

POWER AND LEADERSHIP:
A PERSPECTIVE FROM COLLEGE WOMEN

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Department of Administrative, Adult and Higher Education

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

March, 1993

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Date April 8, 1993

Abstract

This thesis presents an analysis of career choices and concepts of power and leadership of women with administrative responsibility at a community college in British Columbia. The purpose of the study is to provide a rationale for changing existing patriarchal, hierarchical, bureaucratic systems into systems that will be more comfortable for women. It addresses the underrepresentation of women at the top of organizational hierarchies by investigating the fit between women's values and concepts of power and leadership and those of the bureaucratic system and by investigating how this fit affects their career choices.

The theoretical framework of separate, connected, and constructed leadership is based on theories of women's moral and epistemological development (Gilligan, 1982; Belenky et al., 1986). Separate leadership is based on the ethic of justice and rights. Connected leadership is based on the ethic of care and connection. Constructed leadership is based on a balance between the ethic of justice and rights and the ethic of care and connection.

This thesis has the basic characteristics of feminist research which include research for, by and about women. The researcher is a woman who has had administrative responsibility at the same college. The qualitative approach addresses the complexity and depth needed to answer the research questions. The methods include questionnaires and in-depth interviews.

This thesis concludes that women tend to have different concepts of power and leadership than those traditionally found in the bureaucratic system and that the fit between women's concepts and those of the system does affect their career choices. The interviewees have connected values and concepts of power and leadership. In the bureaucratic system, separate values and concepts of power and leadership predominate.

Based on the career choices data, there are three categories of women. First, there are those who would not choose to go on further up the hierarchy because they see a misfit between their values and those of the system. Second, there are those who choose to go on further up the hierarchy because, they either do not recognize any misfit between their values and the values of the system, or they recognize the misfit, but are willing and able to adjust. Third, there are those who choose to go up the hierarchy, recognizing the misfit between their values and those of the system, but they are determined to change it by entering the administrative hierarchy. One of the reasons there are few women at the top of hierarchies is that there are few women in the latter two categories.

Women near the top of hierarchies are perceived by some interviewees as using only separate leadership skills. Their connected skills are invisible because these skills are not valued in the present system. There are two factors to this invisibility. First, the women near the top behave in ways that emphasize their separate skills and hide their connected skills. Second, other people expect to see separate skills when they observe people near the top of the hierarchy.

This thesis recommends changing the present system to visibly include connected values. The system needs to be changed to fit women; fitting women to the system must stop. To do this will require both women and men with connected leadership skills making these skills visible by sharing power and actively working to change the system. A college administrative system which balances separate and connected leadership would be a constructed system which would more effectively fulfil its mission by meeting the diverse needs of its community.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
Acknowledgement	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
My Connection to the Study	2
Purpose of the Study	3
Preview of the Thesis	3
Significance and Justification of the Study	6
Chapter 2: Context	10
Literature Review	11
Organizational Theory	11
Feminist Theory	16
Barriers to Women in Educational Administration	19
Women's Leadership	21
Theoretical Framework	25

Chapter 3: Research Methods	29
Feminist Research	30
Research Site	31
Participants	34
Selection of Questionnaire Recipients	34
Questionnaire Respondents	35
Selection of Interviewees	36
Data Collection and Analysis Strategies	37
Chapter 4: Career Choices	40
Questionnaire Respondents	41
Interviewees	44
Background Information	45
Career Choices	47
Balance	52
Barriers	54
Chapter 5: Power and Leadership	58
Power	59
Definitions of Power	59
Interviewees' Own Power	62
Power at MCC	62
Leadership	65
An Ideal MCC	71
Chapter 6: Conclusion	75
Initial Focus	76
Data Analysis	78
Implications	81

References	84
Appendix 1	88
Figure 1: Inter-active model for an organic institution	89
Figure 2: A model for a student centred college	90
Figure 3: MCC organizational chart	91
Figure 4: South Campus organizational chart	92
Figure 5: North/Central Campus organizational chart	93
Figure 6: Theoretical framework of leadership	94
Appendix 2	95
Covering Letter to Questionnaire	96
Questionnaire	97
Permission Letter	99
Interview Outline	101

List of Tables

Table 1: Instructors with administrative responsibility	34
Table 2: Responses based on position	36
Table 3: Interviewee background information	46

List of Figures

Figure 1: Inter-active model for an organic institution	89
Figure 2: A model for a student centred college	90
Figure 3: MCC organizational chart	91
Figure 4: South Campus organizational chart	92
Figure 5: North/Central Campus organizational chart	93
Figure 6: Theoretical framework of leadership	94
Figure 7: Questionnaire respondents' reasons for not applying for positions with more administrative responsibility	42
Figure 8: Interviewees' reasons for not applying for positions with more administrative responsibility	49
Figure 9: Interviewees' perceptions of barriers to women	54

Acknowledgement

There are many people who supported and encouraged me during the process of thesis research. I thank the members of my thesis committee: Dr. Allison Tom (Research Supervisor), Dr. John Dennison, and Dr. Margaret Fulton. Thank you Allison for the very thorough training you gave me and the many hours of reading, critiquing, and listening. Thank you John for your insights, encouragement, and for learning along with me. Thank you Margaret for your support and for inspiring me with your alternative systems of administration. I thank Dr. Ian Housego (External Examiner) for his thorough reading of this thesis and his thought provoking questions.

I thank the women who participated in this research. I thank the many others who listened and gave me feedback on my ideas. I thank Marg Penney and Joan Cockell for reading the thesis draft and providing constructive comments. I thank Anne Morley for being my research buddy throughout the process. I thank my daughter, Mar Sellars and my husband, Stuart Sellars for putting up with me through the tough times and for encouraging me to keep going. Also thank you Stuart for doing the thesis layout.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this chapter I discuss my connection to the study, the purpose of the study, a preview of the thesis, and the significance and justification of the study.

My Connection to the Study

This thesis is a result of a developing interest in leadership which I brought with me on entering the Higher Education Masters degree program in January 1990. This interest in leadership developed from experience as both a formal leader (department head and chair of various committees) and an informal leader (an advocate for students and faculty) in the community college system while employed at Metropolis Community College (MCC)¹. As I pursued graduate study, I realized that the voices of women were just starting to be heard in this area. Leadership has been perceived as a male domain historically, since most authority positions have been held by men. Even now, in the British Columbia Community College system there is only one female Chief Executive Officer.

Through leadership experiences, I have discovered that what I thought were common sense leadership skills are not common sense to everyone. I have observed “leaders” making decisions and using processes that, instead of facilitating and making things happen, created serious problems. These “leaders” did not seem to think about their responsibility to others. They hoarded information and seemed to be concerned about the exercise of power as a method of control. These skills appeared to be something that I would have to learn if I were to rise up the hierarchy. Reading the literature on women’s development and leadership made me realize that being a woman has affected my own leadership skills. This led me to ask if my values and concepts of power and leadership were shared by other women.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to provide a rationale for changing existing patriarchal, hierarchical, bureaucratic systems into systems that will be more comfortable for women. My initial research question was “Why are there so few women at the top of organizational hierarchies?” The literature suggests various answers to this question. Of these I was most interested in women’s choices. To investigate these choices I developed the question “Does a bureaucratic organizational structure interfere with women’s interest in and access to formal organizational authority?” In order to answer this question I needed to ask these questions: “How do women’s values and concepts of power and leadership fit with those of the patriarchal, hierarchical, bureaucratic system?” and “How does this fit affect their access to organizational authority?” In doing this study I wanted to find out if women tend to have different values and concepts of power and leadership than those traditionally found in the patriarchal, hierarchical, bureaucratic system and, if so, to find out if this is one of the reasons why there are so few women at the top of organizational hierarchies.

Preview of the Thesis

I investigated the research questions using background from four areas of literature: organizational theory, feminist perspectives, barriers to women in educational administration, and women’s leadership.

Organizational theory provides the language and frameworks for studying and critiquing organizations, especially bureaucratic organizations. A socialist feminist perspective, which suggests changing bureaucratic systems to accommodate both women and men, serves the research purpose.

The literature on barriers to women in educational administration suggests two categories of reasons why there are so few women at the top of hierarchies: institutional barriers and women themselves. Institutional barriers include discriminatory hiring practices, job structure which limits people with family responsibilities, and time-in-line requirements to move successfully up the hierarchy. Many of these are related to the nature of the bureaucratic system. However, even if some of these institutional barriers were removed by initiatives such as affirmative action and employment equity, women themselves may still not apply for administrative positions. Studies show that women may choose not to apply for administrative positions due to their socialization to "appropriate" roles for women. They may have psychological barriers such as fear of power and conflict, or lack of confidence in their abilities. This study is intended to challenge the literature on women's psychological barriers by investigating women's choices as active resistance to joining a system which does not fit their values.

The literature on women's leadership is based on research on women's development which shows that men and women tend to reach different "highest" stages of moral development. Women tend to reach an ethic of care and connection which leads to empowerment or "power with," and men tend to reach an ethic of justice and rights which leads to control or "power over." Studies of women's epistemological development show that women tend to be "connected" knowers, that is, knowers who base their knowing on relationship rather than on impersonal rules. Women's leadership studies use the language from these studies of women's development. These studies tend to focus on women who have made it to the top of organizational hierarchies. This research joins the tradition of analysis of women's leadership using the language of women's development, but focuses on women at lower levels of the hierarchy.

I constructed the theoretical framework by applying theories of women's moral and epistemological development to concepts of power and leadership. I developed three leadership categories: 1) separate leadership based on the ethic of justice and rights, 2) connected leadership based on the ethic of care and connection, and 3) constructed leadership based on a balance between the ethic of justice and rights and the ethic of care and connection.

The dichotomy of separate and connected leadership parallels the dichotomy between what is often thought of as male and female characteristics and values. When I use the terms stereotypically male and stereotypically female, I mean those characteristics which historically have been separated into male and female dichotomies, such as, the belief that men are rational and women are emotional. I recognize that not all men and women have these characteristics. I also recognize the heritage of men having prime responsibility for forming and running our institutions (public life), and women having prime responsibility for the home (private life). So when I compare women's concepts of power and leadership (connected leadership) to those of the bureaucratic system (separate leadership), I am implicitly comparing the categories "women" and "men." The category of constructed leadership suggests an overlap of the dichotomies, that is, a balance between stereotypically male and female leadership styles.

I interviewed women at a hierarchical institution, Metropolis Community College, to pursue these questions. The research involved in-depth interviews with women who, at the time, were or had been Department Heads/Chairs, Division Chairs or Administrators at the college. By listening to stories of their lives within the college I investigated their career choices and their concepts of power and leadership.

This research has been particularly valuable to me because of my connection to the research site and the participants. I chose Metropolis Community College after struggling with the concept of

objectivity. It was after discovering that there are alternatives to positivism that I was able to recognize the value and validity of doing research that is personally important. Harding's (1991) notion of "strong objectivity" balances the need for rational research standards with the need to recognize the connection of the researcher to the research. She says, "research is socially situated, and it can be more objectively conducted without aiming for or claiming to be value-free" (Harding, 1991). I am committed to the research because of my personal involvement. I could have been one of the women that I interviewed. I have struggled with the same sorts of career choices as these women and I continue to do so. My concerns about whether I want to go on further up the hierarchy form a basis for my interest in this topic. My political agenda of wanting to change the system is integral to this research. As a result I have had to be very cautious with respect to listening for what is there and being careful not to impose my own biases onto the data to make it fit my political agenda.

Significance and Justification of the Study

This research is significant for women at Metropolis Community College since it provides an opportunity for their voices to be heard. It is also significant for the college as a whole, since these voices contribute suggestions for making the college a more effective institution. This research is significant for women in other colleges and institutions which are similar to Metropolis Community College, since they may see stories and concepts similar to their own. It is significant for all who want to see bureaucratic organizations become more effective, since it suggests alternatives to the bureaucratic model. This research will contribute to the body of knowledge on women's leadership, especially educational leadership.

Since the research setting is Metropolis Community College, it is important to locate the arguments about women's leadership and opportunities for leadership within the mission of this college and the college system as a whole. In this section I discuss the initial vision for the community colleges in British Columbia, the mission of Metropolis Community College, the

mission of the British Columbia college and institute system, and future directions recommended by the British Columbia Human Resource Development Project.

Community Colleges were first established in British Columbia in 1965, to serve both individual and community needs. Historically, colleges' missions have recognized the diversity of these needs. In his historical recollections of the development of colleges in British Columbia, Beinder (1986) describes the vision that citizens of the communities had for their community colleges:

The vision they saw was of institutions which would be catalysts for their communities. They would bring together in an enquiring and learning environment students drawn from diverse socio-economic backgrounds with a wide range of interests and objectives. (p. 43)

Metropolis Community College's mission statement from the Three Year Plan, 1991/92 to 1993/94 (1991) echoes this recognition of diverse needs:

Metropolis Community College's mission is to ensure a full range of educational opportunities of high quality for all adults within its jurisdiction, in co-operation with other educational institutions and agencies, to meet continuing and changing individual and societal needs within the context of a lifelong learning society. (p. 3)

The mission of this college fits under the umbrella of the mission of the college and institute system as a whole as stated in Mission, Goals, and Objectives, 1986 - 1991 (1986):

The mission of the college and institute system of the Province of British Columbia is to provide educational opportunities that will help adults meet continuing and changing individual and societal needs. These opportunities will be provided in a way that recognizes the aspirations of individuals, the present and future requirements of society for economic and social development, the priorities of government, the structure of the Province's post-secondary educational system, and the national and international context within which the system functions. (p. 3)

The British Columbia Human Resource Development Project was set up in 1991 to make recommendations to the British Columbia government regarding the future of adult learning in

British Columbia. After a long and complex process of consultation, the main result of this project has been the Report of the Steering Committee (November, 1992). This report recognizes social and cultural changes, saying, “We have become a culturally more diverse society and we must anticipate that this diversity will increase” (p 9). This report recommends future directions based on shared values underpinning policies and actions. One of the set of eight shared values is especially relevant to this thesis. It states “equity, social justice, and fair opportunity for all must characterize our future education and training efforts” (p. 16). System changes recommended by this report are also relevant to this study. These system changes include collaboration and participation which require sharing of power:

To be effective, a collaborative approach will require voluntary, active, and meaningful cooperation. Substantial, successful cooperation and partnership will require sharing - of information, responsibility and authority. (p. 58)

These visions, missions, and future directions for colleges and the whole educational system reflect the need to provide all members of our society access to learning that fits their needs as well as society’s needs, and to do so in a system which is collaborative. To serve a diverse population’s needs, colleges themselves must reflect this diversity. Leaders need to be from all parts of the community. To serve the community in a collaborative way, men and women need to make visible the values of care and connection so that sharing power becomes part of this system.

Bureaucracies evolved in response to an industrial society, but now society is based on information and global interconnections. This information society requires people who can solve problems with greater flexibility, creativity, and cooperation with others. The old concepts of power and leadership found in bureaucracies need to be adapted for this information society. These institutions and power structures were set up by men of the dominant culture and therefore tend to reflect values and concepts that may not be comfortable for women and members of other groups.

To develop the argument for a changed system based on women's values and concepts of power and leadership, I present the research findings through the next 5 chapters. In Chapter 2, I discuss the background literature, and from that develop the theoretical framework. In Chapter 3, I describe the methodological perspective and methods. In Chapters 4 and 5, I present and analyze the data. Chapter 4 focuses on career choices and Chapter 5 focuses on concepts of power, leadership and an ideal MCC. In Chapter 6, I conclude with the implications of the results and recommendations for further research.

Footnotes

¹Metropolis Community College (MCC) is a pseudonym.

Chapter 2: Context

In this chapter I provide a context for the study by including a review of relevant literature and the theoretical framework for data analysis. The literature review provides the language, concepts and critiques needed for the analysis and includes four parts: organizational theory, feminist theory, barriers to women in educational administration, and women's leadership. Related studies and theories provide a context for answering the question of women's access to formal organizational authority and for developing the theory of separate, connected and constructed leadership.

Literature Review

Organizational Theory

Organizational theory provides the language needed to discuss organizations. In this section I define three concepts: bureaucracy, power, and patriarchy. Since my setting is a community college I also briefly discuss academic and community college organizational models.

Morgan (1986) suggests that organizations can be viewed using various metaphors and that more than one metaphor can apply to an organization at any time. This thesis focuses on the extent to which the bureaucratic nature of organizations presents a barrier to women's access to formal organizational authority.

