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On the relationship between femininity and administrative success: A study of the perceptions of selected senior-level North Carolina community college female administrators

Sarantos, Sandra Todd, Ed.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1988

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ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FEMININITY

AND ADMINISTRATIVE SUCCESS: A STUDY

OF THE PERCEPTIONS OF SELECTED

SENIOR-LEVEL NORTH CAROLINA

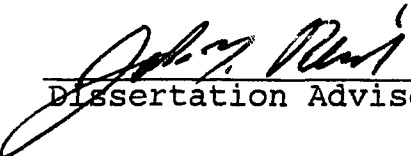COMMUNITY COLLEGE FEMALE

ADMINISTRATORS

by

Sandra T. Sarantos

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro
1988

Approved by

_____
Dissertation Advisor

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Dissertation
Advisor _____

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ii

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Femininity and Administrative Success: A Study of the
Perceptions of Selected Senior-Level North Carolina
Community   College   Female   Administrators.   (1988)
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The purpose of this research was to study and
understand the relationship between femininity and
administrative success as perceived by twelve selected
female presidents, vice presidents, and academic deans in
the North Carolina community college system.

Designed as a multi-site, qualitative study, this
research was conducted using an "eclectic" method of
inquiry, combining certain elements of the grounded theory
approach, specifically those supported by Glaser and
Strauss. Each administrator selected for the study was
interviewed using a structured questionnaire, and data
gathered from these interviews were analyzed with a
modified version of the constant comparative method of
analysis.

While a specific theory of the relationship between
femininity and administrative success did not emerge from
this study of female administrators, six overlapping
theoretical elements of what might evolve into a conceptual
model which describes this relationship became apparent.
In addition to the six overlapping elements, three
composite portraits, or archtypes, of female community
college administrators emerged: the Feminine/Masculine
Female Administrator (FMFA), the Feminine Female
Administrator (FFA), and the "Genderless" Female
Administrator (GFA).

The six elements and the three archtypes which evolved in the study are useful in understanding the relationship between femininity and administrative success among higher education female administrators. At the same time, it is clear that the essential nature of this relationship, that is whether it is positive or negative, depends on whether success is defined in feminine or masculine terms.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history of ideas, according to Anne
Dickason (1982), there are few concepts that "have been so
influential, yet so elusive, as that known as 'the fem-
inine'" (p. 10). Just as elusive is the term "success" and
its relationship to femininity in higher education. While
one cannot expect, in any concrete way, to determine the
precise relationship between femininity and success in
higher education, a better understanding of the
relationship is a problem worth exploring.

Brownmiller (1984) defines femininity as "a romantic
sentiment, a nostalgic tradition of imposed limitations.
Even as it hurries forward in the 1980s, putting on
lipstick and high heels to appear well-dressed, it trips on
the ruffled petticoats and hoopskirts of an era gone by"
(pp. 14-15). Brownmiller writes that the masculine
principle is composed of "a driving ethos of superiority
designed to inspire straightforward, confident success..."
(p. 16). On the other hand, the feminine principle, she
believes, is composed of vulnerability, the need for
protection, and the avoidance of conflict. In addition,
she contends that:

> Femininity pleases men because it makes them appear more masculine by contrast. ...One could say that masculinity is often an effort to please women, but masculinity is known to please by displays of mastery and competence while femininity pleases by suggesting that these concerns, except in small matters, are beyond its intent. Whimsey, unpredictability and patterns of thinking and behavior that are dominated by emotion, such as tearful expressions of sentiment and fear, are thought to be feminine precisely because they lie outside the established route to success. (p. 16)

Hemming (1982) explains what that route to success might entail and gives advice to women aspiring to academic administration ranks. Her advice centers on working hard, being politically aware, and being willing to play the game. Particularly important, she contends, is being well-prepared, academically and experientially, setting goals and objectives, maintaining a sense of humor, and striving to be non-emotional. In addition to this advice, Morrison, et al, (1987), add that unless women are willing to "constantly monitor their behavior, making sure they are neither too masculine nor too feminine" (p. 18), they usually will find it difficult to become as successful as their male counterparts.

One of the reasons women feel they must monitor their behavior is illustrated by the study conducted by Dr. Inge Broverman in 1970 (Jacobson, 1985). She asked 79 psychotherapists to describe a healthy man, a healthy woman, and a healthy human being. A healthy man was described as aggressive, adventurous, independent, and

objective, among other qualities. The healthy woman, on the other hand, was described as submissive, dependent, shy, and emotional. The healthy adult, sex unspecified, was described in terms of almost the same characeristics as was the healthy man. Forty-six male and 33 female therapists contributed to the study, and their answers did not vary by sex.

The view of an aggressive, adventurous and independent female manager, according to Jacobson (1985), does not seem "quite right" in today's workplace. This view is deeply ingrained in our society, and women in upper management must continually battle that masculine image of success if they are to continue making strides into top management (Fields, 1985).

While women, in the abstract, are usually not classified as being aggressive, adventurous, independent, or objective, McGregor (1967) says that they are classified as possessing traits of softness, dependency, and emotionality. He refers to these traits as feminine. Since Morrison, et al, (1987) identified these same traits as feminine traits for women to monitor, one might assume that it could be difficult for women to be feminine and successful in higher education administration illustrated by the small numbers of women in senior-level administrative positions.

In addition to research distinguishing characteristics as being masculine or feminine, further research has been conducted designating the left side of the brain as masculine and the right side as feminine. Unfortunately, the left (or masculine) side of the brain is noted as rational, verbal, and analytical (typical masculine traits), rather than imaginative, intuitive, and feeling (typical feminine traits, or right brained) (Richardson, et al, 1986). However, just as all men are not logical, rational and "masculine," all women are not intuitive, creative, and "feminine." But all successful managers do possess leadership skills, not "luck" as many female administrators are accused of possessing when they enter senior-level positions.

When women are successful, Hunsaker and Hunsaker (1986) write that it is often not attributed to leadership skills they may possess, but to luck or to personal relationships. Since one would assume that organizations support leaders who have skills and abilities rather than those who are just lucky, women often find it more difficult than men to proceed into management ranks. According to a study conducted by Morrison, et al, (1987), the executive women in their program at the Center for Creative Leadership were found to possess the same skills as executive men when it came to leading, influencing, and motivating group members (p. 20). These women did not

achieve their success by mere luck, they did it with skills and abilities. This is additionally impressive becuase women have to be "seen as different, 'better than women' as a group. But they [can't] go too far and forfeit all traces of femininity because that would make them too alien to their superiors and colleagues" (p.20).

Even though women may possess the necessary management and leadership skills required in upper-level positions, they must still monitor their behavior (Morrison, et al, 1987). To more clearly explain the notion of acceptable behavior for executive women, the authors, designed the following illustration (p. 21):
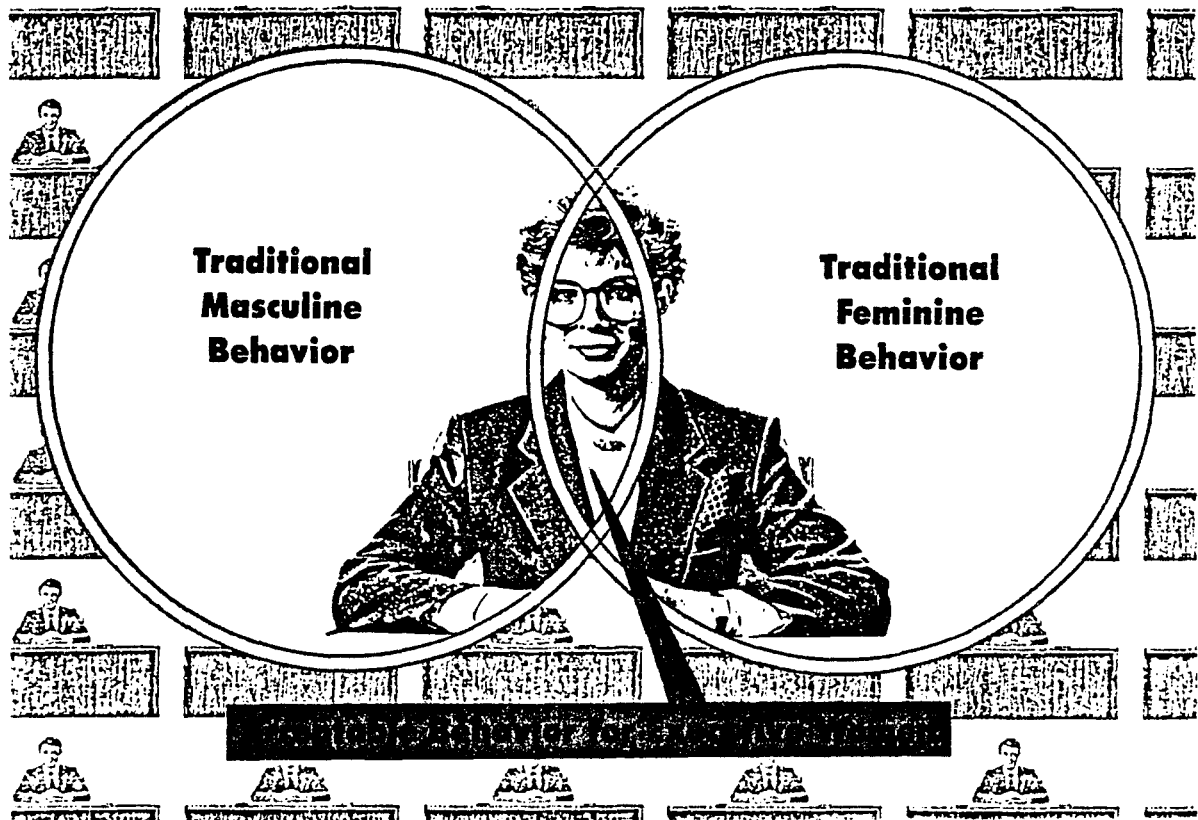
This illustration suggests that limited behavioral characteristics traditionally accepted as "masculine" as well as "feminine" are permitted as acceptable behavior for executive women. According to Morrison, et al, (1987), monitoring this "acceptable" behavior may produce social and psychological barriers for women, as well as side effects, because stereotypical perceptions have led to unrealistic expectations of administrative women (p. 18-26). Women are very aware of these limiting sex role barriers according to Bernardez (1983). They are also aware that stereotypes are based on assumed differences, social conventions, norms, learned behaviors, and expectations.

According to Hunsaker and Hunsaker (1986), Rosabeth Moss Kanter labeled these sex roles and stereotypes as mother, seductress, pet, and iron maiden (p. 7). The reason they are seen as barriers is because women in these roles are typically not perceived as being serious workers. Seductresses, or sex objects, for example, are not even seen as being serious people.

Hunsaker and Hunsaker (1986) describe these roles as follows:

1. Mother (Earth Mother) - Men may bring troubles to a woman because she comforts them. She is stereotyped as being nurturing and sympathetic which may keep her safe from sexual harrassment.

It makes her become an emotional specialist, however, rather than a task-oriented employee. Women perceived as "mother" in administrative settings are rewarded not for their leadership abilities, but for their empathetic, listening skills (p. 7).

2. Seductress (Sex Object) - If women are seen as sex objects by men they work with, they may be debased. If they form a close relationship with a man, they are often seen as "using their bodies" to get "in" with superiors. Although rewarded with attention, the seductress experiences much tension because her perceived sexuality interferes with all other characteristics (p. 7).

3. Pet (Mascot) - The "pet" is a token role when the female is symbolically included in the group like a cheerleader or mascot, but not as an equal or influential figure. On the positive side, she is a least included, but she is tolerated as a cute, amusing novelty, not a competent peer or leader (p. 7).

4. Iron Maiden - If a woman doesn't fall into any of the above three roles, and "sticks to her knitting" in a task-oriented manner, she is seen as the tough "women's libber" type. By

displaying competence and cutting off sexual

innuendoes, she may be seen as threatening to her

male counterparts and this could cause resentment

and suspicion (p. 7)

The sex roles Kanter described are rarely perceived as roles possessing power in organizations. Bernardez (1983) believes femininity and power are incompatible with one another in this culture. She contends that the prevalent view has been that females are inferior to males and are less competent to exercise functions socially assigned to males. The different role expectations associated with masculinity and femininity are also associated with different status rankings within the larger culture; males are more valued. Reed (1983) believes that a "woman occupying a leadership role is not only role incongruent; she is also status incongruent. She simultaneously occupies (at least) two roles: female which is the lower status of gender, and leader, which is a higher status position than member" (p. 37).

Based on these notions, can a woman who perceives herself to possess feminine characteristics be successful in attaining a senior-level administrative position in the North Carolina community college system? She can if she successfully can contend with the contradictory sets of expectations for executive females as presented by Morrison, et al, (1987). The authors see these

expectations as being vital for women to succeed in management: take risks, but be consistently outstanding; be tough, but don't be macho; be ambitious, but don't expect equal treatment; take responsibility, but follow others' advice (pp. 20-25).

According to Morrison, et al, (1987) certain kinds of "male" behaviors are not only desirable but are often required by women in administrative positions. Clearly, acting tough is one of the types of behavior that makes it difficult for women to achieve a happy balance between what is accepted feminine behavior and what must be modified to fit the organization's management norms.

Research has shown that the placement of women in positions of authority over men and women subordinates constitutes a fundamental change in societal norms. Mayes (1979) has suggested that change is a source of fear because change usually means chaos and collapse in the norms and behaviors that govern the most sacred areas of everyday life--the family and sexuality. The reason behind the confusion in role changes and why men have such a difficult time accepting women in leadership positions is that it signifies a change from the societal norms they accept. Dealing with this issue is a very sensitive and delicate subject, and women in administration must attend to it often. They must be tough, but delicate, stern but

understanding, and they must act like women but manage like men.

According to Hunsaker and Hunsaker (1986), women usually are not perceived as being tough enough to handle difficult situations. Being tough is one of several characteristics typically not possessed by women, hence, they are often disqualified from positions of authority. Society, through its process of socialization, has viewed masculinity as synonomous with strength, dominance, and power, and it has reinforced the male's attitude regarding his own "toughness." Simultaneously, Hunsaker & Hunsaker (1986) suggest " it has reinforced the female's feeling of weakness, inadequacy and lack of control over her environment" (p.11).

In addition to socialization, results of a California study conducted by Hemming (1982) illustrate that there are other barriers blocking women from administrative positions specifically in community colleges. They are lack of training and experience, lack of encouragement, lack of mentors and role models, and conflicting social obligations and priorities such as being a mother to children.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of my research is to understand the relationship between femininity and success as perceived by

senior-level female administrators in the North Carolina community college system.

Statement of the Problem

My problem is to determine whether there exists a relationship between femininity and success in the North Carolina community college system.

Although the relationship between femininity and success is the primary focus of this dissertation, within this relationship, the specific issues of sex roles and stereotypes are extremely important. Women must simultaneously deal with role conflict, problems associated with dual careers, and the lack of acceptance, all to a greater degree than do their male counterparts, according to Reed (1983). She contends that the different role expectations associated with masculinity and femininity are associated with different status rankings within the larger culture and that masculinity is the more valued state.

Significance of the Problem

The significance of understanding the relationship between femininity and success in the North Carolina community college system is that such understanding may help explain the scarcity of women in senior-level positions. In addition, it may help women who are aspiring to reach administrative positions.

According to a Status Report prepared as a response to the Task Force on Women and the Economy, there is a scarcity of women in senior-level positions in the North Carolina community college system (Adams, et al, 1985). In 1983, 183 women held twenty-five percent of the executive positions in community college institutions. Although a small percentage compared to those held by men, this represented a growth of fifty-four percent over 1976, when the 119 women executives represented only fifteen percent of the total. Titles and classifications were changed over the period, making the numbers difficult to compare, but it is true that these gains in the overall proportion of executive positions held by women came over a period in which the total number of such positions declined slightly (from 777 to 735).

When the data are broken down by specific job classification, a mixed picture emerges. The North Carolina community college system has had only three female presidents. In 1983, women comprised only 8 percent of the vice presidents, 6 percent of deans of instruction, 13 percent of the deans of students, and 16 percent of the business managers, totaling 24 women; only 13 percent of the executives in the system were female (Adams, et al, 1985).

While there have been significant increases of women administrators in higher education, in general, there has

been no research done to analyze the relationship between femininity and success in higher education. Femininity and feminine leadership, however, have been the topic of much research (e.g., Brownmiller, 1984; Loden, 1985; Vetterling-Braggin, 1982; Hinding, 1986; Boslooper and Hayes, 1973). Women in administrative roles in higher education have also been examined (e.g., Hemming, 1982; Miller & Schroeder, 1983; Etaugh, 1984; Marshal, 1984).

In terms of this dissertation, it is important to note that perceptions of the relationship between femininity and administrative success in North Carolina community colleges has not been studied. The research is significant because there are women who are aspiring to senior-level positions who may be able to better deal with the issues of femininity and success if they can understand the relationship between the two and the effect the two will have on their careers in the North Carolina community college system.

Basic Assumption and Limitations of the Study

The basic assumption of the study is that all of the senior-level female administratiors selected to be interviewed will be honest and cooperative and give freely of their time.

Limitations include the following:

1. Only those women with titles of president, vice
    president, and academic dean were selected to be
    interviewed from lists of female administrators
    submitted by college presidents.

2. Half of the subjects came from two institutions.

3. The researcher is an acquaintance of three of the
    subjects.

Definition of Terms

Grounded Theory: theory that follows from data rather
than theory that precedes data (as in conventional
inquiry). Data is not searched out to prove or disprove
hypotheses held before entering the study. Theory emerges
from the bottom up from many sources of collected evidence
that is interconnected. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) suggest
this "process of data analysis is like a funnel: things
are open at the beginning (or top), and more directed and
specific at the bottom" (p. 29).

