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**EXPERIENCING AND EXERCISING POWER:
A STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN MIDDLE MANAGERS IN
EDUCATION AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

By

ROBERTA J. RUSSELL

**A dissertation submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

University of Ottawa



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ISBN 0-315-89721-X

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
ABSTRACT.....	viii
CHAPTER 1.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Perspectives on Women	4
The Purpose of the Study	10
Contribution of the Study	11
Organization of the Study	11
CHAPTER II.....	13
THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:	
LITERATURE REVIEW	13
Behavioral Differences.....	14
Background and Experiential Characteristics	27
Tokenism and the Sociology of Georg Simmel	37
Token Status	40
Organizational Socialization.....	48
Power	58
Operational Definitions of Major Concepts and Variables	79
CHAPTER III.....	82
METHODOLOGY	82
Data Collection	83
Focus Groups	85
Elite Interviews	90
In-Depth Semi-Structured Interviews	92
Settings and Participants: Rationale, Selection and	
Negotiation of Access	98
Settings.....	98
Interviewees	100
Negotiation of Access	101
Data Analysis Reduction and Display Techniques	104
Contact Summaries	107
Emerging Themes.....	108
Coding.....	108
Matrix.....	109
Data Grouping	110
Methodological Rigour.....	111
Limitations to the Study	114
Conclusion.....	115

CHAPTER IV	117
RESULTS: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS	117
Early Career Patterns - Organization Initiated Opportunities	
for Power Related Socialization: Research Question # 1	118
Female Educators	120
Conclusion.....	134
Female Public Administrators	135
Conclusion.....	142
Male Educators	144
Conclusion.....	152
Male Public Administrators.....	154
Conclusion.....	166
Summary	167
Perceptions of Barriers Research Question # 2	170
Female Educators	170
Female Public Administrators	171
Male Educators	172
Male Public Administrators.....	173
Conclusion.....	175
Views of Power: Research Question # 3	176
Female Educators	176
Female Public Administrators	177
Male Educators	179
Male Public Administrators.....	181
Conclusion.....	182
People Perceived as Powerful: Research Question # 4	183
Female Educators	183
Female Public Administrators	185
Male Educators	187
Male Public Administrators.....	189
Conclusion.....	191
Exercising Power: Research Question # 5.....	192
Female Educators	193
Female Public Administrators	194
Male Educators	196
Male Public Administrators.....	199
Conclusion.....	200

CHAPTER V	203
RESULTS: EMERGING THEMES	203
Experiencing Power Through Organizational Socialization	204
Apprenticeship By Observation	204
Bank of Skills	205
Barriers and Ceilings	205
Soft Wall of Resistance	208
Time Famine	209
Viewing the Organization Up and Down	210
Active Waiting	211
Visibility	212
Invisibility	214
Equity Training	214
Learning on the Job	215
Stretch Assignments	216
Marginality	216
Need to Market/Self Promote	217
Mentors and Role Models	218
Multiple Career Paths	220
Networks and Support Systems	220
Backlash	222
Responsibility to Others	223
Fitting In	223
Summary	224
Defining and Exercising Power	226
Viewing Power	227
Power of Principals	228
Playing Games and Playing Roles	228
Taking Control	230
Positive Outlook	231
Humour	232
Personal Power Styles	233
The Good Manager	234
Image Consciousness and Power Symbols	235
Bending Rules	236
Powerlessness	237
Summary	237
Conclusion	238

CHAPTER VI	240
DISCUSSION	240
Introduction	240
Environmental Factors.....	240
Experiencing Power Through Organizational Socialization.....	244
Anticipatory Socialization - Background Factors	244
Organizational Socialization.....	246
Career Barriers	254
Power	258
Defining Power	259
Powerful People.....	260
Exercising Power: Power Style	262
Implications for Theory, Research and for the Workplace	266
Contribution to Theory and Research	266
Alternative Methodologies	267
Applicability of American Research in a Canadian Setting	267
New Directions	268
Systemic Barriers	269
Implications for the Workplace	269
Awareness of Informal Systems.....	269
Innovative Staff Development Models and Practices	270
Training Versus Experience	270
Making the Management of Change More Inclusive Enlisting Allies in Working for Change	271
Collective Bargaining Agreements	273
Personnel Policies and Support from the Top	274
Recommendations for Future Research	275
The Informal Side of Organizational Life	275
Female Designed Models for Structuring and Managing Organizations.....	276
Assumptions About Careers.....	277
Volunteer Work	279
Male Careers in the 1990s.....	280
Evaluation of Alternative Management Methods and Models	280
Taking Responsibility for One's Career	281
Denial of Problems	282
Responsibility to Others	282
Conclusion.....	284
REFERENCES	287
APPENDICES	309

FIGURES, TABLES, AND APPENDICES

FIGURES:

Figure I:	Career Outcomes: Traditional and Contemporary Perspectives	7
Figure II:	Organizational Socialization and Power	76
Figure III:	Conceptual Map	78
Figure IV:	Strategies & Scheduling of Data Collection.....	84
Figure V:	The Data Analysis Process	106
Figure VI:	Comparative Career Patterns	279

TABLES

Table I:	Lines of Inquiry	85
Table II:	Choices Regarding Sampling Parameters.....	104
Table III:	Socialization to Work	119
Table IV:	Views of Power	183
Table V(A):	People Viewed as Powerful	191
Table V(B):	People Viewed as Powerful	191
Table VI:	Data Volume by Question Area	243

APPENDICES

Appendix A	Size and Composition of Focus Groups.....	310
Appendix B	Informed Consent: Focus Group Participant	312
Appendix C	Interviewees	314
Appendix D	Interview Guide.....	315
Appendix E	Informed Consent: Individual Interviewee	320
Appendix F	Data Summary Matrix	322
Appendix G	Background and Biographical Characteristics	323
Appendix H	Experiencing Organizational Power Through Organizational Socialization.....	331
Appendix I	Barriers to Advancement	343
Appendix J	Exerpts From Contact Summaries	346
Appendix K	Ontario Ministry of Education, Employment Equity Memorandum	348
Appendix L	Elite Interviewee Categories	354

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout the life of this study I have been particularly fortunate in having been able to draw on resource people in my work world, as well as, the university. Among colleagues and former colleagues whose support I would like to acknowledge are Sally Andrews, Richard Berger, Jeffrey Bullard, Raymond D'Aoust, Greg Gauld, Reva Joshee, John Kralt, Margaret Laing, Dhiru Patel, Ravi Pendakur, Wayne Tymmm, and Paul Winn. I am grateful to Margaret Laing for pointing me toward the early work of Rosabeth Moss Kanter. A special acknowledgement goes to Helen Eriks, Catherine Lane, and Shirley Serafini, managers with whom I worked whose unique management styles probably account for my original interest in women managers.

In the academic world, I owe particular thanks to the members of my committee, Harold Jakes whose interest in organizational politics and power relationships was contagious; Janice Ahola-Sidaway with whom my formal training in qualitative methods began and whose depth of knowledge and enthusiasm contributed greatly to this study; Ruth Wright whose interest in gender issues and capacity for editing and trimming a social activist's passion to fit scholarly demands kept me focused; and Ruth Whitehead whose skill in continually forcing me to clarify my points and to express them concisely contributed to a more coherent final product.

I would also like to thank Naomi Hersom and Margaret McKinnon of the University of Ottawa; Bruce McFarlane of Carleton University; Flora

Ortiz of the University of California; Janice Morris and Beth Young of the University of Alberta; and Fred Frey of the University of Pennsylvania, all of whom offered special insights at critical points in this study. To fellow doctoral students, Hanne Mawhinney and Willis Jacobs, for the generosity with which they managed from time to time to pull themselves away from the intensity of their own work to share their insights and time with me, a heartfelt thank you.

I owe a special debt to all the managers and subject specialists, who by necessity cannot be named but without whose open and enthusiastic participation in focus groups and individual interviews, this research would not have been possible. I hope that I have done justice to their experiences.

For wives and mothers completing a dissertation becomes in many ways a family project. I owe special thanks to my husband, Ivan, scientist and manager, who could be counted on to act as a sounding board for my ideas as they developed, read and summarize computer manuals for me, and, in a pinch, help with typing. In addition, a special thank you goes to my mother-in-law, Cora E. Russell, and sons, Christopher and Jonathan, for all their sacrifices and special support for my academic work over the years.

ABSTRACT

**Experiencing and Exercising Power:
A Study of Men and Women Middle Managers
in Education and Public Administration**

This study focused on the early career socialization experiences of men and women who currently hold middle management positions with the federal government or with school systems to determine how those experiences influence their use of power.

The theoretical and conceptual framework for the study emerged from the sociology of Georg Simmel (Simmel, 1902, 1950, 1984; Levine, 1971) and the concepts of tokenism (Kanter, 1977a); organizational socialization (Ortiz, 1982; Pfeffer, 1982); and organizational and individual power (Kanter, 1977a). An underlying assumption of this study was that gender is less a predictor of style of power use, the exercise of power, than early career socialization experiences, the experiencing of organizational power. That is, those to whom the organization extends more opportunities to learn about and develop within the organization early in their careers will be better equipped to exercise power as managers than those who receive few such experiences. A second assumption was that gender will act as an intervening variable, influencing the organization's decision making as to who should receive these opportunities and who should be denied them.

The methodology used involved semi-structured interviews with men and women middle managers. Focus groups and elite interviews were used before interviewing to validate the literature review and the interview guide, and focus groups were used again following the analysis of interview data to validate the interpretations made. A number of managers who had been interviewed participated in the final set of focus groups. The interviews with managers ranged in length from 45 minutes to two hours. The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed exactly. Field notes of impressions of the interviewees and of physical settings were recorded.

The framework which guided this study incorporated related literature on gender, tokenism, organizational socialization, and power. The product of the literature review was a socialization-to-power framework. The following five research questions guided this study:

Question I:

Do the early career patterns of female middle managers differ from those of male middle managers in terms of the range and number of organization initiated opportunities provided them for power-related socialization?

Question II:

- i) Do female middle managers perceive more barriers to their advancement to senior levels of management than do their male peers?**
- ii) Do female and male middle managers perceive different barriers to advancement?**

Question III:

Do female and male middle managers view power differently?

Question IV:

Do female and male middle managers identify the same people in their organizations as being powerful?

Question V:

Do female and male middle managers exercise power differently?

Analysis of the data provided support for a socialization-to-power framework. In relation to organizational socialization, women interviewed had not received the same range and number of experiences that men had received and there appeared to be a relationship between those early experiences and the ways in which managers exercise power in a crisis situation.

Women were particularly sensitive to what they described as the "invisible" barriers posed by systemic discrimination. Several men perceived employment equity as a barrier to the advancement of their own careers. Male public servants tended to see women as having fewer opportunities than did male educators, but several male educators appeared to have a better understanding of how systemic discrimination functions to limit women's careers than any of the male public servants had.