Morgan (1986) uses the machine metaphor to describe bureaucracies:

Organizations that are designed and operated as if they were machines are now usually called bureaucracies. But most organizations are bureaucratized in some degree, for the mechanistic mode of thought has shaped our most basic conceptions of what organization is all about. (p. 22)

He goes on to explain that bureaucratic organizations use scientific management theory and have hierarchical organizational structures. Tasks and areas of responsibility are clearly defined and the lines of responsibility run vertically between subordinates and superiors. Job descriptions are

likewise clearly defined, and are characterized by specialization. There are written systems of rules, such as policies and procedures manuals and union contracts, which govern the rights and duties of the members of the organization. Promotion and selection for employment are based on perceived personal competence which is evaluated according to set procedures.

Morgan (1986) explains some of the strengths of bureaucratic organizations. Bureaucracies provide rational systems and security for their members and work well, when tasks are straightforward, with people who are compliant, and in a stable environment. Scientific management theories and hierarchical structures should make large organizations more efficient and easier to manage or control.

But Morgan (1986) says there are serious limitations to the bureaucratic model. Because of the rigid nature of the hierarchical decision making process, the bureaucratic organization is slow to react to its environment. Its rigid hierarchy limits cross-fertilization between departments since vertical lines of communication are clear, but horizontal ones are not. Competition, rather than cooperation, results from this poor cross-departmental communication. There is a tendency to work to rule and to work within one's hierarchical box. Productivity based on rule-based systems is valued over creativity since rules take precedence. Ferguson (1984), in a feminist critique of bureaucracy, says that it is dehumanizing through its cult of rationality which is "the subjection of very intimate aspects of human relationships, emotions, and identity to the reign of commerce and technique" (p. 52).

Since this thesis investigates the fit between women's concepts of power and those of a bureaucratic system, it is important to include some definitions of power. The following are two examples of classic definitions of power found in Bacharach and Lawler (1980):

Weber (1947): "Power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will, despite resistance, and regardless of the basis on which this probability rests." (p. 16)

Dahl (1957): "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that he would not otherwise do." (p. 17)

It is interesting to note the use of the masculine pronoun for these traditional definitions of power. Historically, men have tended to have power. The above quotes are examples of power defined as power over others. As they demonstrate, this kind of power is usually thought of as coercion and control. A person with power over others is able to get other people to do things that they might not want to do.

Power over others is not the only way to conceive of power. The following definition of power more appropriately fits this study: "the capacity to effect (or affect) organizational outcomes" (Mintzberg, 1983, p. 4). Here, power includes two subsets, that of formal power or authority (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980; Mintzberg, 1983) and informal power, called influence (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980) or politics (Mintzberg, 1983). Authority is legally vested power based on position. It is the static, formal, structural aspect of power. In contrast, influence is not vested legally and is the dynamic, informal, tactical aspect of power. "Authority usually flows downward, while influence may be multidirectional" (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980, p. 29). The source of authority is structural while sources of influence include personality, expertise, and opportunity. In a bureaucratic structure, power is authority since it is defined by position in the hierarchy.

Bureaucracy is often linked with patriarchy. Lerner (1986) defines patriarchy as:

the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in general. It implies that men hold power in all the important institutions of society and that women are deprived of access to such power. It does not imply that women are either totally powerless or totally deprived of rights, influence, and resources. (p. 239)

Bureaucratic organizations are hegemonically male (Acker, 1990; Martin, 1991; Shakeshaft, 1987). If there are men in an organization, they usually hold the highest authority positions. Since power in a bureaucracy is based on position in the hierarchy, those holding these positions are also holding the power. Patriarchy is the structure of the system and paternalism is a mode of operations within the system. Paternalism, as defined by Lerner (1986), is a particular style of patriarchal relations. Paternalism is a controlling mode where the person (male or female) in authority, the “father figure”, takes care of subordinates in exchange for their subordination. Leadership in this mode comes from the top down.

Organizational theory about academic organizations is relevant to this research since the research site is a college. Academic organizations such as colleges can be viewed using three models: bureaucratic, collegial and political. Baldrige et al. (1977) compare these three models. According to them, academic organizations differ from traditional bureaucracies. They use Cohen and March’s (1974) term “organized anarchy” to describe academic organizations. In comparison to traditional bureaucracies, in academic organizations goals are more ambiguous, technology is nonroutine and unclear, environmental relations are very vulnerable, staff are predominantly professionals, and the focus is client-serving rather than material-processing. Therefore, using machine-like controlling mechanisms (“power over”) may be particularly unproductive in academic bureaucracies.

Baldrige et al. (1977) describe the collegial model as one which assumes decision making by consensus, recognizes faculty's professional authority, and suggests greater personal interaction among constituents. It exemplifies using "power with" since colleagues share power by sharing decision making and authority. Baldrige et al. (1977) describe the political model as one which recognizes that conflict is natural and healthy. Decision making is not a rational process as the bureaucratic model suggests, nor a consensual process as the collegial model suggests, but a process of negotiation between various interest groups.

Dennison and Gallagher (1986) explain that as colleges emerged in Canada, the management models that were developed varied from extremely hierarchical models to more people-centred collegial ones. They suggest that neither extreme is effective. Rigid hierarchies do not respond well to challenges and the collegial model's search for consensus is not realistic due to the adversarial relationships of the various power blocs. Dennison and Gallagher (1986) suggest three keys to effective college management to provide a balance between consensus and hierarchy: "a clear sense of direction or purpose, openness of communication, and clarification of roles" (p. 204).

Organizational theory and models provide the language and frameworks for studying organizations. There are many aspects of organizations. In this study it is the bureaucratic nature of the organization which I consider in addressing the question of why there are so few women at the top of hierarchies. I investigate the fit between women's concepts of power and leadership and those of the patriarchal, hierarchical, bureaucratic system. Does this fit affect their access to organizational authority? Organizational theory does not provide answers to these questions.

Feminist Theory

There are three basic types of feminism: liberal, radical and socialist (Jaggar, 1983; Gaskell & McLaren, 1987). Each of these provides perspectives for investigating my research questions.

Liberal feminism addresses women's subordination by looking at how well they are represented in existing power systems, and attempts to increase the number of women in positions of power. Gaskell and McLaren (1987) say, "liberal feminists are concerned with providing equal opportunities for women to participate in the social and economic institutions that exist" (p. 15). Liberal feminists focus on increasing the numbers of women in power positions by ways such as affirmative action policies. They focus on strategies, such as management training, which aid women to function in the system. For example, Epstein & Wood (1984) describe an American college which provides women with opportunities in all administrative areas through policies, procedures, and programs. Shavlik & Touchton (1988) review some of the American legislation and leadership programs, such as the Institute for Administrative Advancement and The Higher Education Resource Service (HERS), which are committed to increasing the number of women in senior positions. Hanna (1988) reviews case studies of implementation of affirmative action policies at Stanford and Berkeley. Katz (1990) explains the development of an equity policy for faculty at Ryerson Polytechnic Institute in Ontario. Coyle (1988) proposes a model for achieving gender equality in decision making positions in community colleges in British Columbia. These strategies are important but do not focus on changing the system, except to the extent that system change may result from having more women in administrative positions.

Radical feminists want to change the system. Gaskell and McLaren (1987) say, "radical feminists locate the causes of gender oppression in patriarchy, in male ownership and control of social, ideological and economic processes. They want more space, power and attention to women's concerns" (p. 15). Some radical feminists suggest that women should not participate in

bureaucratic organizations but should form their own organizations. Ferguson (1984) suggests that women should not be encouraged to participate in the upper levels of hierarchies since this just uses women's skills to continue the domination of the lower levels of the hierarchy. She recommends that women should create feminist organizations for social change.

Martin (1990) critiques radical feminist organizations. She says feminist organizations are collectivist in theory, but in practice are mixtures of bureaucratic and democratic forms. She goes on to discuss the advantages of the bureaucratic form and states that it is not so much the structure of bureaucracy, but the use of power in these settings that is problematic. Martin (1990) quotes Freeman (1979) who says, "early feminists equated power with exploitation and domination, but power has recently come to be seen as an aspect of organizational structure that can be used positively as well as negatively - for people as well as against" (p. 195). Radical feminism provides important critiques of bureaucratic organizational systems, but with its emphasis on power for women and women's ways, it does not provide the tools for investigating organizational change based on the strengths of both men and women.

Like radical feminists, socialist feminists believe that organizations rather than women should be changed (Kanter, 1977; Gaskell and McLaren, 1987; Fulton, 1990). But socialist feminists believe that organizations should be changed from within. Socialist feminists value both women's and men's experiences in creating a balanced organization. They are concerned with the effects of class and race as well as gender. Jaggar (1983) says, "socialist feminism denies the separation between so called class issues, race issues and women's issues. It argues that every issue is a women's issue, just as every issue has race and class implications" (p. 340). According to socialist feminists, it is the political and economic structure that most affect women. Gaskell and McLaren (1987) say, "socialist feminists locate the causes of gender oppression in economic structures that benefit the few. They examine the way capitalism shapes gender relations in modern industrial societies. They want to transform the structures in their entirety" (p. 15).

Kanter (1977), in her work on business corporations, criticizes the models which attempt to change women so that they fit into the hierarchy and suggests that organizations, rather than individuals need to change. Fulton (1990), referring to educational organizations, recommends an alternative to hierarchy with her interactive model for an organic institution. The organic institution symbolizes its organizational structure by overlapping circles (see Figures 1 & 2 of Appendix 1) rather than the hierarchy of boxes connected by lines (see Figures 3, 4, & 5 of Appendix 1). In Figure 1 of Appendix 1, the senior administration team is the centre circle overlapping six other mutually overlapping circles. The president would see herself or himself at the centre of a web rather than the top of a hierarchy.¹

The circular chart can be modified to put anyone or any group in the organization at the centre. In educational institutions, if students were placed at the centre of the chart (see Figure 2 of Appendix 1), the mission of the institution would be emphasized. This model powerfully illustrates the interconnectedness of all parts and individuals in the organization, and the connections to the world outside the organization. Communication is a priority and responsibility for good communication belongs to all members of the organization since they are all interconnected. Empowering connected leadership is encouraged since the burden of responsibility is dispersed across the organization. It is a fluid rather than a static model. Task forces come and go as needed. This is fluid, as opposed to the typical standing committees and structures which are static. Fulton (1990) urges women to get involved in designing such alternate systems and social structures and to do so as women, not as pseudo-males.

Liberal feminists suggest getting more women to the top of hierarchies through structural changes and training for women. Radical feminists suggest that women not participate but form their own organizations. I am interested in studying a nonfeminist organization from a socialist feminist perspective which suggests changing the organization from within to be compatible to

both women and men. This socialist feminist perspective emphasizes the need to fit the system to women rather than fitting them to the system. This perspective suggests that the hierarchical system does not serve all men either. Organizations should be changed from within. Both men's and women's experiences should be valued to create a balanced organization which is comfortable for both men and women.

Barriers to Women in Educational Administration

The literature on women and educational administration indicates that despite efforts to achieve equity, the number of women in the upper levels of educational administration is still low (Swiderski, 1988; Taylor, 1989; Clarke, 1988), and women tend to be pocketed within certain predictable areas such as Nursing, Library, etc. (Moore, 1984). The literature suggests two types of reasons for the underrepresentation: institutional barriers and women themselves.

Discriminatory hiring practices still exist. According to a recent comprehensive survey of female college presidents in the United States (Vaughn 1989), some interview committees have asked women questions like, "Who will look after the children?" and "Do you think you really need this job, given what your husband earns?" Sex-role stereotyping such as this has been found in other studies in the school system (Swiderski, 1988; Eastman, 1989; Collinson, 1989) and the higher education system (Clarke, 1988). In a study of an American college, Weeks and Wygan (1990) found a strong link between the makeup of the selection committees for Dean and Director positions and the sex of the successful candidate, with male dominated committees tending to choose male candidates. Taylor (1989), investigating American colleges, also found that predominantly male hiring committees tend to hire males and may ask discriminatory questions without realizing it.

Interruptions in their careers due to family responsibilities affect women's access to top level administrative positions. Taylor (1989), Ost and Twale (1989), Moore (1984) and others have

shown that “time-in-line” is commonly a criterion in hiring and women may have shorter working careers than men due to child-bearing. Kanter (1989) points out that historically it has been married men and single women who have risen to the top of organizations, because neither has had the family responsibilities that limit a person’s ability to work the long hours necessary to achieve promotion.

On the other hand, institutional barriers are not the only forces keeping women out of senior administrative positions. Many women choose not to apply for these positions. Research suggests that this is due to women’s socialization regarding women’s appropriate roles (Collinson, 1989; Eastman, 1989). Collinson (1989) suggests that girls need to be raised differently so that they learn some of the things boys have learned, such as team sports. As well as teaching the fundamentals of networking, team sports teach competition and the importance of winning. These are all essential skills for getting to the top of hierarchical work structures.

Women often lack confidence in their abilities to be administrators (Swiderski, 1988; Berrey, 1989). Swiderski (1988) suggests that women have psychological barriers due to low expectations of success. Women may avoid taking the risks necessary to apply for stereotypically male jobs. Berrey (1989) suggests that women’s fear of power is a barrier to their obtaining administrative positions. She argues that women may avoid power because they prefer to avoid conflict since they value connection with others rather than power over them. Other researchers suggest that women want to balance their work life with their home life (Eastman, 1989; Collinson, 1989) and that this is impossible to do as a senior administrator.

The research on barriers to women in educational administration indicates that there are institutional barriers to women obtaining administrative positions. But it also indicates that even if affirmative action and equity programs removed these barriers, women would not necessarily

choose to apply. Some reasons raised by research include internal, psychological reasons. Some research suggests that women themselves need to be changed. Another perspective that needs to be pursued is how organizations could be changed in order to make them more comfortable for women. Many of the barriers facing women can be linked to the organizational structure of educational institutions. Senior administrative jobs are on the top of bureaucratic, patriarchal hierarchies. In this study I examine the fit of women's concepts of power and leadership with the hierarchical system to see if the system itself is a barrier to women's access to formal organizational authority.

Women's Leadership

Are women uncomfortable with the bureaucratic controlling type of leadership? Do they lead in empowering, rather than controlling ways? The answer to these questions requires an examination of women's values and ways of knowing since empowering, rather than controlling leadership involves connection to and caring for others as values. In this section I discuss theories of women's moral and epistemological development, and studies on women's leadership.

Studies on women's moral development (Gilligan, 1982) and women's epistemological development (Belenky et al., 1986) indicate that many women do reach a different "highest" stage of moral development than men and do have different ways of knowing. Gilligan (1982) found that many women reach an ethic of care as the highest stage of moral development. This is in contrast to research done with men, which found the "highest" stage of moral development to be an ethic of justice and rights. Gilligan (1982) found a tendency for men and women to use different images in their thoughts of the structure of relationships. Men tend to use the image of hierarchy while women tend to use the image of a web with its interconnecting circular strands.

Gilligan (1982) uses the terms separate and connected to describe experiences of the self. A separate person perceives her or himself as autonomous, while a connected person perceives her or himself in relationship to others. Belenky et al. (1986) base their terminology for describing women's epistemological development on Gilligan's (1982). They apply the concepts of separate and connected to knowing:

when we speak of a separate and connected knowing we refer not to any sort of relationship between the self and another person but with [sic] relationships between knowers and the objects (or subjects) of knowing (which may or may not be persons). (p. 102)

Belenky et al. (1986) found that many women tend to be connected knowers. Connected knowers value the connections between the subjective and the objective. Connected knowers also ground their knowledge in their own experiences. Belenky et al. (1986) talk of women finding their own "voice" (subjective experiences) to express themselves. Separate knowers disconnect themselves from what they are learning through critical thinking and objective reasoning. To reach the ideal of what Belenky et al. (1986) call constructed knowing, people need to integrate both separate and connected knowing.

The language of Gilligan (1982) and Belenky et al. (1986) is used by researchers investigating the leadership skills of women. Helgesen (1990) studied four successful women executives working in four companies in the United States. She found that these executives value connection. They visualize themselves at the centre of webs rather than at the top of hierarchies. They talk of keeping the big picture in mind and seeing the connections of everything to a whole. They use the term "voice" in describing how they see themselves leading, using it to describe their analytical listening and collaborative negotiations. Their use of the term is similar to that of Belenky et al.'s (1986) in the sense that they value others', as well as their own, subjective experiences. They listen to others and collaborate with them to make decisions. This is congruent

with Tannen (1990), who conducted a sociolinguistic study of gender differences in conversations, and found that women talk to establish connection, while men talk to establish status in a hierarchy. According to her, women tend to be concerned about their connection and responsibility to others and tend not to be preoccupied with control.