Constant Comparative Research Method: a qualitiative
research method involving the combination of data
collection with analysis. According to Bogdan and Biklen
(1982), "theory development does not occur until after the
data collection is near completion" (p. 68). Glaser and
Strauss (1967) write that this method includes four stages:
comparing incidents, integrating categories, delimiting the

theory, and writing the theory (pp. 101-115). In addition, the Glaser and Strauss research method is a continuously growing process according to Lincoln and Guba (1985). Each stage is transformed into the next, allowing earlier stages to remain in operation simultaneously throughout the analysis and provide continuous development to successive stages until the analysis is terminated (p.339).

Coding Categories: a means of sorting descriptive data so material on specific topics can be physically separated from other data. This type of coding involves searching through the data for regularities and patterns, as well as major topics the data covers, then writing down words and phrases to represent these topics and patterns. I will personally do all the coding and categorizing.

Senior-Level Administrator: an individual who has the title of president, vice president, or dean in the North Carolina community college system.

Structured Interviews: according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) this type of interview is a verbal discussion between the researcher and the interviewee when the problem is explained before the interview and the questions formalized ahead of time.

Research Design

The design of this study is based on Glaser and Strauss' idea of grounded theory, theory that develops

after data is collected rather than theory that precedes data as in conventional inquiry. Twelve senior-level administrators in North Carolina's community college system will be interviewed and data will be analyzed by the constant comparative method and recorded in narrative form.

The Sample

The sample of this study consists of twelve selected senior-level female administrators in the North Carolina community college system. There are a total of fifteen female presidents, vice presidents, and academic deans in the system. The presidents of all 58 institutions were requested to send a list of female administrators at their colleges to the interviewer. The administrators selected for the study included only those women on the lists with titles of president, vice president, or dean of instructional programs. All of those selected agreed to be interviewed.

Procedures

Interviews will produce data about the feelings, attitudes and perceptions of the selected administrators, and about the relationship between femininity and administrative success in the North Carolina community college system.

An interview questionnaire with six major topics will be developed with twenty-one questions to encourage respondents to give detailed responses and to generate qualitative data which will be analyzed for commonalities. The interview questions constitute Appendix A.

Two female community college administrators will be selected to field test the questionnaire. A telephone call to each interviewee will serve as the verbal "cover letter," and arrangements for a structured interview will be made. A confirmation letter, with a copy of the questionnaire, will be mailed to both interviewees before the appointments.

Before the test interviews, the two interviewees will be asked for their permission to record their sessions. If permission is granted, each of the two interviews will be tape recorded, and will be transcribed at a later time. The interviewees will be asked if there were any parts of the interview that need clarifying or changing. Each pilot interview will last approximately one-and-one-half hours.

There will be an initial structured interview with the twelve selected administrators designed to last approximately one-and-one-half hours. If it is necessary to clarify points of difference or to pursue important issues that emerge in the first round of interviews, a follow-up round of interviews, designed to last approximately thirty minutes, will be conducted.

Data Analysis

The data analysis will be inductive and subjective, according to the procedures of the constant comparative method. Upon completion of each interview, a typed transcript of the tape recordings will be prepared. Categories of data will be coded and analyzed using techniques of constant comparative analysis, the method used for developing grounded theory.

As Bogdan and Biklen (1982) suggest, the identity of the subjects will be protected (p. 50). To achieve anonymity in this study, the names of the subjects, as well as their institutions, will be deleted in reporting the findings. Lincoln and Guba (1985), recommend that researchers exercise all "reasonable precautions" to guarantee confidentiality of data gathered from their subjects (p. 372). To accomplish this, I will retain the twelve tapes of recorded interviews as well as all written notes and transcriptions.

Summary

In this chapter, I stated the purpose of this dissertation: To study and understand the relationship between femininity and success as perceived by senior-level female administrators in higher education, specifically in the North Carolina community college system.

The background of the problem and its significance were presented, as was an assumption, and three limitations of the study. Definitions of terms were provided, as was an explanation of how the sample was chosen, a description of the procedures to be used to gather data, and a description of the method of data analysis. A more thorough description of the research methodology will be given in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Women administrators in higher education face special challenges. First, if they are in a dean's level position or above, they comprise a very small percentage of administrators on college campuses. In fact, on the average, colleges and universities nationwide employ only 1.1 females in a dean level or above position (Sandler, 1986). Second, in general, women administrators must constantly deal with their feelings on issues such as success (or the fear of success), feminine (as opposed to masculine) leadership styles, and barriers to success, such as stereotyping and sex role expectations.

While the topics of success, women as leaders in higher education administration, femininity, and barriers to success have been studied, there is a need to examine the relationship between them in order to better understand how this relationship relates to the small number of women who attain senior-level administrative positions in higher education. To accomplish this, and for purposes of this dissertation, I will explore four main groupings of literature.

First, there will be an overview of the literature which treats the topic of success in general and, more

specifically, of success in terms of administrative women. Second, there will be a discussion of works dealing with women as administrative leaders in higher education, specifically in community colleges. Third, there will be a discussion of books and articles which examine femininity and feminine leadership styles. Finally, there will be an exploration of literature concerning social and psychological barriers to success, such as stereotyping and sex role expectations experienced by administrative women.

Success

According to Seibert (1984), "the only kind of success that means anything involves achieving a goal and then sharing that achievement with others in some way..." (p. 203). He contends that the further up the administrative ladder one moves, the more wisdom and advice he or she has to offer younger people in order to help them move up the same ladder. In other words, achievers should breed achievers. There are certain types of people who are achievers and who constantly aim to attain high goals, according to the Gallup Organization which conducted an indepth study of success (Gallup, 1987). Probing the attitudes and traits of 1500 prominent people selected at random from Who's Who in America, the researchers found a number of recurring traits among top achievers. Five of the most important traits are common sense, knowing one's

field, self-reliance, general intelligence, and the ability to get things done.

Common sense was the most prevalent trait found among the Gallup respondents. To most of them, common sense meant "the ability to render sound, practical judgments on everyday affairs" (p. 110). In order to make those judgments, one respondent emphasized the importance of the ability to reduce complex problems to their simplest forms and the ability to use common sense in order to make the best decisions regarding those problems. In addition, he believed that common sense can be developed and is not an inborn trait.

The second most common trait found in the Gallup study was knowing one's field. Geologist Philip Oxley said, "People who are going to be good managers need to have a practical understanding of the crafts in their business" (Gallup, 1987, p. 110). The respondents in the study unanimously agreed that nothing helps managers achieve success more than knowing what they are doing. However, they felt that expertise cannot be taken for granted. Achievers constantly upgrade their skills in order to attain their goals; they do their homework and they want to achieve success.

Seventy-seven percent of the Gallup respondents gave themselves an "A" rating for self-reliance, the third most important trait. This trait is "not how you feel or how

good you are; rather, it's whether you have the 'gumption' to take definitive action to get things moving in your life. It includes plain old will power and the ability to set goals" (Gallup, 1987, p. 111). In addition to "gumption, " the respondents believed achieving success requires the stamina to work the hours required to accomplish the established goals and objectives.

The fourth trait possessed by most of the Gallup respondents was general intelligence. It was their belief that this trait involves the natural ability to comprehend difficult concepts quickly and the ability to analyze these concepts clearly and incisively. It was not surprising that they ranked intelligence near the top --the median IQ score of the respondents was 140. The year preceding the survey, they read an average of 19 books, including ten nonfiction works. They felt very strongly that it is important for achievers to possess an extensive vocabularly as well as good reading and writing skills. One executive stated that "An inquiring mind and broad-ranging interest are fundamental to success" (Gallup, 1987, p. 112).

The fifth trait the respondents identified was the ability to get things done. They agreed that at least three qualities helped them in this area: organizational ability, good work habits, and diligence.

The five traits designated by the Gallup respondents as being necessary for achieving success, are among many

possessed by aspiring men and women. In her study of women executives, Adams (1979) discovered that the perception of success was also an important ingredient. A movie producer told her, "Success is something someone else has that you aspire to" (p. 4); it is something perceived by achievers that is necessary to illustrate that they have accomplished their goals.

In every organization, women, as well as men, aspire to the top rungs of the managerial ladder, but according to Adams (1979), it is "harder for women [to make it] than [it is] for men" (p. 2). Once a woman reaches the top, she must deal with men wondering "what kind of [a] real woman she is" (p. 5). In other words, can she be a "real" woman and succeed, or does she have to change?

Two important questions to ask of successful women are how will success change them and will reality equal their dreams of achievement? According to Adams (1979), few women she interviewed had any early dreams, fantasies, or expectations about success. In fact, some of them told her their dreams were similar to those of the girls they grew up with--a home, a husband, children. Some of them thought they could have it all--a rich, rewarding career and a satisfying family life. Others felt from the beginning they could not have it all and made their choices accordingly. All of them believed it was necessary to change in order to achieve success and reach career goals.

Bolen (1984) states that "to make a dream come true, one must have a dream, believe in it, and work toward it" (p. 229). In addition, she feels that "it is essential that another significant person believe that the dream is possible: that person is a vision carrier, whose faith is often crucial" (p. 229). Women , as well as men, need to be able to imagine that their dreams are possible and to have another person look at them and their dreams as reality.

According to Bolen (1984), the reason there are so few famous women chefs, artists, and orchestra leaders, is that there are so few "carriers of the Dream" (p. 230). She contends that "women have nurtured the Dream for men, while men in general haven't nurtured the Dream very well for the women in their lives" (p. 230). This state of affairs is partially a result of unfair generalizations, or stereotypes, about women which have limited women's imagination as well as stifled their opportunities.

Boslooper and Hayes (1973) summarize one of the stereotypes ,referred to by Bolen, by quoting Erica Jong:

> Just about the most common complaint of talented women...is that they can't finish things. Partly because finishing implies being judged--but also because finishing things means being grown up. Most important, it means possibly succeeding at something. And success, for women, is always partly failure (p. 15).

Boslooper and Hayes (1973) contend that women have been set up to fail and have been "conditioned against

success by a combination of social pressure and ridicule, by medical, philosophical, and anthropological cant [and] by distorted history" (p. 176). They further ascertain that competitiveness, aggressiveness , and the desire to achieve are qualities necessary for success, but are considered unfeminine traits. They define femininity "as passivity, as emotional dependence and physical weakness, as reaction instead of action; the portrait, in short, of a loser" (p. 176).

Deaux (1976) summarizes Martin Horner's notion that some women actually choose to be losers. Horner's theory is that women have motives to avoid success, including the feeling that they might be considered "unfeminine" or they might be socially rejected by men (p. 49).

Dowling (1981) writes that some women do choose to be losers but that "personal, psychological dependency--the deep wish to be taken care of by others--is the chief force holding women down today" (p. 31). She refers to this notion as "The Cinderella Complex" which she believes is a network of repressed attitudes and fears "that keeps women in a kind of half-light, [and forces them into] retreating from the full use of their minds and creativity" (p. 31).

Adams (1979) writes that some women do have repressed fears of success but that the consensus one finds in the literature is that women are progressing slower up the managerial ladder because they are not "like men not just

because of their fear of success." She lists several reasons women ,in general, are not "like men": they have different cultural conditioning; they do not compete well; they lack training in teamwork; they back away from confrontations; they are too emotional; they do not take risks; they are not aggressive enough; they have familial responsibilities; they are task (rather than goal) - oriented; they are too vulnerable to criticism; they take things too personally; and they are too concerned with detail to have a perspective of the whole (p. 20). In addition, Adams contends that women really want to get to the big things, but because of their fastidiousness, they are always worrying about nitpicky things that get in the way of important larger things (p. 21).

Another trait usually seen as being negative for women is emotionalism according to Adams. Pat Neighbors, vice-president of Avon, said, "If emotionalism is only based on yourself, who needs it? But if it is based on issues and values, we all do. It is important to incorporate controlled emotionalism and intuitiveness into executive decision-making; to make feeling part of logic" (Adams, 1979, p. 22). This suggests two questions: First, should important issues be decided without feelings? Second, and more important, should women mask or monitor their feelings of caring and emotionalism, as well as other "feminine" traits, in order to succeed in management? The

answer to the first question is clearly implied in Neighbors quote: important issues should not be decided without elements of controlled emotionalism and intuition. According to Morrison, et al, (1987), the answer to the second question is yes, "women must constantly monitor their behavior, making sure they are neither too masculine nor too feminine [if they are to be successful in upper management]" (p. 18). The authors contend that there is a small, relatively safe zone in which women can confine themselves and remain "obviously female and easy to be with, but also strong-willed and thick-skinned enough to pass muster" (p. 24).

Loden (1985) contends that women must "repress and essentially deny much of their natural identity and many of their most useful skills [in order to succeed]" (p. 29). In addition, she claims that some women even willingly modify their appearance, and their interests, as well as their behavior, in an effort to fit the male managerial mold. There is little doubt that many women in management have gotten where they are today by playing accommodating roles and adapting to a masculine style of management according to Loden (1985). She states that many of these women see nothing wrong with this process of adaptation: "They learned to adapt and they succeeded. Why should it be any different for other women?" (p. 35). Loden also contends that only a very small percentage of women in

management have been able to utilize their feminine leadership styles in lieu of playing accommodating roles. She suggests that the reason more women are not being hired in top level management positions is that

> ...the profile of the standard senior executive is still a white male, age fifty, with a wife who doesn't work, two children, and fairly traditional views on the roles that men and women should play in society...[and who] consciously or unconsciously, [continues] to promote people with whom [he is] familiar and comfortable in working relationships (p. 37).

Women as Administrative Leaders in Higher Education

Many people believe, rightly or wrongly, that they understand what management and leadership mean. "Planning," "organizing," "staffing," "directing," and "controlling" are words that have been used over the years to define the term "management" according to Zenger (1985). "Leadership," on the other hand, has been less well-defined, partly because it is often associated with charisma. Charisma is a concept that Zenger believes "falls into the same category as beauty---impossible to define and totally in the eye of the beholder" (p. 45).

Although Zenger contends that charisma is a part of what leaders possess, he also suggests that leaders create values through communication, develop committed followers, help followers accomplish their objectives, exhibit appropriate role model behavior, focus on important issues,

and serve as a link to the rest of the organization and to the rest of the world.

Hunsaker and Hunsaker (1986) write that "leadership involves communicating the what and how of job assignments to subordinates and motivating them to do the things necessary to achieve organizational objectives" (p. 37). They feel that leadership is the most interpersonal function of management and that it involves the cultivation of an organizational climate in which people grow professionally as they contribute to the organization's overall goals. The effective leader, in other words, is able to persuade others to work enthusiastically and competently in an atmosphere which is conducive to attaining predetermined organizational objectives.

Loden (1985) summarizes Michael Maccoby's ideas on leadership: "The best of all leaders is the one who helps people so that eventually, they don't need him. ...When he is finished with his work, the people say, 'It happened naturally'" (pp. 55-56). Josefowitz (1984) expressed her feelings about potential leaders another way: "If the best of me can make more of you, then the best of you will reflect on me" (p. 194).

Whether leadership lets "it" happen naturally or whether leadership is accomplished by leaders mirroring leaders, it occurs in all organizations. According to

Hodgkinson (1983), "It can be done well or it can be done indifferently, but it cannot not be done at all" (p. 196). Some type of leadership must exist in organizations in order to help them fulfill their major purpose.

Since time began, men have organized themselves around and about purposes. To help organizations accomplish their purposes, knowledge of managerial techniques has increased, but so has the scale, size, complexity, and technology of organizations. Hodgkinson contends that "our society is more organized now than it ever has been and this means that administration is more ubiquitous, more prepotent more all pervasive [than in years past]" (p. 3).

Administration is leadership and leadership is administration according to Hodgkinson (1983). He writes that the distinction between administration (or leadership) and management can be understood in broad terms between policy making and policy implementation, between the judgmental and the active sides of organizational life. He asserts that administration in organizations refers "to the more thinking, qualitative, humane and strategic aspects of the comprehensive executive function, while 'management' refers to the more doing, quantitative, material and technical aspects" (p. 2). Hodgkinson also eloquently refers to the organization as the "canvas of administrative art. And life within organizations...is the administrative analogue of paint" (pp. 2-3).

Another point of view is that leadership, authority, power, and influence are all interconnected. Josefowitz (1984) contends that leadership is the process of influencing, that power is the capacity to influence, and that authority is the power to exercise leadership. She writes that "a leader has (1) the authority to decide what should happen and who should do it; (2) the responsibility to make it happen; and (3) the accountability for what does actually happen" (p. 199).

Administrators in senior-level positions are held accountable for, and have the authority and responsibility for, the success of their organizations. Only 1% of the administrators in these positions nationally are women, even though women comprise one-half of the labor force (Josefowitz, 1983).

Although there are so few women administrators according to Reed (1983), conceptions about feminine versus masculine leadership styles are not all negative even though many views of women are incompatible with conceptions of competent leadership (p. 36). Many of the studies on leadership illustrate that "men and women leaders usually behave in similar ways, but that women are often perceived and reacted to differently from men, usually more negatively" (p. 36). There is also some evidence that relationships among members, as well as group development, are affected by the gender of the leader.

According to Reed (1983), a female leader is likely to be sent conflicting messages about how members of a group expect her to behave (leaderlike, but feminine). Since many of the messages are incompatible, her inability to meet all of their expectations can lead inevitably to dissatisfaction with her performance.

Women who have confronted the dilemma of mixed messages and who have evolved as effective leaders include Queen Elizabeth I, Florence Nightingale, Indira Gandhi, and Gloria Steinem (Hunsaker and Hunsaker, 1986). Their success as leaders demonstrates that a great variety of personalities and styles can be equally effective in leadership positions. Leadership, afterall, "is not a matter of who the person is, but how that person influences others" (p. 37).