Men and women did indeed view power differently, but not to the degree proposed by research literature. Women were less direct in their discussion of power, rarely using the word, preferring expressions such as "making things happen". There were also differences in the ways in which men and women defined people as powerful. Men tended to focus on positional power while women were more likely to focus on personal power. The tendency of women to define power in ways which men tend

not to associate with power may result in their male supervisors perceiving them to be deficient in their capacity to exercise power.

In the exercise of power, men were more likely to resort to coercive and aggressive ways of exercising power while women were more likely to utilize reflection, negotiation, and conflict resolution strategies. The difference in styles appeared to relate in a number of ways to their early organizational socialization as well as to their gender related primary socialization.

Among other findings from the study were the following:

Men tend to have a better understanding than women do of how to advance in organizations. Women can benefit from minimal amounts of encouragement from supervisors. That is, a small amount of advice or support can go a long way toward advancing a woman's aspirations and career. Much of what the research literature concludes is typically male behavior appears to be out of date. Several men appeared to be struggling to change their workplace behaviors, but complained that organizations provide them with little support for such change.

While background characteristics and primary socialization do play some role in the way women's careers develop, this study suggests that organizational factors such as the way training and development opportunities are organized and assigned play a more critical role in the career outcomes of women employees. While interviewees represented a range of personality types and a wide assortment of professional qualifications, differences in their organizational socialization were best explained by gender. Men, regardless of differences in personality or credentials, could expect to be provided a wider range of organizational socialization opportunities than could women.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Until the 1970s there was little, if any, consideration given by researchers to women as leaders. Early in the 1960s, Packard (1962) could write that he was being reasonably accurate in his use of language when he referred to executives as "he", since women so rarely attained top executive jobs. He went on to describe women as "perhaps the most discriminated against of all minority groups in industry" (p. 35). Writing nearly 25 years later, Yeakey, Johnston and Adkison (1986) note that despite the fact that "occupations, industries, and organizations have exhibited patterns of racial and sexual stratification that have persisted historically" (p.111), studies of organizations have virtually ignored this fact. However, this is changing and Albrecht (1983) predicts that "the issue of women in management is emerging rapidly and will probably become one of the key social issues in business for the rest of the century" (p. 93). As part of what Stamm and Ryff (1984) describe as "a quiet revolution . . . in the social science assessment of women" (p. 1) since the mid-1970s, women in leadership roles have been receiving increasing attention, particularly in the United States. In fact, the majority of the research in the field is American-based and it is not clear yet how generalizable the results of that research are to Canadian settings.

With increased interest in and attention to women in the workplace, an awareness has developed that by almost any measure used, women are underrepresented in the senior levels of work organizations in

North America even in middle management positions. Thus, while there have been extraordinary changes in the status of women in North American society since the beginning of the 1960s as women slowly move into management, their careers tend to plateau at the middle management level. Adler and Izraeli (1988), for example, note that management is a male domain internationally and Gregory (1989) points out that "the higher up in the organizational hierarchy, the more masculine dominated is the level" (p. 109). The proportion of women who hold senior management positions which were not inherited is still extremely small. One reason for focusing on middle managers in this study is the search for a better understanding of the career plateauing problem experienced by many women at the middle management level.

Twenty years after the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (Supply and Services Canada, 1970), many of the predictions of that Commission with regard to women's eventual access to leadership roles in Canadian society have yet to be realized. A particular area of concern is that of the senior levels of organizational management. According to Florence Bird (Personal communication, March 14, 1990), Chairman (sic) of that Commission, twenty years ago members of the Commission assumed that the question of women in leadership would no longer be an issue in 1990 and that affirmative action efforts would no longer be needed. According to her, it was assumed that once women reached middle-level management positions they would routinely move up to the senior levels of organizational management. This has not happened. While women are increasingly visible in the management of organizational life, as already noted, they are concentrated at the bottom of the management category.

In both governmental and non-governmental organizations, the "proportion of women diminishes as the level of the position increases" (Moore, 1987, p. 63).

Women managers have tended to occupy positions in such areas as personnel and human resources, elementary education, public relations and communications, the so-called "velvet ghetto" (Ghiloni, 1987). While such positions were seen initially as representing progress for women, they appear to isolate or ghettoize women from mainstream organizational issues and operations and to restrict them to areas seen as ones to which women are naturally better suited. That isolation appears to make it difficult for them to get the experiences and information necessary to develop the organizational overview necessary to moving up in the organization or out of those fields.

Available statistics on women in the leadership of key institutions in Canadian society such as banking, universities, school systems, and government demonstrate that only modest progress has been made over the past twenty years. In Canada women constitute a minority of university presidents (7%); members of the federal cabinet (an average of 12-15% since 1988); upper level executives in banking (9.2%); executive (EX) level managers in the federal government (10%), and the Senate of Canada (13.4%) (Poole, 1989; Statistics Canada, 1989, 1990; Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service, 1990). As Gregory (1989) points out, even in the United States the growth of women managers has not been proportional to the overall influx of women into the workforce. In the federal public service women represent 14.1% of senior management (SM) level managers with a salary range of \$56,200 to \$65,900 (Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service, 1990), while women make up

from 6% to 12% of secondary school principals in provinces which report having women principals (Rees, 1990). The statistics for women managers in government and education may appear to be reason for optimism until one considers that both organizations are among the most "women friendly" in our society in that they employ more women than most other organizations in Canadian society. In addition, most of these women are relatively recent appointees to their positions and their numbers are increasing very slowly.

Thus, despite efforts by many organizations, particularly in the past 10 years, to provide greater access to leadership roles for women, fewer women than expected have moved into these roles. Demographic and employment equity pressures and concerns make it imperative that these issues be more effectively addressed in the 1990s. This will put increasing pressure on researchers and organizations to more precisely identify the factors which account for the underrepresentation of women at the more senior levels of organizations.

Perspectives on Women

A review of the research on management or leadership identifies a number of perspectives which are used to explain the underrepresentation of women. A large body of research exists which suggests that males and females behave differently in the manager role and those reported differences are often used to justify the underrepresentation of women in management. Before 1975, researchers were almost unanimous in the view that behavioral differences between female and male managers were gender-based and that female differences represented deficiencies. To be

successful, proponents of this position argue, women have only to learn how to behave more like men. According to this view, male manager behaviors are seen as the ideal to which females should aspire. The implications of such a view for both policy and practice, are that priority should be given to assisting women to behave more like the "ideal management man" (e.g. assertiveness training, "dress for success" advice).

A comprehensive overview of the more commonly known frameworks or perspectives is presented by Schmuck (1987) who uses a five-stage framework to illustrate the development of thinking about women and work or careers. While she discusses these five stages in relation to the field of education, they probably apply to any occupational field. Stage 1, she says, is characterized by exclusionary or androcentric thinking. In this stage the experiences of one group, men, are assumed to reflect the experiences of all human beings. Stage 2, she describes, as one characterized by compensatory thinking. At this stage "there is a consciousness that women are missing" (p. 7) and women who achieve exactly as men do are included without any change to structures or in methodology of inquiry. Stage 3, seeing women as deficient, is best represented, she suggests, by the field of psychology. Females are seen as exceptions to the male norm and as individuals who are deficient because of their primary socialization. Stage 4 is more representative of a sociological perspective and sees women as oppressed by organizational practices which discriminate against them. It focuses on institutional practices and processes rather than on accepting women on their own terms. Schmuck labels Stage 5 as the New Scholarship Stage. In this stage research includes both men and women, provides alternative points of view and places women on their own terms at the centre of inquiry.

Schmuck says that at any given point in time one may see thinking or research that is representative of any one of the stages because these stages are sequential not chronological (pp. 1-17). Stage 5 characterizes what Marshall and Mitchell (1989) describe as seeing the different perspectives and behaviors of women as having potential for organizational improvement.

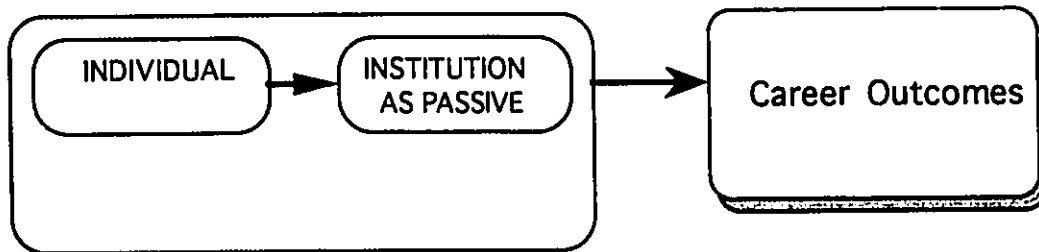
Lyman and Speizer (1980) present another framework which involves three ways of explaining male dominance in educational administration. Like Schmuck (1987), their focus is on the field of education, but the explanations they review are the ones most often used to justify underrepresentation across organizational types. The three perspectives or models include the socialization model which explains the underrepresentation of females in terms of the differential primary socialization of males and females; the discrimination model which sees it as the result of institutional patterns in hiring, training, and work assignments which do not give women the same support, opportunity, and experience that men get; and the meritocracy model which maintains that the most competent will be selected to fill leadership positions.

The first and third perspectives which Lyman and Speizer discuss are variations on the "blame-the-victim" (Ryan, 1971) approach which dominated much of the writing on this subject in the 1970s. According to Ryan, this approach is one based on an ideology which justifies a "form of social action designed to change, not society [or the organization], as one might expect, but rather society's [or the organization's] victim" (p. 7). Ryan describes the stages in the formula for action which logically develop from that perspective or model. First, he says, the problem is identified; second, those affected by the problem are studied to determine

how they differ from others [or the "norm"] and those differences are defined as the cause of the problem. Thus, if underrepresentation of women is the problem, one would study how women differ from men, define those differences as deficiencies and the cause of the problem, and attempt to change them.

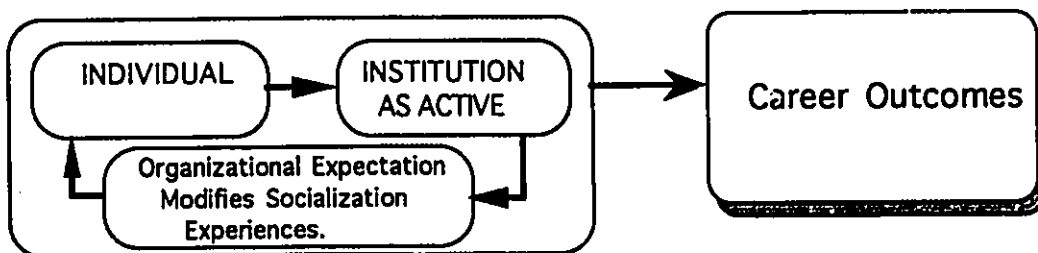
One might conceptualize the fundamental difference between the primary socialization model Lyman and Speizer describe and the organizational socialization perspective put forward in this study as illustrated in Figure I.