Research has been done in the American community college system on leadership using Gilligan's (1982) concepts of care/connection and justice/rights. Desjardins (1989) studied 36 male and 36 female Chief Executive Officers in community colleges. She found the Chief Executive Officers exhibited behaviors predominantly in the care/connected mode (66% of the women, 28% of the men) or the justice/rights mode (17% of the women, 50% of the men) but that some exhibited behaviors equally in both modes, which she calls the combined mode (17% of the women, 22% of the men). She found that the most effective ones tended to be those who displayed behaviors in the care/connected mode or the combined mode rather than behaviors exclusively in the justice/rights mode. She suggests that community colleges are moving to more horizontal, people-centred leadership styles and suggests that this may be due to the type of people working in community colleges, and the fact that more women are attaining positions of leadership in community colleges.

Roueche, Baker and Rose (1989) use Gilligan's (1982) concepts to study outstanding male and female community college presidents. They define community college leadership as transformational leadership, which is:

the ability to influence, shape, and embed values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors consistent with increased staff and faculty commitment to the unique mission of the community college. (p. 18)

Transformational leadership has five components: vision, influence orientation, people orientation, motivation orientation, and values orientation. Roueche et al. (1989) found no

overall differences between men and women in the components of transformational leadership. But they found statistically significant gender differences within some of the components. Under the vision category, women were stronger in taking risks to bring about change. Under the influence category, women were able to cause followers to solve problems and to work together, while men were characterized by a bias for action. Under the people category, women demonstrated respect and caring for individual differences, while men rewarded others for their effort and performance. Under the values category, women built openness and trust through personal and professional behavior.

Cross and Ravekes (1990) suggest, based on Gilligan (1982) and Belenky et al. (1986), that women tend to lead from a different paradigm of leadership than the prevalent stereotypically male one which equates leadership with power, authority and hierarchy. They suggest that women tend to be “connected leaders” who do not need to get to the top of hierarchies to make their influence felt. One of the authors (Ravekes) is a community college president who suggests that outside the recognized hierarchy at the college there exists a power structure that has influence over the campus activities and atmosphere. It is within this “invisible” power structure that connected leadership occurs. Cross and Ravekes (1990) say that “the power of connected leadership must be explored, developed, and unleashed if our institutions are to achieve their maximum potential” (p. 14).

Naisbett & Aburdene (1990) predict that the 1990’s will be the decade of women in leadership, because they see the world moving away from the “bureaucratic, authoritarian military model” and towards a model of leadership which calls for the ability to “coach, inspire, and gain people’s commitment” (p. 217). They say that women will more easily fit this new leadership model. The importance of leadership which empowers rather than controls is echoed in other studies. Rosener (1990) says that women encourage participation and share power and

information. Shakeshaft (1987) says, “women use power to empower others” (p. 206). Ferguson (1984) talks about feminist organizations where:

power would be redefined as the ability to act with others to do things that could not be done by individuals alone. Leadership would become a form of empowerment: as Nancy Hartsock has stated, "To lead is to be at the center of a group rather than in front of others." (p. 206)

Waring (1985), a New Zealand politician, talking about herself and other feminists, says:

We do want power, but not power over people, not power that kills bodies or spirits, but power to use with and for women, power to do things, power to make our own decisions - not the power of ownership and control. (p. 19)

The literature on women’s development suggests that women tend to value care and connection in all aspects of their lives. As a result they tend to be connected or empowering leaders. Some people suggest that this type of leadership is what will be successful in the future. Most studies focus on women who have made it to the top. I am concerned with the perceptions of women in the middle of the hierarchy as well as the perceptions of the few women at the top.

Theoretical Framework

The path to formal organizational authority in a bureaucracy requires an emphasis on the values of rationality over the values of care and connection. This may not be comfortable for many women. To investigate the fit of women’s values and concepts of power and leadership with those of the bureaucratic system, I have constructed a theoretical framework of leadership (see Figure 6 of Appendix 1). I have developed three categories of leadership: separate, connected and constructed. These are theoretical categories into which no one actually falls perfectly.

The concepts in the theoretical framework are my own but are based on Gilligan’s (1982) theories of moral development and Belenky et al.’s (1986) theories of epistemological

development. I apply their concepts to leadership in a way similar to others who have been concerned with leadership in community colleges (Desjardins, 1989; Cross & Ravekes 1990).

Separate leaders view themselves hierarchically as leaders above or in front of their followers. They are bosses. They see themselves as separate from those they lead. They see the issues from their own point of view. They solve problems alone since they see themselves as the ones with the solutions.

Separate leaders use power over others. They rely on authority and use it to control. Along with this use of power is the responsibility for using it. They are solely responsible and accountable for decisions and take all the credit for a good decision, but also take all the criticism for a bad decision.

Separate leaders use rational approaches to decision making based on the ethic of justice and rights. They value decisiveness and objectivity. They give clear instructions to their subordinates based on policies and procedures. Valuing productivity and efficiency, they try to bring order out of chaos. This type of leadership is traditional in a bureaucracy where leadership is based on position (formal leadership) and comes from the top down.

Connected leaders perceive themselves as at the centre of a web rather than at the top of a hierarchy. They work alongside or with those they lead. They are members of the group or team. Connected leaders see themselves as connected to those they lead. They see the issues from others' points of view. They solve problems with others and recognize that others have expertise.

Connected leaders use power with others. They rely on influence, rather than authority, to facilitate and empower rather than to control. They share power and, as a result, share the

responsibility. Ideas are generated within appropriate settings and relationships rather than in a purely hierarchical manner of superior to subordinate. Decisions are made with others and therefore the credit for a good decision and the criticism for a bad decision are taken by all those involved. A connected leader may be perceived as indecisive since shared decision making is time-consuming.

Connected leaders, recognizing their responsibilities to others, make decisions based on the ethic of care and connection. They consider the emotional impact of the decisions. They recognize the importance of the subjective aspects of decisions. They inspire those around them to work together to make things happen in a creative, cooperative spirit. They thrive in chaos. This type of leadership is found in organic, flexible, interactive organizations where informal (not based on position) as well as formal leadership is interconnected throughout the organization.

I use the term constructed leader for leaders who balance the separate and connected leadership modes. They have constructed a leadership style which balances the use of the ethic of justice and rights with the ethic of care and connection. My term, constructed leader, is similar to Desjardins' (1989) use of the term combined mode. She uses the term combined mode to describe the behaviours of leaders who balance the care/connected mode (connected leader) with the justice/rights mode (separate leader).

Constructed leaders may hold positions in a hierarchy but view themselves as centrally connected in a web-like way within that hierarchy. They know when to be the boss and when to be part of the team. They value and make clear their point of view but are open to others' views as well. They know when to solve problems alone and when to use others' expertise.

Constructed leaders use power in context, recognizing when to use "power over" and when to use "power with." They balance authority with influence, and facilitation and empowerment with control. They share power and responsibility when appropriate.

Constructed leaders recognize that some decisions are made alone and some by the group. They make rational decisions, taking into consideration the human relationships affected by those decisions and the responsibilities involved with those decisions. Objectivity and subjectivity are balanced.

This form of leadership is very powerful and empowering since it balances the bureaucratic values of productivity, efficiency and rationality with the organic, humanistic values of connection, caring and responsibility. This type of leadership should create a constructed organization which encourages both formal and informal leadership throughout. A constructed organization would have a structure that balances the separating hierarchy with the connecting circles of the web.

The concepts of separate leadership are traditionally found in bureaucratic structures. In Chapter 5, I show that women tend to be connected or constructed leaders. I use this theoretical framework to analyze the data to answer the question: "How do women's values and concepts of power and leadership fit with those of the patriarchal, hierarchical, bureaucratic system?"

Footnotes

¹ I use the term web to represent any complex interconnected circular structure.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

This study took place over the first six months of 1992. In the setting of a community college, I talked to women about their career choices and their views on leadership, power, and the bureaucratic system. The methods included questionnaires, in-depth interviews, and reflections on my own practice. In this chapter I explain the research methods in four parts: feminist research, research site, participants, and data collection and analysis strategies.

Feminist Research

According to Harding (1987), there is not "a" feminist methodology, rather, there are three characteristics of good feminist research. First, feminist research is about women and women's everyday experiences. Second, it is research that is designed to be for women. Third, it locates the researcher in the same critical plane as the subject matter.

This research has these three characteristics. First, it is about women and their experiences in a particular hierarchical organization. Their stories provide the themes and concepts necessary to answer the research questions. It is their stories about their career choices and their concepts of power, leadership and the ideal college which provide these answers.

Second, this research is for the women that I interviewed and others. Many of the women's values and concepts tend to be invisible in a bureaucratic system. This research allows their voices to be heard so that this institution can change to visibly include their values. This research is also for women in bureaucratic systems in general so that other institutions can be changed as well.

Third, as a woman who has worked in this institution, I have shared many of the experiences of the women I interviewed. This made it easier to become part of the research. Their work lives and mine are intertwined. I have deliberately selected a research method which emphasizes my connections to the participants rather than my distance from them.

The research questions are best served by qualitative research methods since there is not one hypothesis which is to be proven or disproven by measuring and quantifying. Rather, there are themes which emerge from the data and these are connected in a complex way that develops as the research progresses. Qualitative research searches for this complexity and for depth in answering the research questions.

Research Site

The research site was Metropolis Community College (MCC). Unless otherwise indicated, the description of the college and its organizational structure is what existed as of January 1992. When I initially selected MCC, I did so because of my own connection to it and because it is a good example of a patriarchal bureaucracy. Since I selected it, many changes in personnel and organizational structure have occurred and the organization continues to change. Many of these changes occurred during the period of data collection (Feb 1992 to June 1992). Although these changes may eventually change the nature of the institution, women's concepts of power, leadership and the nature of the system are still critical issues for this system. Some interviewees did couch their responses in historical terms, saying that they were not sure whether the present or future administration would be different from the past.

MCC is patriarchal. Historically, men have occupied the top positions of authority in the college and the organization has been led from the top down using the values of rationality, justice and rights over the values of intuition, caring and connection.¹ MCC is organized in the

hierarchical manner which is typical of bureaucracies (see Figures 3, 4, & 5 of Appendix 1). Organizational charts illustrate clearly defined areas of responsibility and lines of authority which are vertical in nature from superior to subordinate. There are collective agreements and policy and procedures manuals which regulate the rights and duties of college personnel. Jobs within the college have detailed job descriptions and are filled by systematic hiring procedures. The college is governed by a college board which is appointed by the provincial government, and is thus a subset of a larger bureaucracy, the Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology.

The college consists of three major campuses - Central, North, and South - which, along with the Continuing Education Division, are managed by a central administration. There are also some small satellite campuses. The Continuing Education Division does not have a campus of its own. Each of the three campuses provides space for Continuing Education courses and administration. Although physically there are three campuses, administratively there are only two campuses - South and Central/North. This administrative structure does not reflect an equal division based on size since all three campuses are approximately the same size. It does represent how the faculty bargaining units are divided. There are two faculty unions, the South Faculty Association (South Campus) and the MCC Faculty Association (North and Central Campuses). Continuing Education Division instructors are not part of college faculty unions. For this reason I did not include them as part of the study.

South Campus offers university transfer courses as well as career programs. It has five instructional divisions within which there are 26 programs/departments and approximately 300 faculty (see Figure 4 of Appendix 1). North Campus offers vocational and career programs. It has four instructional divisions within which there are 26 programs/departments and approximately 260 faculty (see Figure 5 of Appendix 1). Central Campus offers English as a

Second Language (ESL), Adult Basic Education (ABE), and some career programs. It has three instructional divisions within which there are 22 programs/departments and approximately 320 faculty (see Figure 5 of Appendix 1).

Instructors with administrative responsibility are faculty members who are responsible for administrative tasks. They fall into the following hierarchical categories (starting at the bottom of the hierarchy): Coordinators, Assistant Department Heads/Chairs, Department Heads/Chairs, and Division Chairs.² Some Coordinators of small programs report directly to a Division Chair rather than to a Department Head/Chair. The amount of administrative responsibility and release time varies, depending on the size and nature of the department. Most Division Chairs do not teach. They administer full-time and are equivalent to Deans at most other colleges in B.C., the key difference being their membership in the faculty associations.

Table 1 indicates the breakdown of male and female instructors with administrative responsibility at each campus. In general, traditional pocketing occurs, that is, there are more males in traditionally male areas and more females in traditionally female areas. For example, there are more females with administrative responsibility at the adult basic education levels than at the first and second year university transfer levels. At South Campus, which has most of the university transfer courses and some career programs, thirty-one percent of instructors with administrative responsibility are female. Forty-six percent of instructors with administrative responsibility at North Campus are female. North Campus has a significant number of traditionally female programs, such as Health and Secretarial programs, as well as traditionally male programs such as Electronics and Printing Production. Fifty-four percent of instructors with administrative responsibility at Central Campus are female, whose largest divisions, ABE and ESL, are female dominated. If Central's small Career Division were not included, then the percent of instructors with administrative responsibility who are female would rise to 68%.

Table 1: Instructors with administrative responsibility

Position	South		Central		North		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Division Chair	4	1	2	1	2	2	8	4
Department Head/Chair	12	5	6	8	14	9	32	22
Assistant Department Head/Chair or Coordinator	27	14	8	10	3	5	38	29
Total	43	20	16	19	19	16	78	55

Participants

The research methods included questionnaires and in-depth interviews. The participants in this study were the questionnaire respondents and the interviewees. I used purposeful sampling techniques to select the participants. In this section I discuss the selection of questionnaire recipients, the questionnaire respondents, and the selection of the interviewees.

Selection of Questionnaire Recipients

I limited the questionnaire recipients to women with instructional backgrounds, that is, faculty as opposed to support staff, since people who make it to the top of college hierarchies tend to come from faculty positions. I included only women with some administrative experience, in order to provide stories based on women's administrative experiences at various levels. To identify whom to survey I used telephone lists, organizational charts, and lists of people with administrative responsibility. From my own experience as an instructor and department head at Central Campus, I was also able to identify people who had previously had administrative responsibility at that campus. I talked to the South Campus Principal's secretary and North Division Chairs' secretaries to identify people who had previously had administrative experience at those campuses.

I sent out 77 questionnaires with covering letters (see Appendix 2) explaining the research project. Seventy-one of the people who were sent questionnaires were instructors, librarians, or counsellors, and were members of either the South Faculty Association or the MCC Faculty Association. The remaining six women surveyed were, at some time in 1991, at the Dean or Director level. The 71 faculty members who were sent surveys included 63 with administrative responsibility, as of January 1992, and eight who previously had had administrative responsibility.

The questionnaire (see Appendix 2) asked for the following information: name, department, campus, length of time at MCC, positions and length of time in each one, unsuccessful attempts at getting positions with administrative responsibility, their choices for applying for positions with further administrative responsibility, and consent to an interview. The purpose of the questionnaire was to provide data for the interviewee selection and data for the analysis of career choices (Chapter 4).

Questionnaire Respondents

I received 67 questionnaire responses for an overall return rate of 87%. The return rates by campus were: North 100% (17 returned out of 17 sent), Central 92% (24 returned out of 26 sent), South 72% (21 returned out of 29 sent), and other 100% (5 returned out of 5 sent). Table 2 summarizes, based on position, the number of survey respondents, the number of survey respondents who agreed to an interview, and the number of survey respondents who were interviewed.

Table 2: Responses based on position

Position	Number of Responses	"Yes" to Interview	Number of Interviewees
Administrator	6	5	3
Division Chair	3	3	2
Department Head/Chair	22	11	7
Assistant Department Head/Chair	6	2	0
Coordinator	24	14	0
Instructor	6	6	3
Total	<u>67</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>15</u>

Selection of Interviewees

I selected 15 interviewees based on the following criteria and reasoning. Within the sample I wanted a variety of backgrounds, years of experience at MCC, and levels in the hierarchy. I used the information from the questionnaire as well as my own knowledge in making the decisions about whom to select for interviews. One of the selection criteria I used was the answer to question 7 of the questionnaire, "Would you apply for a job with more administrative responsibility than you have now or have previously had?" I selected a mix of "yes," "no," and "possibly" answers. I tried for an equivalent number of interviewees from all three campuses but this was not possible since only two people from South Campus who fitted my criteria agreed to an interview. I was able to get a balance between the other two campuses. I included, as well, two people from other areas of the college. To focus my investigation, I selected only women who were or had been Department Heads/Chairs, Division Chairs or administrators. Forty-one (61%) survey respondents agreed to an interview but only 25 of these were or had been Department Heads/Chairs, Division Chairs or administrators (see Table 2). From these 25, I

selected three administrators, two Division Chairs, seven current Department Heads/Chairs and three instructors who had previously been Department Heads/Chairs or Division Chairs (see Table 2). Due to concern about confidentiality, I decided not to include the two administrators who were no longer at the college. I interviewed all the administrators and Division Chairs who were either willing or available to be interviewed. I selected the seven Department Heads/Chairs and three instructors based on a mix of program areas and their answers to question 7 on the questionnaire. I selected three instructors in order to gather data from women who have returned to instruction from positions with administrative responsibility.