Many of these notions of leadership apply to institutions of higher education. According to Etaugh (1984), data indicate that although the status and number of women faculty members and administrators has improved somewhat, much remains to be accomplished. Etaugh suggests that many people believe campus discrimination against women has ended. On the contrary, research suggests that

> while the proportion of women faculty has increased, women still are concentrated in a small number of fields, in the lower ranks, and at less prestigious institutions. They are paid less than male faculty and are likely to be less tenured. Similarly, women administrators are underrepresented in high-level positions,

especially at public coeducational institutions,
and are paid less than men. (p. 22)

Affirmative action legislation was enacted in 1972 to
guard against discrimination and to improve the status of
women in higher education. The decision in a recent
California Supreme Court case indicates that affirmative
action programs in postsecondary institutions can work.
The case of Johnson vs. Transportation Agency involved a
male employee who charged "reverse discrimination" when a
woman was promoted to the job he was seeking. Her
interview score had been slightly lower than his. The
court's ruling against the male plaintiff is significant,
according to Higgerson and Higgerson (1987), because it was
that court's first decision on the legality of affirmative
action for women.

The authors write that the purpose of affirmative
action is "to insure that all qualified women and members
of minority groups have equal opportunity to apply and be
considered for available jobs." (p. 68). Search committees
on college campuses often seek applicants with quantifiable
qualifications, such as number of publications, and years
of teaching or administrative experience. Because many
women choose to enter the work force later than their male
counterparts, and because many choose to obtain college
degrees later in life many of them would lack the
qualifications required, especially for senior-level
administrative positions.

Affirmative action plans were put into place in 1972, but, according to Etaugh (1984), by 1978 there was still little change in the number of women in top higher education administrative positions. The results of a 1978 survey of 1,222 higher education institutions indicated that only 20% of the top administrative positions were held by women, and they were usually in private, rather than public, coeducational institutions (p. 24).

Although there was a slight increase in the number of female college presidents, the survey indicated little change in the number of female deans or in the distribution of females throughout academic disciplines. Etaugh summarized Astin's findings:

> In 1972 women comprised 13.7% of all deans in over 1800 institutions of higher education. Of these, 60% were in nursing and home economics. ...In 1978, women held 13.4% of the deanships in public white coeducational institutions and 15.2% at private white coeducational institutions. The majority of these positions were in nursing and home economics. (p. 25)

The situation changed little over the next few years according to Sandler (1986). She writes that in 1981, 13.8% of college deanships were held by women and over half of them were in nursing, arts and sciences, home economics, and continuing education. In addition, she contends that though few female professors become academic deans, "academe is full of examples [in higher education] in which male professors become deans without having served as

department chairs, or assistant or associate deans, or where men from industry or government with little academic experience become presidents" (p. 6).

Even though female professors seldom become deans, and are concentrated in limited academic areas, many female senior administrators are employed in the student service (or helping) areas of their colleges. Sandler (1986) writes that in 1981, half of all senior-level female administrators in white, co-educational institutions were primarily in the areas of student services rather than in academic administration, keeping "in line with stereotypes of feminine interest in the helping role" (p. 25).

In 1986, women in central higher education administration reported feeling not as important as their male peers. According to Sandler, they also felt locked into their "associate" or "assistant-to" positions which usually offer few chances for advancement. Moreover, because the majority of higher education women are employed in positions with little status, such as secretaries, clerical workers, and cafeteria staff, "women faculty and administrators stand out even more sharply as 'anomalies'" (p. 4). This may lead staff members on campus, including other women, to perceive women as less knowledgeable and less competent than they really are.

According to Miller and Schroeder (1983), when women are hired as senior-level administrators, they should be

trusted and held accountable for the tough decisions as well as the easy ones. To be effective decision makers, the authors recommend that women learn how to define problems; gather appropriate information; list alternatives; analyze the consequences of alternatives through advantages and disadvantages of each; utilize appropriate strategies to implement decisions, and evaluate decisions (p. 229).

The recommendations listed above, could be followed by both males and females in higher education, for all leaders must be effective decision makers in order to lead their institutions toward achieving established goals and objectives.

Boards of trustees, as well as administrative cabinet members, look for effective decision makers, people who are task oriented and who have good human relations skills according to Hall and Alfred (1985). The results of a 1982 study of seven community colleges in California suggest that community college trustees and administrative cabinet members perceive their presidents as having high human relation and high task orientation. Board and cabinet members tended to associate effectiveness in presidents with a task oriented style (p. 38). From results of this study, Hall and Alfred suggest that community colleges need congenial leaders who are task oriented and who are

flexible enough to adapt to the changing needs of the community as well as the college.

In a similar study of women administrators in California's community colleges, respondents were asked to respond to a survey in 1972 and again in 1982 regarding characteristics of community college administrators. The top three characteristics they listed as being necessary to succeed in community college administration were interpersonal skills, flexibility, and organizational abilities (Hemming, 1982). Other characteristics they included were self-confidence, fairness and objectivity, sense of humor, decision-making skills, intelligence, listening skills, good physical and mental health, and patience (p. 4). The advice from one respondent to aspiring female administrators was to work hard to enhance those characteristics and to "be prepared to stand your ground, anticipate changes, and have a sense of humor. Don't be awed by your promotion; you wouldn't be there unless you earned it" (p. 5).

The results of Hemming's study of community college women administrators indicated that compared to their 1972 counterparts, 1982 community college female administrators, on the average, were younger, had fewer years of administrative experience, were better educated, were less likely to be married or had been married a shorter period of time, and had fewer children. They were also twice as

likely to believe they had suffered discrimination on the basis of their sex.

The average age of the administrative woman in Hemming's study was 47, in 1982, which was five years younger than her 1972 peer. The average number of years of administrative experience was nine, compared with twelve in 1972. The respondents in 1982 had entered administration sooner than those in the previous study. Over 70% of the 1982 women had entered administration by the age of 40.

Hemming (1982) estimated that if all the women in her study who were working on their doctoral degrees completed them, close to 50% would hold the terminal degree as compared with 23% in 1972. This increase is even more pronounced when compared with the results of a 1975 study of male and female administrators in California's colleges and universities: just 13% of the women held doctorates, compared with 36% of the men in comparable positions. Apparently the need to attain the doctorate as a "ticket" to high administrative posts, particularly for women, has become more important than in years past (p. 4).

Another striking finding in Hemming's study involved family status. Seventy-five percent of the respondents had been married at least once; 44% were married at the time of the survey, and of those, 40% had children compared with 73% in 1972; 25% of them were divorced; and, 25 % had never

been married.   The most dramatic   change from the 1972 study was a 500% increase in the divorce rate, from 5% to 25%.

Additional information gathered from Hemming's 1982 study is important. Results indicate that top women administrators in   community colleges   are very   well satisfied with their jobs, and more than two-thirds of the women in the study aspired to higher positions.   Overall, the respondents enjoyed working with staff members and students, achieving   objectives,   exercising   authority, having autonomy, the value   of their work, and   the challenges of building and rebuilding.   The women in Hemming's study admitted they placed more emphasis on practicalities and being assertive and competent, than on patience and gentleness, than did their peers in 1972 (p. 6). The most encouraging result from Hemming's study was that nearly 90% of the women administrators surveyed said they would choose the same career again, and they would choose the community college level.

Hemming suggests that "in all likelihood, the results of this study can be safely generalized to women in higher education administration nationally " (p. 8).   On   a national level, she contends, women have made progress both in terms of numbers and position levels during the last decade.   Unquestionably Hemming feels there are many reasons for this progress, including the existence of

affirmative action legislation; the resurgence of the Women's movement; and the growing awareness levels on the part of women both collectively and individually of their own potential, capabilities, and aspirations (p. 8). Even though women have made progress in attaining top level positions in higher education, more efforts must be made by boards of trustees, college search committees, and by women themselves.

Many women are making that effort according to Marshall (1984). She writes that more women than ever before are enrolling in higher education administration programs to earn doctorates and other credentials. Sadly, the women graduates of these programs are more likely than men to enter careers other than college administration (p. 4). Perhaps one of the reasons female students choose not to pursue careers in college administration is that there are so few female role models. They presume that top leadership positions are filled with men and that women have few chances of achieving in upper administrative levels.

According to Marshall (1984), informal career socialization processes in educational administration include having a sponsor, demonstrating loyalty, and attaining visibility. Gaining a sponsor is very difficult for women because most sponsors seek out proteges who have backgrounds similar to their own. Having to create

alternatives to sponsorship becomes an additional task for women. Along the way, some women falter; some lower their aspirations or seek other careers (pp. 3-4).

Women professors can become role models for young women. They can help students identify administrative job openings and encourage their students to apply. Without this help, women who enroll in graduate programs to earn credentials and doctorates may continue to have less success entering and moving up in education administration (p. 5). One of the reasons is because men in the "old-boy network" usually hire other men because they are more comfortable with employees "like" themselves.

Josefowitz (1984) refers to this type of replacement hiring as the "clonal effect." She contends that

> Just as individuals and families tend to replicate themselves, so do groups and organizations. The tendency is to replace lost members with people who have similar characteristics or to add people who would not change too much the dynamics of the usual communications patterns. (p. 46)

Abrell (1978) writes that higher education institutions can correct the clonal effect situation. He deems that "if we value higher education as one of the best means for developing human potential, we must find ways to discover, recruit, and retain top-flight administrators [regardless of gender]" (p. 197). Further, he states that search committees use past success records too often as a gauge for success when filling new administrative

positions. Because so few females hold top-level jobs in colleges and universities, women seeking higher administrative positions have a disadvantage. While the question of success as a top leader at another institution is an important one in the process of choosing top administrators, it should not be the only one (p. 197).

Other criteria used when seeking top administrators in higher education institutions include the ability to forecast, plan, delegate, motivate, raise funds, and work with state legislators. In other words, search committees must decide if the candidates have the leadership, personal, and professional qualities needed to satisfy the board of trustees, community, faculty, students, and alumni (p. 198). Seldom are the grounds for the candidates's selection based on his or her knowledge of leadership and never should they be based on preferred gender (p. 197).

Hemming (1982) suggests several reasons women are not chosen to fill top administrative positions in community colleges: negative male attitudes, discrimination, bigotry, socialization/enculturation , women's own preferences, lack of training experience, lack of encouragement, lack of mentors and role models, and other obligations and priorities (p. 6).

As noted earlier, Hemming believes that women are often not hired in top level administrative positions because of male attitudes. Attitudes do not change rapidly

and, for this reason, women who are moving up the administrative ladder are moving up slowly. In addition, men are unaccustomed to being in subordinate roles to women in their professional lives. They are unaccustomed to seeing women in jobs typically held by men. Perhaps men believe women are "too feminine" to handle a man's job. Supporting Hemming's notion, French (1985) summarizes,

> It is claimed by some that feminism creates a male backlash against women; but no one can point to a culture in which women are subordinate yet are treated well....whatever position women occupy in a society, men experience them as threatening; however, great men's control, they do not feel in control (p. 535).

Femininity and Feminine Leadership Styles

According to Deaux (1976), masculinity and femininity are "considered to be relatively stable traits of [an] individual, rooted in anatomy, physiology, and early experience" (p. 134). To measure these traits, Deaux designed a simple masculinity - femininity (M-F) scale. The "test" covered areas such as interests, activities, personality characteristics, and values. It was administered to both men and women. If men endorsed an item more frequently than women, Deaux considered the item to be a masculine trait. Conversely, if women marked an item more frequently, she labeled it a feminine trait.

As one would imagine, this method of measurement could lead to overlap because some women might score high on

masculine traits, and some men might score high on feminine traits. In addition, these same men and women could change over the years, and the results of the test might change considerably. Further, Deaux reports that results of research studies illustrate that as a person's level of education increases so does his or her masculinity/femininity score. The highly educated man is more feminine than is his less educated counterpart. Likewise, as a woman becomes more educated, she becomes more masculine (p. 136).

Deaux writes that even though she believes characteristics can be measured, there is very little known about the relationship between masculine and feminine behaviors, such as altruism, aggression, competition, and nonverbal communication styles. She contends that aggression is in part biologically influenced because research shows that aggression in males appears before socialization is thought to affect behavior. She also notes that men have shown more aggression than women in nearly every society studied.

The process such as the one Deaux designed, of rating masculine and feminine traits as human qualities would be difficult for Marilyn French (1985) to accept. She does not consider the feminine principle as fully human. She contends that femininity is associated with nature, with everything that is "fluid, transient, and flexible, [with]

qualities sometimes denoted weak; with nature, the flesh, and procreation....[It is] the pole of sexuality and bodily pleasure, of nutritiveness, compassion, sensitivity to others, mercy, supportiveness, and all giving qualities" (p. 93). French also includes emotion, love, fury, grief, and sorrow in the feminine principle and at the same time, she considers it to be flexible, spontaneous, playful, and creative (p. 93). She further contends that "women are trained for private virtue [and] men for public power" (p. 534). Men may concede control to superior men, but never to women; thus, "sex in the masculine code can only be a controlling act--rape, ownership of women (through marriage or slavery), or rental of them (prostitution)" (p. 93). Generally, when women take control, they are viewed with some animosity, "whereas men who do not take control are seen with some contempt" (p. 96).

Boslooper and Hayes (1973) write that women have been criticized for using their "feminine wiles" to gain power and control. But "these tactics are the only ones most women know. Their equipment is looks and charm, which tend to erode with age, so they play the game as hard as they can in the limited time available. Their power base is men. Their opponents, unfortunately, are other women" (p. 24). According to the authors, Freud confined femininity's activity to procreation and defined its psyche in reproductive terms--supportive, passive, and seductive.

The authors contend that women who are obsessed with their physical appearance, are preoccupied with their faces, their hair, and the softness of their skin (p. 141). They explain that

> the physical requirements of the femininity game encourage a neurotic preoccupation with physical appearance. Women are usually self-conscious rather than proud of their bodies, spending an excessive amount of time trying to improve their looks. Because men are the payoff, players tend to evaluate themselves and other women through a man's eyes. (p. 25)

Boslooper and Hayes (1973) suggest that many women, as well as men, believe that physical means sexual, and since "sex is 'recreational,' men are 'bedroom athletes,' and a man who seduces a woman 'scores' " (p. 43). When women are unwilling to play their game, men become confused. Aspiring, energetic, and ambitious women also become confused when they have to deal with the conflicts within themselves, between what they are expected to be, and what they want to be--a sexual game partner or a competent equal. Many women resent this sexual role forced on them by men, yet continue to mimic the only success models around them: men (p. 23).

Male success models generally possess masculine traits and skills according to Richardson, et al, (1986). Men are stereotypically rational and verbal, and they possess analytical thinking skills. On the other hand, women are intuitive, non-verbal, and imaginative--characteristics

Richardson, et al, refer to as feminine (p. 9). Even though all women are not intuitive, creative types and all men are not rational, logical types, broad generalizations are often made about women, whereas men are usually referred to as individuals (p. 14).

According to French (1985), women are rarely seen as individuals; they are seen as members of a sex. There are "good" women and there are "bad" women; however, "a failure in one man is never projected as a failure of the entire sex" (p. 96). She contends that men and women have similar needs, and that all want to be treated as individuals.

French (1985) writes that men, as individuals, demonstrate control and transcendence, and that "anything that fixes, makes permanent, creates structure within the seeming flux of nature, is 'masculine'" (p. 92). She also believes that masculine thought is "rational ... logical, linear, and highly exclusionary," as compared with feminine thinking, which is "reflective, associative, and circular" (p. 94).

Sayers (1986) agrees with French that men and women are fundamentally human. There is very little mystery about either sex (p. 200). In addition, she writes that "a woman is just as much an ordinary human being as a man with the same individual preferences, and with just as much right to the tastes and preferences of an individual" (p. 196).

Few people would disagree that women and men deserve to be treated as individuals anymore than they would disagree that women and men are socialized differently throughout their entire lives. According to Gould (1986), boys learn quickly to maintain a separate domain and to assert a superiority over the other sex. He asserts that it is part of their learning-to-be-men that they reject what girls stand for: passivity, submissiveness, cheering from the sidelines and being emotional, irrational, unadventurous, [and] dependent" (p. 94).

While boys are learning to be boys and girls are learning to be girls, attitudes toward competition and success are being established, according to Boslooper and Hayes (1973). Baby girls, for example, are handled and played with differently from boys, usually more affectionately and more protectively. Competitive team sports involving displays of power and physical skill are game models for children (mostly boys) who have parents who encourage achievement and success (p. 20). Not until boys and girls grow older do they realize that the ways they were treated as children may cause them difficulty later in their lives as they begin to decide on their life's goals.

Nurturing, not nature, is the primary determinant of behavior in men and women. The significant difference between the sexes is found not simply in physical structure, hormonal balance, or chromosomal patterns but in

"the relentless conditioning of males and females to gender role from infancy" (pp.162-163). Boslooper and Hayes explain that

> women aren't born losers. They're brainwashed. They don't know how to win because they've been conned and coerced from infancy into believing they shouldn't try. ...Women have succeeded in liberating their intellects, but their bodies are still in corsets. They think of themselves as passive, nonaggressive, and supportive. (p. 25)

Several psychologists have influenced and helped men and women to better understand themselves, their socialization, and their aspirations. Among them Sigmond Freud and Carl Jung. According to Bolen (1984), many women familiar with Freudian theory have

> thought of themselves as unnatural...because they wanted a career more than they wanted a baby. And many women familiar with Jungian theory have hesitated to voice their ideas, knowing that Jung felt women's capacity to think objectively was inferior and opinionated. (p. 40)

Jung presents a psychic structure that corresponds to the different chromosomal makeup of men and women. His view holds that "women have a feminine conscious personality, and a masculine component--called the 'animus' --in their unconscious, while men have a masculine conscious personality and a feminine 'anima' in their unconscious" (p. 41).