TRADITIONAL VIEW (PRIMARY SOCIALIZATION)



INDIVIDUAL AS CAUSE OF DIFFERENTIAL OUTCOMES

CONTEMPORARY VIEW (SECONDARY SOCIALIZATION)



INSTITUTION AS PARTICIPANT IN SHAPING DIFFERENTIAL OUTCOMES

Figure I: Career Outcomes: Traditional and Contemporary Perspectives

The first, the traditional view, represents the deficiency or "blame-the-victim" school of thought. This view, which is rapidly falling out of favour among researchers, tends to see institutions as passive and neutral and suggests that any barriers women or others experience are the result of their own deficiencies. This perspective promotes "a kind of self-help for women" approach (Marshall and Mitchell, 1989, p. 2), advising them to behave more like men in order to succeed. Wright (1988), a critic of that approach, says that "according to this view, claims that women can obtain power and authority by learning to behave more assertively naively overlook the effects of organizational structure on people's careers" (p. 173).

The second more contemporary perspective begins from the foundation of "new institutionalism" (Hansot and Tyack, 1988) which sees institutions as actors in their own right and not simply as the sum of outside forces or their members. Added to that perspective is the view that differences in behavior are best explained in terms of differential access to organizational socialization. The latter view is in line with Kanter (1977a), that what an individual brings into the organization is considerably influenced by such socially constructed institutional factors as training, orientation, and other factors related to workplace organization. Marshall and Mitchell (1989) describe this second view as an approach, which rather than focusing on women as deficient, "examines the administrative culture and asks 'What's wrong with this culture . . . how does it create this deficiency by which the talent and perspectives of women are sacrificed?'" (p. 3). They acknowledge that this is a deficiency model, as well, but they point out that this one focuses on

"the deficiency of the organizational culture" rather than on the deficiencies of women.

It is important to understand the "power of the paradigm", that is, the difficulties and limitations created by the interpretative framework one uses to define the problem (Patel, 1980, p. 33; Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 176). The perspective or framework chosen will focus one on a causal centre which will dictate causes and solutions to problems, as the previous reviews illustrate. Millman and Kanter (1975) write that social movements such as the women's movement "make it possible for people to see the world in an enlarged perspective because they remove the covers and blinders that obscure knowledge and observation " (p.vii). They also point out that "although sociology often assumes a 'single society' (albeit with class distinctions), in fact it is more likely that members of different social categories as men and women, located differentially in the social structure, both subjectively and literally inhabit different social worlds and realities" and that "what we have formerly known as the study of society is only the male study of male society" (pp. vii-viii). This notion of insiders and outsiders and the inequitable distribution of opportunity has been a particularly difficult one for North Americans to understand and to accept because of what Henley (1977) refers to as "the Great American Myth of the classless society". According to Henley, most social scientists tended to accept this myth. The field of psychology, she argues, has been particularly inclined to "deny the social context and see human problems as internally caused" (p. 21).

In recent years there has been an increased awareness of the fact that women and men in organizations work differently and have been given different opportunities. This awareness is evidenced by the

generation of studies and policies in organizations such as the Public Service of Canada and in educational systems across Canada (Morgan, 1988b; Rees, 1990; Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service, 1990). It appears that one of the key periods in a worker's life in an organization is the time early in his or her career during which socialization to the norms and values of that organization is most intense. Considerable attention has been given to studying differences in the ways men and women work and in using those differences to justify the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles, but little attention has been paid to the actual organizational socialization experienced by men and women. Recent related research suggests that these experiences may differ, that they may be gender-related, and that they more fully explain the slow ascent of women up the organizational hierarchy than have previous explanations.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine and compare the ways in which men and women middle managers in education and public administration experience and exercise power above and below themselves in the organizational hierarchy. This focus on organizational socialization as a predeterminant of power is justified both theoretically and practically. Organizational socialization appears to more appropriately account for career advancement patterns than do either personality or gender. This view is supported by studies of organizational socialization in which researchers attempt to identify determinants of career success (Kanter, 1977a; Marshall, 1979a, b; Ortiz, 1982).

Contribution of the Study

This study contributes to a better understanding of the relationships of tokenism, gender, organizational socialization and the experience and exercise of power in organizations. The most critical contribution and therefore the primary focus of the study is to develop, operationalize, and test a framework for explaining these relationships.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I has provided a statement of the problem which provides the focus for this study and has broadly outlined the purpose, and the need for and contribution of the study. Chapter II presents a review of research literature on a number of subjects relevant to the main topic of this study. The first section critically examines the literature which suggests that men and women manage differently; the second, examines literature related to the perspective developed by Kanter (1977a) to analyze these differences, particularly the literature on tokenism and organizational socialization; and the third section reviews relevant literature on power. Chapter II concludes with the conceptual and theoretical framework, developed from the literature, which guides the study. Chapter III, the methodology chapter, presents and describes the study design, the methodology used, and the standards of inquiry which were observed in the process of data collection and analysis to ensure the methodological adequacy or rigour of the study. Chapter IV presents the results of the individual interviews with middle managers. These are presented by group and by research question. Chapter V presents the

results of the integration of elite interview and focus group data with the data from the interviews with managers. These results are presented thematically, organized by themes related to organizational socialization and power. Chapter VI, the analysis chapter, presents a discussion of the findings, the implications of this study for the workplace, its contributions to theory and research, and identifies some research priorities for the future.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter presents a critical review of the literature related to gender, power, and leadership in order to build the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. The chapter begins by reviewing some of the research which reports behavioral, background, and experiential differences between men and women leaders. Much of this research has been used to explain the underrepresentation of women in management roles. Until the mid-1970s, much of the literature related to women managers focused on how different women managers were from male managers, the implication of much of it being that these differences represented deficiencies. Advice to women aspiring to be managers focused on ways of behaving like male managers in order to succeed. The message being conveyed to these women was that if they did not succeed it was because they did not behave enough like male managers to "fit in", a classic blame-the-victim (Ryan, 1991) position.

Another major focus of the research of that period was the examination of women managers in order to identify the factors in their background or previous work experience that had contributed to their being able to succeed in a man's world and coaching other women aspiring to become managers on how to behave like these women. Both these approaches, the behavioral differences approach and the exceptional woman approach, studied women's experiences according

to concepts and definitions that had been derived largely from the study of men.

In the mid-1970s, a significantly different perspective for explaining the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles in organizations began to appear in the literature. This new perspective, perhaps influenced by the American civil rights movement, focused attention on societal institutions and organizations (Kanter, 1975). This perspective began to shift attention from women to the view that their underrepresentation in leadership roles was a structural phenomenon, a function of institutional forces that strongly influence behavior.

Behavioral Differences

As the following review illustrates, many studies of female leaders look at the ways in which female leaders behave differently from male leaders. While earlier studies took a differences equals deficits approach, some of the more recent research reviewed below tends to report women's different ways of managing in a more positive light. Historically leadership has been viewed as a masculine concept and much of the research has tended to compare women managers to the stereotypical male manager. Since, until recently, most of the leaders studied were males, stereotypes about the leader's role as a male domain have persisted. Because white males still dominate senior levels of most organizations, they "set the cultural tone, the standards and the criteria for advancement" (Fernandez, 1991, p. 212).

While white males aspiring to leadership roles may be discriminated against if they do not "fit the image of the promotable

manager" (Fernandez, p. 211), "(i)n most cases, the below average and average white male still has significant advantages over women and minorities of the same ability" (p. 212). Management is still the preserve of white males and "the cloning effect of management selection continually leaves women out of the picture" (Moore, 1986, p. 8). As the workforce becomes more diverse in terms of gender, race, and culture, the impact and influence of the white male in determining management policy and practice will decrease (Jamieson and O'Mara, 1991), but at the present time too few women wield enough power to change structures and institutionalized roles (MacLeod, 1988), to redefine the male management model.

In some of the earliest studies reporting behavioral differences between male and female managers in public school settings, the management performance of women is characterized as involving a consultative approach with a focus on exchanging information, maintaining organizational relationships and responding to others. Women tend to involve teachers, superiors and outsiders in decision making rather than making final decisions and taking action without involving others, as men tend to do (Hemphill, Griffiths and Frederiksen, 1962). Women are also described as engaging in a greater degree of interaction with teachers and students (Gilbertson, 1981; Gross and Trask, 1976; Pitner, 1981) and as providing greater assistance to beginning teachers with instructional problems and with their initial teaching experiences (Fishel and Pottker, 1977). Shakeshaft (1987) concludes that all the work gets done but the gender of the administrator will determine which tasks get most attention (p. 171).

Research in a range of organizational settings indicates that males tend to interact more with males and females more with females (Gilbertson, 1981; Pitner, 1981; Apfelbaum and Hadley, 1986; Shakeshaft, 1987). These interaction patterns isolate women from information networks and organizational power structures which are almost inevitably male. According to Williams and Willower (1983), women superintendents and principals experience a good deal of isolation and loneliness in the role, "experience lack of acceptance on the part of the public" (p. 21), and are not included or do not choose to be included in all-male activities. They often report "less collegueship with other (male) superintendents" and "a deepening awareness of 'loneliness at the top' "(p. 21). Apfelbaum and Hadley (1986), who interviewed women leaders in various sectors of business and public affairs in the United States and France, and Ortiz (1982), who studied women and minorities in educational administration in the southwestern United States, report similar experiences of isolation on the part of the participants of their studies.

Fauth (1984) reports that women are "outstanding in their ability to create a supportive building climate, to perceive and solve problems, to take appropriate action, and to facilitate improved human relations in the school community" (p. 66). Beijer (1988) reports women leaders to be more open, supportive, sometimes nurturing, and team, relationship and communication oriented than men.

Women tend to use "we" rather than "I" in assigning credit for a project and to refer very directly to the contribution of staff, colleagues or "their team" (Cava, 1988; Low, 1989). This feature of female manager behavior may account for the high level of staff satisfaction

reported by a number of researchers (Baird and Bradley, 1979). Bass (1981) suggests that, if indeed, women are less assertive, that may make them better leaders in situations where such assertiveness would be threatening, making followers unnecessarily competitive and defensive.

Other researchers report that women "have been found to view the job of principal or superintendent more as that of a master-teacher or educational leader, whereas men more often view the job from a managerial-industrial perspective" (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 173); that women superintendents more often exhibit informal interaction styles, develop more flexible agendas for meetings, and exercise less control over the construction of the agenda and the outcome of the meeting, "thinking out loud, questioning, probing and hooking up ideas as opposed to announcing decisions during meetings" (Pitner, 1981, p. 291); and that women superintendents tend to be more casual in their dress, not adopting the "skirted-suit uniform" of the female executive and encouraging subordinates to address them by first names (Pitner, p. 291). Such behavior may be perceived by others who are accustomed to a more assertive male and business leadership model as indicative of powerlessness (Korda, 1975).

