

University of Montana

ScholarWorks at University of Montana

Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, &
Professional Papers

Graduate School

1993

Blended repertoire: A leadership model in public administration.

Karyn Collins

The University of Montana

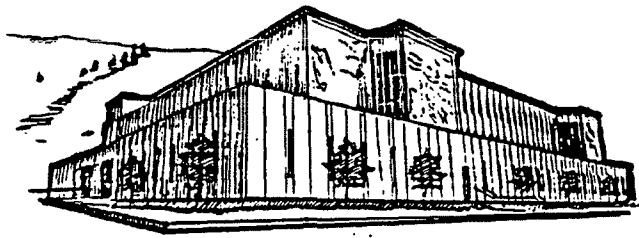
Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd>

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Collins, Karyn, "Blended repertoire: A leadership model in public administration." (1993). *Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers*. 5456.
<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/5456>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.



Maureen and Mike MANSFIELD LIBRARY

Copying allowed as provided under provisions
of the Fair Use Section of the U.S.

COPYRIGHT LAW, 1976.

Any copying for commercial purposes
or financial gain may be undertaken only
with the author's written consent.

University of
Montana

A BLENDED REPERTOIRE:
A LEADERSHIP MODEL IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

By

Karyn Collins
B.A. Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, 1972

Presented in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Public Administration

The University of Montana
1993

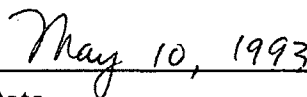
Approved By:



Chair, Board of Examiners



Dean, Graduate School



Date

UMI Number: EP40920

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI EP40920

Published by ProQuest LLC (2014). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Preface

The leadership style described in this professional paper comes from personal and professional experiences and observations; my reading and research in the disciplines of sociology, communication, and public administration, and on feminism and leadership; interviews with leaders in the public sector; and informal discussions with friends and colleagues.

My intent when I embarked on this paper was to maintain a more neutral attitude, a clinical objectivity, toward different leadership styles. I planned to write about a more "androgynous," or blended, leadership. The end product of my research is a model that is more "feminine" than "masculine." The interviews I conducted and my personal experience validated this. It is a model I believe in and know is possible.

This paper barely scratches the surface of leadership. Time constraints precluded a more in-depth study. There are many more leaders, women and men, to interview, in Missoula and in other Montana communities. There are more books and articles written on the subject. There is much more thought to give to women, and men, and leadership.

I want to thank Dr. Paul Miller for encouraging me to pursue the subject of women in public administration as a professional paper topic, Dr. Pat Edgar for his enthusiastic response to the idea, and Dr. Cherie Lucas-Jennings for agreeing to be on my paper committee "sight unseen." I thank

the faculties of the Political Science, Communication Studies, and Sociology Departments for a quality academic experience in my pursuit of the M.P.A. degree, and for their confidence in me as a public administrator, and a leader.

I gratefully thank the individuals who agreed to interviews. They all not only graciously and willingly consented to talk with me about women and men and leadership, but they were anxious to share experiences.

Finally, I want to thank my family—my husband, our daughters, and my mother, for supporting me in every way through the graduate school experience.

Table of Contents

PREFACE	ii
CHAPTER I:	
Introduction	1
CHAPTER II:	
Origins of Gender Difference Perceptions	9
CHAPTER III:	
Leadership and Feminism	22
CHAPTER IV:	
"Feminine" and "Masculine" Leadership	27
A. Realities of the Workplace	27
B. A Leadership Model Based on Five Characteristics	31
1. Nurturing	
2. Empowerment	
3. Inclusion	
4. Assertiveness	
5. Self-Confidence	
C. A Blended Repertoire	55
CHAPTER V:	
The New Leadership Model—Will It Have a Role in "Public Entrepreneurship?"	59
CHAPTER VI:	
Conclusion	67
APPENDICES	70
BIBLIOGRAPHY	71
SYNOPSIS OF INTERVIEWS	77
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	79

CHAPTER I

Introduction

The concept of public administrators functioning as public "leaders," and not merely "administrators" or "managers," has arrived in the discipline of public administration. Leadership is no longer an elusive, undefinable, almost mystical collection of characteristics possessed by and attributed only to those in conspicuous positions of power. Leadership is a quality, an expertise, expected of all public administrators. It is an essential component of, and complement to, management.

Management literature of the 1980s drew definite distinctions between management and leadership. Kouzes and Posner, authors of The Leadership Challenge: How to Get Extraordinary Things Done in Organizations (1987), illustrate this perspective: "When we think of leaders, we recall times of turbulence, conflict, innovation, and change. When we think of managers, we recall times of stability, harmony, maintenance, and constancy."¹

¹ Michael Z. Hackman and Craig E. Johnson, Leadership. A Communication Perspective (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 1991), 12.

Organizational scholars Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus suggest that while management seeks compliance, leaders empower their employees.² This definitive separation of the functions of management and leadership is not appropriate in the new entrepreneurial public administration of the 1990s—leadership is an integral and essential component of administration in the public sector. Today the question asked of public administrators and students of public administration is, "what kind of leader are you?" rather than "are you a leader or a manager?"

Leadership style theories describing the manifestation of leadership abound. These theories focus not on what leaders are, as trait theories popular in the early part of the twentieth century did,³ but rather on what leaders do when they lead. Style theories define leadership as:

Situational⁴—one's style is contingent on the situation,

Transactional⁵—leading and following develop through a rational, social exchange between two people,

² Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus, Leaders, The Strategies for Taking Charge (New York, Harper and Row, 1985), 218.

³ Hackman and Johnson, Leadership, 43.

⁴ J. Steven Ott, "Leadership," Classic Readings in Organizational Behavior (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1989), 218.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 246.

Communication-based—leadership defined as authoritarian, democratic, or laissez-faire,⁶

Product-oriented or Employee-oriented,⁷

Culturally-based⁸—leadership as an expression of the organizational culture, or

Transformational⁹—leadership that emphasizes symbols and vision,¹⁰ and produces radical change.

Recent scholarship has further differentiated leadership styles by gender. This approach is a combination of early trait theories based on physical traits and the more recent idea that how one acts as a leader is the defining characteristic. "Feminine" leadership styles are described as interactive, in contrast to command-and-control styles that are traditionally attributed to the male gender.¹¹ Many authors suggest that men prefer a competitive leadership style, while women are cooperative in their approach to leadership.

⁶ Hackman and Johnson, Leadership, 22.

⁷ Ott, Readings, 246.

⁸ Ibid., 250.

⁹ Ibid., 251.

¹⁰ Tom Peters and Nancy Austin, A Passion for Excellence (New York: Random House, Inc., 1985), 294.

¹¹ Judy B. Rosener, "Ways Women Lead," Harvard Business Review (November-December 1990): 119-120.

All the style theories of leadership listed above present dichotomies of extremes. One is either a transactional leader enabling incremental change, or a transformational leader forcing radical innovation. The choices between orientation to product or to employee, or between authoritarian or democratic styles, are easy to identify. Even situational theory, where the leadership style is contingent on the situation, offers an either-or decision. The most divisive either-or scenario, however, is that which juxtaposes leadership styles of genders. The time has come to depart from this trend of divisive us-them definitions in leadership, to define a leadership style that respectfully acknowledges differences, and integrates them into one effective style.

New approaches to government, and to governing, under the rubric of "reinventing government," have the potential of offering the environment necessary for the restyling of leadership in public administration. This "reinvented" public administration, or "public entrepreneurship," looks at government with "new eyes."¹² It entreats change-agent public administrators to seek new opportunities to serve the public good in the most creative, best manner possible—eschewing the extremes of traditional, conservative procedures and radical, liberal strategies that are polarizing the governing process. Osborne and Gaebler, and others, write about the entrepreneurial

¹² David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, Reinventing Government (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1992), xxii.

"spirit" guiding this movement to reinvent the public sector, but not about the leadership style of the public administration entrepreneurs who will affect this change.

This new synthesizing system of public administration calls for a new kind of leader—one who will integrate dichotomous tendencies. Reflecting the important principles of social equity¹³ and representativeness¹⁴ in the profession of public administration, this leadership must have as its foundation characteristics recognized as gender-specific to both women and men. A blended leadership style will consciously assimilate and honor the best of the leadership qualities identified by society to be specific to the female and male genders. First, however, one must acknowledge gender differences in leadership. Then, they must be examined not as sexist stereotypes, but as valid results of gender experience. Women need to rise to positions of leadership. Finally, leadership will be reinvented, with government.

A leadership strategy for public administration based on gender is timely and appropriate given the salience of the gender issue in public administration today. This gender "issue" is simply that public administration

¹³ H. George Frederickson, "Toward a new Public Administration," in Classics of Public Administration, Jay M. Shafritz and Albert C. Hyde, Editors, 426.

¹⁴ Ibid., "Representative Bureaucracy and the American Political System," by Samuel Krislov and David H. Rosenblum, in Classics, Shafritz and Hyde, Editors, 529.

is a traditionally male profession, grounded in a rational, hierarchical organizational ideal, and seen from a male perspective. Public administration literature at its best is gender neutral. However, increasing numbers of women are entering the profession of public administration. It is no longer useful or acceptable to ignore gender in public administration. Leadership is not a matter of men leading women, or an occasional woman leading men. Leadership is indeed people leading people, but until society has accomplished a complete blurring of gender differences, society identifies and socializes these people as women and men.

An alternative, representative approach to leadership that accepts gender differences and consciously manifests personality and behavior characteristics from both genders can ultimately transcend the difference dichotomy. The key word is "consciously." This alternative leadership style will not happen in society and public administration unless it is cultivated as an ideal model for leadership behavior. The alternative, blended leadership approach proposed and described in this paper may have a predominantly "feminine" appearance. The intent is not to elevate one gender above the other as superior, but to aim at incorporating the most potentially effective leadership characteristics into one model.

The basis of the model is the belief and premise that gender differences in leadership do exist. In the model, the three aspects of

leadership considering the "other" are identified as feminine in origin, and the two leadership considerations of "self" are identified as masculine. Both genders exhibit these characteristics, but until society accepts this blending approach as appropriate, people will continue to judge unfavorably those individuals who try to cross gender boundaries in leadership. Many men exemplify feminine leadership styles, while many women have adopted male ways of leading. One female leader interviewed for this paper observed that the most masculine leadership environment that she had experienced was under the leadership of a woman, and another person interviewed commented that the most feminine leader she knew was a man. Nevertheless, men who use a feminine leadership style are often labeled as "soft," and women who have adopted male leadership approaches are marked as tough and harsh. The boundaries and sides are drawn.