In general, Jung sees women as they serve or relate to men rather than as individuals possessing independent needs of their own. He describes the feminine personality as

being receptive, passive, subjective and nurturing, while the masculine personality includes rationality, spirituality, and the capacity to act decisively and impersonally (p. 41). His teachings would seldom encourage a female to pursue a male-dominated career. In fact, he considers a woman who studies and works "like a man" to be "doing something not wholly in accord with ... her feminine nature" (p. 42).

According to Boslooper and Hayes (1973), Jung contends that each man and woman has psychic vestiges of the other and that by recognzing and projecting the opposing sexual characteristics within him or herself on to a member of the opposite sex, the person can come to terms with him or herself and become a complete individual (p. 144). His theory also holds that males express their masculine qualities outwardly; but, for the most part, their feminine side remains unconscious. For women it is the opposite.

According to Richardson, et al, (1986), the Buddhist tradition teaches the importance of balancing "masculine and feminine characteristics and coming to terms with the unconscious, opposite-sex qualities" (p. 12). Western culture, on the other hand, has perpetrated the notion that things are either right or wrong, good or bad, black or white, as if all good things, for example, can exist without any bad things. This idea of duality originated with Aristotle's law of identity: "something is either 'A'

or 'not A'" (p. 10). In Buddhist tradition, however, things are never "either/or"; they are always "both/and." The Eastern view holds that there are two poles of cosmic energy -- positive (yang) and negative (yin), respectively "representing the masculine and the feminine, the strong and the weak, the light and the dark, the rising and the falling, heaven and earth" (p. 11).

Richardson, et al, contend that just as this Eastern philosophy teaches that there are not dualites, just unities, both Western society and science are beginning to recognize the importance of combining the logical with the intuitive, the masculine with the feminine. The authors suggest this process will be more difficult for women than for men, particularly because "their socialization has included a minimizing of these 'feminine' qualities" (p. 10).

Although Loden (1985) agrees that socialization is, in part, responsible for human behavior, she contends that the impact of sex hormones on the everyday behavior of men and women is also very important. According to the findings of Dr. Estelle Ramey, Loden reports that

> women often have greater tolerance for stress because of their hormonal makeup. ...In general, females have the advantage of added hormonal protection in managing life stress. Not only does this make them less likely to suffer from stress-related illness, it also means they are less apt to display aggressive behavior when placed in a threatening situation. (p. 65)

For this reason, Loden suggests that women in the workplace would be more likely to react to work-related stress differently than men, often more calmly and rationally. Regardless of this notion, Loden suggests that there is still a masculine culture in the modern business world. Members of this culture view business as a competitive struggle and believe that certain values and patterns of behavior must constantly be encouraged and reinforced. First among these values is the need for tight control, second is assertive or aggressive behavior, and third is the ability to think analyticallly or strategically (pp. 24-25).

According to Hughey and Gelman (1986), women are not viewed as possessing those values and patterns of behavior noted by Loden (see above). They point out instead that women possess a high degree of sympathy and sensitivity and are often at a disadvantage when compared with "hard nosed" men. On the positive side, Jennifer S. Flinton, a senior vice president of a large medical firm, reports that "women pick up signals, even unconscious signals, that men don't see" (p. 47). This skill, among others, is important "when it comes to getting the best out of [employees]" (p. 46).

Hughey and Gelman contend that as America shifts from an industrial to a service economy, feminine skills and qualities will become increasingly important. Organizations today need more flexible and creative

leaders, as well as ones who pay as much attention to human relations as to cranking out "widgets" (p. 47). The fact that women possess many of these "natural" abilities does not mean, however, that they know how to use them. Females aspiring to leadership roles must have the education, intelligence, and experience to help them achieve a management position and must use this intelligence and preparation to help them shape a management style unique to the needs of the organization if they are to become successful leaders (p. 46).

According to Bernardez (1983), succeeding in a leadership position in any organization means gaining power, and femininity and power are attributes that have been seen as incompatible with one another in our culture. She states that the prevalent view has been that "the female sex is inferior to the male and less competent to exercise functions socially assigned to males" (p. 43). It is, therefore, assumed that when a female gains a position of authority and power, she automatically evokes responses that denote incongruity between the actual situation and the beliefs of her subordinates (p. 43). Bernardez writes that feminine leadership abilities may be devalued in the workplace, hence, women are often forced to occupy other female roles in relation to their subordinates. This makes it more difficult for women to use their skills to the fullest. Some women may even minimize their abilities

because men act as if they have been humiliated when a woman demonstrates her excellence over them" (p. 44).

Biologists have known for years that men and women possess unique male and female abilities and qualities, according to Deaux (1976). They also have known that the balance between male and female hormones is different. Even though the balance is different, she feels that "psychologically there can be a parallel coexistence," (p. 137), and that this blend of qualities and "parallel coexistence" is what organizations seek when hiring an effective leader.

Hodgkinson (1983) asserts that "in the realities of the world ... anyone can lead. The point of dissension is not about leadership itself, but about leader effectiveness" (p. 196). The questions are, since "anyone" can lead, can women lead as effectively as men, and can they be feminine in leadership roles?

Loden (1985) believes the answer to both questions is yes. She defines feminine leadership as

> a style of managing that utilizes the full range of women's natural talents and abilities as never before. It is an approach to leading that is linked to gender difference, early socialization, and the unique set of life experiences from early childhood on, which shape women's values, interests, and behavior as adults. (p. 61)

Further, she contends that feminine leadership styles differ most from traditional male styles in their reliance on emotional as well as rational data. Loden explains that

"feminine leaders see the world through two different lenses concurrently, and, as a result, respond to situations on both the thinking and feeling levels" (p. 61). The following model illustrates more clearly the feminine leadership style as Loden sees it:

FEMININE LEADERSHIP MODEL

OPERATING STYLE: Cooperative

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE: Team

BASIC OBJECTIVE: Quality Output

PROBLEM-SOLVING STYLE: Intuitive/Rational

KEY CHARACTERISTICS: Lower Control, Emphatic, Collaborative, High Performance Standards (p. 63)

In giving advice to aspiring female leaders, Loden recommends using the model illustrated above to help guide them in developing their own personal styles of management. In addition, she writes that Jewel Jackson Mc Cabe, management consultant and president of the National Coalition of 100 Black Women, often offers this advice to women seeking management careers:

I would advise a woman starting out in any field to be comfortable with her body and her mind. Also, to be aware of the special sensitivity that women have, their ability to make things happen. (p. 74)

Advice from other female executives to women with desires for success includes being able to shift, fix, and

manage the here and now, using maternal skills to manage effectively, and using humor to reduce tension in meetings (p. 73).

From a man's perspective, Robert Gould (1986) gives this advice: "In order to succeed in the business world, women must take special steps to overcome male dislike and rejection. ...[They must] suppress their femininity in the workplace" (p. 93). In addition, the author recommends that women should "behave in a nonthreatening way that allows the men they work with to see them as colleagues rather than as women who arouse their discriminatory reflexes" (p. 98). Gould further recommends that in dress, women should not "spell out 'sex object,' but also [should] not ... dress so severely that [they] look unfeminine or mannish" (p. 97). The problem lies with women trying both to maintain their femininity (attractiveness to men) and to assert themselves in the traditional (masculine) competitive manner to move up the ladder (p. 97).

Does the advice given by Gould mean that a woman must become "one of the boys" to succeed? Morrison, et al, (1987) contend that women must walk a fine line and take precautions against becoming one of the boys and forfeiting all traces of their femininity. That would make them "too alien" to their superiors and colleagues. The mission of successful women in leadership positions is to do what is

not expected of them, while doing enough of what is expected of them to gain acceptance p. 20.

What is not expected of women managers is aggressive behavior, according to Cole (1982). The truth is, though, that "a woman needs to be aggressive to get ahead in life as much as a man does -- but she cannot be aggressive except at huge personal cost" (p. 25). Cole agrees that the woman who wants to be both successful and feminine faces a difficult task, but that she can be both, even though being both is very difficult.

Brownmiller (1984) writes that women need to retain their femininity while pursuing leadership positions because femininity pleases men. "It makes them appear more masculine by contrast. ...Whimsy, unpredictability, and patterns of thinking and behavior that are dominated by emotion ... are thought to be feminine precisely because they lie outside the established route to success" (p. 16).

On the subject of dress, Brownmiller contends that to care about feminine fashion "is to be obsessively involved in inconsequential details on a serious basis" (p. 81). She continues: "Who said that clothes make a statement? What an understatement that was. Clothes never shut up. They gabble on endlessly, making their intentional and unintentional points" (p. 81). Choosing appropriate clothing is a larger problem for serious female leaders than it is for males in equal positions because feminine

clothes are not designed to project a serious demeanor. Brownmiller suggests that dressing feminine remains incompatible with looking credible and competent (p. 101).

Miller and Schroeder (1983) agree with Brownmiller but also believe that the woman executive can be feminine in her role and dress accordingly. They contend that a female makes a mistake when she tries to dress like, and otherwise mimic the male (p. 229).

Hughes (1987) writes that "it still isn't acceptable to look too feminine -- or too sexy or too cute [in the workplace]" (p. 33). Looking too feminine gives the message "that you need to be taken care of. ...It says you aren't serious," according to Brenda York, President of the Academy of Fashion and Image Consultants (p. 33). She adds that pink and pastel shades give messages of "being very fragile and feminine. ...Those colors don't have the power that neutral colors have, such as black, navy, or gray" (p. 33). According to Hughes, clothing is a powerful medium for projecting an image. Just what that professional, yet feminine image is and what it means to look too feminine is still open to debate (p. 33).

Discrimination on the basis of appearance is a fact of life in modern organizations, according to Hunsaker and Hunsaker (1986). They contend that the image a woman manager projects can even be as important to job success as her skills" (p. 51). Crocker (1987) agrees that women in

leadership (power) roles must constantly be concerned about fashion versus comfort versus professional image. Lee Milteer, a career development advisor, states that women must continue to be concerned because of some male attitudes in the workplace. She continues, "I'm petite, I'm attractive, and I'm blonde. ...[I have] to fight those [givens]" (p. 12).

The female leader of the 1980s takes looking and acting competently in the workplace just as seriously as she takes performing competently at home, according to Cosell (1985). She contends that "having it all" and "doing it all" are supposedly "the goals of the eighties woman, the ultimate achievement and proof that women are capable of doing anything and everything, and that they can find happiness and fulfillment in a multiplicity of roles" (p. 164). A woman who achieves these goals is called a "superwoman," a catchword used to denote a woman who has a career, husband, children, and a home, and who manages them all successfully (p. 164).

Josefowitz (1984) believes that aspiring women can competently manage a family and a career. She asserts that it is not only possible but that it is also preferable to possess both masculine and feminine traits in order to become that "superwoman." In the following statement, Josefowitz explains:

> Studies that have correlated masculinity and
> femininity indices with success have found that
> the people who are highest in both masculine and
> feminine traits (as traditionally expressed) have
> the highest grade point averages, the most
> scientific accomplishments (as measured by being
> referenced by others), and the highest salaries,
> and are the most effective managers. (pp.
> 202-203)

Sandra Bem, a psychologist and supporter of the concept of androgyny, argues that "men and women may have both masculine and feminine characteristics. A person may be both assertive and yeilding, both instrumental and expressive" (Deaux, 1976, p. 137). She contends that it might be good for men to express their emotions and feelings and worry less about dominating people. At the same time, women should be more assertive and independent. An androgynous person, Bem believes, could be all these things (p. 141).

Rather than men and women being either masculine or feminine, Bem feels that being androgynous is certainly the more desirable state. Her review of the literature illustrates that boys and girls who exhibit strong cross-sex typing are generally higher in intelligence and show more creativity. Further, some evidence suggests that highly sex-typed girls have more anxiety and show lower psychological adjustments (p. 139).

According to Cole (1982), "liberated men and women are those who can accept both their masculine and feminine sides -- the yin and the yang" (p. 61). She asserts that

liberation is not androgyny between the sexes, but that it is androgyny within the individual.

Cosell (1985) writes that successful female leaders do sometimes feel masculine but that many of them "feel asexual rather than masculine ... asexual and uncomfortable" (p. 73). The reason is that women have not been taught to be asexual; however, they have been encouraged to repress their outward and obvious signs of their sexuality (p. 74).

According to John Naisbett, repressing outward and obvious signs of sexuality in the workplace is not necessary. Betty Friedan quotes Naisbett as saying,

> The eleventh megatrend is a shift from sex roles to synergy. It reflects a reconciliation between the sexes at a deep level, a greater harmony between qualities we used to consider either masculine or feminine. It could well mean the end of the battle of the sexes. ...Although women are gaining access to power individually, the very nature of power will change as their numbers mount. A synergy of male and female leadership qualities will emerge, a new combination that is to everyone's advantage. (Hinding, 1986, p. 238)

Loden (1985) agrees that both feminine and masculine leadership styles are necessary in the workplace. In her study of more than 250 men and women middle and senior-level managers, she found no major opposition to the traditional masculine approach to managing. But more importantly, she found enthusiastic support among these managers for an ideal organizational climate that

recognizes and encourages both masculine as well as feminine leadership styles.

Stereotyping and Sex Role Expectations

Despite their ever-increasing numbers in the workplace, few women have risen to positions of leadership and authority in the community college, according to Baker (1987). To understand the reasons why, one must examine "the societal and structural barriers that stand in the way of opportunities for women in gaining and succeeding in leadership positions" (p. 1).

Baker suggests that societal stereotypes exist that depict women as nonserious workers. Too often, he asserts, women are pictured in the home rather than in the workplace. This notion dates back to the time when values were shaped "toward the ideal of the work world as the domain of men, and the family [and] home as the domain of women" (p. 1). In addition, Baker contends that women are stereotyped as followers rather than as leaders probably because in most political structures, women constitute only five percent of the national power elite (p. 1).

Despite the fact that few women are in "elite" leadership positions in higher education, Sandler (1986) writes that the doors to academe are now opening and that more women leaders than ever before are entering. She contends, however, that although many obvious barriers,

such as those stereotypes noted by Baker, have fallen, many subtle personal and social barriers still remain. Sandler states that laws alone, such as affirmative action, cannot remedy these barriers because "often they are part and parcel of our usual ways of relating to each other as men and women, and are so 'normal' that they may not even be noticed" (p. 2). These "usual ways" are often based on preconceptions about how men and women are expected to behave. For example, men are not seen as being unusual when they are "powerful, assertive, ambitious, and achieving, but...when women exhibit these traits and others that are traditionally thought of as 'male' attributes, [they are thought to be unusual]" (p. 4). According to Sandler, women are expected to be nurturing, passive, and accommodating. Because of these expectations, society even has "rules telling us how to treat women in social situations...[but] few rules as to how to treat them in professional settings where they no longer fit many of the social stereotypes" (p. 4).

Loring and Wells (1972) agree with Sandler that social expectations and preconceptions exist. They contend that in society "patterns in leadership and management are deeply entrenched...[and that] it is hardly remarkable...that men find it difficult to see women in the work-role of manager" (p. 101). Loring and Wells suggest that experience is needed to undo the damage done by

society in thinking of women, and defining them, in the narrow terms of established culture (p. 106).

Rainone and Moulton (1982) explain what this established culture expects. Agreeing with Loring and Wells' ideas of expectations, they contend that society expects women, not men, to raise children; that men, not women, should repair cars; that women should be neither taller nor older than their husbands; and that women are expected to earn less money than men (p. 223). In addition, Rainone and Moulton suggest that society has imposed certain expectations on men and women and forces them into expected sex roles, which impose limitations and expectations on them about conduct, style, and behavior (p. 224).

According to Rainone and Moulton, "one could try to distinguish sex roles from acceptable roles by claiming that the acceptable roles are restrictions on occupational roles while sex roles are restrictions on persons" (p. 225). While restrictions on occupational roles might include training and licensing requirements and are justified, restrictions on persons as persons, they feel, are clearly unjustified. Rainone and Moulton contend also that "there is not a clear division between the activities that women are expected to perform at low or no pay, and those that men are expected to perform" (p. 232). Hence, this notion refutes the argument that women are more suited

for certain jobs and men for others. Expressing their feelings more emphatically, they explain that

> women are responsible for creating the future citizens of the society and for the socialization and early cognitive training of ... children. Not much could be more important for a society than that...so it does not look as if women are relegated to occupations that in fact deserve less presitge, but rather that those occupations have less prestige and pay because they are filled by women. (p. 233)

Hunsaker & Hunsaker (1986) agree with Rainone and Moulton that most women acquire and accept the socialized roles of wife and mother, with the accompanying behaviors and images of appropriateness for these roles. In addition, they contend that "faced with entry into a work organization, [women] believe that success is good as long as it doesn't interfere with their feminine role and does not threaten what they have come to see as the 'more superior' male" (p. 18). Women who have been taught most of their lives to accept motherhood graciously have also been taught to be passive, ladylike, dependent, and cooperative. The struggle for most women begins with the conflict between their not believing they should accept these notions (or societal requirements), and their inability to maintain the acceptance of their femininity in the eyes of others when they contradict stereotype expectations.

Boslooper and Hayes (1973) are more adamant in their feelings. They contend that "as long as women are locked

into a gender role that defines as 'normal' physical frailty and social passivity, those women who seek to break out of this role will be seen as deviates. As long as men are programmed to perform the masculinity rite, those who refuse to conform will be considered deviates, too" (p. 174).