Other studies have examined the career motivations and values held by men and women managers. In a study of men and women in government service, Neuse (1978) reports that females enter the public service to be of service to people, to use professional skills in a creative manner and to work with highly qualified and motivated people, whereas men are more likely to choose and value such work in order to meet important people and to have high prestige in the public eye

(p. 438). Lee and Bremner (1991) report that men appear to be motivated more by the salary increases which accompany promotion than do women. Shakeshaft (1987) concludes that the motivation of women who move into public school administration is motivation informed by service, as opposed to a "status acquisition perspective" (p. 173). Such studies suggest that women do not value the same work related status symbols as men do and Jardim and Hennig (1990) argue that their failure to do so offends male colleagues and supervisors who may perceive women as disparaging their symbols of success. Other recent research (Milwid, 1990) suggests that women may either be coming to value status, power, and money more or are becoming more comfortable about expressing such views than they were in the past.

Low (1989) reports that women administrators she interviewed not only enjoy their work but are in many ways consumed by it. They "are more than prepared to work beyond the call of duty" (p. 5), going into the office on Sundays and while on vacation. According to Kanter (1976, 1977a), women work longer hours and work harder in order to succeed, an orientation to work which may interfere with their career planning. Hennig and Jardim (1977) report that the women they studied have a tendency to try to do their current job as perfectly as possible, spending most of their effort on that and not allocating sufficient attention to preparing for their next job. Beijer (1988), too, notes that women appear not to devote enough time and attention to planning future career moves. Fernandez (1981) describes women and racial minorities as naive, ignoring the informal aspects of organizational life and assuming that hard work and credentials (p. 5) are the primary criteria on which promotions are decided.

While women have been criticized for not being risk takers, women managers in education and public administration, because of their relatively long apprenticeship in pre-management roles, may feel they are especially well experienced and competent and be more prepared to take risks than women in business or in finance. According to Gross and Trask (1976), women principals in their study reported experiencing less worry about the job than did their male colleagues (p. 224).

Many Asian women attribute their success to luck or to some external force (Low, 1989), seeing a promotion as the result of "a series of accidents" rather than as the result of career planning or performance. Many want to avoid "the limelight" and "don't relish being pushed forward. . . it is part of Asian culture. . . you don't desire to push yourself into the public's eye" (Low, p. 9). Interestingly, other researchers (Kanter, 1977a; Ortiz, 1982) describe similar responses from North American women, suggesting that such behavior may not simply be a product of Asian culture. Kanter (1977a) identifies in her examination of token women's response to performance pressures what she terms a "fear of visibility" (p. 221). Apfelbaum and Hadley (1986) report that the subjects of their study, women leaders in France and the United States, expressed the view that in the eyes of the public they do not have the same entitlement to their positions as men have despite their credentials and demonstrated competence.

A number of writers (Kanter, 1975, 1977a; Beijer, 1988) argue that male and female leadership behaviors do not differ significantly. Male and female career outcomes differ, however, because of the reactions and perceptions of others who expect males to perform more

successfully; who justify male success as due to internal causes, skill, and female success to external ones, chance; and who evaluate group performance higher if the leader is a male (Beijer, 1988). These perceptions appear to be "translated into increased opportunities for action, and, therefore, leadership" for males (Beijer, 1988, p. 4). Kanter (1976) argues that researchers have overlooked the influence of organizational environment on women's behavior.

The workplace may be an environment which is more accepting of women than many research simulations and experiments using students would lead one to expect. According to Brown (1979), who reviews 32 studies of female leadership published between 1966 and 1978, "(m)ost student studies supported the commonly held beliefs about women's leadership style and effectiveness" while "managerial studies did not support the typical female stereotyping" (p. 607). From these results, Brown concludes that there is "a possibility of a socializing influence at work which modifies practicing managers' attitudes toward women" (p. 595). Thus, while there is a widely held belief that women make inferior leaders, it seems to give away in actual work situations, according to Brown. If this is true, any increased exposure to women managers could be expected to reduce negative stereotyping of females and a review of a number of studies published between 1956 and 1979 (Fauth, 1984) seems to lend support to this view, concluding that women principals are considered by superiors and subordinates to be equal to or better than males in terms of overall leadership and administrative capabilities. Schein (1973, 1976) speculates that attitudes toward female managers are also

tempered in older males by the discrimination their wives and daughters are experiencing in the workplace.

However, there may be another reason why Brown reports less discrimination and stereotyping in the managerial studies he describes. As Stokes (1984) points out, "(i)n contrast to controlled studies, discriminatory bias in natural settings is 'invisible' " (p. 4). This, she says, is because it is unconscious, impressions accumulated over time, and rules may be invoked with a high degree of flexibility to facilitate a male's advancement but interpreted more literally in the case of a female employee.

While women leaders are often perceived to be "follower-focused" or "democratic" in style as opposed to "task-focused" males (Beijer, 1988), categorizing women as follower-focused and men as task-focused may be an artificial distinction which seems to hold true in a superficial examination of women leaders but does not withstand more in-depth analysis. A recent study by Statham (1987) suggests that perceptions of women's leadership style may be changing. She reports that respondents in her study, male and female managers and their secretaries, perceived women as being both task and person oriented and men to be more "image engrossed and autonomy invested" (p. 409).

Many of the special strengths attributed to female managers seem to relate to communication skills. As Hyman (1980) points out, "(t)echnological advances notwithstanding, management is still getting things done through people" (p. 43) and the communication style many describe as typical of women seems to facilitate that accomplishment. Bennis and Nanus (1985) in their study of

characteristics of successful leaders in several fields refer to this as "creating a commonwealth of learning" in the organization. The traditional advice to women managers to adopt the stereotypic communication style of men may well be challenged on the basis of some of the findings of recent research. Barnard (1938), writing on leadership fifty years ago, as well as Shakeshaft (1987) and Yutzey (1988) recognize the importance of verbal communication to effective management. Writers such as Mintzberg (1973) report that in the corporate and industrial worlds oral communication consumes over half of the manager's workday. Communication is clearly an important part of the management function. While it is an element of management behavior that has been relatively well studied, until the mid-1970's researchers largely ignored women as speakers, according to Kramer (1974). However, in recent years there has been increased interest in studies which involve comparisons of male and female communication styles (Gilbertson, 1981).

Cava (1988), drawing heavily on the work of Gilligan (1982), credits women's strong communications skills to the fact that girls tend to be socialized to sense others' needs. As a result, they see themselves as part of "a web of relationships and feel threatened by isolation", while boys tend to "learn from their fathers to seek independent achievement. Ties to others threaten their (boys') self esteem" (Cava, p.11). The concept of the web is used by Helgesen (1990), as well, in her study of women's leadership with its emphasis on relationships. In describing the web concept, she talks about the "sense that one is a part of what has gone before and of what will follow" (p. 60). Thus, men and women appear to perceive and experience reality differently

(Gilligan, 1982). Men's development stresses separation, achievement and competition while women's development stresses relationships, attachment and cooperation. Women feel a responsibility for others as Jane, a woman CEO interviewed, illustrates:

What you really have to do is deal with discrimination on an individual basis. Sometimes I jokingly say I feel like Mae West - so many men, so little time! It's one man at a time. If you can convince each man you work with that you really are a professional and that you really are terrific, then he might think that the next woman is not so bad. (Milwid, 1990, p. 117).

This view of the self "as basically connected to others" characterizes women's view of organizational structure while men's view is characterized by "the self premised in autonomy (which) sees individuals relating through bonds of agreements, such as, contracts, laws, and the like" (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, Tarule, 1986, p. 178). This appears to relate to empowerment or what Follett (1951) describes as "pooling of power".

Male managers interviewed by Cava (1988) gave as one of their reasons for not promoting more women into management the "fact" that women are poor communicators. In their view, women's poor communication skills often result in their being misunderstood. Cava suggests that this view may result from women's use of a greater range of communication methods than men use (p. 20). This may well increase the risk of their being misunderstood, particularly if the recipients of the communications are males, whom research suggests

are more limited in their capacity to read body language than are women (Booth-Butterfield, 1984).

Booth-Butterfield (1984), in a review of the research on listening differences, writes that "(l)istening differences among men and women start with boys and girls and continue up the corporate ladder" (p. 36). She points out that listening ability is one of the most important of job skills, one that is often taken for granted but which "affects relationships with other employees, with supervisors and subordinates, and can even affect careers" (p. 36). Males and females differ in several ways including their goals in listening, to whom they listen, and their basic abilities in listening. There appear to be few inherent differences between males and females in listening abilities, but as they grow up they are "taught and reinforced in different styles of listening" (p. 36). Males learn to be assertive and direct, females to avoid direct confrontation, to be "well-mannered and supportive" (p. 36). Women tend to be better at understanding nonverbal cues (tone, emphasis, rate), while males score higher on decoding and retention abilities for compressed speech.

The primary difference in listening abilities appears in task versus interpersonal understanding "with males tending to hear the facts while females tend to be more aware of the mood of the communication" (p. 39). Exceptions were men working in the helping professions (e.g. nursing or counselling). Steinem (1983) concludes that what is commonly referred to as "women's intuition" is in reality a manifestation of their better developed listening skills (p. 180). Booth-Butterfield hypothesizes that some of the reported differences in listening skills may relate to the fact that boys receive more positive

and more negative feedback from teachers than girls do (Dweck, Davidson, Nelson, and Enna, 1978). As targets for so much verbal information, boys may develop defense mechanisms, learning to screen out much of what they hear and to listen more selectively.

Again, according to the literature on communication, women tend to use "hypercorrect grammar" and expressions of uncertainty, and they give more justification for statements and are more moderate than men. A study by Baird and Bradley (1979) designed to determine what differences, if any, exist between the communication behaviour exhibited by male and female supervisors in organizations, reports that females exceed males in the "rewardingness of communications", and in showing greater warmth and helpfulness. Many of the behaviors reportedly favoured by women may tend to be perceived by males as signs of a power deficiency (Korda, 1975; Jardim and Hennig, 1990).

While some feminist writers have tended to idealize the female manager, ascribing to female managers qualities of caring and humanity which they then say male managers tend not to share, Scott-Jones (1991) critiques this perspective, seeing two dangers in it. The first, she says, is that it ignores diversity among females and equates any female divergence from the "care voice" (Gilligan, 1982) with abnormality or maladjustment. It assumes that only females have this quality of caring and that it has utility across situations and settings. Her other criticism of the perspective is that it elevates the strengths of one group to a superior status (p. 32). This latter point suggests that there is a risk that some women will create their own equivalent of the male-as-norm model perpetuated by males and which feminists have

argued against rather than creating one based on feminist ideals of equity, justice, and choice.