It is critical that a new approach to leadership in public administration is proposed and discussed at this time of transition to public entrepreneurship. The "new eyes" in public administration are those of women, and the new leadership is one that respects and incorporates approaches identified by society as feminine. This paper examines the origins of the gender difference perceptions that lead to the feminine/masculine dichotomy. It then considers the influence of the feminist movement on the efforts of women to achieve positions of leadership. A feminine/masculine leadership model is described,

framed in the realities of the workplace, that will result in a blended repertoire of abilities drawn from the life experiences of each gender. The five characteristics of nurturing, empowerment, inclusion, assertiveness, and self-confidence provide the new public administrator with a model appropriate and useful in the new realm of public entrepreneurship.

CHAPTER II

Origins of Gender Difference Perceptions

The psychological characteristics and roles traditionally prescribed to each gender that are pertinent to leadership are defined by three theories of difference—biological (physical strength and reproductive capabilities), political/economic, and sociological (including psychological and linguistic). The biological thesis contends that women are physiologically different from men, and are the victims of their genetic inheritance. The political thesis maintains that women have struggled under the political and economic dominance of men, and are victimized by a male power structure. The sociological thesis explains female and male differences as the result of a sex-based, and often discriminatory, socialization process.

Fortunately for women and society the "biology is destiny" theory of difference¹⁵ has fallen from favor, and finds few advocates today. The biological argument maintains that women are physiologically and mentally

¹⁵ Debra Stewart, "Women in Top Jobs: An Opportunity for Federal Leadership," Public Administration Review, Vol. 36, No. 4 (July/August 1976): 359.

inferior to men, and therefore unfit for high-level decision-making assignments and positions of leadership. As Shakespeare describes this attitude, "Frailty is thy name."¹⁶ Emile Durkheim, one of the 19th century founders of sociology, claimed in his 1897 work on suicide that role specialization between the two genders was an aspect of a physical evolution. Women had a less developed mental life than men, and they possessed "no great intellectual needs."¹⁷ This idea is, of course, simply not acceptable in the 20th century. However, as recently as 1970, some individuals prescribed to the idea that women's hormones, menstrual cycles, and menopause limit a woman's capacity for leadership. Dr. Edgar Berman, physician and advisor to former Vice-President Hubert Humphrey stated, "If you had an investment in a bank, you wouldn't want the president of your bank making a loan under the raging (female) hormonal influences at that particular period."¹⁸

Another version of the biological argument can be found in sociobiology. The field of sociobiology appeared in 1975 with the publication

¹⁶ As quoted from Marie Rosenberg and Len V. Bergstrom, Women and Society: A Critical Review of the Literature with Selected Annotated Bibliography (Beverly Hills: Sage Publishing Co., 1975), in Mary M. Lepper, "The Status of Women in the United States, 1976: Still Looking for Justice and Equality," Public Administration Review, Vol. 36, No. 4 (July/August 1976): 366.

¹⁷ Nona Glazer and Helen Youngelson Waehrer, Woman in a Man-Made World (Chicago, Il: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1977), 167.

¹⁸ Stewart, Public Administration Review: 359.

of Sociobiology: The New Syntheses, by E.O. Wilson. Sociobiology explains all social behavior, from that of social insects to humans, from the biological basis of genes and evolution.¹⁹ Sociobiologists contend that many sex-linked behavior differences are genetically determined. This is a throwback to the Social Darwinism popular in the nineteenth century,²⁰ and used at the time to justify the social inequities of the day. Sociobiology has met widespread opposition, and the prevailing consensus in the sciences today is, "the search for understanding our human societies lies elsewhere than in studying our biology."²¹ Shulamith Firestone's important feminist treatise on materialism and Marxism, The Dialectic of Sex, is a feminist twist on the theory of biological destiny. Firestone proposes that the biological capacity for reproduction (not **production**) makes women weak and dependent on men, and is the source of the systematic subordination of women.²²

The political theory of difference between women and men, and hence a discrepancy between their leadership opportunities and abilities, is much

¹⁹ Helen Tierney, Editor, Women's Studies Encyclopedia. View from the Sciences, (New York: Peter Bedrick Books, 1991), 355.

²⁰ Sandra Farganis, Social Reconstruction of the Feminine Character (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1986), 119.

²¹ Tierney, Women's Studies Encyclopedia, 358.

²² Rosemarie Tong, Feminist Thought, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984), 74.

more believable and popular than the biological argument. The premise of the political thesis is a struggle between women and men for power.²³ In its most radical form it contends that society's male ruling class is determined to remain in power through the dominance and subjugation of women. Many feminists subscribe to this theory, including Kathy Ferguson in A Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy (1984). Following the French theorist Foucault, Ferguson suggests that the vertical, patriarchal hierarchies of bureaucratic society lead to the domination and oppression of women. As a marginalized group in this bureaucratic society, women in Ferguson's social organization are not eligible for positions of leadership.

Political oppression, of course, flies in the face of the formal American ideology of "equality of opportunity."²⁴ One must recognize, however, that despite this formal ideology, political equality for women, and the emergence of women in leadership roles in the political realm, has been a long time coming. Aristotle held that women's natural capacities included sexual reproduction and household duties, but precluded citizenship. He drew a clear line between the private and the public spheres of society. Women were crucial to survival, but their **private** domain was inferior to the **public**

²³ Stewart, Public Administration Review: 357.

²⁴ Ibid.: 358.

domain of men and politics.²⁵ Aristotle summed up the situation, "Female nature is afflicted with a natural defectiveness."²⁶

Although the Industrial Revolution diminished the status, the political rights, and leadership options for women, the political plight of women—that they were not equal—did receive attention. Mary Wollenstonecroft promoted civil liberties for women in the eighteenth century, in A Vindication of the Rights of Woman. She advocated for the treatment of women as responsible, autonomous decision makers who share the same rational human nature as man.²⁷

John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill co-authored many essays on sexual equality in the mid-1800s, discussing the ethical double-standard existing for women in their society. The Mills believed that, in addition to the right to equal education, women also must enjoy the same civil liberties and economic opportunities as men.²⁸ J.S. Mill wrote in The Subjugation of Woman in 1869 that not only is "the legal subordination of one sex to the other ... wrong in itself," it is, "now one of the chief hindrances to human

²⁵ Camilla Stivers, Gender Images in Public Administration (Newbury Park, CA: Sage publications, 1993), 29.

²⁶ Lepper, Public Administration Review: 366.

²⁷ Tong, Feminist Thought, 16.

²⁸ Ibid., 17.

improvement."²⁹ Mill became a passionate advocate for universal suffrage.

Women were not granted the right to vote in the United States, despite Abigail Adams' reminder to her husband to put "something for the ladies" in the Constitution,³⁰ until the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. The Nineteenth Amendment did not, however, provide women with political or economic equality, and was the last major effort to expand women's rights for nearly half a century.³¹

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 extended equal opportunities to women, as well as minorities, and both EEO (Equal Employment Opportunity) and Affirmative Action legislation have attempted to move women into positions of responsibility—and ultimately leadership. However, women in the public sector, although great in number, have not reaped the full benefits of these legislative intentions. The recent report to the President and the Congress of the United States by the Merit Systems Protection Board, "A Question of Equity: Women and the Glass Ceiling in the Federal Government," reveals a dearth of women in upper-level leadership positions in the public sector.

²⁹ Josephine Donovan, Feminist Theory, The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism (New York: Continuum, 1992), 25.

³⁰ Lepper, Public Administration Review: 365.

³¹ Glazer and Waehrer, Woman in a Man-Made World, 7.

While neither the biological nor the political theories of difference can stand alone as barriers to the acceptance of women in leadership capacities, they contribute to the question, and merge with the powerful sociological thesis. This third thesis derives its basis from the social learning process, gender-based role differentiation,³² and gender stereotyping (a structured set of beliefs about the personal attributes of women and men, held by individuals and by society, and sometimes called sex typing). These 1973 words by the economist Kenneth Boulding still hold true 20 years later, and will continue to describe reality until role stereotypes are deemed unacceptable by society as a whole:

Discrimination among existing members of the labor force is only a special case of a much larger process of role learning and role acceptance, which begins almost from the moment of birth. It is not merely that differences in skills are learned, as in Adam Smith's famous passage about the porter and the philosopher, but images of possible roles on the part of both the role occupants and the role demanders are likewise learned in the long process of socialization....³³

Gender is part of the social learning of our culture—it is not automatic or genetic. Sex comes from nature, gender comes from nurture. Social

³² Stewart, Public Administration Review: 360.

³³ Lepper, Public Administration Review: 367.

learning is indeed a powerful influence in communities and in organizations. Despite social critic H.L. Mencken's opinion (In Defense of Women, 1924) that the absence of women in male-dominated fields was an indication of the superiority of women,³⁴ many women believe that they are socialized in an "androcentric," male-centered, patriarchal culture. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, widely recognized as a cultural feminist,³⁵ explained in her 1911 book, Man-Made World: Our Andro-Centric Culture, "That one sex should have monopolized all human activities, called them 'man's work,' and then managed them as such is what is meant by the phrase 'androcentric culture.'" ³⁶ Gilman described in her literary works the sense of women living second-hand, of getting life in translation. Women in later generations echoed these thoughts when they described a feeling of living "in limbo" or living vicariously through their husbands and children. In fact, mainstream sociology traditionally studied women only within the context of the family until the early 1970s.³⁷

One can easily understand, considering this relegation to the familial sphere, the difficulties encountered by women in achieving administrative

³⁴ Ibid.: 366.

³⁵ Donovan, Feminist Theory, 42.

³⁶ Glazer and Waehrer, Woman in a Man-Made World, 132.

³⁷ Tierney, Women's Studies Encyclopedia, 90.

leadership status and recognition in both private business and the public sector. Never in the history of the United States was the relegation of women to the familial sphere, and role stratification, more pronounced than in the post World War II era—the very time when the profession of public administration was seeking a definition and credibility as a profession. A "women's sphere ideology"³⁸ and "cult of domesticity"³⁹ flourished, with the help of prominent sociologist Talcott Parsons.⁴⁰ The war had emancipated women to a degree, as they assumed traditional male roles while the male population was in combat. It legitimized new ways of thinking, working, and living, and created the possibility for leadership opportunities for women. The return of men from the fronts, however, wrestled their new-found freedom from women.

Not only are **roles** and place at issue, but also **value**. Margaret Mead discovered in her studies of primitive villages (Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World, 1949) that even when cultures varied tasks by sex, the value patterns were consistent. There were villages where men fished and women were weavers, and villages where women fished and men

³⁸ Jessie Bernard, The Female World, (New York: The Free Press, 1981), 86.