Perhaps calling these women deviates is a bit strong, but Fields (1985) contends that many women who have made the commitment to a professional, typically masculine profession have "either forfeited their biological role in procreation and their social role in marriage or...switched their aspirations toward other professions or vocations in which their femininity would be less in conflict with their work" (p. 124). Fields claims that from the secondary school stage on, girls learn to measure success in terms of social success, which they feel usually depends on conforming to the feminine stereotype (p. 118). Hence, it appears that women who pursue male-dominated careers must deal with eliminating the sex-role stereotypes or be willing, as Rainone and Moulton noted, to be satisfied with jobs of lower status, and less power--jobs that are subordinate to men's jobs.

One of the reasons so few women enter careers usually considered to be masculine careers, is according to Josefowitz (1980), that society has different role expectations. Women are often seen as not being able to

perform male tasks very well, and they are rarely given the opportunity to prove the contrary. Instead, "women are given less prominent roles with fewer responsibilities, and narrower chances for advancement" (p. 74). Josefowitz suggests that perhaps, one of the reasons women are given fewer responsibilities is that women are perceived as being less committed than men to a career. Hence, women are viewed more as assistants than as successors (p. 96).

Luber (1987) boldly suggests that in order to illustrate the commitment Josefowitz finds so important, women should "visibly limit their family life and personal relationships to convince others that they are committed" (p. D5). She also states that "women must be better than men and better than the stereotyped view of women" (p. D5).

Morrison, et al, (1987) disagree that women must take such drastic measures as Luber suggests in order to show commitment to a chosen career. In fact, they argue that executive women and men have been perceived to be more different from each other than they really are (p. 26). In other words, women should have to do nothing to prove that they are any different from men who have pursued the same career. Research indicates that when careers are matched, women are very similar to men in their characteristics, abilities, and motives (p. 26). Hunsaker and Hunsaker, (1986, see above) agree that there is little difference between male and female managerial ability.

Regardless of actual abilities in the workplace, problems surface when stereotypical perceptions lead to unrealistic expectations of executive women. These expectations, however, are part of the environment in which women must work and live. Morrison, et al, contend that this environment "is qualitatively different from the environment executive men operate in, and this difference may be the crucial--and the only meaningful--one between male and female executives" (p. 26).

Loden (1985) disagrees that the only difference is in the environment. She believes there are differences between men and women leaders and that even though stressing those differences often causes adversarial relationships, she sees no alternative but to acknowledge these differences if the feminine leadership style is ever to gain recognition and acceptance (p. 18).

In addition to such issues as whether men and women differ in terms of managerial abilities, and the effect of environment, many of these same authors pay close attention to clarifying the concept of stereotype. For example, Hunsaker and Hunsaker (1986) contend that stereotypes are based on "assumed differences, social conventions or norms, learned behaviors, attitudes, and expectations" (p. 13).

Pogrebin (1986), on the other hand, is even more creative in defining "stereotype":

Literally, a stereotype is a printing block from which pages of type can be duplicated. The essential "permanence and unchangeableness" of these blocks are the features that have come to symbolize rigidity and regularity. Stereotypes oversimplify human complexity. They bang people into shape with a cultural sledgehammer that flattens the wonder of individuals into monotonous group characteristics. Stereotypes assert themselves through caricature, name-calling, and idolatry. (p. 192)

Fields (1985) describes the sex-role system and defines stereotyping differently than Pogrebin. First of all, she contends that stereotyping "indicates a process of ascribing characteristics that takes no account of the differences between individuals" (p. 116). Second, she believes that the sex-role system is a complex, octopus-like phenomenon consisting of three factors central to its operation:

1. The assignment--Based on sex and personality traits. (In Western society, dominance, aggression, and objectivity have been associated with the male, and passivity, tenderness, and subjectivity have been associated with the female.)

2. The allocation--Based on sex and the appropriateness of activities and work.

3. The universal assumption--Based on masculine attributes or activities that somehow intrinsically denote that what is masculine is more valuable and important than what is feminine. (p. 118)

Whatever the definition of sex-role stereotyping, Josefowitz (1980) believes the concept begins at birth and continues with or without the awareness of the parents. She writes that some parents intentionally socialize their children according to accepted patterns. On the other hand, "others try not to yet are not aware that they give ambiguous signals...they profess to have no different expectations for boys and girls, [yet] they do not act upon this. The child hears one message but is subjected to the attitudes and behaviors inherent to the opposite one" (p. 13).

French (1985) agrees with Josefowitz that sex-role behavior is learned beginning when babies are born. She contends that "whatever qualities we possess 'by nature' from our genes, sex role is not among them. If it were, men could not feel and act as differently as they do from culture to culture...." (p. 531).

Unlike French, however, Hackler(1983) asserts that researchers are finding what they believe is evidence of a genetic component in certain kinds of behaviors that have traditionally been identified as either masculine or feminine (p. 16). Because studies show marked differences between male and female baby behavior in the first month of life, Hackler agrees that some sex differences may be learned, but possibly not all of them. Female infants, for example, are more oriented toward people, and males are

more oriented toward things. Girls learn to talk earlier than boys; girls articulate better and acquire a more extensive vocabulary than do boys at a comparable age; and girls begin to smile earlier than boys (p. 17).

Whether boys and girls are born with specific genes that make them behave differently or whether forms of behavior are acquired from socialization after birth, Chafetz (1983) disagrees with Josefowitz regarding parental influence and notes that "it is clear that parents play a major role in the process of socialization in general and the communication of gender role identity and behavior in particular" (p. 25). Moreover, Chafetz asserts that children have established a firm notion of their gender role by age three, if not earlier. In addition, he contends that research shows "that up to six months of age male infants receive more physical contact from their mothers than do female babies...[but] after that the males are more quickly and totally discouraged from such contact" (p. 22). There is evidence indicating that from birth, the nature of the interaction between parents and children differs markedly according to the sex of the child. Children are verbally instructed to refrain from doing certain things according to their sex, and they are taught early in their lives that males have more prestige, power, and freedom than do females (pp. 23-25).

Boslooper and Hayes (1973) agree with Chafetz that as children are trying to establish their identities, they are sent conflicting messages. Many young girls, for example, are allowed to display aggressive, tomboyish behavior which society later frowns on. In elementary school, girls and boys face each other with the same stance. It isn't until the adolescent years that "different behavior is imposed and tomboys are expected to become 'ladies'" (p. 173). In brief, Boslooper and Hayes believe that the most relevant evidence indicates that "we are born neutral. It is our parents and their parents before them, our aunts, uncles, friends, and teachers who shape our roles" (p. 173).

But do the roles we learn as children eventually disappear? By posing questions of whether gender differences remain as we mature and whether we become more similar as adult men and women than we were as boys and girls, Loden (1985) suggests an extension of the basic issue of identity (p. 66). She asserts that research indicates that basic value differences do continue to exist between the sexes throughout adult life and that these differences complicate women's decisions regarding career choices and position aspirations.

The basic value differences referred to by Loden reflect the general values of society, according to Deaux (1976). She writes that "parents and other socializing agents convey certain expectations to their children as to

what grown-up men and women are like, [and]...these
impressions may form the basis of stereotypes that are
found much later in life" (p. 20).

Unlike Hunsaker and Hunsaker and others, Deaux (1976)
believes stereotypes are not just assumed differences
between men and women, nor are they simply perceptions held
by society, nor are they based on value differences noted
by Loden. Instead, Deaux contends that stereotypes reflect
reality. Her contention is that

> men are viewed as more independent because men in
> general are more independent and that women are
> seen as more passive because women in general are
> more passive than men. This basis for
> stereotypes has been termed the "kernel of
> truth." It is argued that stereotypes develop
> from real differences that exist among groups,
> although often the stereotype is exaggerated far
> beyond its original kernel. (p. 18)

Hunsaker and Hunsaker (1986) offer several examples of
exaggerations about women and work:

--Women cannot coordinate careers with family

   demands.

--Women cry in crisis situations.

--Women are not suited emotionally or

   intellectually for jobs traditionally held by

   men.

--Women are not committed to their jobs and regard

   jobs as temporary measures.

--Women cannot travel for business.

--Men are intellectually superior to women.

--Men value achievements and meaningful work more

than women.

--Men are inherently more assertive than women.

--Women do not work for money. (pp. 13-17)

In addition to those examples noted by Hunsaker and Hunsaker, Miller and Schroeder (1983) list other examples of the most common exaggerations (or stereotypes) about women:

--Women managers lack education, training, and

experience.

--Women managers are tied to the family and are,

therefore, not mobile for job relocations.

--Women are the weaker sex. (pp. 231-233)

Women constantly deal with such stereotypes and will often overcompensate by acting like men to dispel the feelings and perceptions held by society. When this happens, women become role-inappropriate according to Josefowitz (1980). Women are condemned for violating expectations if they are not more understanding, more sympathetic, and less critical than men in the same circumstances (p. 74). Hughey and Gelman (1986) agree with Josefowitz that some women in the workplace, particularly those in leadership positions, adopt masculine traits in order to fight off the prejudices that women are unstable, indecisive, temperamental, and manipulative, and are not

good team members because they never played football (p. 46).

When women are in leadership positions that are typically held by men (e.g., senior-level administrative positions), they are in what Gutek and Cohen (1987) refer to as "sex-role spillover" positions. Because very few men work in nontraditional jobs, the notion of sex role spillover rarely applies to them. When men are in "female-type" jobs such as nursing and secretarial, they may not feel they must adopt feminine behavior in order to make them more acceptable. In the case of sexual behavior at work, Gutek and Cohen believe that "the fallout of sex-role spillover is more visibly negative for women than for men" (p. 97). Sex-role spillover means "that being a woman or a man has implications for the work one does which are not inherent in the job itself" (p. 98). The concept is important because in the case of nontraditional jobs, "men see women as women first, workers second, and while they might respond to women in many different stereotypically feminine ways,...they respond to women as potential sexual partners when they fit that image" (p. 101). According to Mayes (1979), some women want to retain this sexual image and will often retreat from male-dominated careers or positions because they fear they might lose their feminine attraction to males (pp. 567-568).

According to Fields (1985), sex roles have rarely changed as rapidly as they have in western culture in the last twenty years. The very individual and social uncertainty and confusion noted by Gutek and Cohen, as well as Mayes, have contributed to the creation of a wide variety of stereotypes. Many of these have not reached the workplace, but when they do they promise to be as crippling as the old stereotypes (p. 122).

Fields contends that any fundamental change in the function of stereotyping will "entail considerable rethinking of individual and social attitudes. It will also necessitate a substantial alteration of social and economic structures and institutions" (p. 127). Further, she asserts that change will be difficult and complicated and that "there is no reason to expect that sex-role stereotyping can be eradicated in one or even two generations" (p. 128).

Deaux (1976) agrees with Fields' idea that "while simple awareness of the [sex-role] controversy may not lead people to alter their stereotyped views, actual experience with different models of men and women may have a strong effect" (p. 21). In other words, if children are able to view their mother in a nontraditional, competent role and to see their father expressing warmth and sharing household duties, stereotypes may change. For now, however, Deaux

believes "we must conclude that stereotypes are still alive and doing reasonably well in our culture" (p. 21).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of my research was to study and understand the relationship between femininity and administrative success as perceived by senior-level female administrators in the North Carolina community college system. Although the question of the relationship between femininity and administrative success was the primary focus of my study, imbedded in this hypothesized relationship were three important, related issues which were also explored. These issues were sex roles, stereotypes, and administrative qualifications deemed necessary for success. To answer the research question, I used a qualitative research methodology.

Qualitative Research Methods of Inquiry

According to Mitroff and Kilmann (1978), there are some thinkers who contend that "science is in serious need of reform in its characteristic ways of knowing--its methodology--and in what it pretends to know about the world--its epistemology" (p. 3). These thinkers believe there are major defects in the structure of science itself and in the conception of it as a method of inquiry. To

assist in helping correct these defects, various methods of inquiry have been developed.

Two distinct perspectives of social inquiry gained attention after the turn of the twentieth century. According to Smith and Heshusius (1986), the first perspective, the quantitative tradition, "was based on the idea of an independently existing social reality that could be described as it really was" (p. 5). Truth was defined as correspondence between words and the existing reality. In addition, this perspective held that facts were separate from values. The second perspective, the interpretive (or qualitative) tradition, was "based on an idealist temperament, [and] took the position that social reality was mind-dependent in the sense of mind-constructed" (p. 5). Truth, from this perspective, was defined ultimately as a socially and historically conditioned agreement. The belief was that social inquiry could not be value-free, that there could only be various people's points of view, and that those views were based on particular interests, values, and purposes.

Because the quantitative tradition held that facts were separate from values, there existed much debate between proponents of the two orientations toward social inquiry. Not until the 1960's, when national attention focused on education problems, and when both values and facts were accepted as worthy of study, were qualitative

strategies employed to illuminate education's concerns and also to uncover certain categories of facts. Smith and Heshusius (1986) contend that this quantitative-qualitative debate was merely a discussion of variations in techniques within the same logic of justification. Further, they hold that "both approaches are thought of as having the same goals; both are interpreted in the same way and only the aspects of practice differ" (p. 6).

In the 1970's, methodological debates continued between quantitative and qualitative researchers. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) write that "conflicts over questions like 'hard' vs. 'soft' data, 'journalism' vs. 'research,' and 'scientific' vs. 'intuitive' approaches each had their followers" (p. 21). In fact, many researchers in education had come to feel that

> the years of promise for what quantitative research would be able to do (the problems it could solve) had caught up with it. Quantitative methods, relying on the hard science paradigm, had not delivered. As the vision widened, qualitative approaches caught people's imagination. And so, qualitative research mushroomed in education. (p. 21)

Perhaps one of the reasons researchers began using the qualitative approach to collect data on educational topics was that education involved people and perceptions rather than just numbers. Researchers who continue to use this approach, according to Bogdan and Biklen (1982), are interested in the ways different people make sense out of

their lives. In other words, "qualitative researchers are concerned with what are called 'participant perspectives'" (p. 29). Investigators enter their studies with some idea about what they want to accomplish, but a detailed set of procedures is generally not formed prior to data collection. In addition, most qualitative researchers avoid "going into a study with hypotheses to test. ...The study itself structures the research, not preconceived ideas or any precise research design" (p. 55). It is important to understand, however, that qualitative researchers do have a research design, one which is flexible rather than precise and static.

According to Bogdan and Biklen (1982), how qualitative researchers proceed in their studies is based on theoretical assumptions and on data collection traditions. More particularly, Bogdan and Biklen list the following characteristics of qualitative research:

1. Qualitative research has the natural setting as the direct source of data and the researcher is the key instrument.

2. Qualitative research is descriptive.

3. Qualitative researchers are concerned with process rather than simply with outcomes or products.

4. "Meaning" is of essential concern to the qualitative approach.

5.   Qualitative researchers tend to analyze
     their data inductively.
     --They do not search out data or evidence to
     prove or disprove hypotheses they hold
     before entering the study.
     --Theory developed this way emerges from the
     bottom up...from many disparate pieces of
     collected evidence that are interconnected.
     (1982, p. 29)

One of the procedures qualitative researchers use to collect data is the personal interview. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) write that although some interviews are relatively open-ended, many are focused around particular topics or may be guided by some general questions. They point out that interviews may be used in two ways. They may either be the dominant strategy for data collection, or they may be used in conjunction with participant observation, document analysis, or other techniques. In either, the interview is "used to gather descriptive data in the subject's own words so that the researcher can develop insights on how the subjects interpret some piece of the world" (p. 135).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) offer additional views on qualitative methods of inquiry. They contend that there is no fundamental clash between the purposes and capacities of

qualitative and quantitative methods or data. What clash there is , however, concerns

> the primacy of emphasis on verification or generation of theory...[and] that each form of data is useful for both verification and generation of theory, whatever the primacy of emphasis. Primacy depends only on the circumstances of research, on the interests and training of the researcher, and on the kinds of material he needs for his theory. (pp. 17-18)

In many instances, both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection are necessary in order to generate theory. The authors write that "generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research" (p. 6). The authors call this method of generating theory grounded theory (pp. 2-6).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) write that although they "consider the process of generating theory as related to its subsequent use and effectiveness, the form in which the theory is presented can be independent of this process by which it was generated" (p. 31). They list the purposes of this process and grounded theory as follows:

1. To enable prediction and explanation of behavior;

2. to be usable in practical applications;

3. to provide a perspective on behavior; and

4. to guide and provide a style for research on particular areas of behavior. (p. 3)

Glaser and Strauss refer to the procedure used to develop theory during the course of the research as the Constant Comparative Method. It requires the researcher

--to begin collecting data;

--to look for key issues, recurrent events, or activities in the data that become categories of focus;

--to collect data that provide many incidents of the categories of focus with an eye to seeing the diversity of the dimensions under the categories;

--to write about the categories being explored, attempting to describe and account for all the incidents in the data while continually searching for new incidents;

--to work with the data and emerging model to discover basic social proceses and relationships; and

--to engage in sampling, coding, and writing as the analysis focuses on the core categories. (pp. 101-115)

The Constant Comparative Method of data analysis is used to generate and suggest (but not test) many

categories, properties, and hypotheses about general problems. Glaser and Strauss hold that

> since no proof is involved, the Constant Comparative Method...requires only saturation of data--not consideration of all available data, nor are the data restricted to one kind of clearly defined case. ...The Constant Comparative Method...is more likely to be applied in the same study to any kind of qualitative information, including observations, interviews, documents, articles, books, and so forth. (p. 104)

The four stages of the Constant Comparative Method include comparing incidents applicable to each category, integrating categories and their properties, delimiting the theory, and writing the theory (p. 105). Although this method of generating theory "is a continuously growing process--each stage after a time is transformed into the next--earlier stages do remain in operation simultaneously throughout the analysis and each provides continuous development to its successive stage until the analysis is terminated" (p. 105). As categories and properties emerge during analysis, and as they become related, their accumulating interrelations form an integrated central theoretical framework which Glaser and Strauss call "the core of the emerging theory" (p. 40). The core becomes a theoretical guide to further collection and analysis of data.