While much of the research related to women managers reports differences in the ways men and women manage, a number of others (White, 1981) take a quite different position. Morrison, White, and VanVelsor (1987b), for example, conclude that women are remarkably similar to men in characteristics, abilities, and motives, but that "stereotypical perceptions have led to unrealistic expectations of executive women" (p. 26) and that these are part of the environment in which women must work and live. They go on to say that "(t)his environment is qualitatively different from the environment executive men operate in, and this difference may be the crucial - and only meaningful - one between male and female executives" (p. 26). A number of the factors which some argue contribute to these qualitative differences in the work environments of male and female managers will be discussed in the review of the literature on organizational socialization and power which appears later in this chapter.

While there is support for the view that gender differences in behavior and perspective do exist (Gilligan, 1982; Shakeshaft, 1987), it is not clear how important these differences are or to what degree they are the product of sociocultural and other societal events. According to Epstein (1979), any observed differences may be real or a product of "observer bias" (p. 571). This observer bias may be of the traditional "difference equals deficit" type or of the more recent "female as superior" type. The challenge for researchers is to resist the temptation to be unduly swayed by either of these two extreme positions. A related issue is whether existing management models and theories are capable

of expanding their frameworks to include a broader range of human behaviors and perspectives. The idealization of qualities termed "female", an overreaction against the male as manager mind set of earlier studies, and the failure of many researchers in recent years to include males in their studies present serious barriers to a more complete understanding of these issues.

This section has reviewed some of the literature which focuses on behavioral differences between male and female managers. This approach has been increasingly under attack in recent years and increasingly seen as not particularly productive, primarily because it tends to accept the male stereotypical leadership model as an ideal to which all others should aspire and as one incapable of becoming more inclusive of other styles.

Background and Experiential Characteristics

A number of studies have examined women managers in efforts to identify factors in their backgrounds and experience which may account for their success. Among factors which such studies have examined are family and other early life experiences, reasons for career choices, and personal and work values. The following review of the literature focuses on some of these studies.

Over the past 10 years, studies of women in organizations have identified a number of pre-management factors which characterize women leaders. Shakeshaft (1987), for example, documents the fact that women administrators in education tend to have more teaching experience and often have educational credentials superior to their

male counterparts. Gregory (1989) notes that, according to Adler and Izraeli (1988), higher education "is a more important prerequisite for women entering managerial ranks in many countries than it is for men" (p. iii). Apparently, men are perceived as having the capacity to grow in the job while women are expected to have all the necessary experience and qualifications when they apply for a position. Milwid (1990) reports that "those (women) who believed that professional training would ensure credibility were often those most disappointed" (p. 19) in their careers.

Shakeshaft (1987), in a review of the research on women and leadership, reports that when compared with male administrators, women administrators are more likely to be ethnic, non-Protestant, unmarried, from rural backgrounds, liberals politically, have been teachers for a longer time and earn less than male colleagues. They tend to be first born or only children and their mothers tend to have had more education than their fathers.

In a study of successful women educational administrators, Low (1989) reports that these women had been educated mainly in Christian girls' schools so had had female role models and early opportunities to assume leadership roles. Their success may be attributed in part to this. They also had been very active in extra-curricular activities, including sports in public school. In college the male administrators studied had been more active in sports, clubs, and societies than the women administrators had. This appears to be in line with the findings of Shakeshaft (1987) and with those of Tidball (1975) who argues that co-educational institutions "have been preoccupied with the needs of

their men students and have virtually ignored those of women" (p. 156).

In discussing the role of parents, the subjects of the Low (1989) study saw their fathers as mentors and their mothers as distinctive role models and both parents as achievers who had high expectations for their daughters. After reviewing the research on need for achievement, Tewari (1978) concludes that the role of parents in developing independence, mastery and setting high standards is very important. As he says, "(t)he relatively demanding parent who clearly instigates self-reliance in the child and then rewards independent behavior is teaching the child a need for achievement" (p. 14).

A number of the Low (1989) interviewees mention that their grandmothers had been influential. McBroom (1986), too, notes the significance of grandmothers in the early lives of some of the successful women she studied. At least half the women Low (1989) interviewed are the eldest in the family, an only child or only daughter. Five had lost their fathers at an early age, indicating, perhaps, that they may have grown up with more family responsibilities than their peers or may have seen their mothers assuming additional family responsibilities and, perhaps, a career outside the home. Most see the support of husbands and family as critical and most reported being married to successful men.

There are numerous references in the literature to the importance of family influences or what Miles (1985) refers to as the "empowering family" (p. 40), "a family that can socialize a daughter into a positive attitude to herself and her role, and make it psychologically possible for her to crash without noticing barriers

behind which the rest of her sex wait and whimper . . ." (p. 44). The components of such a family include a mother "out of tune with domestic work and the conventional image of motherhood"; a father, emotionally warm and supportive of or committed to "his daughter's future in her own right"; a dynamic grandmother; and one younger sibling, preferably a brother. Regarding this last point, Miles reports that nearly two-thirds of her female subjects are eldest children and half are only daughters (p. 51).

Miles sees the assumption that a working mother serves as a role model for women who become successful as overly simplistic. The key to the mother's influence, she suggests, may be the satisfaction she gets from her work. Forty percent of mothers of the women Miles studied had not worked outside the home. However, those who had conveyed a very positive view of their pre-motherhood careers and many of those who had not worked outside the home left their daughters with an impression of potential denied, regrets at staying at home, etc. Over three quarters of the 40 subjects in the Miles study report closeness to their fathers and about the same proportion report, like the women in the McBroom (1986) and Low (1989) studies, that their grandmothers had been very important to their careers and " 'very strong' characters in their lives" (p. 49).

A number of studies report differential organizational responses to male and female employees. Women are more likely to be assigned initially to a lower level in the organization than men with equal or lower qualifications (Morgan, 1988b); women must serve a longer "apprenticeship" before being considered for management level positions (Shakeshaft, 1987); women are still paid considerably less than

men at the same level in many organizations (Morrison, White, and Van Velsor, 1987a); and women must work harder than men to succeed (Kanter, 1977a; Stokes, 1984). Men are encouraged to express interest in a management career early in their careers while women may be penalized for doing so (Ortiz, 1982). Fewer women apply for promotion, perhaps, Jones (1990) speculates, because they see fewer opportunities and limited support for women.

Chance (Bandura, 1982; Young, 1989) in the form of events in one's personal life or in society often plays a key role in shaping career choices. In terms of career choice, teaching tends to be a second choice occupation for men (Shakeshaft, 1989a; Jones, 1990). Also, according to Jones, women educators report having been influenced in their choice of career by teachers who were good role models in their childhood or youth as well as by the more limited occupational choice for women of their generation. Acker (Gaskell, 1992) describes teaching as having been the "inevitable destination for middle-class, relatively academic girls" (p. 2).

Kanter (1977a, p. 203), and Neuse (1978) who studied middle and upper level managers in public administration, and Shakeshaft (1987) whose research has focused on women in school systems, suggest that the men and women subjects of many earlier studies reporting gender-based differences may not have been comparable. Morgan (1988b), too, supports the view that differences may exist between the men and women who choose careers in fields such as public administration. Historically there have been many more career options open to bright men than to bright women. The men coming into these fields were likely to be men who had not been qualified for professional schools,

such as law, medicine, and engineering. Because the fields of public administration and education have tended to provide better career opportunities for women than they could find elsewhere, these fields may have attracted more bright women than bright men. These differences in the populations being studied could explain some of the gender-based differences reported by earlier studies. It seems possible that this situation may change. Recent studies (Adams, 1981; MacLeod, 1988) suggest that the proportion of high ability women choosing a career in education may be dropping, possibly due to the increased opportunities open to women in other fields.

In terms of in-service experiences, men focus on developing contacts who can be influential, women on content (Jones, 1990). Jones points out that men tend to have fewer family responsibilities which leaves them freer than their married female peers to pursue social and academic interests advantageous to their careers. As an increasing proportion of career women attempt to combine career and family, the impact on careers of societal expectations that females will take primary responsibility for family may become more visible and problematic.

Larwood (Powell, 1988) views the changes which increased numbers of women managers bring to the workplace as opening "the full panoply of career and stylistic choices to men" (p. 8) and helping to eliminate some of the stress men now experience. While Whyte (1956) and Packard (1962) stress the pressure on managers to sacrifice personal and family life for careers, Hall (1976) reports a "growing reluctance (on the part of male managers) to sacrifice personal and family gratifications for the sake of one's career" (p. 6). Korman (1980), for example, suggests that men may develop quite different views on success as their careers

advance or as they age. Schein (1976) and Ryff (1982) suggest that men become more mellow, nurturant, and affiliative as they age. Ryff says that women, on the other hand, may become more assertive, dominant, and concerned with power as they leave parenting behind. In an aging workforce what appear to be age-related variables need to be considered, as well. Which of the observed differences between male and female views and behaviors are a function of institutional response to gender and which a function of history or societal changes? Without comparative studies of men and women it is impossible to say.

Lee and Bremner (1991) report that, even within same age categories, women educators differ from their male peers in that they have been in leadership positions for fewer years, have experienced greater diversity of work experiences across systems, grade levels, and positions (p. 6), are more likely to hold management positions in urban centres, and are less likely to be married with children. The same study reports that men submitted their first applications for management at an earlier age while women were more likely to wait until they had "more experience" (p. 7). Women are more likely to have applied first for vice-principalship or consultant positions, men for principalships.

Neuse (1978) and Asplund (1988) report that women public administrators are more actively involved in professional development activities and volunteer work for professional associations than are their male colleagues. Guy (1988) reports that female administrators in her study had been involved early in their careers in considerable activity with their teachers' organizations beyond their local community. MacLeod (1988) suggests that women see such involvement as one way of exercising power or influencing the field

and Lee and Bremner (1991) report that teacher organization experience appears to provide an important opportunity to test and develop leadership skills. It may also be that women see their professional associations as vehicles for bringing about the kind of change (Julien, 1987) that will make the field more supportive of their own careers.

In concluding this brief overview of research on background differences, it appears that the women leaders in fields such as education and public administration, both fields which have employed large numbers of women, may have been more exceptional than many of their male colleagues. This, if so, may be due to the fact that until recently bright women have had fewer career options open to them than bright men had (Shakeshaft, 1987). However, as other fields open to women this is likely to change. The increasingly proactive stance of business and other organizations with regard to the recruitment of women may contribute to this change.

Research suggests that compared to women who attend co-educational schools, women who attend all-female schools and universities develop leadership skills to a greater degree than women who attend co-educational schools. Family influence appears to be very important to career advancement for women. The role of the father has been relatively well studied, but the role of mothers has been only superficially examined. More recent research suggests that a mother's attitude towards a career may be more influential on the choices her daughter makes than whether or not she actually has or has had a career herself (Miles, 1985). The positive influence of strong grandmothers on young females has been addressed by several writers

(Miles, 1985; McBroom, 1986; and Low, 1989), but has not been well researched to date.