At Central Campus the task was both the easiest and the most difficult. It was easy to select the women, since I know them and have worked with them. But this also made the task more difficult since it made the selection more subjective. In the interview it was an advantage since they were comfortable talking to me, but this was also a disadvantage since, at times, it was difficult to get them to articulate shared knowledge. They assumed I knew what they meant or to what they were referring.

Data Collection and Analysis Strategies

I piloted the interview procedure with two interviewees. I did some tentative analysis after these interviews before continuing on with the selection and interviews. Only one of these first two interviews became part of my data.³ After seven more interviews I stopped to do some more analysis before making the selection of the last seven interviewees. The interviews varied from one hour to one and a half hours. Occasionally the conversation carried on beyond the limit of one and a half hours, after the tape was finished. This was a relaxed, off the record type of conversation that seemed a natural outcome of the interview process. The interviews themselves varied. Some interviewees were more concise than others in their answers. Some interviewees pursued more tangents than others. All the interviewees seemed to enjoy the process and when I

thanked them for participating, they also thanked me. They seemed to enjoy the opportunity to talk about concepts that are challenging and not only personally, but also institutionally relevant.

In the interviews I used open-ended questions (see Appendix 2) that elicited stories in the following areas: career path up to now; balance between work life and the rest of life; career plans for the future; life at MCC, including their concepts of power, leadership, and an ideal structure; women's access to organizational authority including barriers, strategies, and characteristics women bring; and their perspective on feminism, including their views on affirmative action. Throughout the interview, I interspersed questions to elicit background and demographic information about marital status, family structure, age, and educational background.

After each interview I made notes in my research journal to record those impressions which are difficult to capture by tape - rapport, body language, facial expressions. I transcribed all the interviews and put each interview into a data file in the Ethnograph computer program. To each interviewee who wanted one, I gave a copy of her interview transcript.

Each interviewee signed a permission letter (see Appendix 2). Since two interviewees did not want their names used in connection with this study I protected their identities by using pseudonyms for all of the interviewees and the institution.

In my research journal, I kept a record of the emerging themes, further questions, tentative theories and recognized patterns. I used this journal to reflect on my own practice and observations as well as to reflect on what emerged from the interviews.

The data analysis included analysis of both the questionnaires and the interviews. I analyzed the questionnaires to make the interview selections and to provide background data for Chapter 4. The answers to the question about choosing to apply for positions with further administrative responsibility are summarized in Chapter 4. I used the data from the interviews for the analysis of career choices (Chapter 4) and concepts of power, leadership and an ideal MCC (Chapter 5).

I used inductive analysis techniques to analyze the data. I coded the interviews using the interviewees' own words, as well as some generic terms such as power, leadership, control, etc. I used the Ethnograph computer program to manage the interview data files and to search for codes while doing the analysis. I also used paper and pen to sort, cluster and categorize. I combined the computer sorting and paper sorting. I sorted using the computer for broad categories and from that recorded on file cards subcategories which I clustered into groups and prioritized by the numbers in each. I used mind maps to sort through and organize emerging themes and concepts. Throughout the research process I used my journal as an analytical tool. As well as informal conversations, I have used various workshops and presentations related to concepts in this research as a tool for focusing the analysis by communicating my ideas and listening to participants' responses to these concepts.

Footnotes

- ¹ Over the months of the interview process, the College Executive Committee changed from all men to three women and four men. All but two (both men) of the seven College Executive Committee are in "acting" positions until the new college administrative structure is determined.
- ² Central and North use the term Department Head, and South uses the term Department Chair, to refer to the same level of administrative responsibility.
- ³ One of the pilot interviewees, after she read the interview transcript, asked that I destroy all records of the interview, which I did. She agreed to do another interview but I decided, for reasons to do with confidentiality, that I would not interview her again.

Chapter 4: Career Choices

In this chapter I discuss the career stories data from both the questionnaire respondents and the interviewees. The kind of choices these women make is most relevant to the question of why there are so few women at the top of the hierarchy. I am especially interested in how their choices are affected by the system in which they work. How do women's values fit with those of this system and how does this fit affect their access to formal authority?

Questionnaire Respondents

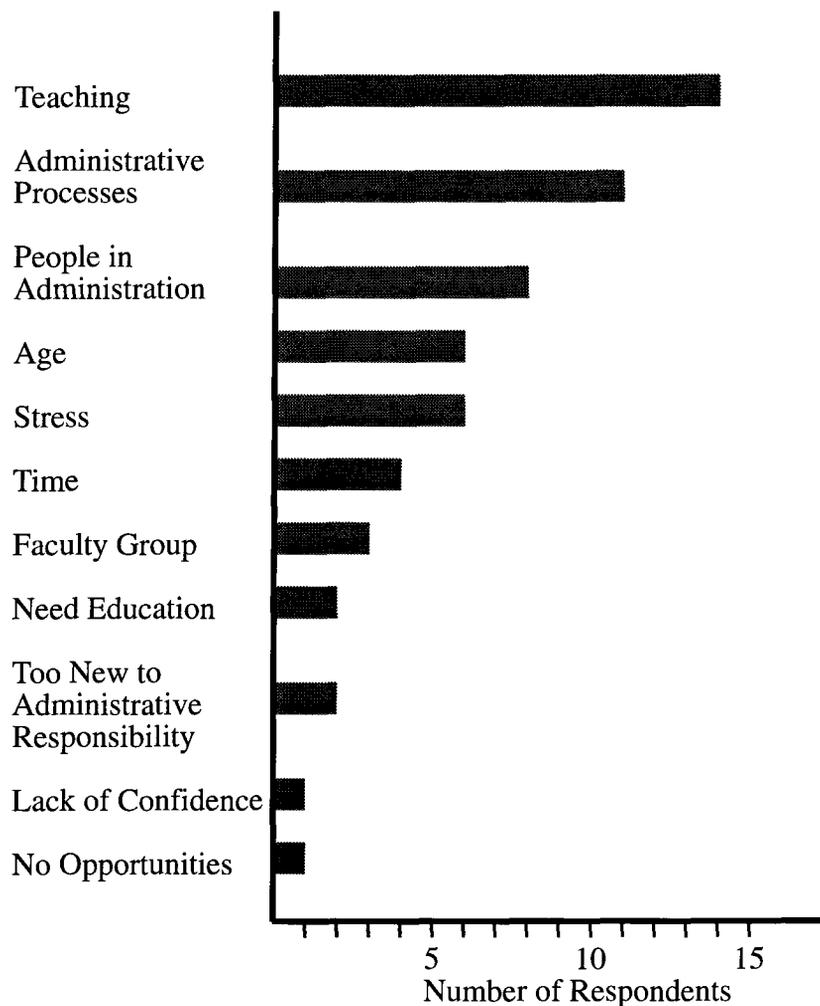
The most interesting and relevant questions on the questionnaire (see Appendix 2) are the ones in item seven, "Would you apply for a job with more administrative responsibility than you have now or have previously had? If yes, which jobs would you apply for? If no, why not?" The questionnaires capture a picture of the respondents' career choices at a particular time but do not capture the developmental aspect of these choices. In other words, the questionnaires do not capture how the respondents' attitudes to these career decisions might change with experience.

Of the 67 respondents to the questionnaire, 26 (39%) said they would apply for a job with more administrative responsibility. But only eleven (16% of the total returned surveys) of these 26 indicated that they would apply for administrative positions outside of the faculty bargaining unit. Only one respondent said that she would apply to be president. It is unlikely that the number of female college presidents will increase significantly if these respondents are typical of women with administrative responsibility at other colleges. Thirty respondents (45%) said they would not apply for a job with more administrative responsibility. Eleven (16%) were unsure, depending on the nature of the job and the system.

The questionnaire respondents gave various reasons for not wanting to apply for jobs with more administrative responsibility. These reasons are summarized in Figure 7. Six of them gave their age as a reason, saying that they were too close to retirement. Three of them said they prefer being part of the faculty group. Only one said she does not have the confidence or training for

more administrative work. Another said that she would need more education in the areas relevant to administration before going on. One said she was focusing on getting educational credentials so was not considering applying at that time. Two others said they were so new to their department head positions that they could not imagine taking on more administrative responsibility. Only one said that she does not see opportunities for professional advancement.

Figure 7: Questionnaire respondents' reasons for not applying for positions with more administrative responsibility.



The categories of reasons that have the most responses (see Figure 7) are those that have to do with continuing to work with students and those related to the bureaucratic system. Fourteen respondents gave teaching or working with students as a reason for not applying further. They

enjoy teaching and working with students, for example, “I prefer to teach - it is more rewarding;” “I enjoy teaching and contact with students;” “Further administrative responsibility would limit my teaching hours;” and so on. Five respondents at the coordinator or department head/chair levels wrote reasons such as, “I enjoy the job I have now because of the balance between administrative and teaching duties.”

Reasons related to the nature of the bureaucratic system included administrative processes and tasks, the people in administration, the stress involved in administrative work and the excessive time needed to do an administrative job. Eleven questionnaire respondents gave reasons that fall into the category that I call administrative processes and tasks. Examples of the administrative processes type of reasons include “the political b.s.,” “the crisis management,” “the sexism and the traditional male system - processes the college utilizes,” and “responsibility without authority.” The administrative tasks themselves do not appeal to some people. One Department Head summed it up by writing, “the half time administrative portion of my current position is the frustrating half,” and a Coordinator wrote, “I don’t like paperwork, meetings, administration.”

Eight questionnaire respondents said they would not choose to apply further due to the people in administration. A Coordinator wrote, “I think that the senior administration on this campus is extremely dysfunctional and incompetent and until competent people replace them, I’d prefer not to work too closely with them.” This same sentiment was echoed by those at the other two campuses as well. This reason could be considered to have nothing to do with the administrative system. It could be argued that difficult personalities can be found in any type of system and that it is these personalities, not the system, which causes the problems. It is unlikely, however, that all the administrators at all three campuses could be incompetent people without some blame falling on the system within which they are attempting to function.

Six questionnaire respondents mentioned stress as a factor in their choice, giving responses such as, “crises which tax energy, mental, and physical abilities;” “I’m too tired and burned out;” and “middle-aged women like myself have too much stress and responsibility on the home front (with teenage kids and aging parents) to consider loading more stress on themselves in their jobs.”

Four questionnaire respondents said that they do not have the time for more administrative responsibility, giving responses such as, “there is no time for extra responsibility;” “I would rather have the time for self, than money;” and “my family would find it difficult to have me working even more hours.”

These last two reasons, stress and time, are also related to the nature of the system. A hierarchical system does not facilitate shared responsibility and authority. As a result, those who have responsibility are under a great deal of stress, especially those without the authority to accompany the responsibility. If there are only a few people with authority based on their position in the hierarchy then the time involved in their jobs is excessive. A system which disperses and shares this authority would also share the time required for the responsibilities that go along with the authority.

Interviewees

Since the interviewees are a subset of the questionnaire respondents their questionnaire responses are captured in the above discussion. The interviews captured in more depth the interviewees’ career choices. I discuss their career stories in four parts: background information, career choices, balance, and barriers.

Background Information

The purpose of this section is to provide background information about the interviewees, including demographics (age, race, partnership status, number of children), number of years at MCC, educational credentials, level in the hierarchy, and feminist perspective.

Table 3 summarizes some background information for each interviewee. A "P" under partnership status means living with a partner and an "S" means single. Years at MCC is the number of years worked at MCC. In order to maintain anonymity I do not indicate campus or area. For the purposes of this study it is only necessary to understand position in the hierarchy. There are four levels: Level One is instructors who previously have held administrative responsibilities, Level Two is Department Heads/Chairs, Level Three is Division Chairs, and Level Four is administrators (outside of the faculty bargaining units). The last column indicates intention to apply for positions with further administrative responsibility. Eight ("Y") plan to go on, five ("N") do not plan to go on at this time, and the other two ("N/Y") say it depends on what kind of jobs are available. Of the eight that plan to apply further, two will not go beyond Level Three (Division Chair) which is still within the faculty bargaining unit. All at Level Four, all at Level Three, and three of the seven at Level Two plan to apply further.

Table 3: Interviewee Background Information

Name	Age	Partnership Status	Children	Years at MCC	Level	Going On
April	46	P	0	18	1	N
Bonnie	45	S	0	21	1	N
Candice	46	P	0	12	2	Y
Ellen	44	P	1	13	2	N
Felicity	42	P	0	11	2	N
Heather	35	P	0	6	2	Y
Irene	55	P	2	10	4	Y
Jessica	40	P	3	10	2	N
Kelly	40	P	2	11	3	Y
Laura	46	S	3	13	2	Y
Nancy	44	P	3	16	3	Y
Rita	49	P	0	23	1	N/Y
Sharon	45	P	0	20	4	Y
Wilma	47	P	2	18	4	Y
Zoe	35	P	0	5	2	N/Y

Not included in this table are educational levels, race, and feminist perspective. Except for three, all of them either have or are presently working on their masters degrees. Racially, they are all white.

I asked each interviewee whether she would call herself a feminist. Six said, "yes", although one of these thought the term was outdated in the 90's. Eight said, "no", and one said, "I don't know." One of the feminists is at Level One and five are at Level Two. One of the Level Twos calls herself a radical feminist. It is interesting to note that none of the Level Three and Four people call themselves feminists. In other words, the women who are getting closest to the top are not overtly bringing a feminist perspective. Without a feminist perspective at all levels of the

hierarchy, it is unlikely that women will change the system to fit them rather than fitting themselves to the system.

Career Choices

To investigate why there are so few women at the top of the hierarchy, I considered the kind of career choices that the interviewees make including both the choice to apply and the choice not to apply for positions with more administrative responsibility.

None of the women interviewed said that they are where they are today because of a long-range career plan.¹ With reference to her career choices, Irene said, “usually it came and it had not been planned” and Zoe said, “I have no idea what I really want to do. So I sort of do more than I think about it.” This lack of formal planning is reflected in all the stories of the interviewees. I wonder if these women really have no long-range career plans. Perhaps they do not want to be perceived as being too ambitious. Perhaps there is a social norm against having a career plan.

All the interviewees’ career stories are based on opportunity rather than upon a long-range plan. Four of them said they applied for a position because no one else wanted it, as Kelly said, “when nobody else wanted to do it I decided I had nothing to lose by going for it.” Four people said that they applied for a job so that someone else would not get it, as Ellen said, “didn’t want him getting it.” Three people said they were talked into applying for a position, as Laura said, “One or two people suggested that I run.”

Ten of the interviewees chose to apply for positions with administrative responsibility because of the opportunity to try something different, interesting, or challenging. Jessica exemplifies this by saying, “it would be an interesting change, interesting to take on new responsibilities and to learn something new.” Sharon said, “all I was interested in was doing something different and having

a different responsibility and trying something else.” Nancy said she considers the people that she would be working with when making a decision to apply for a job. She said, “I thought they were interesting people” when she describes the people that she would be working with. Rita described some of her previous administrative experience as “very interesting and fun.”

The interviews were able to capture a developmental aspect of career choices that the surveys were unable to capture. Six of the interviewees said they recognized their potential, level by level. That is, once they learned one level they realized that the next level was possible. Nancy said, “I thought well if I can be a coordinator I can be a department head, if I can be a department head I can be a division chair.” Wilma described how she “sort of grew into it.” This supports the argument for affirmative action at all levels to encourage and provide opportunities for women so that, with enough women moving up the hierarchy, eventually there will be some who feel they could be and would like to be president.

Some of the interviewees’ reasons for not applying for positions with more administrative responsibility were captured in the summary of the questionnaire responses since the interviewees are a subset of the survey respondents. In the interviews the interviewees expanded on these reasons. As well as the ones not planning to apply further and those not sure, some interviewees who are planning to apply further talked about what would stop them from wanting to do so.

Figure 8: Interviewees' reasons for not applying for positions with more administrative responsibility.