Williams (1987) agrees with Glaser and Strauss that generating theory using the qualitative method of inquiry

is a way of building a theoretical framework to better understand people and the meaning behind their activities (p. 87). The similarities, however, between what Williams believes and what Glaser and Strauss believe end here. According to Williams, the focus of qualitative research is usually

> on defining the criteria of value for a given study, collecting data on the activities and objects of interest, and comparing activities and achievements to the criteria to assess the value of the evaluand. Although clear descriptions of the criteria and the products and processes to be evaluated are essential, the emphasis is on using those descriptions to make value judgments rather than to "understand" participants' meanings or to generate hypotheses and theories to explain participants' actions. (pp. 87-88)

Williams explains that this type of inquiry is identified by a variety of labels--qualitative research, ethnography, participant observation, field work, phenomenology, and naturalistic inquiry.

Regardless of label, the use of qualitative research to study human processes has become a more visible and identifiable methodology in the past decade, according to Van Maanen (1982). He states that

> qualitative researchers are, in a sense, out of the closet...[and] are now altogether assertive about the distinctive strengths of their own methods and are clearly unwilling to grant any special status to the nonmethitic, or even systematic attributes of quantitative techniques. (p. 14)

Patton (1985) agrees that there is new appreciation for qualitative methodology, but he asserts that more

efforts should be made to distinguish between qualitative and quantitative research. He explains that the qualitative method involves words instead of numbers; it uses pictures and descriptions; and the data come from observations, interviews, and documents from natural settings, hence the term "naturalistic inquiry" (p. 3). The research is not laboratory work; instead, the research, whether good or bad, emerges from natural rather than from manipulated settings.

Patton (1985) writes that in qualitative research understanding the human being is an end in itself. The researcher does not attempt to predict what could happen in the future. Rather the researcher attempts to understand the nature of the setting, "what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their view is, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting, and in the analysis be able to communicate to others [the essence of that human being in that situation]" (p. 5). Patton contends that people are unique; that they think, understand, and appreciate the world differently; and that it is that understanding which one brings to qualitative methods and naturalistic inquiry (p. 11). The qualitative approach, Patton asserts, is an effort "to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there" (p. 4). The

qualitative researcher attempts "to understand another person's world view as an end in itself, to enter into their world view" (p. 45).

The quality of the research depends heavily upon the skills that are brought to the study by the researcher, according to Patton (1985): "The researcher's experience, feelings, insights, capabilities, energy, and vigor are all a part of what make the research go. The researcher is the instrument" (p. 6). Patton contends that the ability to solicit information and to hear that information in interviews are the keys to the quality of qualitative research. He suggests that "to become a skilled qualitative practitioner, one needs every bit as much training as to become a skilled quantitative practitioner" (p. 36). Part of the skill of utilizing the qualitative method is learning how to get inside other people's understandings.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) agree with Patton on the importance of the researcher's skills. They write that "qualitative methods come more easily to hand when the instrument is a human being...who is inclined toward methods that are extensions of normal human activities: looking listening, speaking, reading, and the like" (p. 199). In addition, the human will tend toward interviewing, observing, interpreting, and taking account of nonverbal cues. He or she may observe, extract from

documents, or tape record words to be processed. Before interviewing and processing can take place, however, Lincoln and Guba agree with Bogdan and Biklen that some sort of a research design must be in place to help guide the data collection.

Noting that this type of "design" is different from the traditional type, Lincoln and Guba (1985) write that a research design means the "specification of a statistical design with its attendant field conditions and controls" (p. 248). Because naturalistic inquiry is largely emergent, most of the requirements normally laid down for a design statement cannot be met. The focus should be on adaptation and accommodation. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), review, recycling, and change must be central postures. Moreover, they contend that "the design, in the final analysis, does truly emerge...next steps are not merely added to past ones--often, the past steps must be traced in new dress. There is continuous feedback and feed forward." (p. 249)

In order to accomplish this "continuous feedback and feed forward," the research interviewer must obtain here-and-now constructions of persons, events, activities, organizations, feelings, motivations, and other entities; reconstructions of past experiences; and projections of the future (p. 268). Interviews can be categorized by their degree of structure, their degree of overtness, and the

quality of the relationship between the interviewer and the respondent (p. 268). In addition, the qualitative researcher must specify a focus; determine the degree of fit between the focus as stated and the inquiry paradigms that can be brought to bear on it; determine the fit between the selected inquiry paradigm and the substantive theory to be employed; determine where and from whom all data will be collected; determine the nature and scope of successive project phases; determine instrumentation; determine data analysis procedures; plan logistics; and plan for trustworthiness. (p. 248)

In order to assure trustworthiness in the analysis segment of the study, Miles and Huberman (1984 b) recommend that qualitative researchers observe several sites or individuals. This process enables the researcher to use comparison groups or individuals to find out the kinds of social structures to which a theory may be applicable. Having multiple sites in the study

> increases the scope of the study and, thereby, the degrees of freedom. By comparing sites or cases, one can establish the range of generality of a finding or explanation, and, at the same time, pin down the conditions under which that finding will occur. So there is much potential for both greater explanatory power and greater generalizability than a single case study can deliver. (p. 151)

In other words, the problem for the researcher is seeing processes and outcomes that occur across many cases or

sites and "understanding how such processes are bent by specific local contextual variations" (p. 151).

Miles and Huberman (1984a) write that the qualitative researcher must decide when a given finding is meaningful. To assist in this effort, there are sets of assumptions, criteria, decisions, rules, and operations for working with data. The problem is, however, "that these crucial underpinnings of analysis remain mostly implicit, [and] explained only allusively" (p. 22).

According to Miles and Huberman (1984a), there are three areas of activity in the analysis stage of qualitative research:

> Data reduction--The process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the raw data that appear in edited field notes. It occurs continuously throughout the project.

> Data display--An organized assembly of information that permits conclusion drawing and action taking.

> Conclusion--Drawing and verification--the drawing of meaning from displayed, reduced data. (pp. 23-24)

All three areas are interwoven before, during, and after data collection, in parallel forms, to make up the general analysis domain. According to Miles and Huberman (1984b), by using multisite, multicase designs (and often multiple methods), the researcher increases his or her chances of being reassured during the analysis stage that the events and processes are not wholly idiosyncratic.

Miles and Huberman (1984b) contend that qualitative researchers are in a "more fluid--and more pioneering--position [than are quantitative researchers]" (p. 23). However, they agree that qualitative analysis "needs to be <u>documented</u> as a <u>process</u> far more fully than it has been to date. This is needed not only for purposes of 'auditing' any specific analysis enterprise, but also for purposes of <u>learning</u> (p. 23). As qualitative researchers, the authors write that more information needs to be understood about just what is going on when data is analyzed using this method of inquiry. Such understanding will facilitate the development of methods that are more generally reproducible (and more usable) in a variety of fields.

This review of the literature suggests several key theoretical concerns imbedded in my study:

The subjectivity of the researcher as the instrument;

The time involved for traveling and interviewing the subjects as well as coding and analyzing the data;

The accessibility to the subjects;

The sensitivity of the subject matter; and

The validity and reliability of the data gathered.

Given the concerns and issues noted above, I chose not to duplicate, but rather to synthesize appropriate elements of the classical methods of qualitative inquiry, such as

those presented by Glaser and Strauss, Lincoln and Guba, Bogdan and Biklen, and Patton. An "eclectic" approach to the problem under consideration led to a better understanding of the perceptions of the subjects, especially given the time constraints under which I worked. I believed as Patton (1985) does that people are unique and that they think, understand, and appreciate the world differently (p. 11). The twelve women chosen to participate in the study are individuals who perceive the relationship between femininity and administrative success in unique ways. It was the purpose of this study to understand those perceptions.

Research Design

As Bogdan and Biklen (1982) recommend, this study was entered into with an idea of what was to be accomplished but without specific hypotheses to test (p. 55). Unlike the many authors who stress the need for extremely flexible research designs in qualitative research, however, I chose a structured questionnaire/interview approach for my study to assure a degree of comparability among the data elicited from the twelve subjects participating in the study. Each person was asked identically worded questions, although they were encouraged to elaborate as fully as possible.

Because of this structured interview approach, the use of the Constant Comparative Method of data analysis was

limited. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), this
method is concerned with generating and suggesting (but not
testing) hypotheses. It is a continuously growing process
with each stage being transformed into the next (p. 40).
The structured questionnaire used in this study tended to
force the respondents into giving fairly straightforward
answers. It limited the free-flowing conversation which
might otherwise have occurred with open-ended questions
designed to allow for the "growing process" Glaser and
Strauss support.

As the data collector, it was my responsibility to
encourage free-flowing conversation and to create an
atmosphere in which the respondents felt comfortable to
talk freely about themselves. Despite such an atmosphere,
the structured questionnaire, by its very nature, tended to
make some of the interviews rather formal and controlled.
It is always difficult to know if subjects are expressing
their true feelings and views, and this was particularly
true in these circumstances. When a structured
questionnaire is used, a mind-set is often created about
what is important to discuss and what is unimportant: this
can limit the amount of spontaneous information the
respondents provide. Clearly this constituted a limitation
of my research.

Since the personal interview was the dominant strategy
used for data collection, all interviews were overt, and

each respondent was fully informed as to the purpose and use of the information. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) suggest that getting interview appointments with subjects often involves some sort of bargain: explicit or implicit assurances that the interviewer will not violate subjects' privacy or confidentiality or expose them to harm. In addition, once in the interview setting, it is the responsibility of the researcher to establish rapport with the informants, to establish a certain level of trust and openness, and to be accepted as a nonjudgmental and nonthreatening person (p. 70). Further, permission to use a recording device must be granted before recording can take place.

Although tape recording can make some people feel uncomfortable and self-conscious, Taylor and Bogdan (1984) contend recording allows the interviewer to capture much more than he or she could by relying on memory or notes (pp. 102-103). Bogdan and Biklen (1982) advise the researcher to "think short" when tape recording interview sessions. They suggest choosing a reasonable number of subjects to participate in the research and spending an amount of time in each interview that makes sense in terms of the work involved in transcribing it (p. 95). Each of the respondents in my study agreed to have their session tape recorded when they scheduled an appointment. One respondent, however, decided shortly after the interview

began that she would feel more comfortable not being recorded; hence, during her session, I took notes to document her answers. Transcripts from the other eleven subjects yielded approximately twenty to twenty-five pages per subject.

Preliminary Procedures of the Study

Interviews with selected senior-level North Carolina community college female administrators were the dominant strategy for data collection. A structured interview questionnaire was developed to help organize the responses and to encourage the subjects to exchange freely their personal perceptions on a defined range of topics. The questionnaire sequence included twenty-one questions, which were organized in six topical areas (Appendix A). Pilot interviews of approximately one and one-half hours were conducted with two female administrators from two different community colleges in North Carolina. A tape recording of each pilot interview was made, and transcripts were prepared. Additional categories and topics did not evolve during these test interviews.

Interviews with Subjects in the Sample

An interview lasting approximately one and one-half hours and employing the structured questionnaire was conducted with each administrator chosen for the study. All interviews were conducted over a six week period during fall 1987. Notes were taken during the interviews. In addition, eleven sessions were tape recorded and transcribed. The data were coded into six categories:

1. Personal and professional backgrounds

2. Femininity

3. Sex roles and stereotypes

4. Success

5. Administration

6. The relationship between femininity and administrative success in the North Carolina community college system.

Treatment of the Data

This study was designed as a multi-site study which Miles and Huberman (1984b) contend increases generalizability and assures the researcher that the events and processes in one setting are not wholly idiosyncratic. The authors use the term "site" by preference to indicate a bounded context where one is studying something, and they suggest that a "site" is equivalent to a "case" as that term is used in a case study. Cross-site methods can be

used in the study of several individual people, and each is seen as a case (p. 151).

Data from all sites (or cases) in this study were recorded onto large charts, which allowed descriptive data from each of the sites to be organized in a standard format. Data were recorded onto the charts using two methods. The first method involved listing the subjects and their responses by topic. By recording data in this manner, I was able to view the feelings of all twelve respondents at one time on each of the six major topics.

After the information was synthesized by topic, a second method was used to help form composite portraits of each of the administrators in the study. Data again were recorded on large charts, this time by subject.

This dual data display enabled me to see the relationship between and among the topics and the subjects and, ultimately, to synthesize these data into a composite expression of the group's perception of the relationship between femininity and administrative success. In particular, this display allowed me to keep track of recurring themes, answers, interpretations, ideas, vocabulary, meanings, and feelings. Findings that evolved are presented in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

My study had one major purpose which guided the collection and analysis of data: to understand the relationship between femininity and success as perceived by senior-level female administrators in the North Carolina community college system. This purpose guided the data collection through structured interviews with twelve selected female presidents, vice presidents, and academic deans in the North Carolina community college system.

I organized the data for this chapter in a format drawn from the six major topics covered in the structured interviews: Personal and Professional Backgrounds, Femininity, Sex Roles and Stereotypes, Success, Administration, and the Relationship Between Femininity and Success in the North Carolina community college system. The names of the subjects, as well as their institutions, were deleted in reporting the findings to assure anonymity.

The twelve female administrators who participated in this study spoke freely of their personal backgrounds and their career paths in higher education, and they discussed their feelings about femininity, sex-role stereotyping, success, and administration. Most importantly, they shared their perceptions of the relationship between femininity

and success in the North Carolina community college system. The findings of this study describe some of the key issues with which many academic women must deal as they pursue administrative careers.

The responses in the first two sections of this chapter are centered around the personal and professional backgrounds of the participants. Succeeding sections include findings on femininity, sex-role stereotyping, success, administration, and the relationship perceived between femininity and success.

Personal Backgrounds

Four of the subjects were born in North Carolina and spent the first eighteen years of their lives in the state. Four of the others moved from northern states and spent from eight, to as many as eighteen of their first eighteen years in North Carolina (one woman's family moved shortly after she was born); one moved to the state when she was sixteen; and three were older than eighteen when they moved to North Carolina.

Only one of the twelve subjects is an only child. The rest of the women have from one to eight brothers and sisters. One subject has a twin brother, and three have only sisters as siblings. Eight of the women have brothers and sisters who are in professional careers, such as law, nursing, and chemistry.

Of the twelve subjects, almost half (5) are not married. Three have no children, and five of them have only one child. Of the seven subjects who are married, four have husbands who hold bachelor's, master's, or doctoral degrees. Husbands of the other three have high school diplomas. In addition, half of the subjects' fathers attended and/or graduated from college, and over half (7) of their mothers attended and/or graduated from college. Of those seven mothers who attended college, only two worked outside the home, and both of them were secretaries.

Professional Backgrounds

There were two community college presidents, four vice presidents and six academic deans in my study. Of those twelve, four hold the doctoral degree, and one is in the dissertation stage of her doctoral program. All others hold the master's degree.

The subjects have been in their current positions from two months to nine years, with the average time being approximately four years. Eight of the subjects held previous positions at the institutions where they are currently employed, and half of them have been at their institutions fourteen or more years. The range of time at their current institution was from one-and-one-half to

nineteen years with the average length of tenure being approximately eleven years.

Nine of the subjects listed interpersonal skills among their strengths: "empathetic"; "interpersonal relations"; "people person"; human skills"; "helps others achieve"; "being able to sort out doers from talkers"; compassion for people"; "helps other women achieve"; "ability to select good people." Of the nine who felt they possessed strong interpersonal skills, only three of them felt that these skills could be classified as feminine. The rest viewed this characteristic as "non-gender."

In regard to professional weaknesses, half of the subjects said their biggest weaknesses were lack of patience with employees who do not perform to their full potential and expecting too much from subordinates and co-workers. Other weaknesses were not being a good socializer (1), not being aggressive enough (2), not being able to make timely decisions (1), the lack of knowledge of financing and budgeting (1), the lack of negotiating skills (1), procrastination (1), dealing with details (1), time management (1), making hasty decisions (1), being too dogmatic (1), wanting to move on ideas too quickly (1), trying to do it all (1), and being assertive to the point of aggression (1).

The woman who indicated that procrastination was one of her weaknesses suggested this trait might be considered

masculine because "so many men she knows are procrastinators." None of the other subjects viewed their weaknesses as being either masculine or feminine. They saw them all as non-gender.

Femininity

When the twelve female administrators were asked to define femininity, their answers varied dramatically from "I have no idea," to more abstract ideas such as "It means an attitude and a value system." Half of them said it meant "being who you are as a woman," "being glad you're a woman," "being yourself...being comfortable being a woman," "not being afraid to be a woman," and "being a total woman." One woman in the study said that to her femininity meant "doing things at home, being a mother and a maid, and taking care of everything...acting like a lady--everywhere." This respondent was the only one to answer that she does not feel more feminine on some occasions than on others; she feels feminine "all of the time."