According to existing research on this subject, the women who become managers or leaders tend to be first born, only children or only daughters; have mothers who were better educated than their fathers; and tend much more often than male managers to be unmarried. They tend to be liberals politically (Shakeshaft, 1987) and to hold values which might be described as more idealistic (Neuse, 1978) and politically naive (Fernandez, 1981) than those of their male colleagues.

While Marshall (1979a, b) and others (Kanter, 1977a; Ortiz, 1982) provide support for the view that women have different career development experiences from those of their male colleagues, few of these studies involve direct comparisons of females and males (Defour, 1990). Instead the tendency is to compare the experiences of women in contemporary organizations with the research literature reports of male experiences, literature which represents male behavior of several years ago.

While there is a large body of research which suggests that the major barriers to a management career for women are gender-based behavioral differences, many of these studies are flawed. They often ignore the experiences of contemporary males and the impact over the past 20 to 30 years of societal changes on both males and females or they too often promote an idealization of so-called female attributes which denies the range of variability among females. Kanter (1977a) argues that differences that may exist are a product of organizational structure rather than of gender. Given the same opportunities, she says, men and women managers will be more similar than different. This focus

on organizational factors and their impact on women's career opportunities is reviewed in the following section.

While Kanter has been criticized by feminist writers (Reynolds, 1985) for supposedly encouraging women to try to behave more like male managers in order to fit into the male world of organizations, such a criticism is unjustified and based on a misunderstanding of Kanter. A careful rereading of Kanter demonstrates that her focus is the institution or organization and how differently it treats people who differ from the traditional male manager. At the time she published her research (1977a), little comparative work had been done on the actual organizational socialization experienced by white males, women, and racial minorities. Since then other studies suggest that their experiences may differ significantly and that those differences may be gender-related (Fernandez, 1981; Ortiz, 1982; Feagin, 1991). Rather than coaching women on how to fit in on male terms, Kanter explains the institutional factors which work against women's careers and provides women with the knowledge necessary to making it on one's own terms. Research by Marshall (1979a, b) provides examples of ways in which women, once they understand how decisions on opportunities and advancement are made, can develop alternatives to the male way of managing careers which increase the possibilities that women can manage their careers on their own terms.

Kanter's early work, admittedly, does reflect what Acker (Gaskell, 1992) describes as the more conservative focus of North American mainstream sociology of the 1960s and 1970s. Sociologists of that period were concerned with order in society and with "social arrangements as consequences of society's survival needs" (p. 6) as compared to

contemporary social scientists of the 1980s and 1990s who are more likely to challenge people to rethink the world in ways that serve equality (Gaskell, 1992). However, unlike her contemporaries, Hennig and Jardim (1976), Kanter has never promoted the view that women should simply try to be like the men who have succeeded in becoming managers in the past.

Kanter's work makes an important contribution to a better understanding of the career patterns of women in organizations. In the same way that a black man can say that he knows it is "the system" and, thus, does not take personal responsibility for his difficulty in becoming a manager (Russell and Wright, 1990), women through the work of Kanter can develop a fuller understanding of their situation and of realistic ways of changing it. The next section of this chapter deals with the roots of Kanter's theory and its implications for organizations and for individual women.

Tokenism and the Sociology of Georg Simmel

Kanter (1977a) draws heavily on the sociology of Georg Simmel (1902) to develop a structuralist explanation rooted in the concept of tokenism to describe what have been labeled as gender-based differences in management behavior. Simmel was preoccupied over nearly three decades with the social psychology of women and the social and cultural dimensions of the relations of the sexes (Kandal, 1988, p. 7). Other writers, too, (Levine, 1971; Coser, 1977) have pointed out that Simmel was "attuned to the special quality of female experience in a male-dominated culture" (Kandal, p. 157). They attribute these insights into

the situation of women, in part, to Simmel's own marginality as a Jew in German society, arguing that his status as an outsider made him more aware and sensitive to the experiences of other outsiders.

Simmel's influence on scholarship related to the experience of the token or outsider can be traced through the work of Park on "the stranger" (Park, 1967; Levine, 1971); Stonequist on "the marginal man" (1961); Packard on "in-groups" and "out-groups" (1962); Becker on "outsiders" (1963); and to Kanter on "token status" (1977a). Of these the closest to the subject of this study may be the work of Stonequist. Park (Stonequist, 1937) writes that Stonequist's concept of the "modern man" (sic) involves a view of an individual's conception of "self as social product", depending upon the opinion and attitudes formed of him by others in that society. Park goes on to say that "(t)he Marginal Man (sic) is concerned finally and fundamentally less, as the title might suggest, with a personality type, than with a social process of acculturation" (p. xviii). According to Stonequist, "(w)hen the standards of two or more social groups come into active contrast or conflict, the individual who is identified with both groups experiences the conflict as an acute personal difficulty or mental tension" (p. 4).

Among examples of the types of culture conflict which Stonequist sees in the contemporary world are the struggles among religions and sects, among social classes, and between the sexes. His description of the migrant from country to city who "finds his customary ways of conduct inadequate to his new environment" (p. 7) could as easily describe the experience of women moving into the management level of organizational life. Stonequist does discuss the transitional problems of women moving from the home into a career

in the "man-made world", but sees these problems as not nearly as profound as the conflicts which centre around race and nationality, because one's "race he can never change" and "nationality forms the widest social environment in which his personality develops . . . and it prints an indelible mark" (p. 7). Later he writes that the most obvious "marginal types are often those who culturally belong to the dominant group but who racially are members of the subordinate group" (p. 211). If Stonequist were writing today he might well use these points to describe the experience of women in North American workplaces. In distinguishing between his concept of marginality and Simmel's concept of the stranger, Stonequist says that the stranger is relatively detached and free from self-consciousness as long as he does not completely identify with the group of which he is a member. However, when he seeks to identify himself integrally with the group into which he has moved and is held at arm's length by the group, this changes. At that point he has evolved into the "marginal position" (pp. 177-8). A comparable situation might be a woman who is working as a secretary. As long as she has no aspirations for a management career, she will not experience stress. However, if she expresses interest in upward mobility, a management career for example, she may well experience stress generated by her outsider status.

Simmel argues that "(m)an's position of power does not only assure his relative superiority over the woman, but it assures that his standards become generalized as generically human standards that are to govern the behavior of men and women alike" (Coser, 1977, p. 872). "In male-dominated culture", he continues, "male forms of behavior successfully claim superpersonal validity and normative value". Coser

describes Simmel's greatest contribution to the sociology of women as his analysis and description of "the cultural and social condition that makes it extremely difficult for women to contribute to a culture that operates, by and large, according to male standards and criteria" (p. 872). Simmel (1902), particularly in his analysis of the significance of numbers in social life, provides the intellectual roots for a framework developed by Kanter to explain outsider status in organizations.

Simmel (1902) is among those who see leadership as a product of situational conditions within a group or society. Theorists holding this perspective consider leadership to be a way of behaving which is derived from the leader's relationship to others in a particular group rather than as a set of properties unique to that individual. The leader is, in part, granted powers by his or her followers and evolves within the structural organization of the group (McDavid and Harari, 1968). Thus, the way in which one is perceived is critical to one's capacity to function as leader.

Token Status

Kanter (1977b) uses the term "token" to describe those persons who are alone or nearly alone in a peer group. The rarity of their type in the group puts tokens in the position of representing their ascribed category to the group, locking them into pre-determined roles (Kennedy, 1991). Thus, they will be "hyphenated members" of the group, e.g. woman-engineer, black-doctor, etc. (Kanter, p. 967). The term token reflects their status as a symbol of their kind. In her view, lone people will not function as tokens if their presence is taken for

granted in the group and they are incorporated into the dominant culture. According to Kanter, three conditions serve to heighten or dramatize the token status. These are the degree to which the token's category or "master status" is visible, physically obvious (race, sex); and proportionally rare and new to the setting (p. 969). Rebane (1988) makes the important distinction between this use of the term, token, and "colloquial references to the selection or placement of individuals solely on the basis of their membership in one or another demographic group" (p. 86).

Kanter (1977b) sees the failure of researchers to examine the impact of "relative numbers, of proportion of interacting social types" on the social life or behavior within these groups as having led to "inappropriate or misleading conclusions" (p. 965). She argues that "groups with varying proportions of people of different social types differ qualitatively in dynamics and process" (pp. 965-966).

In this study it is assumed that women in the management role share the experience of minorities in the second type of the Kanter framework, the skewed group. The skewed group has a "large preponderance of one type (of people) over another, up to a ratio of 85:15" (1977b, p. 966). Drawing on the Simmel assumption (1902) that form determines process and limits the range of interactions possible, she says that the numerically dominant types will control the group and its culture. Women managers, who are numerically in a minority and hence "tokens", she says, will be "treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals" (p. 966).

According to Kanter, studies to date of male-female interactions and the experiences of women in organizations have been

macroscopic, locating studies "in broad cultural traditions and the sexual division of labor in society", or microscopic, locating studies "in the psychology of men and women whether based on biology or socialization" (p. 967). She proposes that an intermediate-level of analysis, "how group structures shape interaction contexts and influence particular patterns of male-female interaction" can contribute more to a better understanding of the subject at this point in history. An advantage to this approach, she suggests, is that it makes it "possible to generalize beyond male-female relations to persons-of-one-kind and persons-of-another-kind interaction in various contexts" while at the same time enabling researchers to untangle what is unique about the case of male-female interaction in work organizations (1977b, p. 967).

Laws (1975) describes tokenism as a form of interclass mobility which describes instances "where participation of one group is controlled by another" (p. 51). Category membership, she says, may be determined by gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc. According to her, "(t)okenism is likely to be found whenever a dominant group is under pressure to share privilege, power, or other desirable commodities with a group which is excluded" (p. 51). Laws extends the Kanter framework beyond its emphasis on numbers as the key defining characteristic for tokenism. For her, underrepresentation alone does not totally explain the negative effects of tokenism. As others point out, society-wide sex role stereotypes are also a factor (Yoder and Sinnett, 1985; Mills and Tancred, 1992). In support of this view, Yoder and Sinnett (1985) and Fairhurst and Snavely (1983) report that male tokens

in their studies did not experience the negative effects of tokenism predicted by Kanter (1977a).

While the Laws extension of Kanter would not affect this study of male and female managers since women are assumed to have a token status as minority managers, it is important to acknowledge that tokenism appears not to be simply the result of relative numbers as originally proposed by Kanter. The Kanter framework, however, can be expected to accurately predict the experiences of such other minorities as the disabled or racial minorities, all groups about whom the wider society tends to hold negative stereotypes.