³⁹ Ibid., 87.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 25.

were weavers, but in either type village the work done by men had a higher value than work done by women.⁴¹ The work of women has not traditionally held value as leadership-significant work.

World religions reinforce the cultural insistence that women should be subordinate to man, indeed inferior, and unworthy of leadership responsibilities. The Koran tells us, "Men are superior to women on account of the qualities in which God has given them preeminence." First Corinthians of the Bible states, "For man ... is the image of God, but woman is the glory of man." Women are not only portrayed as inferior, but sometimes have a negative image in prayer, as in this Jewish (Orthodox Hebrew) prayer: "I thank thee, O Lord, that thou has not created me a woman."⁴² Some individuals have difficulties visualizing women as professional leaders when their religious communities refuse to ordain or select women as priests, rabbis, ministers, or church leaders.

The **perceptions** promoted by these exclusions, that women are weak and men are strong, and that men are superior and women are inferior, create, perpetuate, and reinforce negative stereotypes of "feminine" behavior. Out of these stereotypes emerge expectations and attitudes on the part of men and

⁴¹ Deborah Rhode, Justice and Gender (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 171.

⁴² Glazer and Waehrer, Woman in a Man-Made World, 1.

women alike. Gender roles developed through socialization become so entrenched that they become an integral and unquestionable element of reality. Charlotte Perkins Gilman wisely predicted at the turn of the century that it will take generations of equal conditions for women to be free of the ingrained effects of socialization.⁴³

Examples of stereotypes are found in every human activity, but a recent and graphic illustration of negative stereotypes is found in a 1978 study of psychologists and psychiatrists.⁴⁴ The study disclosed that these respected health care professionals applied different definitions of mental health to women and men. They characterized healthy, mature women as submissive, dependent, unadventurous, easily influenced, excitable in times of minor crises, conceited about their appearance, and susceptible to hurt feelings. A man with these same characteristics was characterized as unhealthy and immature. They described healthy men, on the other hand, as independent and courageous. It is no wonder women have traditionally struggled to be considered seriously in leadership roles.

The problem with women and stereotypes is two-fold. From **without** women must deal with the unequal treatment resulting from the negative

⁴³ Rhode, Justice and Gender, 165.

⁴⁴ Alex Thio. Sociology, An Introduction (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1989).

stereotypes held by others (i.e. in a male-dominated society). From **within** women struggle with the image of an inferior self-learned and internalized through traditional gender socialization. Simone de Beauvoir wrote about this dichotomy of being and thinking in The Second Sex (1952),⁴⁵ when she examined the relationship between how women define themselves and the historical circumstances that encase that selfhood. De Beauvoir writes, "one is not **born**, but rather **becomes** a woman."⁴⁶ Thus, womanhood is not simply a biological determination, but is rooted in culture. De Beauvoir describes women as the "second sex," because, "man describes woman not in herself, but as relative to him.... She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the **inessential** as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute—she is the Other."⁴⁷

Although one woman, Catheryn Seckler-Hudson, wrote many technical works during the 1950s in the area of administrative management science, Simone de Beauvoir was identifying women as "the other" while public administration literature was clearly addressing its messages to men. Herbert

⁴⁵ Farganis, Social Reconstruction, 80.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Simon's "administrative man" (The Proverbs of Administration, 1946)⁴⁸ reigned supreme, while women were in the secretarial pools. It was not until the feminist movement of the 1960s made important gains for women that women in numbers began to recognize their own values and see themselves as potential leaders—and leaders in the realm of public administration.

⁴⁸ Shafritz and Hyde, Classics of Public Administration, 146.

CHAPTER III

Leadership and Feminism

One should not examine the relationships of women to men in society, the differences between women and men, and leadership styles, without including a discussion of feminism. It is the feminist movement that has propelled women into positions of leadership, and given them the confidence and opportunities to pursue traditionally male roles.

The body of literature classified as "feminist" is complex and divisive, both among women and men and women and other women. Although the definition of feminism has many variations, feminism defines women, like men, as complete and important human beings in the social system, and proposes "an analysis of women's subordination for the purpose of figuring out how to change it" (Linda Gordon, Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism).⁴⁹

Contemporary feminism acknowledges that gender differences **do** exist, but factions within the feminist movement differ on whether to strive for the

⁴⁹ Hester Eisenstein, Contemporary Feminist Thought, (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall and Co., 1983), xii.

elimination of those distinctions, celebrate the differences between women and men, or even to establish a separate women's culture. Contemporary feminist thought in America originated in the "second wave" of feminism of the 1960s (the first wave was the early feminist movement that led from the abolitionists to the suffragettes).

Two distinctive branches of the movement developed during this time, both working for change in America, and both concerned with issues of leadership. The equal rights wing formed the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966, led by Betty Friedan, author of The Feminine Mystique. The goal of NOW women was social, economic, and political reform, and the integration of women in society. These women were predominantly white, middle-class, and politically liberal. Friedan's women were bored, unfulfilled, middle-class, domestic **consumers**, entrapped in their homes on a pedestal of adoration, constantly trying to live up to the "feminine mystique" concept. They felt isolated and without identity, and wanted to leave their homes, become professionals and **producers** in society, and assume positions of leadership other than those in the traditionally acceptable realm of volunteerism.

The second branch, the radical feminists, came out of the new left politics, and formed the liberation wing. They were young, revolutionary, primarily single, white women who were working in the protest movements

against the government, the Viet Nam War, and racial discrimination.⁵⁰

Seeking leadership in the peace and civil rights movements, they found themselves relegated by their idealistic male colleagues to such "women's sphere" activities as functioning in subordinate roles and providing emotional support—never writing, speaking, or negotiating. The feminists rebelled, organized "consciousness raising" sessions,⁵¹ and in 1968 were thrown off the podium at the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) convention when they insisted that the liberation of women be added to the list of goals for the organization.⁵²

The social and political gains of feminism have enhanced opportunities for women politically, economically, and socially—and have helped women move into leadership roles. Yet women during the past decade, including women in public administration, have dissociated themselves from the feminist movement. Many women view feminists as misfits or sociopaths. Some traditional women are afraid of losing what they believe is their secure place in society. Although they want equal pay, equal opportunities, better day care and maternity provisions, a sharing of household duties, and the advocacy for culturally feminine qualities in the workplace, many women equate feminism

⁵⁰ Farganis, Social Reconstruction, 49-50.

⁵¹ Ibid., 55.

⁵² Ibid., 54.

with, "academic abstraction or with shrill narrow-mindedness and even man hating."⁵³ Susan Faludi describes in Backlash (1991) the antifeminist cultural reaction in society today that has caused many women to develop a distaste for feminist thought and movements. Faludi explains the usefulness and purpose of feminism:

Most of the feminist scholars set out originally to investigate the origins of men's and women's differences, not to glorify them. They wanted to challenge the long-standing convention of defining male behavior as the norm, female behavior as deviant. And they hoped to find in women's "difference" a more humane model for public life—one that both men and women might adopt.⁵⁴

Feminist scholars have allowed for the discussions of gender. Not only must these discussions continue and flourish, but they must allow for the **integrated** discussions of gender and leadership. Camilla Stivers warns (Gender Images in Public Administration, 1991), "Cultural ideas about leadership match notions of white professional male behavior and serve as a filter to keep most people who do not conform to these expectations from becoming leaders."⁵⁵ People must remove the leadership gender filter so

⁵³ Stivers, Gender Images in Public Administration, 124.

⁵⁴ Susan Faludi, Backlash (New York: Anchor Books, 1991), 325.

⁵⁵ Stivers, Gender Images in Public Administration, 132.

leadership may be clearly seen for what it is, should be, and can be—Faludi's "humane model for public life" for females and males alike.

CHAPTER IV

"Feminine" and "Masculine" Leadership

Realities of the Workplace

One of the fundamental queries of feminism is not whether women and men are different, but **how** they are different. Many equations are used—equal but distinct, same but different are examples of these. This discussion of difference continues in leadership literature. A focus on women in leadership, the possibility of a distinctly feminine leadership style, and the differences between that feminine leadership style and a male leadership style has emerged only in the past decade, primarily because women have until recently been a rarity, even a novelty, in positions of leadership.

While the most recent census figures indicate that the number of women in management-level positions rose 95 percent between 1980 and 1990,⁵⁶ a well-documented "glass ceiling" has precluded the entry of women in representative numbers into upper level jobs with leadership status and capacities. The "glass ceiling" refers to the subtle, usually invisible, barriers,

⁵⁶ George Tunick, "Female Outlook Makes More Sense," Missoulian, 5 February 1993, 4.

that are both real and perceived, in many organizational structures, that prevent women and minorities from advancing into executive levels of management.⁵⁷ Without advancement in organizations, becoming a leader is of course difficult. As one individual interviewed for this paper commented, "You cannot lead if you cannot be seen or heard."⁵⁸ "Glass ceiling" barriers exist in all leadership sectors. A recent poll of chief executives of the nation's largest companies, conducted for Fortune magazine, revealed that only 16% believe that it is "somewhat likely" or "very likely" that a woman will succeed them in the next decade. Only 18% think that it's "very likely" that a woman will be chosen to lead their companies within the next 20 years.⁵⁹

This phenomenon is as pronounced in the public sector, despite the promotion of the representative democracy ideal, as in the private sector. Women in government have made some progress at the local levels. However, at the national level women represent only one in every ten federal executives

⁵⁷ Cari M. Dominguez, "A Crack in the Glass Ceiling," Human Resource Magazine (December 1990): 65.

⁵⁸ Telephone interview with Bob Jahner, Helena, Montana, 12 April 1993.

⁵⁹ Anne B. Fisher, "When Will Women Get to the Top?" Fortune (Vol. 126, No. 6, 21 September 1992): 44.

(while holding 86 percent of the clerical jobs).⁶⁰ A May 1991 "Report of a Survey on Women and the Federal Women's Program in the Federal Government," by Federally Employed Women (FEW), Inc. indicates that job prospects for women in the federal workforce are not much brighter today than they were twenty years ago in 1972.⁶¹ Despite claims by "revisionist" economists, including some who are themselves women, census data indicate that women in both the private sector and public sector (at all levels) still make 70 cents for every dollar that a man earns.⁶² Some researchers place that figure more accurately at 64 cents to the male dollar.⁶³ A study on wage gaps in the weekly earnings of women in executive, administrative and managerial positions in 1990 indicated that women in public administration earn an average weekly wage of \$549 in comparison to the average male wage of \$710.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ "A Question of Equity: Women and the Glass Ceiling in the Federal Government," a Report to the President and the Congress of the United States by the Merit Systems Protection Board (October 1992): ix.

⁶¹ Karen Scott and Shannon Roberts, Forum Editors, "Women in Government" (The Bureaucrat, Volume 20, No. 3, Fall 1991): 3.