Femininity was defined by the subject who had noted as one of her weaknesses "being too aggressive and outspoken" as follows:

> It [femininity] does not mean behavior, it means
> an attitude and a value system. ...I'm relying a
> lot on Carl Jung because I am very much a student
> of Jung and of empowerment, of assertiveness for
> a purpose, taking care of yourself, of being

pro-active as opposed to reactive; being sure you're not a victim. (Subject 9)

Although nine of the administrators said that women must sometimes monitor their behavior, their answers later in their interviews seemed to contradict those feelings. The following response from one of the respondents suggests that to be successful in upper management, women should try not to be too feminine or too masculine:

> If you're seen as too feminine, then you have absolutely no power. If you're seen as too masculine, you're trying to be one of the boys and that gets you nowhere. So I do think women have that added burden when trying to achieve. (Subject 4)

Somewhat agreeing with the notion of "monitoring behavior," another administrator stated:

> In a way [I agree]. I don't think you constantly have to monitor it. ...When I became the first woman on the Administrative Council, I had a lot of experience, and men felt threatened by me. ...Their chambers were being invaded, and I had to be very careful...not to upset the apple cart. ...I wanted to become one of them and not stand out as being different. Later, they said about me, "She's one of the guys." (Subject 7)

Half of the respondents indicated that women, as well as men, "should moderate any extreme behavior" and that the most appropriate behavior was "professional." The following passage illustrates this notion:

> I think that all people have to monitor their behavior. I think that all relationships...are a balance, and I think that we have to balance shyness with straightforward speech...masculine and feminine roles. I guess I never think about it in those terms. ...It's more a matter of

thinking about the situation in which I'm engaged
at the time and what is the best behavior.
(Subject 9)

According to the literature, the prevalent view in our

society has been that females are "inferior" to males and

are less competent to exercise functions, such as

administration, socially assigned to males. To compensate

for those beliefs, some women in senior-level

administrative positions act more "masculine" to be

accepted. Half of the respondents agreed that they

sometimes "used four-letter words" and "watched how they

dressed in groups of male administrators." On the other

hand, one respondent was adamant in her belief that

"it's a mistake anytime for any of us to be something that

we're not. ...Because I think it comes across as exactly

what it is, fake, false, and funny" (Subject 9).

Although behavior can be modified in certain

situations, one respondent candidly shared her frustrations

with the inability to modify her voice:

I think it's very important that your voice
portray authority, command, and competence. And
I think really and truly that's one of the
toughest things that women, particularly southern
women, have to face. In fact, I've been thinking
of taking some voice and diction lessons to work
on that because I really do think we lose a lot
of credibility just in the matter of speech.
(Subject 4)

Half of the women administrators in the study said

they did not act masculine, simply "professional," around

male colleagues, and over half (7) admitted to acting and

feeling more feminine at some times than at others. Examples of those more feminine times include,

> When I work with certain male co-workers--those I see as males first--physicallly attractive and appealing. (Subject 7)

> When I'm not under so much pressure. When I am more relaxed. (Subject 5)

> When I'm around women, particularly, and when I'm listening to and helping employees with problems. (Subject 6)

> When men come on to me as more masculine and want me to be "the woman." (Subject 7)

> When I consciously dress the part for concerts, etcetera. (Subject 10)

Feelings from four of the respondents about being genderless were expressed during this segment of the study. Based on the transcripts of these administrators, the conflict between masculine and feminine behavior in administrative positions was apparent. One administrator explained that she had a difficult time discussing these issues because

> that gets you into the trap of identifying certain behaviors as either masculine or feminine. ...That is honestly nothing I have never even thought about. ...I don't think about whether I feel feminine or masculine. It would not cross my mind. (Subject 11)

The four respondents who indicated that they behaved as non-gender professionals in their positions were much more outspoken and adamant in expressing their feelings than were those who admitted to adapting their behavior and appearance to fit a particular situation. Three of these

same four administrators also said, respectively, that the way they dress "has very little effect on their employees"; "I don't know if there is an effect"; and "I am unaware of the effect." On the other hand, the other nine respondents indicated that the way they dress does have an effect on their employees, and, in fact, one respondent said, it has a "tremendous effect."

All but one respondent agreed there were certain aspects about themselves that were gender related. All wore makeup (but not extreme); most wore jewelry; and all took care of their hair and nails. None, however, said they spent an unreasonable amount of time on appearance. One respondent admitted she resented the time she had to spend to make sure she was "presentable" at all times. Most wore suits or tailored dresses to work, and all agreed that it was vital "to dress appropriately for their positions."

The one respondent who seemed uncomfortable discussing the issues of feminine dress and appearance stated her views quite emphatically:

> I really enjoy jewelry, but I wear jewelry only
> on weekends and when I'm going out in the
> evenings. I just don't wear jewelry at work. I
> don't consider wearing jewelry as being feminine,
> although I guess it would be really strange to
> see a man wearing a string of pearls. I never
> thought about it as masculine or feminine.
> (Subject 9)

Sex Roles and Stereotypes

Rosabeth Moss Kanter has identified four stereotypes (or sex roles) that sometimes limit women in their pursuit of senior-level administrative positions as Earth Mother, Seductress (sex object), Pet (mascot), and Iron Maiden. Although half the administrators in my study admitted they were probably thought of as Earth Mothers, two of them had a very difficult time believing they had ever been thought of in one of these categories. One of them explained the reason this topic was so bothersome to her:

> It does exactly what you say it does... it stereotypes us. It forces us into a stereotype that I'm just really not comfortable with. ... I think a woman is both a blend of all of them and is void of all of them. (Subject 9)

When asked if she honestly believed she had never been classified in one of the roles, she responded,

> I really don't know, and I guess what I'm saying to you is that I really don't want to think about it. ... I can deal much better thinking about their being critical of me from a professional point of view of my competence than one of the stereotypes Kanter identified. (Subject 9)

Feeling just as strongly about the stereotypes, another respondent stated,

> I wouldn't do that to myself. ... I don't believe in those. I really don't think they are beneficial, and I wouldn't put myself in one of those categories. (Subject 11)

Although one of the vice presidents in the study agreed she disliked being categorized in any of the sex roles, she admitted that some of her staff members even

call her "mama." However, she readily defended this action:

> I'm really not [the mama type].... I don't want you to think that I'm too much that way, because I think sometimes I can be cold and callous, too. They [staff members] have this feeling that they can come to me with anything, any problem, any situation, anything at work or otherwise, and we're going to work it out. (Subject 7)

The other respondents who indicated that they too have probably been classified in the Earth Mother role agreed it was probably because of their caring and nurturing instincts, as well as their constant willingness to help people in need.

Even though all twelve administrators had a difficult time discussing sex roles and stereotypes, a majority (7) of them said they would have the most difficulty dealing with being seen as a mascot. Mascots (or pets) are females who are symbolically included as cheerleaders or mascots in groups, but not as equals or influential figures. On the positive side, they are at least included, even though they are tolerated as cute, amusing novelties, not as competent peers or leaders.

Eleven respondents said that sex roles are environmentally learned and controlled, and all twelve said they learned many vital lessons as they were growing up that have helped them as women in their current administrative positions. On the other hand, only one administrator said that sex roles may be genetically

inherited rather than environmentally learned. This suggests that even the one woman who rejected environmental determinism, allowed for some environmental influence in her formative years. Four examples of the women's feelings about the influence of family environments follow:

> As the oldest child in a family with an alcoholic father, I was the caretaker, the responsible child. I was very task-oriented and felt a strong need to constantly be achieving and productive. Growing up in a rural setting where everybody in the family had responsibilities (a really strong Protestant work ethic) produced a lot of workaholics. As a matter of fact, to this day I find myself explaining things to my mother in terms of use of time. Work is always an acceptable excuse; if you're going on a trip-- that's frivolous. (Subject 4)

> I think [my role as an administrative leader has been influenced] by my great, big, loving, wonderful family--a very strong father, very task-oriented, but yet very loving. And my mother was the artistic type and extremely compassionate. Because Daddy said we were going to do it, we played sports, played in the band, and took ballet lessons. I never knew playing sports was reserved for boys and ballet for girls--we all did both! (Subject 7)

> As an only child, I learned to take responsibility, to take control, and to be a leader. ... I was taught that I could do whatever I wanted to do--be whatever I wanted to be. There were never any boundaries. (Subject 9)

> I learned that I could do anything. That probably is the single most important [lesson] which leads to a good deal of confidence about tackling tasks. It may also lead to the weakness of really taking on too much, really believing you can do anything. ... I was never discouraged from doing anything. (Subject 11)

The influence of family encouragement, support, and confidence was noted by all twelve respondents. In addition, they all grew up in an environment that encouraged independence and emphasized the importance of becoming the best person they could become, not the best female.

Success

The influence of "the family" on the respondents becoming the best person they could become was apparent as the administrators discussed the topic of success. Although all of them saw themselves as successful, none of them believed their success could be defined solely in terms of the position they occupied. One respondent defined success as follows:

> I define success more in living up fully to the potential that you've chosen for yourself. I think that for most people there are all kinds of alternatives and scenarios that we could select for ourselves. I consider myself very successful in terms of my career. ... I have been successful in terms of creating the kind of family that I want, a marriage that is a happy marriage [with] healthy children. ... I don't think that I have focused on my career at the expense of my family, but... I do focus on my job at the expense of my family. (Subject 11)

The term "career" to this respondent suggested moving forward in a chosen field. She admitted that she does concentrate on her job and that sometimes this concentrated

attention forces her focus away from her family. Only two other respondents agreed this also happens to them.

The four unmarried respondents said they had focused on their careers, not at the expense of their families, but at the expense of their social lives. The remainder of the women indicated they made efforts not to neglect their families because of their job responsibilities.

One of the unmarried respondents particularly regretted having to slight her social life because of her administrative position at the college, but she proudly explained,

> I think that on a daily basis I perform to the absolute best of my ability in any given situation. I give 100% of myself to the situation, be it work, social, civic, whatever. If I take on a task, I do it well. I also see myself as being successful in that I feel comfortable with who I am. I feel comfortable with where I am now in terms of profession and career. And I feel successful in the sense of having been accepted as a professional, as a competent professional, by my peers. And most important of all to me, by most of the faculty. (Subject 9)

All twelve women said that they were successful and that this success was based on a series of achievements that preceded their attaining their current positions, not just their being in that position with a particular title.

Most (7) of them expressed similar views about what success means in the North Carolina Community College system. In this regard, only one of them envisioned a person or position in the system as being the ultimate

success model. The recurring theme of "being the best you can be" continued to emerge when they discussed the topic of success in the system. Examples of their responses follows:

> I think that success in this system is acceptance and respect as a competent professional by my peers. (Subject 9)

> I see success in our system as the ultimate dream coming true for our students. (Subject 7)

> Success in our system is having some input... What I see is a real difference in the way the university system is treated and the way the community college system is treated-- in funds, respect, support. (Subject 5)

Given their views of success in the North Carolina community college system, it is not surprising that none of the administrators aspired to president of the system. Further, only one of the non-presidents said she would like to become a college president. Most (7) of the respondents said they were very happy in their present positions.

Administration

In describing a good college administrator most (7) of the respondents named characteristics related to people skills. When asked to choose the single most important trait successful administrators possess in the North Carolina community college system, the respondents listed good judgment, communications, good management skills,

planning and staffing skills, and the ability to influence and get the job done through people.

Relationship Between Femininity and Success in the North Carolina Community College System

The purpose of this study was to develop an understanding of the perceptions of twelve senior-level female administrators in the North Carolina community college system of the relationship between femininity and success. Accordingly, the last question posed to each of the respondents in the structured interview dealt specifically with this issue.

Eight of the respondents perceived a relationship between femininity and success in the North Carolina system. Examples of the varied responses follow:

> I think there is. I think it's one of those little nebulous things, though, that's real hard to put your finger on. I think there's a kind of feminine attribute that is helpful in being an administrator. There's a way of presenting yourself, using what femininity you have been given by nature. I think you can use it to your benefit, and I think it can help. (Subject 2)

> I really believe women have a sensitivity that helps them in our system. They intuitively pick up on information which aids them in making decisions. It also helps them in dealing with people. That sensitivity includes nurturing and being able to empathize with people. I guess the advantage I see in women being able to synthesize information better is because I see information as power. If you can pick up on information and insights, and you can effectively deal with

people, then you have power in terms of aiding people in your agenda to get things done-- things that have to be done for the good of the organization. And I think women are good managers; they just haven't labeled themselves that. Nobody is more of a manager than a woman who takes scarce resources and manages a home, raises kids, and plays taxi service-- management skills that a CEO uses. (Subject 4)

Yes, there's a relationship. But it's an inverse relationship. There's still a tremendous amount of tokenism in Raleigh at the State Department. If you take a token, however, and make a success of it, that's fine. At least you've got your foot in the door. I see people every day use their gender as a power tool-- feminine and masculine. ... Hopefully, though, we'll reach a point where people are judged on their abilities, not their sex. I think it's getting closer. If you're lucky enough to work for somebody who judges you that way, you're on the way. (Subject 5)

I think there is a relationship between femininity and success in any management position these days. I think that the world is changing drastically. ... There is good research showing that for the first time ever, people in this country are recognizing that feminine skills are the kinds of skills managers need: being able to listen to people, being empathetic, being able to organize, being intuitive. We've always downplayed intuition as an important skill, and it's turned out that intuition may be the most important skill in being a successful manager. ... We call it hunches with men; I'm calling it intuition. (Subject 6)

One of the respondents said that in her case, she could not see a relationship between femininity and success in North Carolina; however, she had observed such a relationship in other situations. A summary of her remarks follows:

I think there is some indication when being a female was a deterrent, historically, in the North Carolina community college system to

success. ... I don't know if women who did succeed in some measure were more or less feminine than other women... there aren't that many women in the state who have achieved positions that I would identify as successful. If you assume that women are by definition more feminine than men, then I would say then, that there is a relationship. ...Femininity or virtually anything else that is exaggerated is probably going to be a deterrent to success in our system.(Subject 11)

Only two of the respondents answered that they did not feel there was a relationship between femininity and success in the North Carolina community college system. Comments from these two administrators were very concise, as compared with those who said there was a relationship. The remarks below clearly summarize the feelings of one of the subjects on her concept of the genderless administrator:

I really don't think there is a relationship between femininity and success in our system. I don't think "male/female." Being female has never been a disadvantage (or advantage) for me. (Subject 3)

Although the second respondent answered that she did not think there was a relationship, she continued discussing her feelings about women, or the lack of women, in senior-level administrative positions in the North Carolina community college system. Perhaps she really meant that there is a relationship, but that it is a negative one at the present. A summary of her remarks follows:

No, I don't think there is a relationship between femininity and success. But, yes, I do feel women are finally beginning to break into the system. The problem, however, is that women, as

a group, haven't quite decided what they want to be yet. And, yes, there are still some chauvinists out there that women have to deal with. ...My advice to a very "feminine," petite, attractive female aspiring to a CEO position would simply be to act herself. Men, in general, resent women pretending to be something they're not. If they're not men, they shouldn't act like men! (Subject 8)

The only respondent who did not directly answer the question about the relationship between femininity and success was also the only one who voiced a strong resentment against the entire subject of this research. Before her interview, she said, "I can't believe you chose this topic to explore as your dissertation study. I thought the femininity 'thing' was a dead issue back in the 70's." This respondent rarely answered the interview questions as straightforwardly as did the other administrators. He comments on the relationship between femininity and success follow:

I guess that was the question that I had the hardest time with... because I am so confident that success in the North Carolina System is based on an individual's competence... and that professional competence being validated by a male mentor who's already in the system. ...I also don't think it would be any easier or harder for a "feminine"-type woman to become a president than it would be for anyone else. I think it's going to be a matter of her proving her own competence, her own professional ability, and having someone who is already accepted in the system validate that. (Subject 9)

Based on the responses of these women administrators to these six topics, the subjects of femininity and success, and the relationship between the two in the North

Carolina community college system, appear to be current and important topics and prompt speculation on the relationship as it relates to the increase or decrease of women in senior-level administrative positions in higher education.

CHAPTER V

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS, CONCLUSION, AND
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

Theoretical Considerations

The purpose of this research was to study and understand the relationship between femininity and success in the North Carolina community college system. Specifically, I was interested in the perceptions of twelve selected community college female presidents, vice presidents, and academic deans in the state system. A more general purpose of the study was to speculate on the relationship between femininity and success as it relates to the number of women in senior-level administrative positions in higher education.

Designed as a multi-site, qualitative study, this research was conducted using an "eclectic" method of inquiry, combining certain elements of the grounded theory approach, specifically those supported by Glaser and Strauss (1967). I used a structured questionnaire to interview each woman and then analyzed the interview data with a modified version of the constant comparative method of analysis. This process suggested some theoretical elements of the relationship between femininity and success in the North Carolina community college system. The

structured interview approach, by its nature, limited the number of themes and topics that emerged during the study.

When I analyzed the data, which was organized by the six topics that structured the interviews and by composite portraits of the twelve subjects themselves, six overlapping theoretical elements became clear. These elements are listed below under femininity and success, the two major aspects of the relationship under study:

Femininity   Success

1. Definition of   1. Definition of their
   femininity.   own personal success.

2. Gender-The biological   2. College position-Their
   "position" of their   attitudes about job
   being a woman in   satisfaction, goals,
   society including   aspirations, and
   their attitudes about   influences.
   being a woman.
3. Parental/sociological   3. Personal/family
   influence on gender.   influences on their
                                        success.

4. Physical appearance.   4. Professional
                                        appearance, style, and
                                        image.

5. Behaviors as a female.   5. Behaviors as an
                                        administrator.

6. Personal   6. Professional
   characteristics and   characteristics and
   traits.   traits, including
                                        strengths and
                                        weaknesses as an
                                        administrator.

These elements are best understood in terms of three composite portraits of female community college

administrators. This is to suggest that the twelve
subjects could be categorized as one of three types:

1. The Feminine/Masculine Female Administrator (FMFA)

    Female administrators who consider themselves to
    be successful leaders and who possess feminine as
    well as masculine traits and who consciously
    adapt these traits and change their behaviors in
    certain situations in order to be more fully
    accepted in the predominantly male spheres of
    administration.

2. The Feminine Female Administrator (FFA)

    Female administrators who consider themselves to
    be successful leaders and who possess primarily
    feminine traits and who are unwilling to adapt or
    change these traits or behaviors to be accepted
    in administration.

3. The "Genderless" Female Administrator (GFA)

    Female administrators who consider themselves to
    be successful leaders but who do not consider
    gender to be an issue in their professional lives
    and hence feel no need to adapt or change their
    behaviors in order to be accepted in
    administration.