Korman (1988) deals with minority status from an insider-outsider perspective. The value of his contribution to a better understanding of tokenism is in his analysis of the dominant group perspective and reasons why its members behave as they do. He describes insiders as people perceived to be like oneself. Believing this, one finds them more predictable and understandable, easier to anticipate, to work with, and to be around. He says that outsiders are viewed in the opposite way. Being less predictable, they make one feel more anxious, and thus "less desirable and less virtuous". The behaviors of outsiders are perceived negatively and those of the insider group positively. Because of this they are less acceptable and are less liked and these feelings of dislike become stronger over time. From his perspective women qualify as outsiders and men as insiders at the management level of most work organizations.

A number of writers (Lippman, 1922, p. 10; Greene, 1977) describe this process of labeling and stereotyping as an attempt to bring order to a complex world, a process people resort to because reducing things to

stereotypes and going with the familiar reduces uncertainty and tension in a complex and rapidly changing work world. Dalton (1959), in his classic study of male managers, provides examples of the tendency on the part of managers to recruit people like themselves. Barnard (1968), justifies this tendency, considering "associational attractiveness as exceedingly, and often critically, important" (p. 146). By "associational attractiveness", Barnard says that he means social compatibility and he goes on to say that if homogeneity of race, class, religion, education, customs, etc. is missing in an organization "(m)en often will not work at all, and will rarely work well" (pp. 146-7). Packard (1962) suggests that such thinking has helped to establish white Protestant males as the in-group and gatekeepers to management in most large North American institutions (pp. 39-40).

Related work, stimulated perhaps by Goffman (1963), looks at the impact of expectations and indications of liking on such factors as task performance. Such studies provide support for the view that "normals" (Goffman), what Kanter (1977b) might refer to as "dominants", are "uncomfortable and uncertain" in the presence of "non-normals" or stigmatized individuals (Kleck and Nussle, 1968; Kleck, Buck, Goller, London, Pfeiffer, and Vukcevic, 1968; Word, Zanna, and Cooper, 1974), those having a stigmatizing trait. Because of that discomfort, "dominants" may exercise such avoidance behaviors as early termination of interviews, and employ greater interaction distances and other nonverbal behaviors which convey less liking. These studies suggest that it is difficult for those so stigmatized to perform at their best. Goffman defines a stigmatized individual as one who has a personal attribute or characteristic which is discrediting in

the eyes of others. He includes blackness in a white society as well as physical disability as a stigmatizing trait. The argument could be made that women in a traditionally male work environment are similarly stigmatized and will be similarly discredited.

Bancroft, Wills and DePass (1988), in their study of the civic participation of visible minorities, observe that in terms of appointments to boards and commissions there is an "assumption that minority persons are interested in appointments only in the field of human rights, immigration, social assistance, etc." (p. 2). Moses (1989), in describing the experience of black women in higher education, refers to such assumptions as part of the "token syndrome". In higher education as in society, she says, the numerically dominant group controls the organization and its culture and the smaller number of people from other groups tend to be seen as tokens, as representatives of their group rather than as individuals. As a result, racial minorities and women may be expected to sit on committees as experts on race relations and gender rather than as experts in their field or discipline. There are few career rewards for such work (Ortiz, 1982) and it can marginalize or ghettoize women and minorities in the process of building careers. There has been speculation that this factor explains the failure of most racial minorities and women in race relations and gender-equity positions to move up the organizational hierarchy.

In addition to the difficulty of being seen as a representative of a group rather than as an individual, Bogart (1990) describes the toll which "micro-inequities" take on the energy and confidence of tokens. Fernandez (1981) points out that "as tokens, every action is performed under the critical scrutiny of nontokens" (p. 96), what Kanter (1977a)

describes as performance pressure, Asplund (1988) refers to as the "spotlight effect", and Milwid (1990) terms "living under scrutiny" (p. 39). As research by social psychologists demonstrates, one's performance is considerably limited under such conditions (Goffman, 1963; Kleck and Nuesle, 1968).

As reported earlier in this review, the research on gender and the workplace fairly consistently confirms that men interact with men and women interact with women. While some suggest that this relates to fear of gossip or concerns about "ambiguity of intent" (Marshall, 1979b), it seems possible that it may also be related to the common understandings, "consciousness of kind" (Bernard, 1981), that individuals of the same gender share, creating higher levels of comfort for same gender interactions.

Like the work of Kanter (1977a, b), these studies suggest that the expectations and attitudes conveyed by male gatekeepers in organizations rather than the performance of women may better explain the slower than expected progress of tokens into management and up the organizational hierarchy. Once identified as a token, organizational expectations are adjusted to fit the stereotype held of the group of which the token is a member. These studies demonstrate that differential treatment by interviewers, recruitment officers, or supervisors can have an impact on performance. In the case of women, research suggests that this may take the form of limiting access to as full a range of organizational socialization experiences as is necessary to acquire the knowledge and experience required for upward mobility in the organization (Schein, 1973, 1976; Ortiz, 1982). As Fairhurst and Snavely (1983) describe it, the majority members of the

organization "make it more difficult for tokens to succeed by slowing down the socialization process" (p. 354). The majority's motivation for excluding "tokens whom they consider to be outsiders" is based on lack of trust or "a desire to see them fail because their presence is threatening" (p. 354).

Kanter, whose early work is based on a five year ethnographic study of a large American corporation, assumed originally that differences between men and women which she and others had observed were gender-based. She gradually became convinced that these differences are not simply gender-based but rather are the result of organizational structures which provide different organizational responses to those who differ from the white males who have dominated organizations historically. This differential organizational response determines access to and use of power and so, she concludes, organizational structural control of power better explains difference than does gender. Kanter's book (1977a) represents a major breakthrough in understanding the experiences of women in work organizations. While other researchers have challenged her assumption that white males, too, will experience the negative experiences of tokenism in certain situations, none of the other elements of her theory has been seriously challenged and her work has been increasingly used in recent years by researchers studying the experiences of women and others (Feagin, 1991) in organizations.

In conclusion, there is a significant body of literature with a fairly lengthy research tradition and linked by a common thread of understanding which turns the focus of problem definition away from "victim-analysis" and "its preoccupation with the wounds, defects, and

personalities of the victimized as an explanation for social problems" (Ryan, 1971, p. 119) to aspects of organizational functioning (Kanter, 1977a). Many of the organizational structures and the experiences they shape, which Kanter and others discuss as ones women have greater difficulty in gaining access to, relate to organizational socialization which is the subject of the following review.

Organizational Socialization

The framework developed to this point suggests that token status limits one's access to experiences and opportunities important to fitting into and advancing within organizations. These experiences and opportunities generally fall under the conceptual umbrella of organizational socialization. The following review examines definitions of organizational socialization, the research on organizational socialization, and research related to women and socialization.

The empirical study of socialization to work organizations is relatively recent (Pfeffer, 1982, p. 97) in spite of its obvious importance, although socialization to such occupations as medicine (Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss, 1958; Ortiz, 1972) and management (Schein, 1977) has a long research tradition. Organizational socialization has been described as a process of "being taught what is important in an organization or some subunit thereof" (Schein, 1977, p. 211); as a "subjective process . . . that happens to people as they move through a series of structured experiences and internalize the subculture of the group" (Lortie, 1975, p. 61); as "the internalization of external control"

(Pfeffer, 1982, p. 82); and as "a process typically thought of as occurring at the time of organizational entry" (p. 96). Barnard (1938) describes it as "learning the organizational ropes" which, he says, chiefly involves "learning (the) who's who, what's what, why's why, of its informal society" (p. 121). Jarvis (1983), who defines socialization as "the process by which the objective world of reality is internalised and becomes subjectively meaningful" (p. 88), says that the socialization whereby one learns the role behaviors particular to one's occupation is "an element of the hidden curriculum in professional education" (p. 88). According to Etzioni (1961), "the study of organizational socialization is concerned with the processes by which the beliefs, norms, and perspectives of the participant are brought into line with those of the organization" (p. 142). Marshall (1977b) emphasizes the power of this process to create organizational insiders and outsiders, describing the socialization process within organizations as "a selection process no less than a job interview" (p. 4). Common to all these definitions is the view that one does not acquire these learnings from books or courses (Hall and Associates, 1987; McCall, Lombardo, and Morrison, 1988; Mintzberg, 1990).

A number of writers note that the timing of these experiences is important. That is, being identified early in one's career as having the potential to excel serves one well. Becker and Strauss (1956) see the critical passage in some careers as lying near the beginning (pp. 260-1). Berlow and Hall (1977) identify the first year of employment as particularly critical since "probably never again will he (the employee) be so 'unfrozen' and ready to learn as he is in his first year" (p. 244). While it appears to be important to get access to such assignments early

in one's career, this appears to be more difficult for women to do than for men (Ortiz, 1982).

Feldman (1976, 1981) supports a "success spiral syndrome" posited by Hall (1976) and Schein (1978), that is, that early career success generates both opportunities and the desire to be more successful (1981, p. 313). Feldman (1981) reports that "employees who are succeeding at their jobs are more likely to be given opportunities to learn new tasks and skills and to be allowed to pass on unwanted or less challenging tasks to others" (p. 313). According to Sayles (1979), "power begets power" (pp. 101-102), building in a spiral. Battles won, he says, give one higher status and power, which gains more respect and eventually even higher status and power. Becker and Strauss (1956) contend that "certain positions preclude the acquiring of certain skills or information, but others foster it. Job assignments can freeze one at a given level or serve to move him (sic) upward faster and a sponsor who is able to anticipate certain organizational needs can arrange for an employee to gain experience critical to upward mobility" (p. 256). They also discuss the relationship between informal learning and group allegiances, saying that until a newcomer is accepted crucial trade secrets will not be taught him or her (p. 257).

As Pfeffer (1982) notes, newcomers to an organization are likely to be less sure about appropriate ways of doing things, so will be most receptive to the various forms of influence that are designed to produce in its members "an understanding and internalization of the organization's culture, way of doing things, and decision-making style" (p. 96). As this review suggests, several writers (Feldman, 1976; Hall, 1976; Schein, 1978; Feldman, 1981) offer support for the view that

success breeds success, that "early career success generates both opportunities to be more successful and the desire to be more successful" (Feldman, 1981, p. 313). This suggests that access to high profile or visible assignments may be particularly valuable early in one's career in order to get a headstart on one's peers. McCall et al. (1988) stress the value of stretch assignments before age thirty and point out that incremental increases in responsibility are less valuable than immersion in a work assignment which tests one's ability to deal with challenge and stress. Berlew and Hall (1977), too, stress the importance of challenging assignments early in a career, particularly in the first year. These studies imply that mid-career affirmative action programs for women may offer too little, too late.