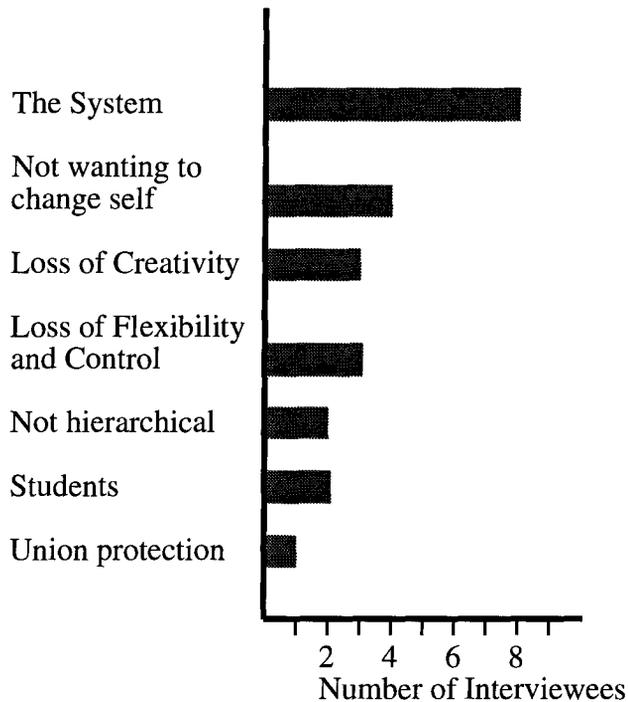


Figure 8 summarizes the reasons the interviewees would not apply for positions with more administrative responsibility. The most commonly occurring reasons relate to the nature of the system. These include finding the system unacceptable, not wanting to change themselves, loss of creativity, loss of control over and flexibility within their work lives, and not being interested in climbing the ladder.

Eight interviewees commented on finding the present system unacceptable in some way. Two of these plan to apply further, but hope that the system can be changed. For example, Kelly said, “I’m aspiring to an administrative position . . . if the community college system makes some changes to the way it operates and the way it deals with things . . . like the organizational structure and funding and the conflicts between faculty and management.” But others do not see the system changing. Felicity said, “I don’t have an inclination to go into a system of that sort . . . I think it would be difficult for me to work in that kind of system. I think I would just start

yelling and screaming at people.” This example also represents the perception that one has to change oneself if one moves into administrative positions. Felicity does not want to become a person who screams at people.

Four interviewees said they do not want to change themselves. With reference to her perceptions of female administrators as being aggressive, Candice said, “I don’t want to be that way.” Ellen is concerned about the change in values involved in moving up the hierarchy, “the further you go up that kind of hierarchy, and you get away from some of those values which I hold very important, you also start dealing more and more with people who don’t hold the same values.”

Three interviewees gave loss of creativity and three gave loss of control and flexibility as reasons for not wanting to apply further. These are reasons that are also related to the nature of the system. A bureaucratic system is characterized by rational systems rather than creativity. Bonnie said, “I don’t see those jobs up there as giving you an outlet for creativity at all.” Due to the nature of the hierarchy, there is a perception that responsibility increases significantly as the amount of authority increases. This results in a perception that one loses flexibility and control over work life as one reaches the top of the hierarchy. With reference to senior administrators, Candice said, “they don’t have as much flexibility in their jobs as we do . . . they’re very much controlled.”

Two people gave another reason that has to do with the system, namely, the lack of interest in rising up the hierarchy. April exemplifies this saying “I just have no interest whatsoever in doing any kind of up the ladder anything.” This supports the research that shows women tend not to think and view the world hierarchically (Gilligan, 1982; Belenky et al., 1986; Tannen, 1990, Helgesen, 1990).

One interviewee gave wanting union protection and two gave loss of connection to the students as reasons for not wanting to apply further. These reasons could be considered unrelated to the nature of the system, but I argue that these reasons are related to the nature of the system. Why is union protection necessary? Unions are certainly part of the system and grew out of the need for protection in the industrial bureaucratic model. Connection to students in the hierarchical system is lost as one moves to the top of the hierarchy. One can envision a system where all levels would be connected to students. A student centred college (see Figure 2 of Appendix 1) would require this connection at all levels.

It is interesting to note that all the Level Fours, the interviewees closest to the top of the hierarchy, plan to apply for positions with more administrative responsibility. They have learned the skills necessary to function well in the system. They do not articulate an incompatibility between their own values and those of the system. I suggest two possible reasons for this. One is that they have adopted totally the values of the system, that is, they have fitted themselves to the system. An alternative explanation is that they are able to retain their values while being successful in the system. From the perspective of some of the interviewees, women who reach high positions in the hierarchy are adopting totally the values of the system. If the Level Fours are bringing in their own values, these values may be invisible to others within the system. Values may be invisible for either or both of the following reasons. First, the Level Fours may not be making their own values visible. Second, the people observing the Level Fours may expect to see the hierarchical values and, therefore, may not see the other values. In Chapter 5, by investigating the interviewees' concepts of power and leadership, I pursue these notions further.

Balance

In this section I discuss the importance that the interviewees place on balance in their lives. Work is not the only thing in their lives. These women have many other interests and commitments such as children and family, university studies, recreational activities and volunteer activities. Some of the reasons for choosing not to go on show up in their stories about the balance between their work life and the rest of their life.

The average work week is 50 hours; this increases in times of crisis. The Level Ones (no administrative responsibility at present) feel that they have more time for themselves now that they are back teaching. Their average work week is 40 hours. Two Level Twos who plan to step down from their positions soon are looking forward to having more time to pursue other interests. They find the administrative part of the job takes a lot of their time and energy. They would not apply for positions with further administrative responsibility for this reason. Others do not see this as a problem, for example, Jessica and Heather who have been in their Level Two positions for less than a year. Jessica said, “the nice thing, in a sense, about Department Head is it gives you some flexibility in your schedule” and Heather said:

I have a very clear view about how many hours I’m willing to put in and I plan my day accordingly, so it will never become that kind of problem because I simply won’t let it. I’m not willing to give up aspects of my life for my work life.

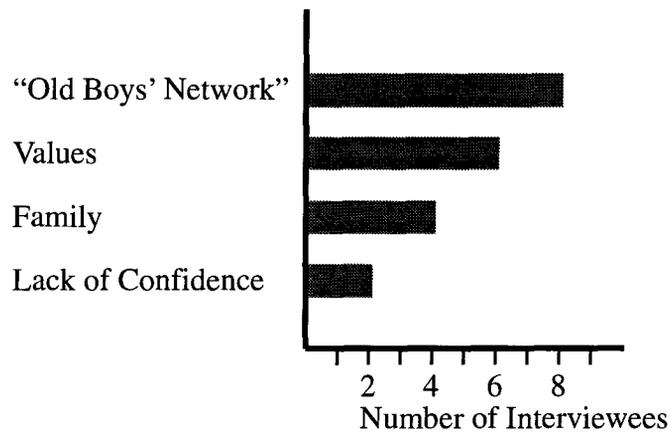
Sharon, who has many years of various levels of administrative responsibility, decided early in her career that work would not overtake her life. She said, “I set a standard for myself that work is not my life. In fact, I only work so I can have a life.” Kelly, trying to do the same, said, “I really try hard to remember the fact that my work life isn’t the only part of me.”

Having children affects career choices in different ways. Two of the people with young children, Ellen and Jessica, do not plan to apply for jobs with further administrative responsibility in the near future but may consider it when their children are older. Ellen said she is able to do all she does because of her support system which includes her family, especially her husband, and her department. Jessica has family support from her mother but said, “even though my husband and I work full time I still feel like I do 90% of the organizing.” The one other interviewee with a young child, Nancy, will choose to become an administrator. She and her husband organize their lives to share family responsibilities. She says her husband has had to take on more family responsibilities as she has taken on more administrative responsibility. Another interviewee who plans to become an administrator, Kelly, has teenagers. Her husband has been the one at home while the children have been growing up, allowing her to spend more time on her career. Laura, who is planning to go on to Level Three, is a single mother. She says her children, who are now teenagers, have had to learn to be very independent. She is also looking forward to time for herself which has not been possible while raising two children and working. She has taken on administrative responsibility only as the required time spent with her children has decreased. The other two women who have had children along with careers, Wilma and Irene, also took on more work hours as their children got older.

Work and family are kept separate. This separation is characteristic of bureaucratic hierarchies which emphasize separation including the separation between work and home life. Wilma said her involvement in her children’s sports activities “gets me completely away from work.” Jessica is concerned about being perceived as too committed to her family. She said, “I have tried very hard to separate my work life from my family life.”

Barriers

Figure 9: Interviewees' perceptions of barriers to women.



None of the interviewees said that being female created any barriers to her career path at MCC. With reference to the effect of being female on her career path, Sharon said, "it was an advantage." She explained that her timing was right. When she was ready to go into administration there was a consciousness that there should be more female administrators. Two interviewees said the number of women in senior administration is related to the pool of qualified women available and when that gets larger so will the number of female senior administrators.

Although none of the interviewees said there were barriers to their own career paths, some of them said there may be barriers to women rising to the top of the hierarchy. These are summarized in Figure 9. Only four of the interviewees said there are no barriers. Barriers can be categorized as personal and institutional.

Personal barriers are those to do with women's choices, as Candice said, "Do women really want to become administrators . . . maybe we don't want to." This is the fundamental issue in this thesis. If they do not want to become administrators, why not? Only two interviewees said that some women's lack of confidence could be a barrier for them.

Four interviewees said that having a family may be a barrier for some women. Having a family could be considered a personal barrier but it should also be considered institutional. As the research shows (Taylor, 1989; Ost & Twale, 1989; Moore, 1984; Kanter, 1989), breaks for child-bearing and child-rearing affect women's access to and ability to commit time to administrative jobs. This is due to the time-in-line criteria applied to moving up the career ladder. Women with career breaks have less time-in-line. Also, the time and work structure required in an administrative position may be in conflict with family responsibilities. Like the choice to have a family, personal choices may be related to the nature of the system.

Six interviewees said that a barrier for women is their choice not to become administrators for reasons similar to Ellen's comment, "many women choose not to go up that ladder because they don't like the difference in values that accompanies that rise." This reason is the most relevant to my question of how women's values and concepts of power and leadership fit with those of the patriarchal, hierarchical, bureaucratic system. These women would say their values do not fit. In the next chapter I will explore this issue further with respect to their concepts of power and leadership.

Historically, an institutional barrier has been the "old boys' network." This is an example of the patriarchal nature of the institution. Eight of the interviewees mentioned the old boys' network specifically and three others referred to traditional or conservative men in power positions. The old boys' network has two aspects, people and process. The people are the traditional men who are perceived to have power and control. They influence the selection of administrators. As Laura said, "they would look to someone who has a leadership model that men recognize as leadership . . . a woman who comes on as being too consultative . . . might be viewed negatively by the selection committee." The process is one of personal connections that facilitate career advancement, that is, who you know rather than what you know gets you places. Heather

described this process as “the sort of old boys’ network where administrators know other administrators who know other administrators.” This is seen by some interviewees to be changing with the changes that have occurred in senior administration.

Based on these interview stories and the questionnaire summaries, it is unlikely that the pool of women applying for senior administrative positions will increase dramatically without some interventions. Women do not plan their careers systematically and hierarchically. Those who do climb the ladder do so because they are interested in trying something different and interesting. Only a small number of the women surveyed plan to go into administration and only one plans to be a college president. Those who become administrators are adapting to the system. They are not the ones who criticize the system. They do not call themselves feminists.

Many of the reasons for choosing not to apply for jobs with further administrative responsibility have to do with the nature of the patriarchal, hierarchical, bureaucratic system. The recognition of the old boys’ network and traditional processes are examples of the effects of patriarchy. Dislike of ladder climbing, loss of connection to students, inflexible organizational structure, and bureaucratic processes are examples of the effects of hierarchy. Bureaucratic processes result in loss of creativity, increased stress, and excessive time required for administrative responsibilities.

In order to change the system to fit women’s values rather than continuing to fit women to the system, it will be important to get more women into the system. Provided that women do not simply adapt to and perpetuate the system, eventually the number of women will reach a critical mass where the invisible stereotypically female values will become visible. But to get more women into the system some changes must be made so that women will choose to become senior

administrators. Making these changes will require more than just getting more women into the system. It will require both male and female change agents who bring a feminist perspective and commitment to changing the system to include stereotypically female values.

Footnotes

- ¹ One survey respondent, who I did not interview, wrote, “re interview - yes, but I feel that I come from the generation that didn’t plan their career path to any extent - just fell into it - and as such will not provide you with current data.” Since I interviewed women from age 35 to 55 who all said they did not make long term career plans, her perception of a difference in generations with respect to planning is not reflected in the data.

Chapter 5: Power and Leadership

In this chapter I continue to investigate the fit between the interviewees' values and those of the bureaucratic system. This chapter contains three sections: power, leadership, and an ideal MCC. Each of these sections contains interrelated and overlapping concepts. It is not possible to separate concepts of power from concepts of leadership and from concepts of an ideal MCC. In the power section I relate the interviewees' definitions of power and their perceptions of their own and others' power. In the leadership section I discuss the interviewees' perceptions of power use and leadership to illustrate separate and connected leadership. In the ideal MCC section I summarize the interviewees' visions of an ideal college including structure, processes, and values.

Power

Power is a complex concept and not one which people normally discuss. I asked the interviewees to define power and to talk about their own and others' power. The interviewees' definitions of power encompass various dimensions. Some people recognize the complexities of power more than others. Some use the language of power (authority, influence, etc.) more easily than others. It is not a concept that can be treated fully in this thesis. For the purposes of this thesis I examine the fit of women's concepts of power with those of the bureaucratic system. I am especially interested in "separate" and "connected" power. Examples of separate power are "power over," authority, and control. Separate power predominates in a bureaucratic system. Examples of connected power are "power with," influence, and empowerment. Connected power is not common in a bureaucratic system.

Definitions of Power

Nine of the interviewees defined power as the ability to make things happen. This is the most common definition that they gave. Jessica exemplifies this, saying, "power is ability to make things happen and ability to make changes." None of the interviewees believes making things happen can be done alone; all believe it requires working with others. Ellen said, "power to me is

being the ultimate team player or being part of the team but the team doesn't have to be your team. In other words you can be on someone else's too." Her use of the notion of a team is different from a competitive type of team since she says that you can be on others' teams. It is a cooperative connected sense of team.

Ellen exemplifies connected power by saying:

My definition of power is the ability to get things done that you would like to get done, the ability to have other people do things that you would like to have them do without ever having to coerce, by building perhaps enough respect and trust and positive communication.

People are important to all the interviewees. Irene illustrates well the connection of power to people, saying that power is "the strength of your people."

This "making things happen" type of power occurs using both authority and influence, using both separate and connected power. Authority is the most visible form of power in a bureaucratic hierarchy. For example, bureaucratic forms need signatures of people in positions up the hierarchy in order to get things done. Six people recognize that part of power is authority or position power. They also recognize that influence is important. Nancy exemplifies this by saying, "aside from the formal power you know that you have through your position, to me power's not negative, I think power makes things happen. I think guiding people and being able to influence and not coerce but influence." People in formal authority positions do not always have power, that is, they do not always make things happen. Rita illustrates this, saying, "you can have all the trappings of power but you don't have power." She said, "power means that things happen" and explained that, at Central Campus, when those in authority did not have power "people refused to do anything. People refused to sit on committees and everything came to a standstill."

Those interviewees who mentioned authority and influence believe that authority is limited and that influence is the more important of the two. Six people say that influence is the most important aspect of power. Felicity exemplifies this by saying, “I think that what we’re seeing more and more is the impact of influence and how important the influence is because I think you can have all the authority in the world but you can be sabotaged very easily.” Politics is a form of influence power. Three interviewees say that politics is power. Bonnie illustrates this by saying, “my definition of power is politics . . . and how I influence people around me.”

A few definitions of power fit well with those in a bureaucratic system. One interviewee included control in her definition of power. Another interviewee included money in her definition of power and three interviewees included information in their definition of power. The latter two of these can be seen as tools for the first, that is, tools for control. Few interviewees mentioned this type of power and those who did recognized that control is not the way to make things happen in a positive way. For example, Candice said, “a leader doesn’t use power to control, but to influence.”

Only April’s definition of power is related to the separate skill of decisiveness. She said:

Power is somebody that goes right in there and makes a decision and that decision stays . . . it doesn’t matter who objects . . . maybe they’ve done some consultation with the other people around them at different levels but once they’ve got the information the decision is made and that’s it.

April does not see herself as this type of person and perhaps that is why she has gone back to teaching and why she does not plan to apply for positions with administrative responsibility.

Interviewees' Own Power

Concepts of interviewees' own power came out in their stories of power and leadership.

Articulating their power, two interviewees used the term collegial, two used the term democratic, two used the term consultative and six used the term influence. These terms all describe a "connected" perspective on power. Three of them acknowledged that they do have position power. Position power or authority is a "separate" perspective on power. Position power is not seen as power for themselves but power that includes responsibility, as Jessica said, "it is a scary thing this responsibility."

The following are some unique views of their own power. Referring to power, Nancy said, "you have to have passion. You have to feel for things," and "I feel passionately for things." Zoe sees her power as shallow and that self-esteem is important to one's power, saying "you have to believe you have power."