⁶² Maggie Mahar, "The Truth About Women's Pay," Working Woman (April 1993): 52.

⁶³ Faludi, Backlash, 364.

⁶⁴ Willa Bruce, "Global Watch -- Women in Top Positions," Bridging the Gap, Published by Section for Women in Public Administration, (Fall 1992): 3.

The "Glass Ceiling Report" revealed that perceptions and stereotypes of women as less committed to their careers, and less competent, interfere with promotions.⁶⁵ Even when the quality of their work is comparable, or exceeds that of their male counterparts, women are unable to rise to positions of authority and leadership because they often have family commitments that preclude transfer on command, or working beyond the minimal 8-hour day.⁶⁶

One aspect of women at work, however, that the "Glass Ceiling Report" does not discuss but has a significant effect on inhibiting the potential of women, is leadership style. The workplace judges women against the dominant leadership criteria—those contained in the male leadership model. In determining whether women meet these male criteria, men often misinterpret women's signals and actions (verbal and nonverbal). When women **do** conform to these male criteria, they endure the accusations of acting "too male."⁶⁷ It is a "damned if you do, and damned if you don't" situation. Studies conducted during the eighties that conclude there are no differences

⁶⁵ Merit Systems Protection Board, "A Question of Equity:" x.

⁶⁶ Ibid.: 15-19.

⁶⁷ Jonathan A. Segal, "Women on the Verge ... of Equality," Human Resource Magazine (June 1991): 117.

between the styles of female and male managers⁶⁸ are controversial and debatable. The presumption that female and male leadership styles, qualities, and characteristics differ is so widespread that it is a management reality.

A Leadership Model Based on Five Gender-Specific Leadership Characteristics

The American culture has accentuated and encouraged gender-specific categorizations. Men are expected to be tough, dominant, and fearless—and male leadership is described as independent, aggressive, competitive, self-confident, ambitious, rational, and objective. Women are perceived as tender, sympathetic, and sensitive to the needs of other—and a feminine leadership style is presumed to be nurturing, gentle, tactful, expressive, passive, emotional, and at times even irrational.⁶⁹

The collaborative leadership style described in this paper does not maintain the superiority of one gender over the other. Rather, it proposes the recognition of five specific leadership characteristics as gender-specific, and suggests the conscious cultivation of these characteristics by leaders and followers alike. The five characteristics are three feminine attributes that define a leader's relationships with others—nurturing, empowerment (the

⁶⁸ Hackman and Johnson, Leadership, 155-156.

⁶⁹ Jerome Adams and Janice D. Yoder, Effective Leadership for Women and Men (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1985), 44.

sharing of power), and inclusion, and two male characteristics completing this model relating to self—assertiveness and self-confidence. These characteristics are gender-specific as feminine or masculine not because only members of that specific gender manifest them, but because they are attributes traditionally and sociologically associated with each gender. Combined they create a leadership style, a consciously blended "repertoire,"⁷⁰ that is effective and reflective of society's reality.

Nurturing

The perception of women as nurturers—of individuals, families, communities, and organizations—has long been recognized as an outcome of the traditional roles of women as mothers. The "cult of true womanhood" of the nineteenth century, with its mythic guidelines for the roles of women,⁷¹ and sociologist Talcott Parsons' functional sex stratification scheme of the 1950s (with men assuming the "instrumental" role by functioning in the world of work, money, and occupations, and women assigned to the world of home, family, and children where they assumed the "expressive" socioemotional

⁷⁰ A word suggested by Ellen Leahy during interview at the Missoula City-County Health Department, Missoula, Montana, 13 April 1993.

⁷¹ Kathy Ferguson, The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 48-49.

tasks)⁷² portray this concept at its worst. The idea of woman as "benefactress," the ideal of "organizing for others"⁷³ that allowed women to work on philanthropic and volunteer projects while they were still ostracized from the professional world of work and public leadership, stems from this prototype of women as the nurturing, empathetic, private leaders of society. In our society of non-traditional families, with men assuming many roles previously unknown to them, and many men "mothering" their children as the heads of single-parent families, nurturing is no longer the exclusive domain of women. Contemporary society holds up an ideal of both females and males exhibiting nurturing characteristics in the family and in the community—and now in the organization.

Nurturing is an important component of leadership, for all leaders, women and men alike. Enhancing the self-worth of others, rewarding, praising, recognizing, encouraging colleagues, and listening empathetically are qualities recognized today as essential components of successful leadership. Tom Peters and Nancy Austin in A Passion for Excellence dedicate a chapter to "coaching," their masculinized term for nurturing. They talk about leaders who give credit to others, are humble, tolerant, trusting, open, and are good listeners: "Effective coaching means creating winners, keeping the faith in the

⁷² Glazer and Waehrer, Woman in a Man-Made World, 132.

⁷³ Bernard, The Female World, 302.

thick of turmoil ... finding tiny glimmers of light (to reinforce) in the midst of darkness, building on the strength that ninety-nine out of a hundred have."⁷⁴

The other aspect of nurturing in leadership is the human, caring side of leading people. A principal in a Missoula area school, one of the few women who has risen to this administrative level in the school system, told a male teacher to go home to be with his family when he revealed that his mother-in-law was dying. Relieved and surprised, he complied. This is an example of moral leadership, derived from the nurturing principle and a respect for human values. Some professional cultures, however, such as school systems, have established certain protocols and are resistant to change. Later another teacher, who happened to be a woman, told the principal that she felt uncomfortable with the "passion" the principal put into her work—that she should, "do it like a job, like a man."⁷⁵

Although essential to leadership, these nurturing qualities are still symbolically tied to women, perhaps because women have "different capacities"⁷⁶ derived from the female experience. Indeed, many men (and

⁷⁴ Peters and Austin, A Passion for Excellence, 357.

⁷⁵ From interview with Teri Wing, Missoula, Montana, 15 April 1993.

⁷⁶ From interview with Ann Mary Dussault, Missoula County Courthouse, Missoula, Montana, 15 April 1993.

women) find it difficult to follow through with the ideal of nurturing leadership. Nurturing leadership thrives in a "relationship-based environment."⁷⁷ This emphasis on relationships is one of the components of an approach termed "the female advantage."⁷⁸ Judy Rosener, a faculty member at the Graduate School of Management at the University of California, Irvine, in her seminal article, "Ways Women Lead," published in the Harvard Business Review in 1990, concluded from a survey she conducted for the International Women's Forum that women were "succeeding because of—not in spite of—certain characteristics generally considered to be 'feminine' and inappropriate in leaders."⁷⁹ Rosener states, "women are drawing on what is unique to their socialization as women and creating a different path to the top."⁸⁰ She claimed that women use "transformational" leadership, while most men have a "transactional" leadership style.

In the following issues's debate on Rosener's then-controversial article (Harvard Business Review, January-February 1991), many women and men in business and academia alike congratulated Rosener for articulating their own

⁷⁷ Tom Peters, "The best new managers will listen, motivate, support. Isn't that just like a woman?" Working Woman (September 1990): 142.

⁷⁸ Ibid.: 217.

⁷⁹ Judy B. Rosener, "Ways Women Lead," Harvard Business Review (November-December 1990): 120.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

opinions. Many professionals supported Rosener's claims by openly stating that women just do some things better than men. Steven Berglas, Harvard Medical School psychologist, predicted, "In an era when the need to motivate is so important, women will do better because they are nurturers and value-driven, and at a time when the corporation needs restructuring, women will be able to do so because they operate in webs rather than pyramid-shaped hierarchies."⁸¹ Some individuals—both women and men—blasted Rosener for writing about "men and women" rather than "people," stating, "social controls, more than socialization, account for people's interests and behaviors."⁸² Some resented Rosener's command-and-control male model, "collapsing all varieties of male leaders into one common militaristic style."⁸³ The conclusions of most respondents, however, was that organizations need, "healthy, balanced individuals able to draw from the riches of both their male and female inheritance and experience."⁸⁴ The debate is endless and ageless, but today leadership needs a cooperative style honoring the best that diversity brings to our culture.

⁸¹ Mary Billard, "Do Women Make Better Managers?" Working Woman (March 1992): 70.

⁸² Quoted from Cynthia Fuchs Epstein in, "Ways Women Lead: Is it time to stop talking about gender differences?" Harvard Business Review (January-February 1991): 150-151.

⁸³ Quoted from Jeffrey A. Sonnenfeld, *Ibid.*: 159.

⁸⁴ Quoted from Frederica Olivares, *Ibid.*: 151.

Empowerment

The second component of this leadership model is empowerment, a new buzzword for an old concept. Mary Parker Follett, considered by many the "grand dame" of public administration, introduced empowerment in the concept of power **with** instead of power **over**, in her 1926 essay, "The Giving of Orders." Follett says, "The study of the situation involves the **with** proposition."⁸⁵ Roger Fisher and William Ury borrowed this concept from Follett in their popular 1981 book on conflict management, Getting to Yes, where they coined the "win-win" phrase describing cooperative negotiating that has become a by-line for most activities in American society. Ironically, with all of our talk about empowerment, America does not remember Follett as well as Japan, where there is a thriving Follett Society, and her teachings are part of the management culture.⁸⁶

A discussion of power, and how leaders use and share it, is an essential component of a public sector leadership model. "Power and politics

⁸⁵ Quoted from "The Giving of Orders," by Mary Parker Follett, in Shafritz and Hyde, Classics of Public Administration, 71.

⁸⁶ From response from Pauline Graham in "Ways Men and Women Lead: Is it time to stop talking about gender differences?" Harvard Business Review (January-February 1991): 153-154.

are inevitable and important parts of administrative activity."⁸⁷ Yet, most "new age" books on leadership neglect discussions of power, "the basic energy to initiate and sustain action translating intention into reality."⁸⁸ Empowerment is to entrust **others** with the means to translate intentions into reality. This is done by sharing power. Many of the leaders interviewed for this paper talked about sharing power, expressing the belief that women more easily share power than their male colleagues, possibly because they underestimate their power,⁸⁹ and because of their socialization have less ego involvement with their power. Gender studies have revealed that women and men have different perceptions of the purpose of power. Women see power as a method of change, while men view power as a means to exert influence over other people.⁹⁰

Judy Rosener noted in "Ways Women Lead" that the sharing of power and information is one of the key characteristics of the "interactive" style of

⁸⁷ Jeffrey Pfeffer, Power in Organizations (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1981), x.

⁸⁸ Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus, Leaders, the Strategies for Taking Charge (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1985), 15.

⁸⁹ From interview with Fern Hart, Missoula County Courthouse, Missoula, Montana, 15 April 1993.