On the basis of their stated feelings and perceptions,
four of the subjects fitted each of the categories. It is
important to note that while the twelve subjects in this
study clearly arranged themselves in the three categories
described above, a larger sample would very likely have
suggested a natural fourth category, the Masculine Female
Administrator (MFA). Composite portraits of the three
archtypes that emerged are drawn in terms of the six
overlapping elements and are discussed below.

The Feminine/Masculine Female Administrator (FMFA)

The FMF administrator clearly feels she possesses both feminine and masculine traits and is able to adapt these traits and appropriate behaviors to specific situations. She is perfectly comfortable being female in her administrative position and admits that being female has not presented major barriers to her success in higher education. She enjoys being herself, "whether feminine or masculine." When asked her definition of femininity, she admits she sometimes thinks of it in "terms of external things [like] dress, hair, and makeup." In addition, she says that femininity is "usually thought of in negative terms; hence, society thinks of women in negative terms. ...When people think about feminine things, they think about weakness or fragileness, or the inability to take action." She also says of femininity,

> I think [femininity] means just being myself, not being fluffy fluff, and not being tightly tailored; it's being what I'm comfortable with. It's being able to be me. ...I'm glad that I'm a woman. I've never in my life wanted to be a man.

As this statement illustrates, the FMF administrator is extremely comfortable with her gender and enjoys "being female."

This administrator was influenced by her parents, who always stressed the importance of education and who created a positive and supportive family atmosphere. During her adolescent years, she learned valuable lessons that have

helped her in her administrative career. She learned to accept responsibilities, to become independent, and to work hard to become financially secure. She also learned early in life that she could succeed in doing anything she wanted to do. She feels that the encouragement she received as a child from her family helped her achieve her goals throughout her life. The FMF administrator is married, and her husband is important for the support he gives her. She feels that support seems to play a vital role in her pursuing a demanding career in higher education.

When discussing her career, the FMF administrator feels she is successful because she really enjoys her work and finds it a challenge. She also "learns new things every day". Further she feels successful because she has attained a particular position at the college, is capable of meeting the challenges presented to her, and is capable of "taking opportunities and capitalizing on them."

The FMF administrator seems to be very happy in her position but is sometimes interested in pursuing some other position in another community college. Her aspirations, however, do not extend to her desiring a presidency. At other times, she expresses a degree of interest in working in a university setting similar to her current one. When asked if she feels it would be necessary to modify her behavior to achieve a higher level position, she says,

"I think so. ...However, you have to be what you're comfortable with."

She admits to having been quite a tomboy when she was younger, but now that she is older and very comfortable being a woman, she says that she is able to adapt to situations requiring her to talk about sports with men or "women things" with women. She admits she adapts her behavior to particular situations, but, more importantly, she feels she generally should simply be professional and "be herself."

The FMF administrator is sometimes a "toucher and hugger," but she usually refrains from such behavior because she thinks it might be interpreted to be too soft, weak, or feminine. She feels strongly that she must maintain a professional image and knows the image must be essentially masculine. Additional "feminine" characteristics this FMF administrator possesses include her genuine caring for employees and her listening and helping (or mothering) instincts. In addition, she smiles more than men do, and in decision making she relies on her sense of intuition, which she says men call "hunches."

The FMF administrator continuously stresses the fact that it is important not to be too "feminine" or too "masculine" and just to "be herself" and "be professional." She is able to make decisions quickly and she is able to choose the best employee for the job. She is

impatient, however, with employees who are unwilling to exert the energy necessary to work toward their fullest potential.

For this administrator, projecting the most appropriate, professional image possible is very important. This image includes dressing more conservatively on days of very important meetings involving primarily men, and less conservatively on other days. Commenting on society's image of women in terms of "hair, dress, and makeup," she says, "The time spent in trying to look feminine I resent tremendously, so I don't do a lot of that. I do what I think I have to do not to look masculine." She accomplishes this by wearing tailored dresses rather than conservative suits. She enjoys short hair with no "fluff or curls" and admits she wears makeup only because she wants to project the look she thinks the college expects. The FMF administrator emphasizes that she does not consider herself to be "genderless" in her position, but simply comfortable with her ability to be flexible with both men and women in specific situations.

The Feminine Female Administrator (FFA)

The FF administrator considers herself to be a successful leader who possesses primarily feminine traits and who is unwilling to change in order to be accepted in

higher education administration. She enjoys being a woman who exhibits feminine behavior all the time, both personally and professionally. In fact, she defines femininity as being a "total" woman. She says she feels feminine all the time and that being feminine to her means "doing things at home--being a mother, a maid, and taking care of everything." In addition, femininity to her means "acting like a lady--everywhere" and "being who you are as a woman." She definitely does not think women should have to change their behavior in order to succeed in administrative positions. She adds, "I think you are just who you are, and I think that being feminine may actually be a better approach...instead of acting masculine when you aren't a man." She agrees with Cosell (1985), who writes that

> Nothing disguises the fact that you're a woman and nothing changes the fact that men are sometimes uncomfortable with your femininity and your presence. Just be who you are and the chances are that people will feel more comfortable with you--and that works to your professional advantage. (p. 190)

When asked to discuss her aspirations, she says she doesn't "think there is anywhere to go." She adds, "There might be, I don't know, but I don't live and breathe to do that now." She admits she did not consciously plan her career; "it just sort of evolved." She did, however, consciously maintain her femininity while pursing her administrative career.

The FF administrator wears attractive feminine suits and dresses, which she considers to be appropriate feminine dress for a female "who just happens to be a dean" and who "happens to enjoy being female." She sometimes feels more feminine than at other times, depending on what she is wearing. She emphasizes that she enjoys being, and dressing like, a woman. Although not obsessed with her appearance, she takes time to manicure her nails and to fix her hair carefully. In addition, she enjoys wearing jewelry. She always wants to look nice because she is very aware of being a role model for students as well as co-workers. She is not conscious of having to change her appearance or image to be effective in different situations, such as council meetings or faculty meetings.

In referring to dress and behavior during her adolescent years, the FF administrator does not recall acting like, or being, a tomboy. She does remember being encouraged to work hard and to become the best person she could become. As a result of her family environment, she developed a "can do" attitude and a belief that education was the only way to accomplish her life's goals and objectives. She "learned the feelings of being responsible, of needing to be an achiever, and of needing to be productive." Such valuable lessons helped her develop her strengths as an administrator: the ability to get things done, to accept responsibilities, and to

achieve the desired results. She also numbers among her strengths interpersonal and communication skills, which she considers to be primarily feminine qualities.

Feeling that she capitalizes on her feminine traits and qualities, the FF administrator is very content with her job. In addition, she recognizes the fact that other women, who also enjoy their jobs, alter their feminine traits in order to succeed in their positions. Although she is unwilling to alter her traits, she understands the reasons behind others' desire to change.

The "Genderless" Female Administrator (GFA)

The GF administrator considers herself to be a successful leader but does not consider her gender to be an issue in her professional life. For this reason, she does not feel that adapting her behavior to certain situations or changing her behavior is necessary in order to be accepted in administration. She is very vocal in emphasizing her feelings of being "neither too feminine nor too masculine" in her position; she is simply "professional," as she thinks she is expected to be.

The GF administrator is very careful not to include in her definition of femininity references to her "being a woman." She says femininity to her does not suggest a particular behavior; instead, it connotes "an attitude and

value system...an attitude of nurturing, of empowerment, of

assertiveness for a purpose, [and it means] taking care of

yourself." Her views are similar to those discussed by

Cosell (1985), who explains that women

> couldn't succeed by displaying any traditional
> kinds of female behavior. ...What was femininity
> anyway, but a male creation? First they shackled
> our bodies with their silly, restrictive
> definitions of what was fashion and what was
> beauty and what was the proper height, leg
> length, breast size, hair color, and eye color.
> Then they shackled our minds, taught us that
> ambition, aggression, brains, talent, drive,
> ruthless-ness, independence were all their
> birthrights. Women who displayed these traits
> were unfeminine, unattractive, unworthy. (p. 24)

The GF administrator makes no apologies for possessing

"that ambition, aggression, brains, talent, drive"

discussed by Cosell, and she emphasizes that she does not

consider those traits to be masculine or feminine, nor to

be unattractive in, or unworthy of, a woman. She does not

"think about whether [she is] feminine or not." She just

does "the job that needs to be done." She does not "think

feminine or masculine." She simply thinks "professional."

The GF administrator considers herself to be a

professional success in her field and does not feel she is

in a unique position because she is a female in the

male-dominated field of educational administration. She

does not think of herself as unique because she has

confidence she can accomplish any task given to her "as

well as any male administrator" she knows. This belief is

the result both of her dedication and loyalty to the field

of education and of her expertise. Because of this confidence, she may aspire to a higher level administrative position.

In addition to her feelings of dedication to and confidence in the field of education, the GF administrator feels her success is due to her consistent behavior at work. She emphasizes that she does not "think about behaving in a feminine way or masculine way." She does think that "administrators need to be assertive to be leaders" and feels she is an effective, assertive leader. She does not feel that being assertive is necessarily a masculine trait, nor does she consider her organizational and writing skills to be either "masculine" or "feminine."

Even though the GF administrator sometimes says she has no idea what femininity means, she does admit the term sometimes conjures images of ruffles, lace, dimples, and giggles in her mind. Although she says she might have been "giggles and dimples" at one time in her life, she certainly does not feel they play a part in her life now. She often emphasizes her feelings of being "genderless" in her position but does admit she enjoys wearing earrings and taking care of her hair. She feels the reason for this, however, is not to make her appear feminine, but to make her appear professional and appropriate in her position at the college.

The GF administrator often has a difficult time discussing such topics as those in this study because she feels that "being feminine or masculine has absolutely nothing" to do with her job. Being careful not to accept the feminine and masculine labels, such as those consistently used in my interview questions, she says that all administrators, not just women, in top leadership positions are careful not to exhibit any kind of extreme behavior. She does not act "feminine," she says, any more than she acts "masculine"; she simply acts professional.

Although the GF administrator sometimes admits she possesses some feminine characteristics, such as "caring, sensitivity, mothering, and beauty," she constantly emphasizes that she does not see herself as a feminine or masculine administrator. She says that she does not believe in modifying her behavior and that if she had to constantly be aware of acting too masculine or too feminine, she "couldn't deal with the daily issues" she faces in her position.

The GF administrator emphasizes that she feels completely non-gender, or "genderless," in her professional role. Although she wears moderate jewelry and makeup, she constantly makes references to her desire to be professional, not feminine. In addition, she does not dress differently for certain meetings or events because she sees no need to change an image she claims is

"genderless."   Although   gender   is   not   an   overt   consideration in her professional life, certain behaviors and actions,such as wearing jewelry on weekends, seem to indicate that gender is an overt consideration in the GF administrator's personal life.

Denying that her traits are feminine or masculine, the GF   administrator   possesses   several   professional   and personal characteristics and strengths the   literature claims are feminine: "caring, sensitivity, mothering, and beauty." In addition, she feels she is a good organizer and possesses strong people skills.

On the subject of the implicit role conflict between professional and personal lives, Cosell (1985) writes,

> The assumption that there is no constant conflict between a successful professional life and a successful personal one for women is in part directly   traceable   to   the   long-standing insistence of the women's movement that women are really no "different" from men, given the education and opportunity to work and to achieve in the same arenas in which men achieve; and that any differences in female behavior exist because they are sociologically induced and the result of male-dominated social conditioning. (p. 186)

Conclusion

While a specific theory of the relationship between femininity and administrative success does not emerge from this study of twelve administrators, the elements of what might evolve into a conceptual model which describes this relationship are apparent.

Specifically, there are six overlapping elements, or issues, attached to the two major variables in the study, femininity and success. The elements include the subjects' definitions of femininity and success; their attitudes about being women; their attitudes about their professional successes, goals, and aspirations; their understanding of the influence of family and society; their acknowledgement of the importance of their physical appearance and professional image; their interpretations of their personal and professional behaviors; and their identifications of their professional strengths and weaknesses.

In addition to the six overlapping elements that evolved, three archtypes could be described. The first administrative archtype, the Feminine/Masculine Female Administrator (FMFA), who enjoys being female but also possesses some masculine characteristics. She is willing to adapt her behaviors in terms of these feminine and masculine characteristics in particular situations, in order to be more accepted in her educational administrative position. The second archtype, the Feminine Female Administrator (FFA), is extremely comfortable being a woman in her position at the college, and she does not adapt her behaviors to gain acceptance in administration. The third archtype, the "Genderless" Female Administrator (GFA), does not consider her gender to be an issue in her professional life and, therefore, does not find it necessary to adapt

her behaviors in particular situations. All twelve administrators said they were happy and that they felt they were successful in their administrative positions.

With these considerations in mind, what can one, with confidence, say about the relationship between femininity and administrative success? Relying on the data provided by the twelve women, one is led clearly to the conclusion that a relationship does exist and that it is positive. The relationship is positive in that all twelve women feel they are successful; this is the case because they define success in terms of internal levels of satisfaction. Defining success this way is "feminine," as opposed to defining success in terms of position attainment (e.g., moving from dean to vice president to president). The latter concept is "masculine."

If one interprets the data in this study from a masculine perspective, that is, using a masculine definition of success, the relationship between femininity and success becomes negative, not positive. This is so because the most feminine administrators, those who match the FFA archtype, are at the lowest level among the subjects (i.e., they are deans), and they do not aspire to move higher. Further, those fitting the GFA archtype may to a degree be caught up in a denial of their femininity, inasmuch as there is a clear difference between their "genderless" professional behavior and some clearly

feminine aspects of their personal behavior. This notion of denial is exemplified even more clearly in the behavior of the FMF administrators. These are the persons who are willing to "deny" their femininity by making what they consider masculine adaptations in particular circumstances, such as in meetings dominated by men.

Therefore, one could speculate reasonably that if the least successful (from the masculine perspective) women are the most feminine (the FFAs), and if the others (the GFAs and the FMFAs) all to a degree deny their femininity, the relationship between femininity and success must be negative.

In short, from this study, one can see six overlapping elements and three female administrative archtypes which are useful in understanding the relationship between femininity and administrative success among higher education female administrators. At the same time, it is clear that the essential nature of this relationship, that is whether it is positive or negative, depends on whether success is defined in feminine or masculine terms.

Recommendations For Future Study

Further research on this topic should include the following:

1. There should be a study of the perceptions of people who work with these twelve administrators in order to determine the degree to which their reported self perceptions match the perceptions of others.

2. It would be important to study the behaviors of the twelve subjects of this study in order to compare their actual behaviors with the perceptions they articulated in this study.

3. Race, socioeconomic background, and cultural influence on these subjects should be studied as they pertain to the relationship between femininity and administrative success.

4. There should be a parallel study of senior-level men in terms of masculinity and administrative success.

5. There should be a study which compares the differences of the perceptions of men and women about the relationship between femininity and masculinity and their relationship to administrative success.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questions

Interview Topics	Corresponding Interview Questions
A. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND OF INTERVIEWEES	1. Where were you born and where did you spend most of your first eighteen years?
	2. How many brothers and sisters do you have? What are their occupations?
	Are you married and do you have any children? What is the highest degree held by your husband?
	What is his occupation?
	Did your mother attend college, and did she work outside the home? Did your father attend college? What was his occupation?
	3. How many years have you been in the administrative position you now hold? What position were you in before this one? Where?
	4. How many total years have you been in higher education administration, including those in your current position?
B. FEMININITY	5. What does femininity mean to you?

Interview Questions

Interview Topics	Corresponding Interview Questions
B. FEMININITY	6. Authors of <u>Breaking the Glass Ceiling</u> write, "To be successful in upper management, women must constantly monitor their behavior, making sure they are neither too masculine nor too feminine." Do you agree with them? Why? When? In what situations? 7. Following up on the above question, do you believe women must sometimes behave in certain "masculine" ways to be accepted in administration? Which ways? 8. What are your professional strengths? What are your professional weaknesses? As an administrator, which of these strengths and weaknesses do you consider feminine and which do you consider masculine? 9. Do you feel more feminine some times more than other times at work? When? With whom?

Interview Questions

Interview Topics	Corresponding Interview Questions
B. FEMININITY	10. What effect does the way you dress have on those with whom you work? 11. In addition to dress, are there any other aspects of the way you present yourself that would typically be identified by gender? (e.g., use of voice, physical gestures, smile, makeup, nails, etc.)
C. STEREOTYPES AND SEX ROLES	12. Rosabeth Kanter has identified four stereotypes commonly assigned to women: earth mother, sex object, mascot, and iron maiden. Which of these do you think have been used to characterized you? Why? Which do you find the most difficult to deal with? Why? 13. On a similar issue, author Marilyn French believes sex roles are not genetically inherited, but are environmentally learned and controlled. Do you agree? What did you learn in your environment as you were growing up that has caused you to play

Interview Questions

Interview Topics		Corresponding Interview Questions	
C.	STEREOTYPES AND SEX ROLES		certain roles in your current administrative position?
D.	SUCCESS	14.	Success is often seen as living up to one's full potential. Do you see yourself as successful and, if so, in what sense?
		15.	Do you sometimes focus on your career at the expense of your family? When? Why?
		16.	What do you consider to be "success" in the North Carolina community college system?
		17.	Do you aspire to go further up in the organization?
E.	ADMINISTRATION	18.	What do you consider the major qualifications or characteristics of a good college administrator?
		19.	Which of these do you consider the most important for success in the North Carolina community college system?
F.	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FEMININITY AND SUCCESS	20.	From your experience, do you feel there is a relationship between

Interview Questions

Interview Topics	Corresponding Interview Questions
F. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FEMININITY AND SUCCESS	femininity and administrative success in the community college system in North Carolina?
	21. Is there anything you would like to add to help clarify your concept of the relationship between femininity and success in the North Carolina community college system?