Power at MCC

I asked the interviewees who has power at MCC. The following are some responses to the question (in ascending order of frequency): Department Heads, women, unions, Division Chairs, administrators, and the "old boys' network." Eleven interviewees perceive that the "old boys" or traditional men, historically, have been powerful. Since I discuss this issue in Chapter 4, I do not repeat it here. I discuss the other responses in the following order: Department Heads, Division Chairs, unions, administrators, and women.

Two interviewees, Rita and Laura, said that Department Heads have power. They said the Department Head position is an important power position. It is the closest link to what should be the main college activity, that is, learning and working with students to help them learn. Laura explained that "the Department Head is simply the head of a group of the department which is

comprised of students and faculty so if the Department Head is really truly representing the department then their voices are all being heard.”

Five interviewees said that some of the Division Chairs have power, and they articulated this in terms that imply both separate and connected power. Division Chairs are one level up from the Department Heads. Referring to her Division Chair, Zoe, a Department Head, said, “he’s a person that facilitates growth in his division by saying ‘I’m here if you need me’ and offers really good feedback when I sit down with him to problem solve.”

The interviewees’ perceptions of the faculty unions’ power are related to their level of administrative responsibility. Those with the most administrative responsibility are the ones who perceive the faculty unions as powerful. Wilma and Sharon are administrators (Level Four) and are not part of the faculty unions. They said the most power resides with the faculty unions. Wilma said, “unions are running the college right now so they must have a lot of power and especially the faculty unions” and Sharon said, “the faculty associations have the most power of all now.” Kelly also recognizes union control. She said, “I think the union really wants to take control of almost every aspect of campus operations right now.” Kelly is a member of a faculty union but her Level Three position involves full-time administrative work. The other Level Three, Nancy, sees problems with the union, saying, “there’s been an adversarial stance that has been set up and I think the unions are to blame for some of this.” The other interviewees who are members of faculty unions, but who have less administrative responsibility, do not mention the unions as having the most power. But three of these faculty union members do have concerns about the way the unions are run. Referring to the union, Bonnie said, “they’ve got major hierarchical problems too just like the administration does and we’re caught in the middle of it.”

Although nine interviewees said administrators have power, it is interesting that those with the most administrative responsibility see limits to their administrative power. The Level Fours, especially, see the limits of their power, saying things such as Sharon said, “I have never felt powerful in this job ever ever ever. In fact I can’t hardly ever remember saying this is the way we are doing it as if it was an edict” and Wilma said, “administrators have on the whole very little power.”

Two interviewees, Nancy and Rita, said that women are powerful at MCC. Referring to Level Three, Nancy exemplifies this by saying, “I think the women outshine the men at this level.” Both she and Rita identify several powerful women at Level Three and Four across the college. Talking about women running the college, Rita said, “they did have the power because they were getting what they wanted done . . . they had the power even though they didn’t have the authority.” Perhaps these women are powerful because they have learned the rules of the system and can function in it to make things happen, integrating their connected skills with the separate skills needed to function in the hierarchy. They may be powerful because they apply a broad range of skills in context. On the other hand, they may be powerful because they have adopted the separate hierarchical skills which are valued in the system. Some of the interviewees would say it is the latter of these reasons. They perceive female administrators in negative ways. For example, referring to female administrators, Candice, Ellen and Wilma, respectively, said:

I see them as very aggressive women and I don’t like that. I don’t want to be like that . . . and I have a sense that it’s almost necessary. I don’t know whether it is or not. There isn’t anybody in that role who is not aggressive.

Unless some of the organizational values change to reflect more humanistic values the women who then go up to those positions are often more masculine in their values than many of the men . . . they need to control more. They need to prove they can do it so they’re going to be more hard assed than the men they’re working with.

I’ve also seen some pretty devastating things happen with women in power who are no better than the worst males I’ve seen in power.

The previous quotes illustrate the perceptions that women are fitting themselves to the system and that separate power is the most visible in female administrators. The connected power that the Level Four interviewees articulated may be visible in conversations such as these research interviews, but not in everyday life.

The interviewees acknowledge separate power but recognize that without connected power, the ability to make things happen is limited. Power to make things happen seems to be limited at MCC. Ellen said, “very few people have that kind of power within MCC who can enable other people to do things by making them want to do it instead of having to do it.” There seems to be authority without influence, separate power without connected power. Kelly said, “I think right now people give the stronger weighting to authority as opposed to influence.” Without the connected form of power, authority is not effective and people are not enabled to make things happen. As a result, things do not happen. MCC is seen as a dysfunctional institution, as Nancy says, “MCC still has a good name across Canada, but in B.C. I think it’s quite a laughing stock right now.”

Leadership

The interviewees do not use the terms separate leadership and connected leadership, but they do recognize traditional hierarchical leadership (separate) and they do tell stories full of connected leadership concepts. In this section I discuss their perceptions of power use and leadership to illustrate separate and connected leadership.

Leadership and power are closely related. Three interviewees said that power is leadership. Referring to power and leadership, Ellen said, “they are one and the same.” Kelly said, “I think of power as being able to influence things and show leadership and make change.” Leadership is how power is effected, how people make things happen. It is through use of power that

leadership is exhibited and it is through leadership that one has power. Separate leadership involves the use of power over others and connected leadership involves the use of power with others.

The interviewees recognize the use of power over others and see it both negatively and positively. Sharon said, "power to me has negative connotations." She went on to explain why power has negative connotations by saying, "I perceive that there are some people who use it for their own gain and self-aggrandizement." She does not want to be seen to be powerful in this sense. She hates being called "boss" since a boss is seen as the person with authority and power over others. But Jessica perceives the positive aspect of "power over," saying, "it's a hold you have over other people. The key is to use it in a positive way and not in a negative way . . . a leader has to have power in order to direct things."

Due to the nature of the authority structure of a hierarchical institution, leadership comes from the top down. But according to four of the interviewees, effective leadership should come from below. Laura illustrates this concept in her description of how power should be used: "power works from bottom up as far as I'm concerned. It doesn't work from top down."

When they talk about their own leadership, the interviewees use terms such as "share power," "empower," "give away power," and "multiply power." They talk about this use of power in terms such as "consulting," "facilitating," and "listening." They talk about being "democratic," "collegial," and "part of a group." This use of power with others makes them connected leaders.

Eight of the interviewees talk in various ways about empowering others. Empowerment by definition means to share power with others by giving them power and enabling them to do things. Only two of them actually use the word empower because, as Laura said, "empowerment

is kind of a catch word that we all use.” It has become a vague, trendy word, so people hesitate to use it. Laura also said, “you can’t have all the power at the top. You have to have power spread out.” The rest of the interviewees whom I have classified as talking about empowerment without using the word do so by illustrating power with others in some way. For example, Irene said, “your leadership skills will bring out that power in your people.”

Empowerment works in two ways, both from and to people in authority positions. In other words, people using authority without influence and “power over” without “power with” are not fully empowered or empowering. Rita illustrates this by saying, “one has the power that comes with the position but one has to maintain it or one loses it. . . . people let you have it.” Bonnie, referring to a previous administrator, said, “when we didn’t want to do something Joe Smith couldn’t make us.”

A separate leader is clearly the “boss,” solving the problems herself, and dictating solutions to her subordinates. None of the interviewees see themselves this way. Sharon not only does not see herself this way, but she does not want others to see her this way either. She explains her dislike of being called boss, saying, “if they ever call me boss, that’s it. I dislike it. I think it’s a derogatory term.” This type of autocratic leadership is a more traditional leadership style. Six interviewees made a statement that they do not consider themselves leading in the traditional sense. For example, Rita said, “that’s my style and I suppose in a way I’m describing very much somebody who is not a leader in the orthodox sense of the word, very undictatorial or undirective.”

The interviewees not only recognize separate leadership as traditional, but also recognize it as the style that women take on as they assume administrative positions. Ten interviewees described women leaders who use separate leadership styles. They referred to certain women who are

authoritarian and who use power to control. Regarding the possibility of women obtaining high level administrative positions, Laura said, “it might be someone who has quite an authoritative leadership style who is the first to be given such a high position. I think we have examples of that at this college.”

Separate leaders see themselves as separate from others, so they may appear closed rather than open. Candice, wondering about applying for a Level Three position, perceives a need to learn separate leadership and voices these concerns about how she sees herself changing:

that’s not my nature to be closed, to have that aloofness, but I think in order to maintain some respect you have to show some confidence and not show them that it hurts, and I think that I’m much more of an open person. If I made a mistake I’ll tell you I made a mistake . . . I would be very careful in a position of Division Chair in what I said about making mistakes, in what I said about what hurt me and that’s not the way I am normally.

When I asked her if she would change, she replied, “I would play the game.”

Decisiveness is another separate leadership skill that some women feel they have to learn if they are to be strong leaders. Jessica and April commented about not being decisive. When asked about her leadership style, Jessica said, “as a negative I think I’m not as clear and as focused as I could be and I’m very much a fence-sitter in a lot of things.” Decisiveness is often a perception of how a decision is made rather than the quality of the decision. People who make quick decisions by themselves are traditionally thought of as decisive and therefore stronger leaders. April responded this way to my question about her leadership: “I think maybe not a really strong leader. I think one of my faults would be perhaps consulting a bit too much . . . because it looked like perhaps I couldn’t make a decision.” She recognizes that decisiveness is part of being a strong leader. She does not recognize the value of her connected style. I define “connected decisiveness” as making clear and firm decisions based on a consultative process with others

affected by the decisions. Being decisive in a connected way may look indecisive because it does take more time, but it may also result in better decisions. People who are decisive in the sense of making quick, solo decisions often spend a lot of time correcting mistakes made because of their lack of thorough consultation.

Vision and seeing the big picture are important leadership skills according to eight interviewees, who say things like, “a leader has to have vision and be able to communicate that” (Jessica). Communicating vision does not mean imposing vision. Imposing vision is a separate leadership style. Communicating vision requires connected leadership skills. Rita illustrates the connected style of vision by saying, “I’ve got a number of visions and then if people are ready for vision B well then that’s the one that gets carried through instead of imposing vision A.”

Rational problem solving is a separate leadership skill. But separate leaders see themselves as the sole person who can solve the problem. Three interviewees see themselves as problem solvers, but not alone. They like to facilitate solutions to problems by working with others. Bonnie said, “leaders need to be more facilitators, as I saw my role as Department Head where there was a problem to be solved we worked on it together.”

Interpersonal skills are key to connected leadership. All of the interviewees emphasize the importance of “people” skills. It is by using these kinds of skills that connected power happens, sharing power and making things happen by facilitating rather than controlling. Interpersonal skills are essential. As well as using “power with” the interviewees encourage others, they listen interactively, they use their intuition, and they recognize the emotional as well as the rational aspect of decision making.

Caring is an important aspect of connected leadership. Caring is stereotypically thought of as a female trait. It is not valued traditionally in a bureaucratic system. The interviewees show their caring in their concern for the people with whom they work. Sharon is concerned about “keeping people as comfortable as they can without being constantly surprised that everything they try to do they get whacked.” If caring is defined as “being all things to all people,” then caring can result in burnout. April said, “I felt that if my department needed me that I would be there for them.” As a result she totally immersed herself in her job, coming in during her vacation (July and August) to try to support her summer people as she would the people who worked September to June. She referred several times to the frustrations of trying to be all things to all people. Felicity suggests that this type of burnout may be common to those working in the “caring” fields, saying, “health educators seem to have this propensity for getting themselves into workaholic syndrome and I don’t know if it’s the caring component that we can’t say, no.”

Women bring a perspective to leadership that has historically been invisible. They bring skills which are not recognized in the bureaucratic organization. More participatory, humanistic types of leadership are needed in our organizations if they are to function in the ever changing world in which diversity is becoming more and more the norm. The voices of women bring in the themes of connected leadership which include using power with, instead of over, others. Words such as facilitate, consult, collaborate, cooperate, and encourage are heard in these conversations.

All of the interviewees illustrate, at some level, the awareness and value of connected leadership. Their voices represent a spectrum of styles, from those who are most adept at the hierarchical system to those who have opted out of rising up the hierarchy. They represent a spectrum of leadership styles from some who are more "connected" to those who are more "separate." Although analysis of the data using the category "constructed leadership" is beyond the scope of this thesis, I think that many of these women are constructed leaders. They have learned the

separate leadership skills necessary to function within the system, but they also use connected leadership skills. They use power and leadership skills in context. What is missing from a real balance of connected and separate leadership is the valuing and visibility of the connected skills. Until these skills are clearly valued and rewarded in the organization, constructed leaders will not be the ones getting to the top of the hierarchy. They will remain at levels where they feel they can balance both the separate and connected skills. It will take a critical mass of women at all authority levels to make their connected skills visible and to change the system to one which values those skills.

An Ideal MCC

Is there an ideal organizational model for MCC? It was difficult to get the interviewees to articulate ideal models and structures. Some interviewees articulated ideal structures and models, some articulated ideal processes and values, and some articulated a combination of ideal structures, processes and values. Their responses suggest a picture of an ideal system. These responses illustrate the value of connectedness through the desire for less hierarchy, less bureaucratic red tape, more collegiality, and more cooperation.

Ten interviewees suggested it would be good to change the hierarchy. This varied from suggestions to remove some layers to suggestions about restructuring in a totally different way. Two people suggested a circular rather than a hierarchical model. Two people from Central Campus even suggested changing the physical expression of the hierarchy. One of them (Kelly) said, “people at the top of the organization need to be in the middle of it, near where the students are, near where the action is. They need to be accessible.” The physical structure of Central Campus represents symbolically the organizational hierarchy of the college. Instructional activity occurs on the bottom floors of the building. The campus administration is on the floor below the top and the college administration is on the top floor.

Four of the interviewees said that it is the people in the system rather than the system itself that is important. One of them (Rita) said, “the system itself is not a problem. It’s the kind of people in that system.” All of the interviewees believe that interpersonal skills and valuing people are of prime importance, saying things such as, “the skills that are most important are interpersonal skills” (Irene). Heather recognizes the effects of both structure and people in that structure, saying, “the structure is part of the problem but when you combine someone who lacks good leadership skills in a structure that’s already set up to abuse power, you have a volatile situation.”

The interviewees familiar with the library system said that it works well. Of the faculty units, the library system is the least hierarchical and the most integrated across the college since the reporting structure is centralized rather than campus based. But more important than its structure is the emphasis in the library system on connected ways of working. With reference to the library system, Ellen said, “it’s a system that works well and has really strong communication.” She explained why it works well, “it only works when you have the good will of everybody who’s involved.” The library system may work well because its members are predominantly female, although the library system was set up by a male administrator. Ellen described him as a feminist. It is the values that are important, not the sex of the person.

Since, at the time of the study, the college was undergoing discussions regarding organizational restructuring, the interviewees most involved in them were the ones who answered the question about an ideal MCC based on specific proposed models. Five interviewees supported a cross college integrated model. This model would provide an integrated system where administrative responsibility would be based on area rather than campus. Three of the interviewees with experience at South Campus said that it should be a separate college or at least allowed to run independently.¹

Processes as well as structure need to be changed. Sharon and Nancy said that there should be fewer bureaucratic rules. Nancy said, “get rid of all the red tape.” The ideal processes include connecting people to work together and dispersing authority as well as responsibility throughout the layers. Five interviewees suggested that cross layer committees and meetings would be ideal. Heather takes this to the extreme suggesting, “committees of faculty with release and just get rid of all the administrators. I don’t think they really serve a purpose.” Kelly, more moderately, suggests, “there needs to be some kind of structure in place so that everybody can feel part of the decision making structure of the institution and know what they’re contributing and be happy about what they’re contributing.” Decision making should be a shared responsibility and should include involvement of people at all levels of authority. Felicity and Nancy said that more authority should move to the campus and the department level. Nancy said, “you have to have the decision making as close to the departments as possible . . . we’ve had all the responsibility in these positions and no authority.”

Some interviewees talked about the values of an ideal college. Two people said that an ideal college would focus on social issues. Zoe said the ideal college would “look at social change and look at equity issues.” This focus on broad social issues fits with the MCC mission to “meet continuing and changing individual and societal needs” (MCC Three Year Plan, 1991, p. 3). It also illustrates the importance to the participants of connection and responsibility to society beyond the college.

The words the interviewees used to describe their visions of an ideal college, like the words they used to describe power and leadership, illustrate their connected values. These words include: cooperation, collegial, consultative, communication, facilitative administrators, trust, and heart.

Laura said the ideal college would be “run on a collegial model including the highest echelons . . . would be run in a more consultative way.” The following was suggested hesitantly by Bonnie: “this may sound a little funny but I think we need more heart in our institutions.” It only sounds funny in a system which values the head (rationality) over the heart (caring).