⁹⁰ Rita Mae Kelly, Michelle A. Saint-Germain, and Jody D. Horn, "Female Public Officials: A Different Voice?" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Vol. 515, May 1991): 78.

her women leaders. "While many leaders see information as power and power as a limited commodity to be coveted, the interviewees seem to be comfortable letting power and information change hands."⁹¹ Pauline Graham, author of Integrative Management, expands on this concept's overall effectiveness:

Power-with is interactive, has its own dynamic, and increases the total power of the group. By pooling individual powers, we get not only the addition of the separate personal powers of those in the group but also something extra—the extra value created through their interaction.⁹²

The sharing of power and empowerment of co-workers and subordinates, when initially introduced to leadership, was perceived as a "female" attribute, but its practicality has caused women and men alike to adopt its premises. Some men are visibly integrating styles formerly thought to be characteristic of the "woman's sphere." One such individual, the popular subject of many articles because of his leadership style, who follows current theories on female management style,⁹³ is Jack Welch, General Electric's CEO.

⁹¹ Rosener, "Ways Women Lead," Harvard Business Review: 122.

⁹² Quoted from Pauline Graham in "Ways Women and Men Lead: Is it time to stop talking about gender differences?" Harvard Business Review: 154.

⁹³ Jill Andresky Fraser, "Women, Power, and the New GE," Working Woman (December 1992): 60.

People describe Welch as a charismatic and intuitive leader (more characteristics Rosener attributes to a feminine leadership style), who shares authority and creates a participatory environment.

Some people even dare to say that women are responsible for completely redefining power. Sally Helgeson, in The Female Advantage. Women's Ways of Leadership, maintains that the women leaders she studied actually scheduled in time to share information—and power.⁹⁴ She contrasts this tactic to that of the men in Henry Mintzberg's classic 1968 studies of male executives published as The Nature of Managerial Work. Mintzberg's successful men hoarded power and controlled information.⁹⁵

Women and men in administration are finding a meeting ground in the premise of empowerment, and integrating the styles of others when appropriate. In response to Rosener's Harvard Business Review article, Allan R. Cohen, Professor of Management at Babson College in Wellesley, Massachusetts, says, "One of the greatest challenges for leaders is knowing when to invite full participation in decision making and when to clearly set

⁹⁴ Sally Helgeson, The Female Advantage. Women's Ways of Leadership (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 27.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

parameters or take decisive action. It is easy to overdo either style; both men and women can fall into abuse of what has worked for them in the past."⁹⁶

Inclusion

The third component of this cooperative, integrated model is inclusion. Rensis Likert categorized the inclusion concept in The Human Organization (1981) as "participative," and described a style of leadership based on inclusion that focuses on trust, teamwork, McGregor's Theory Y philosophy of motivation (people are self-motivated and do not need control), and open communication channels (upward and downward).⁹⁷ The importance of inclusion in leadership stems from the innate desire for belonging that is a primary aspect of being human and social. The two main elements of the inclusion principle are networking and communication. Important also is that often overlooked aspect of communication—listening.

"Networking" is a term over-used in administration, management, and leadership literature to the point where it is now a well-worn cliché. As an alternative to hierarchy, both formal (as in bureaucracies) and informal,

⁹⁶ Quoted from Allan R. Cohen, "Ways Men and Women Lead: Is it time to stop talking about gender differences?" Harvard Business Review: 158.

⁹⁷ Norma Carr-Ruffino, The Promotable Woman (Becoming a Successful Manager (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1982), 278.

however, it is an important leadership tool of "new" public administrators and managers. Sally Helgeson claims that her female leaders in The Female Advantage gain their advantage with "the web of inclusion." It, "affirms relationships, seeks ways to strengthen human bonds, simplifies communications, and gives means an equal value with ends."⁹⁸ The point of authority in Helgeson's circle is the center, reminiscent of the circle management theory that contrasts with the pyramid-shaped authority of hierarchies.

Helgeson openly talks about how the women leaders she studied attributed their leadership styles and methods to their experiences as women—as wives, mothers, friends, sisters, and daughters. Helgeson reinforces the theory held by many (including Leonard Greenhalgh, a professor at the Amos Tuck School of Business Administration at Dartmouth University who has conducted extensive research on gender differences in negotiating)⁹⁹ that predominantly feminine or masculine leadership characteristics are the result of two very different kinds of life-experiences—men in the military and in sports, and women managing the home and nurturing their families.¹⁰⁰ Julia

⁹⁸ Helgeson, The Female Advantage, 52.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 247.

¹⁰⁰ Sharon Nelton, "Men, Women and Leadership," Nation's Business (Vol. 79, No. 5, May 1991): 19.

Robinson, former director of Montana's Department of Social and Rehabilitative Services, thinks that women "have a different view," include others, and work for consensus because they have usually had to work up through the ranks in their organization.¹⁰¹ Most men do not have to struggle for leadership—society grants it to them more easily. Jean Twohig, director of Missoula's Partnership Health Center, believes that women have, "a sense of community."¹⁰²

As the life experiences of generations coming into leadership include experiences traditionally reserved for one gender or the other, feminine and masculine may no longer become the defining terms. In the meantime, the debate continues. In fact, the debate may soon be irrelevant since many leaders are suggesting, as does James A. Autry, president of a \$500-million-a-year magazine group who wrote Love and Profit: The Art of Caring Leadership, that all leadership is becoming feminine.¹⁰³

The second aspect of inclusion is communication and listening. Once one accepts gender as a social process, language emerges as an integral contributor to these perceptions. Women and men manifest gender-related communication differences internally through self-perceptions and outwardly

¹⁰¹ From telephone interview, Helena, Montana, 15 April 1993.

¹⁰² From interview, Missoula, Montana, 14 April 1993.

¹⁰³ Nelton, Nation's Business: 20.

through societal stereotypes. These differences between female and male communications are of great interest to communication scholars.

Nancy Henley (Body Politics: Power, Sex and Nonverbal Communication, 1977) discovered in her small group communication research that women were more sensitive to nonverbal clues than men—contributing to the perception of "women's intuition." Men in small groups are more likely to initiate and control conversation than women, and interrupt others more often than women. Women are expected to reveal themselves in conversation—thus giving power to the other—and more likely to maintain eye contact.¹⁰⁴ All the characteristics identified as inherent to female behavior promote the inclusion of others. Carol Gilligan, a feminist who relates gender differences to morality, wrote about inclusion in A Different Voice (1982), "Sensitivity to the needs of others and the assumption of responsibility for taking care lead women to attend to voices other than their own, and to include in their judgment other points of view."¹⁰⁵

The separation in people's lives of the public (i.e. "instrumental" men) from the private (the "expressive" realm of women) is still apparent in the language of women and men. Deborah Tannen, a professor of linguistics at

¹⁰⁴ Ferguson, Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy, 95.

¹⁰⁵ Carol Gilligan, In a Different Voice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 16.

Georgetown University, explains in You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation (1990) that women use the language of connection and intimacy, while men use the language of status and independence.¹⁰⁶ Men are taught to compete, and women are socialized to cooperate. Several female leaders interviewed for this project admitted to apologizing too much.

Tannen suggests that at times women and men speak in different "genderlects."¹⁰⁷ In past decades this has created a conflict between femininity and authority, and rendered women inappropriate for leadership roles. The new focus in leadership on networking and inclusion is helping to eliminate the perception of women as too personal to be leaders. Tannen's research reveals that traditionally boys handle complexity with complex rules and activities, while girls handle complex situations with complex networks of relationships, and "complex ways of using language to mediate those relationships."¹⁰⁸ She appears to be describing in the girls' method the newly-respected leadership quality of inclusion.

Robin Lakoff reminds us, however, in Language and Woman's Place (1975), that language is not simple and comes at women from two

¹⁰⁶ Deborah Tannen, You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation (New York: Ballantine Books, 1990), 26.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 279.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 181.

angles¹⁰⁹—the words they speak label women, but the words spoken **about** them also label them. There are gender distinctions built into our language, and different words are used to describe women and men. When the media described Geraldine Farraro, the first woman on an American presidential ticket, as "spunky," "feisty," and "catty," words used to characterize small creatures without power, she was not perceived seriously as a leader.¹¹⁰

Understanding the use of our often-automatic language can help everyone, women and men alike, work toward a shared, **conscious** language. This will help to eliminate language that perpetuates invalid perceptions in leadership. Combining that conscious effort to eliminate sexist language with a conscious effort to encourage inclusive language will enhance the leadership model.

Assertiveness

In the search for a balanced and blended leadership style, public administrators must learn what Bennis and Nanus (Leaders, Strategies for Taking Charge) term "the creative use of one's self."¹¹¹ That goal of creative and effective deployment of one's self comes from the development of the

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 241.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 242.

¹¹¹ Bennis and Nanus, Leaders, 56.

final two characteristics of the leadership model proposed in this paper—assertiveness and self-esteem, or self-confidence. These two characteristics are traditionally more common in the masculine realm than the feminine, stemming from the positive valuing of masculine characteristics in American society, and a promotion of the superiority of men and male behavior.

Assertiveness is not aggression—aggression is a misdirected, and ineffective tactic often used when one has not accomplished assertiveness. Assertiveness takes courage and confidence, and respects others as individuals with equal value. Assertive behavior is an alternative to aggression and manipulation, and, "an alternative to personal powerlessness."¹¹² Robert Alberti and Michael Emmons in their "guide to assertive living" used by psychologists in assertiveness training sessions define honest, direct assertiveness:

... as that complex of behaviors, emitted by a person in an interpersonal context, which express that person's feelings, attitudes, wishes, opinions, and rights of the other person(s). Such behavior may include the expression of such emotions as anger, fear, caring, hope, joy, despair, indignance, embarrassment, but in any event is expressed in a manner which does not violate the rights of others. Assertive behavior is differentiated from aggressive

¹¹² Robert E. Alberti and Michael L. Emmons, Your Perfect Right (San Luis Obispo, CA: Impact Publishers, 1970), 5.

behavior which, while expressive of one person's feelings, attitudes, wishes, opinions or rights, does not respect those characteristics in others.¹¹³

Reasons for lacking assertiveness vary, but common reasons include the perception by an individual that they do not have the right to be assertive, and they have not learned the skills to be assertive.¹¹⁴ They are then fearful of being assertive. Traditionally, assertiveness in women is devalued, and women are socialized to be passive. Because of this they frequently confront these common barriers to assertiveness, in both personal and professional realms. Men, on the other hand, learn to be competitive—and assertive. There are lessons in assertiveness that women could assimilate well from men, who have much life experience at this.

