campus.

Participant experiences will contribute to the Canadian literature on motherhood and graduate studies.

Each interview participant will be provided with a $10 Tim Horton's gift card. Light refreshments will be served at the focus group session.

If interested, please contact the principal researcher, Kimberly Hillier, at crosby4@uwindsor.ca or (519) 981-6924

THIS RESEARCH HAS BEEN CLEARED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

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FIGURES
Figure 1: Graphic Representation of Key Themes and Subthemes
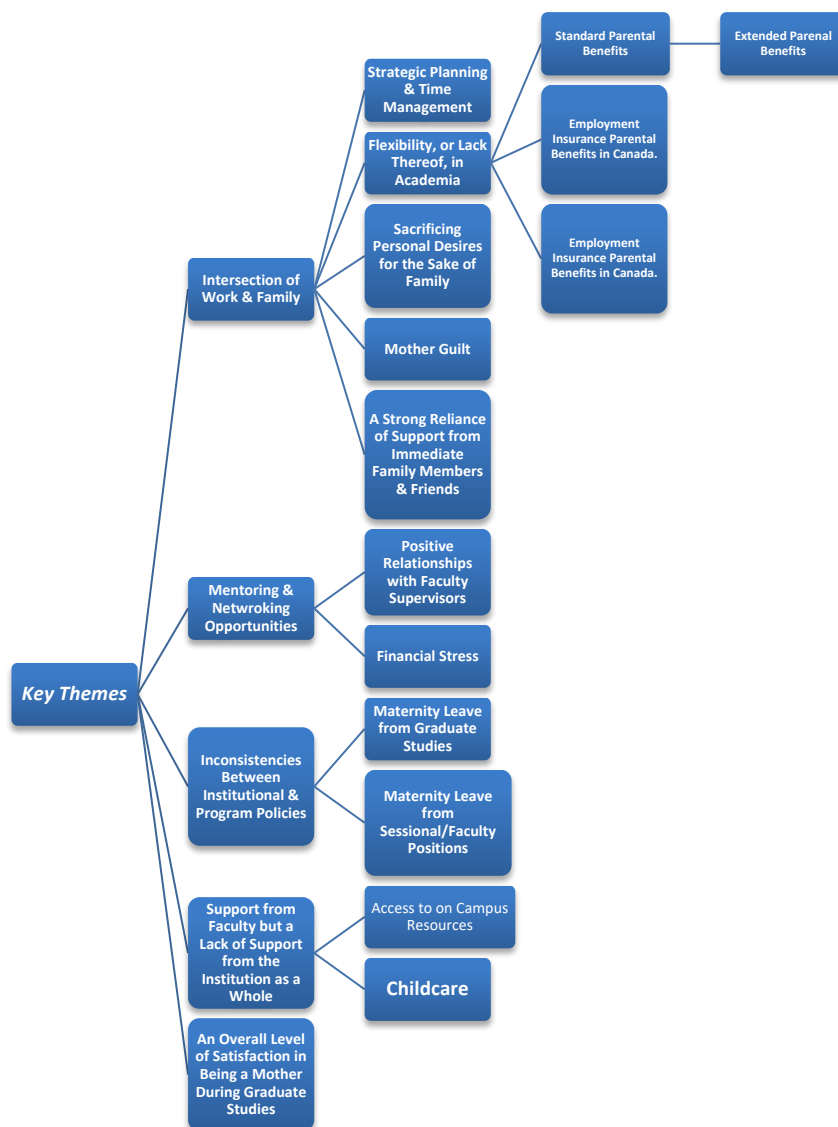

Figure 1. Graphic representation of key themes and subthemes.

VITA AUCTORIS

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