An institution which balances the head and the heart would balance separate and connected leadership and would be a constructed institution. A constructed institution would meet its goals and members’ needs. Constructed leaders, who bring in a caring as well as a rational perspective, are needed to create such an ideal MCC. In order for this to happen, the present leaders need to listen to the voices of women and allow them to be heard by others so that the values they bring to power and leadership can be integrated into the system. Women themselves need to listen to their own voices so that they can hear themselves, value themselves, and make changes to the system.

Footnotes

¹ In December 1992, the South Campus Faculty Association settled a collective agreement which included the separation of South Campus from MCC by April 1994.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this chapter I summarize the study by discussing three areas: initial focus, data analysis, and implications.

Initial Focus

The purpose of this study was to provide a rationale for changing existing patriarchal, hierarchical, bureaucratic systems into systems that will be more comfortable for women. This research began with the question of why there are so few women at the top of organizational hierarchies. As a result of my experiences at Metropolis Community College (MCC), I was especially interested in why there were so few women in senior management at MCC and in the British Columbia college system as a whole. The literature addressed the kinds of barriers that exist, but did not address whether the bureaucratic nature of the organization affects women's interest in and access to organizational authority. The data gathered here reveal how women's values and concepts of power and leadership fit with those values and concepts traditionally found in the patriarchal, hierarchical, bureaucratic system. The data show that this fit does affect women's access to organizational authority.

My commitment to social and political change was the force that kept me going through the arduous tasks required in the process of thesis research. Women's voices and their shared values need to be heard. I am not alone in my values and views. This project has reassured me of that. I am supported by the women I interviewed and surveyed. This project has extended beyond the bounds of MCC. My work as a Director of the Association of Women in Post-Secondary Education in British Columbia has been central, as well as my involvement on other committees dealing with women's issues and the many opportunities I have had to discuss my ideas through informal conversations, committee meetings, teaching, workshops, and presentations.

The theoretical framework developed out of theory on women's development. I applied to leadership the terms separate, connected and constructed that Belenky et al. (1986) apply to ways

of knowing. Separate leadership is traditional, bureaucratic command and control type of leadership, where position in the hierarchy is of prime importance. Power is based on position or authority and it is used "over others" to control. Separate leaders are bosses, separate from those they lead. They do not share the power and therefore make decisions alone and shoulder the responsibility for those decisions. They need to appear decisive. They use the ethic of justice and rights in a rational manner to make their decisions. They value objectivity. This kind of leadership is essential in a bureaucratic system. It is part of the system's values. Separate leadership skills are the most visibly valued in a bureaucratic system.

But the system would not survive without the values of connected leadership. Connected leadership skills are not articulated as clearly as separate leadership skills and therefore are invisible as valued skills. Connected leadership is based on the ethic of care and connection. Power is "with others." Connected leaders see themselves as group members with a responsibility to facilitate making things happen with those around them. They share responsibility for decisions with others since they collaborate and consult in a democratic way. They value others' points of view and look at the emotional as well as the rational side of issues. They do not view themselves hierarchically, but as part of a complex web of relationships.

The best leaders balance the skills of separate and connected leadership, that is, they are constructed leaders. Constructed leaders balance the bureaucratic values of productivity, efficiency and rationality with the organic, humanistic values of connection, caring and responsibility to others.

Data Analysis

The women I surveyed included administrators, Division Chairs, Department Heads/Chairs, Coordinators and faculty who had been Department Heads or Division Chairs. I interviewed fifteen of these women. I interviewed some who plan to go on up the hierarchy and some who do not. All their career choices are based on opportunity rather than on long-range planning.

Some of the survey respondents said they would not choose to go further up the hierarchy because they love teaching. They do not see administration as teaching. I think this is a result of a bureaucratic system which hierarchically separates administration activities from the main teaching activities.

Many of the reasons for not going on into administration have to do with the nature of the patriarchal, hierarchical, bureaucratic system. These women perceive patriarchal barriers such as the traditional leadership processes and the old boys' network that holds the power. Other reasons for not going on reflect the effect of the hierarchy, such things as dislike of ladder climbing, loss of connection to students, inflexible organizational structure, and bureaucratic processes. Bureaucratic processes are seen to result in loss of creativity, increased stress, and excessive time required for administrative responsibilities.

Family responsibilities affect some interviewees' career choices. Job criteria and job structures need to be changed to accommodate these responsibilities. Perhaps men too could take on more of these family responsibilities if administrative jobs were more flexible. Perhaps the seamlessness of life could be valued more. That is, work and family could both exist and overlap with each other. At this point, work and family are kept separate.

Some of the interviewees say the problem is not the system, but the kind of people in the system. I argue that it is unreasonable to assume that just by changing people, without changing the system, the perceptions would be any different. The reverse is also unreasonable to assume, that is, that just changing the system without changing the people would make things any better. What is needed is a better system and people who are committed to making changes themselves and to making a better system work.

The fit of the interviewees' values with those of the bureaucratic system does affect their choices. There are three categories of interviewees. First, there are those who would not choose to go on further up the hierarchy because they see a misfit between their values and those of the system. They see women in senior administration taking on the values of the system. Second, there are those who choose to go on further up the hierarchy because either they do not recognize any misfit between their values and the values of the system, or they recognize the misfit but are willing and able to adjust. Third, there are those who choose to go up the hierarchy, recognizing the misfit between their values and those of the system, but they are determined to change it by entering the administrative hierarchy. Until there are more women in this third category, there will continue to be few women at the top of hierarchies, since the women in the first category will continue to choose not to move up the hierarchy if system changes are not made, and the number of women in the second category is small.

Although all the interviewees have stereotypically female (feminine) values, only some of them are feminists. The interviewees closest to the top do not call themselves feminists. The ones who call themselves feminists are the ones at the lower levels of the hierarchy. I think women with a feminist as well as a feminine perspective are needed to change the system to incorporate care and connected values. Without a feminist perspective at all levels of the hierarchy, it is unlikely that women will change the system to fit them rather than fitting themselves to the system.

When I began this research, I thought it would demonstrate that women tend to be connected or constructed leaders. What I found was that many women do have connected values. Some of them are able to work in a system which values the separate leadership skills and some find they cannot fit their values into the system. Those who are fitting into the system by rising up the hierarchy are perceived as learning the values of the system and abandoning their connected values. But in the interviews they demonstrated their belief in connected values. I think those connected values are not visible since they are not the values of the system. I think there are two factors to this invisibility. First, the women near the top of the hierarchy behave in ways that emphasize separate skills and hide their connected skills. Second, other people expect to see separate skills when they observe people near the top of the hierarchy.

The voices of the women in the study clearly state the values of care and connection. They want to work in an environment where power is shared. The most common definition of power is the ability to make things happen. These women make things happen by working with people, using a balance of authority and influence. They use their leadership skills to make things happen.

When they talk about their own leadership they use words like share power, empower, give away power, multiply power, and they say they do this by consulting, facilitating, and listening, and by being democratic, collegial, and part of a group. All the interviewees emphasized the importance of interpersonal skills. They care for the people around them. Some of them are more connected leaders than others but, to some extent, they all share connected values.

Perceptions of others' power and leadership depend on the perceivers' positions in the hierarchy. The ones nearest the top see the limitations of their administrative power or authority. But they are perceived by others as powerful. Many interviewees perceive female senior administrators (not just at MCC) as separate leaders, using power in an authoritarian way. I think women closest to the top are perceived as powerful because they use both connected and separate skills.

Unfortunately, the separate skills are the most visible. Are some of these women constructed leaders? The ones who are continuing to move up the hierarchy are functioning in a system which values separate leadership skills. If they visibly use their connected skills then they are constructed leaders, that is, they balance separate and connected leadership skills.

Implications

This study provides a foundation for other research. I did not survey or interview women who have never had administrative responsibility. It would be useful to see if they have chosen not to pursue positions of administrative responsibility because of the nature of the system.

Many male instructors do not choose to apply for positions with administrative responsibility. It would also be beneficial to do a comparative study of men and women on their career choices and their concepts of power and leadership.

Further research on alternate organizational models which apply some of the connected leadership skills would be desirable. Feminist research on women's organizations sheds light on this but the same type of research on other organizations using models similar to women's organizations would be useful.

More work on the concept of constructed leadership and constructed organizational models should be done. Research on constructed leadership would need to address not only how women perceive themselves but also how others perceive them, especially those who work with them. Since this study critiques the present organizational model, it does not answer the questions of what alternatives to the bureaucratic model are working well and whether there are any constructed institutions.

The system needs to be changed to fit women; fitting women to the system must stop. Women who move up the career ladder learn the system. Some of them may not change the system because it works for them. Since they learn it so well, and because they also have connected skills, they are strong, powerful, and competent. Until they make their connected skills and values more visible, there will be no change to the system. It is difficult to make visible the skills that women tend to have, since they are not the skills valued in the system. It will take both men and women who value care and connection to make those values visible and to change the present system. If the connected values and skills are visibly recognized as important, then both women and men with these connected values and skills might pursue formal leadership roles. It is a challenge to change since everyone at all levels of the system has learned the separate values of the system and expects leaders to portray these values. It will take people at all levels operating in a different way than is traditional in this system to make the necessary changes.

In general, bureaucratic institutions are ineffective in sharing power. Power relationships between unions and management are often adversarial. In a hierarchy people concern themselves with their own rights and territory (their own boxes) instead of sharing power and working together to make the institution a better place for everyone. People in hierarchies tend to ignore their responsibilities to one another. To fulfill their mission, goals, and objectives British Columbia colleges need to modify their bureaucratic systems so that people within the colleges work together cooperatively to serve the diverse needs of their students. To do this will require an emphasis on the values of care and connection and will require leaders with connected skills. The best leaders will be those who balance the separate and connected leadership skills, that is, constructed leaders. These constructed leaders, at all levels of the hierarchy both formal and informal, must work toward making the hierarchy more fluid, organic, interconnected, and caring. They must work towards a constructed organization. In this type of organization, organizational symbols and charts would not be limited to the box and line hierarchical charts but would also include webs and circular diagrams.

Women tend not to move up the career ladder in a planned, hierarchical way. It is important, therefore, that opportunities be provided for women to move up the hierarchy, so that eventually there will be more at the top. As the Report to the Steering Committee (1992) from the British Columbia Human Resource Development Project recommends “all our institutes, universities, and colleges that have not already done so need to address issues of employment equity without delay” (p. 33). It will take time to see the effect of women in senior positions on the system, and it will take more women. A critical mass of women is needed to make connected skills visible and valued. People tend to behave according to the norms around them. But beyond numbers is the need to have men and women connected leaders sharing power so that they actively work to change the system. In this way, this college and the college system as a whole will be more effective in serving their various communities. The future directions of collaboration and power sharing that are recommended by the British Columbia Human Resource Development Project (1992) will best be served by a constructed system which visibly brings in the connected aspect of leadership and power to the present system.

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Power and Leadership: References

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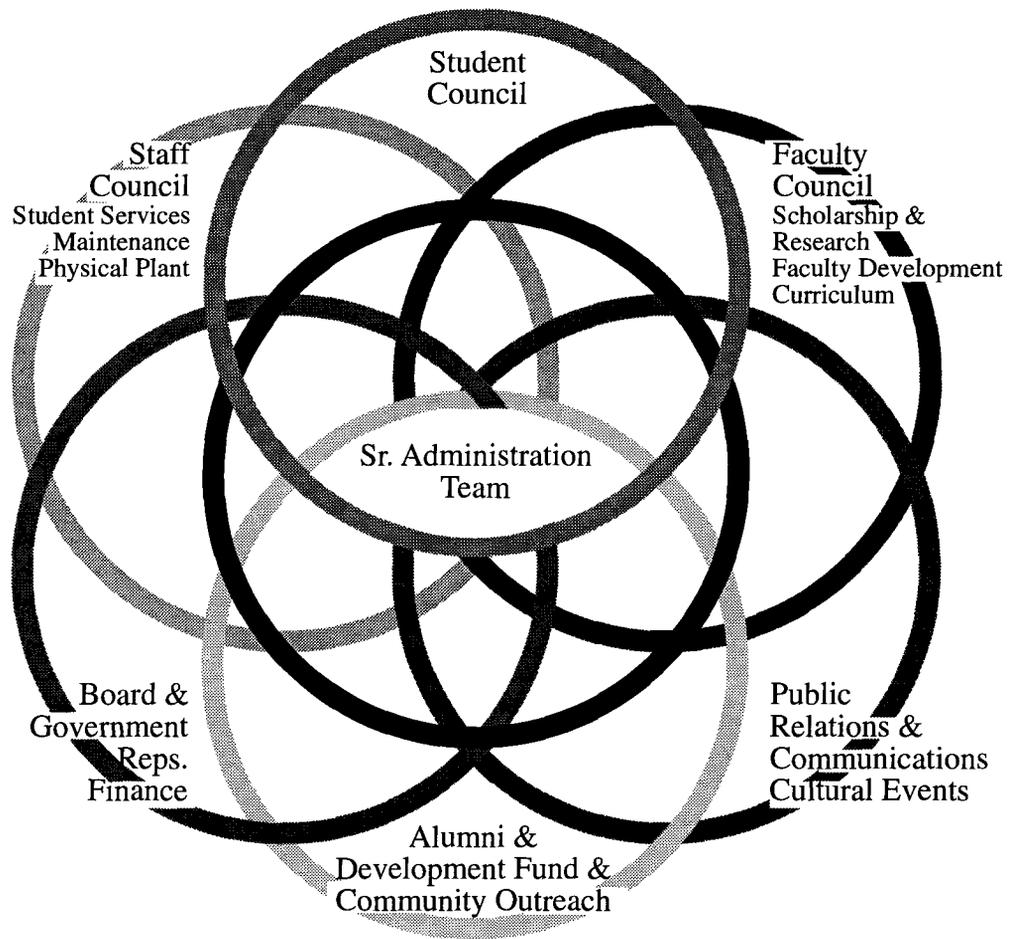
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Appendix 1

Figure 1: Inter-active model for an organic institution

Inter-Active Governance Pattern

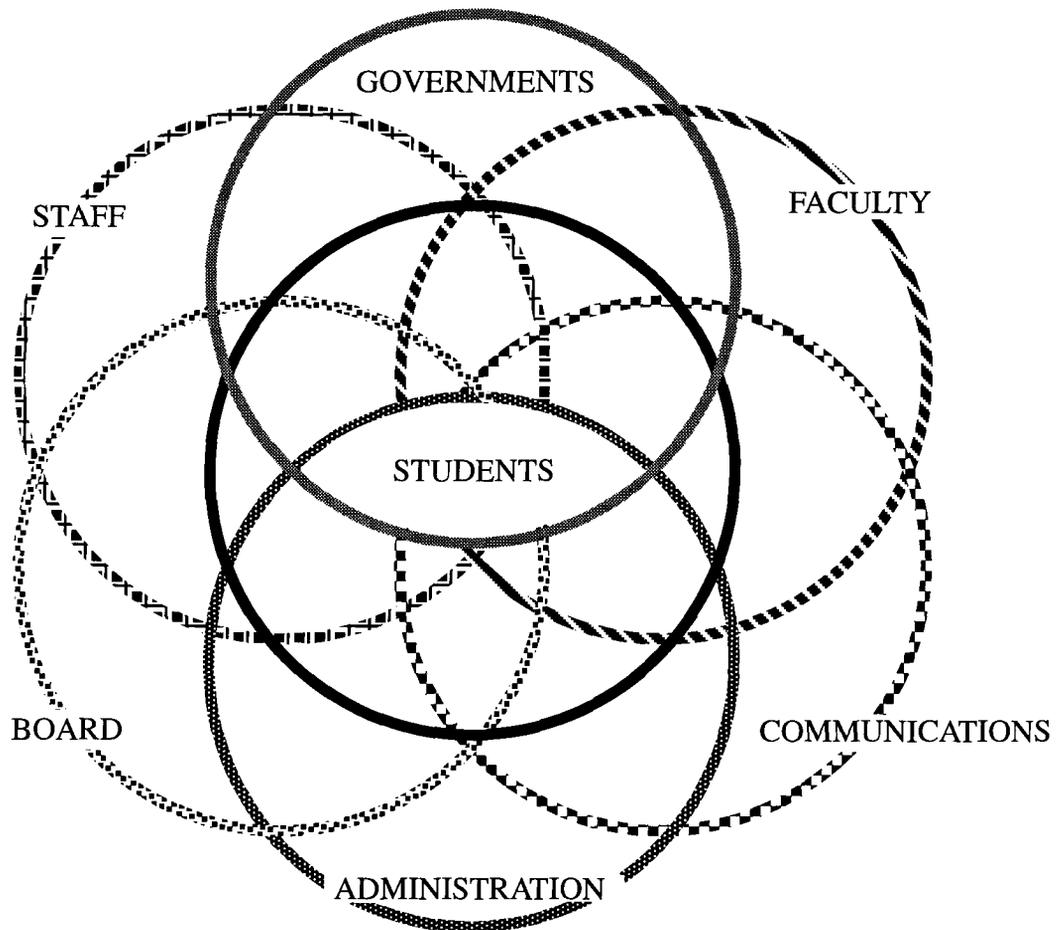


Inter-Active Model For An Organic Institution

Fulton, M. (1990). Alternate systems of administration.
Presentation to the conference Goals for College Women in the 90's. Richmond, B.C.