Assertiveness in public administration has a strong ethical component. It means saying "no" appropriately when that is necessary, setting and maintaining standards, meeting goals, having a vision and the courage to realize it, and being an advocate for others (both the staff and the public) and for oneself. Assertive behavior is **conscious** behavior, so it does not slip back into passive, apologetic behavior or ahead into hostile aggression. It is a conscious **choice** to empower oneself to be assertive. Eleanor Roosevelt said,

¹¹³ Ibid., 207.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 6.

One's philosophy is not best expressed in words, it is expressed in the choices one makes In the long run, we shape our lives and we shape ourselves. The process never ends until we die. And the choices we make are ultimately our responsibility.¹¹⁵

There is a need for leaders, to be effective, to be assertive both on the professional level and a personal level. Ellen Leahy, director of the Missoula City-County Health Department, talks about firmly "planting her feet" in enforcement situations. Saying no professionally as a public administrator is important, but so is the ability to be assertive personally. An illustration of the need to be personally assertive is revealed in a case where an administrator, who may be a woman or a man, is sitting in an important meeting and is asked to "clear his or her calendar" to attend a meeting the following week in a city 1,000 miles away. The "calendar" is a reference to the person's professional schedule, yet that woman or man has another calendar to consider—one that involves schools, day care provisions, and a spouse's agenda.¹¹⁶ Leaders interviewed for this paper expressed the belief that the life experiences on one's personal calendar help to make one a better leader. However, many leaders are hesitant to talk assertively about the needs

¹¹⁵ Stanlee Phelps and Nancy Austin, The Assertive Woman (San Luis Obispo, CA: Impact Publishers, 1987), 32.

¹¹⁶ Taken from a situation shared in interview with Teri Wing, Missoula, Montana, 15 April 1993.

of that personal calendar, and accommodations that may be necessary to make that calendar mesh harmoniously with a professional calendar.

Assertive behavior is reciprocal. One who is assertive in a respectful manner will encourage assertive behavior in others. To work in a leadership model, however, assertiveness must be combined with the first three elements of this model—nurturing, empowerment, and inclusion—and the last component—self-confidence.

Self-Confidence

When Henry Higgins says in the movie My Fair Lady, "Why can't a woman be more like a man?" the politically-correct, potential leader who happens to be a woman cringes. When asked to evaluate their level of self-confidence honestly, however, many women admit they would like to "be like" their male colleagues. Many women do not know, or refuse to acknowledge, their self-worth. Effective leaders **must** know their self worth. One leader calls it self-respect:

To have self-respect is everything. Without it, we are nothing but unwilling slaves, at everybody's mercy, especially those we fear or hold in contempt.... You think, "Well, no job is good enough; after all, if they want me, hired me, how could they (or the job) be any good?"¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Bennis and Nanus, Leaders, 58.

Like the other attributes of this leadership model, positive self-regard is reciprocal. It creates in others a sense of confidence, and contributes to their motivation.

Many female leaders lack self-confidence, regardless of the organizational and personal power they possess. In a study conducted at the University of Southern California designed to help identify ways for women to break through the "glass ceiling" into leadership, executive women surveyed listed the building of self-confidence as the second key event in their careers (having a role model or mentor was the first).¹¹⁸

A Missoula County Commissioner, a woman who has enjoyed a successful career as a county official, commented in her interview that she rehearses conversations and decisions of the day over and over at night, wondering if she was right. "I know my husband, who is very successful, doesn't do that," she added.¹¹⁹ One leader commented in her interview that in hiring staff for her agency she has observed that women in job interviews do not negotiate salary like men do.¹²⁰ She attributes this to the priorities of

¹¹⁸ Danity M. Little, "Shattering the Glass Ceiling," The Bureaucrat (Vol. 20, No. 3, Fall 1991): 26.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Fern Hart, Missoula County Courthouse, 15 April 1993.

¹²⁰ Interview with Ann Cook, Missoula, Montana, 13 April 1993.

women—that culture and working conditions are sometimes more important to them than salary—but also to the lack of self-confidence that women have in negotiating their worth in monetary terms.

Two successful female leaders interviewed expressed the sentiment that women who choose not to adopt traditionally male leadership styles often do not think they will be taken seriously—that they are not "legitimate,"¹²¹ or that their leadership is seen as a "facade that might crumble."¹²² Peggy McIntosh, a Program Director at the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, maintains in "Feeling Like a Fraud,"¹²³ that many people (especially women) feel "fraudulent" when singled out for praise or a promotion. McIntosh writes about a phenomenon she observed at a conference for women in leadership in higher education. The women in attendance at the conference were chosen for their leadership abilities and achievements. Yet, during the session seventeen women in a row prefaced their remarks with such self-doubting and self-deprecating remarks as "I really don't know what I'm talking about ...," "I just wanted to say ...," or "I have just one point to make"¹²⁴ Although these

¹²¹ Interview with Ann Cook, Missoula, Montana, 13 April 1993.

¹²² Interview with Jean Twohig, Missoula, Montana, 14 April 1993.

¹²³ Peggy McIntosh, "Feeling Like a Fraud," Stone Center Work in Progress No. 18 (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, 1985).

¹²⁴ Ibid., 1.

women were "expert" leaders, they began their comments with apologies and disclaimers.

This feeling of fraudulence is similar to the phenomenon known as the "Imposter Syndrome." This term surfaced in 1978 in clinical work by Pauline Rose Clance and Suzanne Imes describing high-achieving women. The syndrome is identified in both women and men, but is prevalent among women, "whose educational or other achievements surpass expectations based on their family or cultural milieu."¹²⁵ Women in leadership positions traditionally held by men frequently deal with "imposter" feelings.

McIntosh believes that women (or men) must be confident in their abilities and not let the world make them feel like "frauds," but they also must assert themselves in the way they want to lead:

I suggest both that we mustn't let the world make us feel like frauds, and that we must keep alive in ourselves that sense of fraudulence which sometimes overtakes us in public places. I suggest that on the one hand feeling like a fraud indicates that we have, deplorably, internalized value systems that said most people were incompetent and illegitimate in the spheres of power and public life and authority. But then on the other hand, I suggest that when we apologize in public, we are at some level making a deeply wise refusal to carry on the pretense of deserving and feeling good about roles in conventional and oppressive hierarchies.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Tierney, Encyclopedia, 187.

¹²⁶ McIntosh, "Feeling Like a Fraud," 1.

Hierarchies that make people feel "fraudulent" put leaders at the top, separated by titles, above everyone else, with power over, and out of touch with others. This is antithetical to the feminine leadership approaches of empowerment and inclusion: "Your account of it will be that of a person who has looked down at the surface of the water in the Caribbean rather than snorkeling in it."¹²⁷

McIntosh suggests that the hedging, apologetic communication of the leaders in "Feeling Like a Fraud" is a mechanism for reaching out to others, and a precaution against becoming too isolated, self-sufficient, and independent as leaders. McIntosh is right—leaders **do** need to be confident in their abilities, but that confidence must be qualified. Leaders need to lead in the honest, legitimate way they know is best and most effective, but we "need tentativeness in high places."¹²⁸

Warren Bennis describes self-confidence, self-worth, and development of self as "inventing" oneself.¹²⁹ Bennis believes that all great leaders have embarked on self-invention, usually because they, "suffer as they grow up,

¹²⁷ Ibid., 15.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 9.

¹²⁹ Warren Bennis On Becoming a Leader (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1989), 49-51.

feel different, even isolated, and so develop an elaborate inner life."¹³⁰ Bennis says:

I cannot stress too much the need for self-invention. To be authentic is literally to be your own author (the words derive from the same Greek root), to discover your own native energies and desires, and then to find your own way of acting on them. When you've done that, you are not existing simply in order to live up to an image posited by the culture or by some other authority"¹³¹

A Blended Repertoire

These five characteristics—the three feminine attributes defining one's relationships with others (nurturing, empowerment, and inclusion), and the two masculine concepts of self (assertiveness and self-confidence) produce a "blended repertoire" for public administrators. In working toward a "blended repertoire" of leadership qualities and skills, Max Weber's *verstehen*, or "empathetic understanding,"¹³² provides a useful framework for working to bridge the perceived gap between genders. Students of public administration learn about Weber's ideal-typical "bureaucracy," but few study his concept of *verstehen*. *Verstehen* represents a way of understanding others by blending

¹³⁰ Ibid., 49.

¹³¹ Ibid., 50.

¹³² Lewis Coser, Masters of Sociological Thought (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 220-221.

rational (perceived as characteristic of masculine styles) and intuitive (perceived as a feminine approach) perceptions. This blending, or integration of, different approaches in leadership—this meeting somewhere in the middle between the two genders—will not happen, in leadership or any other social situation, without deliberate intentions, or deliberate verstehen.

The idea of androgyny, the conscious inclusion of both female and male personality characteristics (from the Greek andro—male, and gyne—female¹³³), is a popular concept among theorists. Studies have shown that individuals classified as androgynous are received more favorably than those labeled as feminine or masculine.¹³⁴ Sandra Bem, a communications scholar, devised an androgynous personality scale (the BSRI). When applied to people, it revealed the most healthy and well-adjusted females and males were those who registered the most complete range of gender-specific traits of each sex—in other words, they were the most androgynous individuals.

The principle of androgyny is attractive because it is not a compromise, nor a negation of either gender, but an attempt to enhance and accentuate the valuable attributes of both genders. The concept of androgyny reaches across

¹³³ Adams and Yoder, Effective Leadership, 46.

¹³⁴ Lawrence R. Wheelis, Ann Bainbridge Frymier, and Catherine A. Thompson, "A Comparison of Verbal Output and Communication Satisfaction in Interpersonal Relationships," Communication Quarterly (Vol. 40, No. 2, Spring 1992).

Tannen's cross-cultural genderlect boundaries, to assist women and men in transcending the perceptions that have traditionally limited them and motivated them to exclude one another:

For, in spite of current research trends and ideologies, the sexes are more alike than dissimilar. We are in the presence of a range of human potentialities and qualities, and the more important observation resides in the overlap of human traits between the sexes in spite of a socialization process that encourages cleavage.¹³⁵

The idea of combining the best of both worlds is not a new one. Kate Millett, who wrote Sexual Politics, talked about constructing an androgynous person by combining the most positive of the feminine and masculine characteristics specific to each gender.¹³⁶ Of course, difficulties arise if people do not agree on which characteristics are positive. Talcott Parsons' passive woman of the 1950s may exhibit one person's desirable characteristics, while Simone de Beauvoir's woman exemplifies another's ideal. The same difficulties arise in defining masculine "bests."

Choosing each gender's best may be problematic, but the concept of androgyny is useful. The word, however, is awkward. Many people feel

¹³⁵ Judy Cornelia Pearson, Gender and Communication (Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1985), xiv.