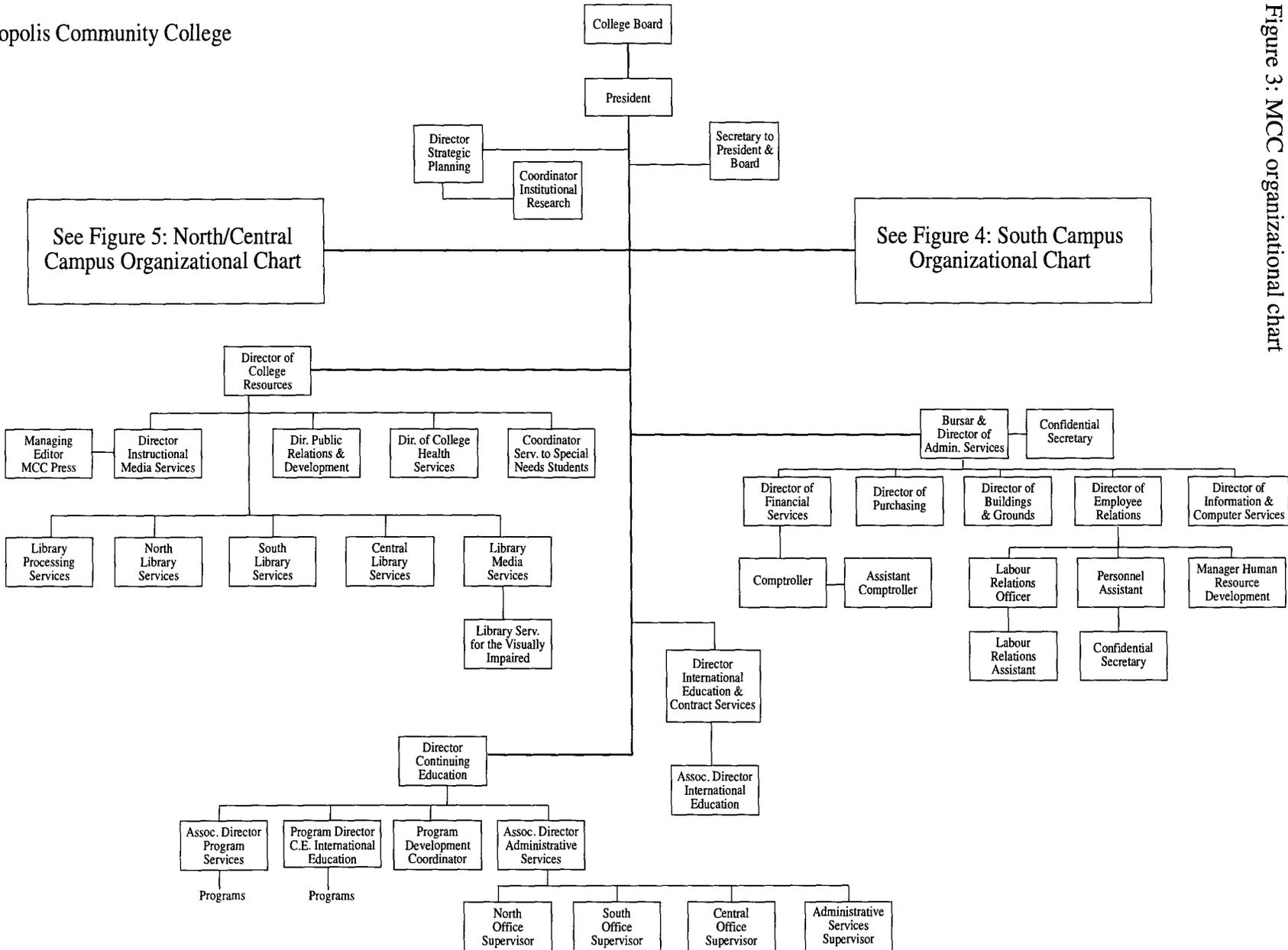
Figure 2: A model for a student centred college

A Student Centred College

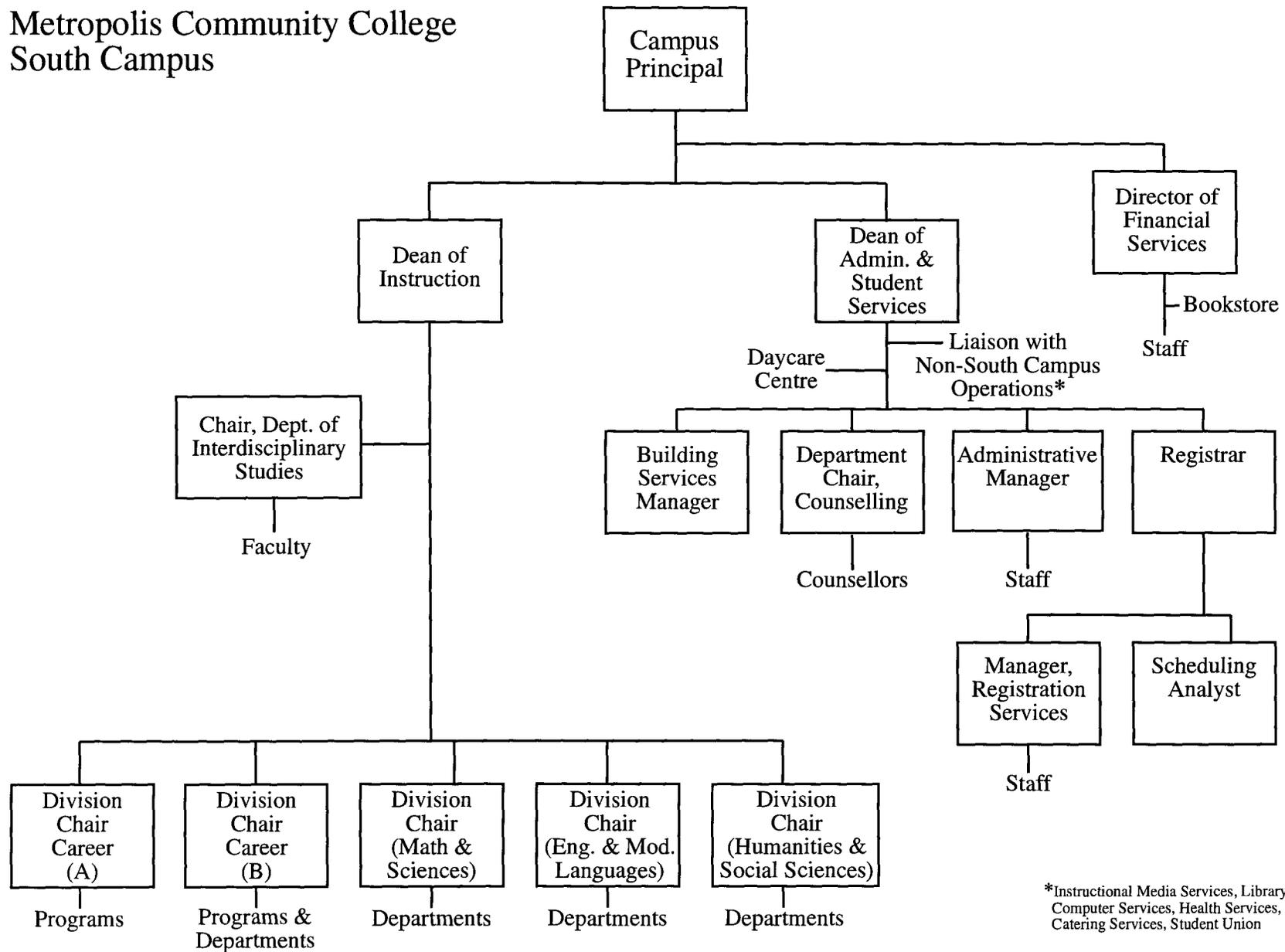


Cockell, J. (1993) based on Fulton, M. (1990). Alternate systems of administration. Presentation to the conference Goals for College Women in the 90's. Richmond, B.C.

Figure 3: MCC organizational chart



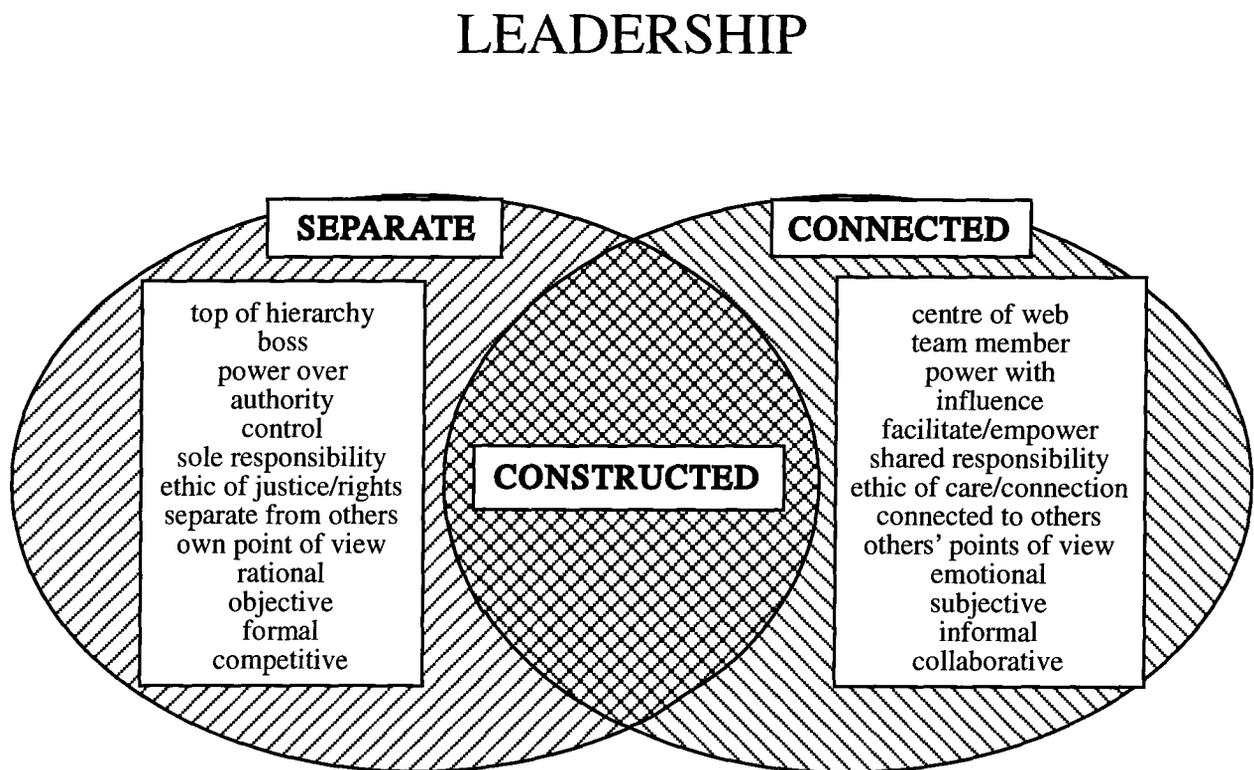
Metropolis Community College
South Campus



*Instructional Media Services, Library Services, Computer Services, Health Services, Catering Services, Student Union

Figure 4: South Campus organizational chart

Figure 6: Theoretical framework of leadership



Appendix 2

Covering Letter to Questionnaire

(Name)

(Position)

(Campus)

February 6, 1992

Dear (Name),

I am working on my thesis for a Master of Arts degree in Higher Education. The title of my project is Career Paths: A Study of Women with Administrative Responsibility at Metropolis Community College. It will provide valuable data on women's experiences and career paths at Metropolis Community College. I intend to investigate reasons why there are so few women at the senior administrative level of the college.

I have worked as an instructor in the Mathematics Department at Central Campus for fourteen years and I was the Mathematics Department Head from 1985 to 1991. I am interested in other women's administrative experiences at Metropolis Community College.

I am asking for your help in filling out the attached questionnaire which will provide a foundation for the study. It will probably take about fifteen minutes to complete.

The questionnaires will only be seen by me. I will compile and report the information in general terms without identifying any individual, department, or campus.

Filling out and returning the questionnaire indicates that you are willing to participate in this part of the study. If you should wish to change your mind about responding to the questionnaire, please phone me and I will return or destroy your copy as you wish. I am including a stamped, addressed envelope for the completed pages. If you have any questions about the project, please contact me at xxx-xxxx (home) or xxx-xxxx (MCC) or my research supervisor, Dr. Allison Tom at xxx-xxxx.

Thank you,

Jean Cockell

6. Have you ever applied for and been unsuccessful in getting a position with administrative responsibility (coordinator, department head/chair, division chair, assistant dean, dean, assistant director, director, vice-principal, principal, president, other)?

If yes, what was the position? (If more than one, list all)

7. Would you apply for a job with more administrative responsibility than you have now or have previously had?

If yes, which jobs would you apply for?

If no, why not?

8. Would you consent to an audiotaped interview of approximately one and a half hours to discuss in more depth your work experiences and career path?

Permission Letter

(Name)

(Department)

(Campus)

(Date)

Dear (Name),

Thank you for completing the questionnaire for my study, "Career Paths: A Study of Women with Administrative Responsibility at Metropolis Community College". The purpose of the study is to investigate why there are so few women at the senior level of administration at Metropolis Community College by describing women's experiences and career paths at the college.

I would like to conduct an interview with you about your experiences at the college. In an open ended format I would like to discuss your career path, the relationship between your work life and the rest of your life, your career plans, and your perceptions of life at Metropolis Community College.

The interview should take approximately one and a half hours. It will be conducted in a place convenient to you and at a time that suits your schedule.

I would like your permission to audiotape the interview. I will transcribe the tape after the interview, rather than keeping detailed notes during our discussion.

If you would like this information to be used in a way which does not identify you as its source, I will eliminate or disguise all identifying information that I use in publications or conversations about the research. If, on the other hand, you would like to be identified, I will use your name and acknowledge you whenever I use the information, as long as I can do so without violating the confidentiality of others who do not wish to be identified.

If at any point you decide that you do not want the interview to continue, or that you do not want the information from it to be used, please tell me. At your request, I will destroy the tape recordings and whatever transcripts I have made of the interviews.

If you have any questions about this research, please call me at xxx-xxxx (home) or xxx-xxxx (MCC). You may also call my research supervisor, Dr. Allison Tom (xxx-xxxx), at any time if you wish to discuss this with her.

If you agree to participate in this research, please sign this letter in the space provided below.

Thank you,

Jean Cockell

I, _____, give my permission for Jean Cockell to interview me for the research project "Career Paths: A Study of Women with Administrative Responsibility at Metropolis Community College", as described above. I have received a copy of both pages of this letter.

I DO / DO NOT (cross out that which does not apply) want my name to be used in connection with this study and excerpts taken from it.

Signature

Date

Interview Outline

1. Tell me about your career up to this point in your life.
 - age, academic qualifications and related experience.
 - if unsuccessful in obtaining jobs further up the administrative hierarchy, what factors?
 - if successful, what contributed to success?
2. How is your work life related to the rest of your life?
 - marital status, number of children, other interests.
3. What are your career plans for the future?
 - how do experiences influence decision to move up the hierarchy?
 - if plan not to apply for jobs further up the hierarchy, why not?
4. What is life like at MCC?
 - a) What is life like in this bureaucratic organization?
 - what is the nature of MCC's organizational structure?
 - what would an ideal MCC look like?
 - b) Do you think the organizational structure interferes with women's interest in and access to formal organizational authority and, if so, how?
 - What will it take to get women to the top of the college administrative hierarchy?
 - What are some barriers and some strategies to getting women there?
 - c) What characteristics do you think women bring to the organization?
 - d) Do you think the organization could be changed to be more comfortable for women and, if so, how?
 - e) How do you view leadership and power?
 - What is power?
 - Describe your own power.
 - Where do you think it is located at the college?
 - How is power related to leadership?
 - What sort of leader are you?
 - Describe your leadership style.
 - f) Are you a feminist?
 - Define feminist.
 - What are your views on affirmative action/employment equity?