¹³⁶ Tong, Feminist Thought, 101.

uncomfortable using it because of current negative connotations promoted through the media (Saturday Night Live's "Pat," for example). Taking the concept of androgyny and its conscious assimilation of the best of each gender, and identifying it with new words, a "blended repertoire," will serve a new leadership model well. Taking also from the androgynous concept an implied tolerance for differences, a leadership model blending the three feminine and two masculine characteristics described in this paper will be a tolerant one, serving to liberate leaders from traditional leadership expectations.

CHAPTER V

The New Leadership Model—Will It Have a Role in "Public Entrepreneurship?"

The idea is simple, almost elementary. Combine three relationship perspectives commonly identified with the feminine gender with an approach and a confidence commonly associated with masculine demeanor. The words sound simple—nurturing, empowerment, inclusion, assertiveness, and self-confidence. Some of the concepts are so familiar, such as empowerment and inclusion, that one could easily shrug them off as trite, or obvious. To many the suggestion that a leader may need to practice assertiveness and self-confidence would sound ridiculous. Using the phrase, "reinventing leadership" would connote presumptuousness. Looking closely at the current predominant leadership style in the public sector (i.e. formal and informal bureaucratic levels of authority), however, one understands how different this concept based on difference is from the norm. The approach may fly in the face of traditional, hierarchical, rigid ways of operation, but as an effective and a reflective (of society) leadership style, this blended repertoire will become imperative for public administrators.

The idea of transforming the public sector through "reinventing government" (taken from the book by that title by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler), or "public entrepreneurship," faces a similar response as the leadership model described above. Framed within the overall notion of "entrepreneurial" organizations, the following ten principles define reinventing government:

1. Catalytic Government: Steering rather than rowing.
2. Community-Owned Government: Empowering rather than serving.
3. Competitive Government: Injecting competition into service delivery.
4. Mission-Driven Government: Transforming rule-driven organizations.
5. Results-Oriented Government: Funding outcomes, not inputs.
6. Customer-Driven Government: Meeting the needs of the customer, not the bureaucracy.
7. Enterprising Government: Earning rather than spending.
8. Anticipatory Government: Prevention rather than cure.
9. Decentralized Government: From hierarchy to participation and teamwork.
10. Market-Oriented Government: Leveraging change through the market.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, Reinventing Government (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1992).

This model for reinvented government strongly resembles the leadership model proposed here. Steering, empowering, transforming, a focus on the "customer" (people), participatory, teamwork, and change—the words describing new approaches to governing are also the words connected with a blended leadership style.

At first glance, these ten principles are simple. They resemble proverbs—ideas to frame on a plaque, hang on one's office wall, and glance at occasionally. The simplicity of the message conceals its seriousness. Reinventing government, and changing the existing system in the public sector, will be very, very difficult. This model for governing will meet with the same resistance encountered by a nurturing, empowering, inclusion-based, assertive, and self-confident leadership model for public administrators. The simplest, most logical concepts are often the most difficult to implement—when they involve change from the status quo.

Together the premise of reinventing government and the proposition of reinventing leadership can invoke that change. Both are people-based, not system-based. Both require the transformation of ingrained attitudes and procedures—personal **and** professional. Both involve imagination, creativity,

and Weber's verstehen. Both models are "thinking across boundaries ... the ultimate entrepreneurial act"¹³⁸—public boundaries of structure and private boundaries of gender. Both are blended repertoires. Both, however, are dependent on each other for success. A new leadership paradigm, even if it combines the "best," will not work in an old culture. We can't revise obsolete systems without new leadership practices.

We can't just reinvent **words** (one Missoula leader calls it "wordsmithing"),¹³⁹ we must reinvent behavior with the practices. Just as traditional government is **not** catalytic, community-owned, competitive, mission-driven, results-oriented, customer-driven, enterprising, anticipatory, decentralized, and market-oriented, traditional leadership does **not** nurture, empower, and include—and although it is usually self-confident, it often supplements aggression for assertiveness. As Sally Helgeson says, "Hierarchical structures are male. They were devised in the public sphere when it was dominated by men."¹⁴⁰ The public sphere is no longer dominated by men, and masculine ways of organization. We must all—female and male—recognize the "feminine advantage."

¹³⁸ Rosabeth Kanter, "Thinking Across Boundaries," Harvard Business Review (November-December, 1990): 9.

¹³⁹ Interview with Ann Cook, Missoula, Montana, 13 April 1993.

¹⁴⁰ Tom Peters, Liberation Management (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 368.

When asked if a new leadership style including feminine leadership characteristics, and women as leaders, is helping to reinvent government, the response from leaders interviewed for this paper was affirmative. One Helena leader explained that women have needed to use entrepreneurial-type approaches to break through traditional male barriers—they have had to "break the mold" because they didn't fit the old organizational mold.¹⁴¹ Ellen Leahy, director of the Missoula City-County Health Department, revealed that out of 22 finalists for a prestigious Robert Wood Johnson grant to implement innovative projects in health care, 21 were organizations led by women. Missoula received the grant.

Another Helena leader confirmed that because the feminine approach is person-oriented it will function well in the client-focused milieu of reinvented government.¹⁴² Women, and feminine leadership, do indeed have a "different voice"—one of responsibility and care for others, rather than a focus on the protection of individual rights.¹⁴³ Women, and feminine leadership, have an interpersonal voice, and the ultimate "client" or "customer" focus. One

¹⁴¹ Telephone interview with Bob Jahner, Helena, Montana, 12 April 1993.

¹⁴² Telephone interview with Julia Robinson, Helena, Montana, 15 April 1993.

¹⁴³ Carol Gilligan, In a Different Voice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

Missoula leader commented that her ideal of reinvented government would include the philosophy of win-win public policy outcomes—a "power with" concept commonly found in feminine leadership styles.¹⁴⁴

Local government is the grass-roots forum for the reinventing government concept. Local government is also recognized as a place where women, and people who exemplify a feminine leadership style, have opportunities to rise to positions of leadership. Studies of women in public office at the local level indicate that women, in contrast to their male colleagues, exhibited more concern for their responsibilities to their **community**, and directed their attention to civic goals.¹⁴⁵ This community focus has helped women move into public office and public administration as more than just "token" leaders.

Although none of the individuals interviewed for this paper believed that women in the public sector really **do** have the same leadership options as their male colleagues, Missoula, Montana has an all-female Board of County Commissioners (featured on the cover of Governing magazine as a first in the United States).

Many people interviewed on leadership used these commissioners as an example of a reinvented, entrepreneurial county government that

¹⁴⁴ Kelly, Saint-Germain, and Horn, Annals: 82.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

encourages risk-taking, fosters an honest and trusting environment, has minimized politics, governs by consensus, and gives free reign to county workers without sacrificing quality standards. The three Missoula County Commissioners exemplify the leadership model described in this paper. They value, practice, and honor the three feminine characteristics of nurturing, empowerment, and inclusion, and they govern with principled assertiveness and self-confidence in their opinions and the mandate of their public. Their focus is their community—their clients. The three commissioners are a model for both reinvented governmental practices and reinvented leadership behavior. They are a testimony to the potential of these concepts.

Reinvention means change. It is not change affected by completely discarding a way of doing things, but by the reinventing of, or creating again, something worthwhile. Critics of change are always concerned about the possibility of "throwing the baby out with the bath water." Reinvention, with the change it facilitates and requires, need not be so drastic. Change is best when it is built upon the foundation of the past and the realities of the present. The leadership style proposed here, one that is based on a meeting of the genders, does just that. It is grounded in the past experiences of women and men, and the present realities of their relationships with each other. It is a "repertoire," a reserve of capabilities to bring forth in the reinvention process.

Like other societal "inventions" needing reinvention to be meaningful in a contemporary context, public administration also can be reinvented to include women, and feminine ways of leadership.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

As we survey the path leadership has taken, we spot the wreckage of "trait theory," the "great man" theory, and the "situationist" critique, leadership styles, functional leadership, and finally, leaderless leadership, to say nothing of bureaucratic leadership, charismatic leadership, group-centered leadership, reality-centered leadership, leadership by objective, and so on. The dialectic and reversals of emphases in this area very nearly rival the tortuous twists and turns of child-rearing practices, and one can paraphrase Gertrude Stein by saying, "a leader is a follower is a leader."¹⁴⁶

The discussions on leadership never cease, changing with the times.

R.M. Stogdill reviewed over twenty-five thousand books and articles on leadership in 1974 and still could not find an answer to the question of leadership.¹⁴⁷ The time has arrived to examine leadership as it relates to gender. Women are demanding that this discussion take place, as they seek leadership representation in areas where they have previously experienced

¹⁴⁶ Quoted from Administrative Science Quarterly, in Bennis, On Becoming a Leader, 39.

¹⁴⁷ Carr-Ruffino, The Promotable Woman, 250.

exclusion. One of these previously male-dominated realms is public administration.

Although women are seeking ways to break the "glass ceiling" into leadership positions, and will indeed break that "glass ceiling" in time, generations will pass before gender-linked differences are eliminated in our society. Nevertheless, "Feminine principles are entering the public realm because **we can no longer** afford to restrict them to the private domestic sphere, nor allow a public culture obsessed with Warrior values to control human destiny if we are to survive."¹⁴⁸ Gender discussions are divisive. An historian observed in 1989 that the history of politics and government has been, "enacted on the field of gender."¹⁴⁹ Gender differences still require interpretation and understanding. A gender-based leadership model helps in that interpretation and understanding.

In proposing a gender-based leadership model for public administration, five characteristics receive priority. The three characteristics identified as feminine leadership attributes relate to the public administrator-leader's relationship with others—they are nurturing, empowerment, and inclusion. Two characteristics identified as masculine, assertiveness and self-confidence,

¹⁴⁸ Helgesen, The Female Advantage, 255.

¹⁴⁹ Stivers, Gender Images, 137.

delineate the leader's self-image. Combined, these characteristics become a "blended repertoire" of effective leadership skills and qualities.

Henry David Thoreau said that one sees the world more clearly if one looks at it from an angle.¹⁵⁰ Men and women, in this blended repertoire leadership approach, will look at the world from each other's angles. They will listen to each other's different "voices" with tolerance and respect. The leadership model is a plural model, not only of plural, blended behaviors, but of people. It is one based on the social interaction between leaders and followers through communication, sharing, and reciprocity. As "social architects,"¹⁵¹ public administrators as public leaders adopting this model will help to facilitate the reinvention of government and the rejuvenation of community—"What matters most today is the ability to think **together**, not alone."¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 90.

¹⁵¹ Quoted from Warren Bennis, in Ott, Readings, 250.

¹⁵² Kanter, Harvard Business Review: 10.

Appendices

Bibliography

- Aburdeen, Patricia, and John Naisbett. Megatrends for Women. New York: Villard Books, 1992.
- Adams, Jerome, and Janice D. Yoder. Effective Leadership for Women and Men. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1985.
- Alberti, Robert E., and Michael L. Emmons. Your Perfect Right. San Luis Obispo, CA: Impact Publishers, 1989.
- "A Question of Equity: Women and the Glass Ceiling in the Federal Government," a Report to the President and the Congress of the United States by the Merit Systems Protection Board. Washington, D.C., October 1992.
- Bennis, Warren. On Becoming a Leader. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1989.
- Bennis, Warren, and Burt Nanus. Leaders, The Strategies for Taking Charge. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1985.
- Bernard, Jessie. The Female World. New York: The Free Press, 1981.
- Billard, Mary. "Do Women Make Better Managers?" Working Woman, March 1992.
- Bruce, Willa. "Global Watch—Women in Top Positions." Bridging the Gap, published by Section for Women in Public Administration, Fall 1992.
- Carr-Ruffino, Norma. The Promotable Woman, Revised Edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1985.
- Cook, Ann, Director of Foster Grandparent and Senior Companion Programs, Missoula Aging Services. Interview by author, 13 April 1993, Missoula, Montana.
- Corman, Steven R., and Stephen P. Banks, Charles R. Bantz, and Michael E. Mayer. Foundations of Organizational Communication: A Reader. New York: Longman, 1990.

Coser, Lewis. Masters of Sociological Thought. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971.

Cunningham, Joy Pierson. "Fostering Advancement for Women and Minorities." Public Management. Vol. 74, No. 8, August 1992.

Denhardt, Robert B., and Jan Perkins. "The Coming of Death of Administrative Man." Public Administration Review, Vol. 36, No. 4, July/August 1976.

Dominguez, Cari M. "A Crack in the Glass Ceiling." Human Resource Magazine, December 1990.

Donovan, Josephine. Feminist Theory, The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism. New York: Continuum, 1992.

Dowd, Maureen. "Power: Are Women Afraid Of It—Or Beyond It." Working Woman, November 1991.

Dussault, Ann Mary, Missoula County Commissioner. Interview by author, 15 April 1993, Missoula, Montana.

Eisenstein, Hester. Contemporary Feminist Thought. Boston, MA: G.K. Hall and Co., 1983.

Faludi, Susan. Backlash. New York: Doubleday, 1991.

_____. "Blame it on Feminism." Mother Jones, September/October 1991.

Farganis, Sandra. Social Reconstruction of the Female Character. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1986.

Ferguson, Kathy E. The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1984.

Fisher, Anne B. "When Will Women Get to the Top?" Fortune, Vol. 126, No. 6, 21 September 1992.

Fisher, Roger, and William Ury. Getting to Yes. New York: Penguin Books, 1981.

- Follett, Mary Parker. "The Giving of Orders," in Classic Readings in Organizational Behavior, J. Steven Ott, Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1989, 225-264.
- Fraser, Jill Andresky. "Women, Power, and the New GE." Working Woman, December 1992.
- Friedan, Betty. The Feminine Mystique. New York: Dell Publishing, 1963.
- Gilligan, Carol. In a Different Voice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Glazer, Nona, and Helen Youngelson Waehrer. Woman in a Man-Made World. Chicago, Il: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1977.
- Hackman, Michael Z., and Craig E. Johnson. Leadership. A Communication Perspective. Prospect Heights, Il: Waveland Press, Inc., 1991.
- Handley, Elisabeth A. "Women as Managers and Managing Women." The Bureaucrat, Vol. 20, No. 3, Fall 1991.
- Hart, Fern, Missoula County Commissioner. Interview by author, 15 April 1993.
- Helgesen, Sally. The Female Advantage: Women's Ways of Leadership. New York: Doubleday Currency, 1990.
- Jahner, Bob, Transitional Services Unit Manager/Vocational Rehabilitation, Montana Department of Social and Rehabilitative Services, Helena, Montana. Telephone interview by author, 12 April 1993.
- Jakupcak, Michael, Deputy Director, Rural Institute on Disabilities, University of Montana, Missoula, Montana. Interview by author, 13 April 1993.
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. "Thinking Across Boundaries." Harvard Business Review, November-December 1990.
- Kass, Henry D., and Bayard Catron, Editors. Images and Identities in Public Administration. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990.

Kelly, Rita Mae, and Michelle A. Saint-Germain, and Jody D. Horn. "Female Public Officials: A Different Voice?" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 515, May 1991.

Leahy, Ellen, Director, Missoula City-County Health Department, Missoula, Montana. Interview by author, 13 April 1993.

Lepper, Mary M. "The Status of Women in the United States, 1976: Still Looking for Justice and Equity." Public Administration Review, Vol. 36, No. 4, July/August 1976.

Little, Danity M. "Shattering the Glass Ceiling." The Bureaucrat, Vol. 20, No. 3, Fall 1991.

Mahar, Maggie. "The Truth About Women's Pay." Working Woman, April 1993.

McIntosh, Peggy. "Feeling Like a Fraud." Stone Center Work in Progress No. 18 (from Stone Center Colloquium Series), Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, 1985.

Naisbitt, John, and Patricia Aburdeen. Megatrends 2000. New York: Avon Books, 1990.

Nelton, Sharon. "Men, Women and Leadership." Nation's Business, Vol. 79, No. 5, May 1991.

Osborne, David, and Ted Gaebler. Reinventing Government. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1992.

Ott, J. Steven. Classic Readings in Organizational Behavior. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1989.

Pearson, Judy Cornelia. Gender and Communication. Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1985.

Peters, Tom. "The best new managers will listen, motivate, support. Isn't that just like a woman?" Working Woman, September 1990.

_____, and Nancy Austin. A Passion for Excellence. New York: Random House, Inc., 1985.

- _____, and Robert H. Waterman, Jr. In Search of Excellence. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, Inc., 1982.
- Pfeffer, Jeffrey. Power. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1981.
- Phelps, Stanlee, and Nancy Austin. The Assertive Woman. San Luis Obispo, CA: Impact Publishers, 1975 and 1987.
- Robinson, Julia, Former Director, Montana State Department of Social and Rehabilitative Services (SRS), Helena, Montana. Telephone interview by author, 15 April 1993.
- Rhode, Deborah L. Justice and Gender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- _____, Editor. Theoretical perspectives on Sexual Difference. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Rosener, Judy B. "Ways Women Lead." Harvard Business Review, November-December 1990.
- Scott, Karen, and Shannon Roberts, Forum Editors. "Women in Government." The Bureaucrat, Vol. 20, No. 3, Fall 1991.
- Segal, Jonathan A. "Women on the Verge ... of Equality." Human Resource Magazine, June 1991.
- Shafritz, Jay M. and Albert C. Hyde. Classics of Public Administration. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1987.
- Stewart, Debra. "Women in Top Jobs: An Opportunity for Federal Leadership." Public Administration Review, Vol. 36, No. 4, July/August 1976.
- Stivers, Camilla. Gender Images in Public Administration. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993.
- Tannen, Deborah. You Just Don't Understand. New York: Ballantine Books, 1990.
- Thio, Alex. Sociology, An Introduction. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1989.

- Tierney, Helen, Editor. Women's Studies Encyclopedia. New York: Peter Bedrick Books, 1991.
- Tong, Rosemarie. Feminist Thought. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.
- Tunick, George. "Female Outlook Makes More Sense." Missoulian, 5 February 1993.
- Twohig, Jean, Director, Partnership Health Center, Missoula, Montana. Interview by author, 14 April 1993.
- "Ways Men and Women Lead: Is it time to stop talking about gender differences?" Harvard Business Review, January-February 1991.
- Wheelis, Lawrence R., Ann Bainbridge Frymier, and Catherine A. Thompson. "A Comparison of Verbal Output and Communication Satisfaction in Interpersonal Relationships." Communication Quarterly, Vol. 40, No. 2, Spring 1992.
- Wing, Teri, School Administrator and Educator. Interview by author, 15 April 1993.

Synopsis of Interviews

The people interviewed for this project included women and men in educational administration, a person in the State Department of Social and Rehabilitative Services (SRS) who gives workshops for state employees on inclusion and servant leadership, the former director of SRS under the previous administration of Governor Stan Stephens, two public health administrators in Missoula County, two Missoula County Commissioners, and the director of a component of Missoula Aging Services, an agency with multiple funding sources from all levels of government. Some of these individuals hold significant leadership positions in national organizations associated with their work. Everyone interviewed had suggestions of other public administrators to interview. Some even offered calls of introduction to other public administrators because they felt an urgency for them to discuss this subject.

The intent of this sample was not to be scientific in any way. These particular administrators were chosen because they were accessible, they had indicated through their actions as public administrators or public officials that they would be willing to discuss this subject, or they had expressed an interest in the topic in conversation with the author. Had there been more

time, a larger sample could have been interviewed. However, the people cited in this study proved to be a rich source of information.

The intent of the interviews was neither to confirm nor negate the research and experiences of the author, but to broaden the perspective on women and men in leadership, and to gather the impressions of people working in public administration. The interest and enthusiasm expressed by these people, however, validated the paper's purpose. An audience awaits this subject. Leadership in the public sector, and the existence of gender-specific leadership traits and abilities, is a subject that is destined to find a wide and interested audience as more women break through the "glass ceiling" and pursue positions of public leadership.

Interview Questions

Do women, in your opinion, have a different leadership style than men? If so, how? What qualities or attributes do women bring to leadership positions in the public (or private) sector? Do you think that an "androgynous" leadership style/demeanor is possible or ideal? Androgynous = conscious inclusion of both masculine and feminine characteristics.

Do you think "feminine" leadership styles (i.e. styles with characteristics gender-specific to women) have contributed to the "glass ceiling" barrier encountered by women?

Do you think women in the public sector in Montana have the same leadership options as their male colleagues? Do you think that women in local government have more leadership options than women in state, and federal, government?

Would you describe your source of power as organizational (title, position, etc.) or personal (personal strengths, characteristics, etc.)?

Have you experienced, or observed, the problem of female/male stereotyping, and the expectations that arise from that, in your agency or place of work?

How do you think the rural nature of the state of Montana affects leadership options for women in government? Positively? Negatively? Not at all?

Do you see female (or androgynous) leadership styles as having any part of, or contributing to, the "reinvention" of government in Montana? "Reinvented" government = "new eyes," entrepreneurial, decentralized, public/private partnerships, creative, etc.