Strauss (1959) discusses the ways in which identities change as people move up and down and in and out of social structures. He describes the impact of "turning points", critical incidents which force individuals to recognize that change is occurring; "forecasting", when a much more experienced "oldtimer" tells a novice what to expect; meeting a self or institution imposed challenge, playing an important new role unexpectedly well, or surpassing the performance of a role model; and coaching by predecessors. Strauss concludes that the timing of these events, being taught at the appropriate pace, places, and times, is important. Experiences which could be rich learning ones later in a career may be wasted if provided too early.

While Morrison, White, and Van Velsor (1987a, b) advise women to be more proactive, to take more responsibility for keeping their careers moving, others suggest that women who do so may be perceived as pushy (Lips, 1981) and may be penalized for expressing

such ambitions (Ortiz, 1982). Morrison et al. also advise women to exhibit a willingness to work hard, but not to expect or demand status and benefits equal to those which male colleagues receive. They go on to explain that "(w)anting too much" is a "flaw" attributed to a number of women whose careers had derailed or plateaued, who had been demoted, or fired (p. 25). In their analysis Morrison et al. betray a tendency to blame the victim. In pragmatic terms, there is a delicate balance to be maintained between going along with the old ways, trying to fit in in order to survive while working to change a system, and accepting those old ways without questioning their appropriateness.

Shakeshaft (1987) reports that male managers are reluctant to provide women with critical feedback on the quality of their work, in effect denying them knowledge that will help them correct deficiencies in their performance, an important element in organizational socialization. Hall and Hall (1976) suggest that consideration and a clear sense of structure from a leader are essential to helping an employee translate desires and goals into satisfaction and success. In high support organizations the path from personal goals to success and satisfaction is "clearer and more under the person's control than it is in a less supportive organization" (Hall and Hall, p. 277). Asplund (1988), too, addresses the issue of clarity of path from goal to success, suggesting that education and public administration represent organizations which provide particularly clear paths to success.

Among those who have conducted empirical studies of professional or organizational socialization are Becker et al. (1956), Ortiz (1972), Kanter (1977a), and Marshall (1979a, b). Ortiz, Kanter, and Marshall studied women in medicine, business, and education,

respectively. Kanter focuses attention on organizational socialization when she concludes that one's position in an organization has a greater impact on opportunity and mobility than primary socialization and other background factors which have been used to explain the underrepresentation of women in management. Assignments which offer visibility and variety, as opposed to anonymity and routine, position one for opportunities and success. Kanter defines opportunity as going "beyond the traditional concept of upward mobility" (Wheatley, 1981, p. 257) to include "the extent to which a job allows a person to grow and develop, to use skills and to learn new ones, and to be recognized and rewarded for those skills" (p. 257). She appears to agree with others who stress the critical importance of early career assignments (Feldman, 1981; McCall et al., 1988). She also suggests that women's career goals, their desired levels of outcome, may not be reachable in organizations as they are presently constituted.

Women in educational organizations receive outcomes different from white males and these differences are explained in terms of different socialization experiences (Ortiz, 1982). Thus, a woman entering the organization will not receive the same opportunity for training and development (Asplund, 1988), the special assignments (Ortiz, 1982) that equip one with the knowledge and understanding to function effectively in the organization, or positions designed to provide visibility (Kanter, 1977a).

Marshall and Mitchell (1989) describe the "career environmental message" for women as one in which they can expect occupational segregation and the pressure of tokenism (Kanter, 1977a), and where they can expect to work in "a culture whose norms were developed

with the expectation that males will fill most positions" (p. 4). They and others describe these norms as including the belief that military and team sports views of the world are most appropriate (Cava, 1988; Morgan, 1988b). The few women who move into educational administration are women who are able to survive isolation, "fit into a foreign culture", and act and talk in ways abnormal for them (Marshall and Mitchell). Even when women encounter individual males who are supportive of their career aspirations, problems remain. Chase and Bell (1990) caution that "(w)hen gatekeepers (hirers) hold positive attitudes toward women, but are blind to the processes that re-create men's dominance of positions of power, then they may be helpful to individual women and at the same time participate in processes that reproduce men's dominance" (p. 174).

According to Fernandez (1981), "(t)he informal system is at the heart of the middle management functions and grows still more critical with every step up the corporate ladder" (p. 55). Thus, it does not get easier for women and minorities as they move up in the organization. "If anything, reaching the upper levels makes exclusion more apparent and more painful since fewer same-race (or same sex) individuals are in those levels who can be used as sounding boards and support systems" (p. 55), he says. They may feel even more "excluded because they naively believe when first entering the system that they will be judged on the basis of ability and work performance and thereby included in the informal networks"(p. 55). It becomes obvious, he says, that "total conformity" is "the prerequisite for admission to the club" but "race and sex are unalterable"(pp. 55-6).

The work of researchers such as Mintzberg (1990) suggests that, in light of the complexity of the management role in contemporary

organizations, the best preparation for functioning in that role is experience in a wide range of organizational settings and tasks. Thus, the manager with a wide range of experiences should be better able to function most effectively for the organization and himself or herself, particularly in dealing with non-routine and crisis situations. Others point out that knowledge of this informal side of organizational life becomes even more critical and, perhaps, even more difficult to acquire in positions above the middle management level (Fernandez, 1981). It seems reasonable to expect that those who have accumulated the widest range of work experiences in the organization and who have the best networks will function most effectively in the role. With little time to deal with any one issue, those with the most diverse experience and easy access to information (Mintzberg, 1989), the kind which comes from a diversity of work assignments, will be most likely to survive and advance. Other recent research suggests that diversity of experience distinguishes executives who succeed from those whose careers "derail" (McCall, Lombardo, and Morrison, 1988). Derailers are more likely to have remained in one type of activity rather than having tried different types of assignments (Hall and Associates, 1987, p. 333). It may be that a wide range of experiences also best serves these individuals trying to move up the organizational hierarchy by providing them with an overview of organizational life, an advantage in contemporary competition interviews.

Apfelbaum and Hadley (1986) and Young (1991) suggest that the traditional role women play in the home and community, balancing a lot of demands on their time and energy, may equip them indirectly to function well as managers. In light of what Mintzberg (1973, 1989) has

to say about the diversity of the management role and the importance of communication skills, an area women appear to handle well, there may be validity in their suggestion. Related to this concept is the unpredictable nature of a manager's work day as well as the necessity for a quick response capacity. Ironically, it appears that women may enter the organization uniquely qualified in many ways to function as managers, but because they are not perceived as possessing management potential they may be denied the diversity of experiences (Kanter, 1977a; Ortiz, 1982; Beijer, 1988) designed to equip them to function most effectively in that role.

Formal training is often seen as "too idealistic" by managers who find on the job training to be most useful (Campbell, 1991). Organizational socialization experiences acquired through systematic experiential training best prepare people to function as managers by teaching them a skill, having them practice it, and then giving them feedback on their performance (Mintzberg, 1990). Other literature suggests that whether this socialization is gained through mentoring (Kanter, 1977a; Epstein, 1988), buddy systems (Cooper and Smith, 1990), formal training programs (Asplund, 1988), or informal interactions with more experienced managers and senior executives (Fernandez, 1981; Shakeshaft, 1987), women will have fewer such experiences than will their male peers. In addition, Milwid (1990) reports that young men are allowed to make mistakes "as part of learning the ropes" (p. 42) while women feel they have to do perfect work in order to disprove traditional organizational views about women's abilities.

An analysis of the organizational socialization literature as well as empirical studies of women managers in organizations suggests that

men and women do not have equal access to opportunities and experiences which a number of writers have linked to experiencing and exercising power as a manager. Kanter explicitly and Ortiz implicitly link this limited or poor socialization to organizational norms and values early in one's career to one's later access to and use of power as a manager and Gregory (1989) suggests that an area for future research on women in management should look at the effect of male power-female powerlessness in society at large. The impact of the values held in the larger society on the phenomenon of tokenism is illustrated by research (Snaveley and Fairhurst, 1983; Yoder and Sinnett, 1985) demonstrating that male tokens do not experience the negative effects Kanter (1977a) predicted.

Research which documents the experiences of women managers in organizations can serve several purposes. Milwid (1990) suggests that a "collective story" documenting the challenges women face in "breaking into all-male fields" is useful. It demonstrates, she says, that they face "a remarkably similar set of challenges", despite having unique personalities and positions, as they jump "through the same sets of hoops in an almost identical order" (p. 4). Stokes argues that it is important to document and quantify women's experiences of exclusion so that they will recognize that the barriers they experience are neither of their own making, nor a reflection of their personalities and competence. Such work, she suggests, "provides a focus for institutional change" (p. 1).

The preceding examination of existing research on women's career experiences, particularly their organizational socialization, suggests that many of the career experiences which help equip one to

gain access to and to function effectively at the most senior levels of organizational life are ones which women are much less likely than their male colleagues to receive. A number of researchers conclude that workers who are different from others in the organization are likely to be excluded from such experiences and from information and support networks (Kanter, 1977a; Stokes, 1984; Feagin, 1991). At the same time, researchers and organizations are unlikely to understand or give consideration to the management skills women may have acquired through family or community volunteer work experiences (Young, 1991). Further, many of the missed organizational socialization experiences appear to be ones which relate to later use of power in the manager role (Kanter, 1977a, 1987). The review of the research related to power which follows makes these links more explicitly.

Power

While there is an abundance of literature on gender based differences in behavior and backgrounds, the body of literature which explains the underrepresentation of women in organizational management as due to factors other than personal characteristics and background is growing. Kanter (1977a) suggests that a major factor in understanding the career outcomes of women in organizations relates to the concept of power. The following review examines definitions of power, sources of power, and the impact of gender on the access to and exercise of power in organizations.

According to Mintzberg (1983), there is no one source of information on the subject of power. "Power in and around

organizations", he says, "is a subject which interests all kinds of scholars . . . not to mention the practitioners themselves who work in organizations" (p. xv). The study of power has evolved from the single discipline emphasis of the 1950s to the current multi-discipline approach. Wright (1988) points out that much of the definitional confusion around the concept may be linked to the fact that people borrow freely across disciplines. Stamm and Ryff (1984) describe power as present in all social relationships and activities and define it as "the ability of an individual to influence or exert control over resources, actions, or social relationships which are valued by the community or group in which she/he participates" (p. 3).

Power is typically defined as "possession of control, authority, or influence over others" (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1977, p. 902). For Weber, power is "the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behavior of other persons" (Bendix, 1960, p. 294). One of the earliest modern day authorities on the subject of power, Dahl (1957), sees power as a relationship among social actors in which one social actor, A, can get another social actor, B, to do something that B would not otherwise do. Emerson (1962) defines power in similar terms as the control of actor A over actor B, saying it is equal to the amount of resistance on the part of B which can be potentially overcome by A. While earlier definitions tend to see power as the ability or authority to control other persons, to obtain their obedience, Emerson sees power in organizations somewhat differently, perhaps, as including the control one has over things which others value. These things he says "may range all the way from oil resources to ego support. In short, power resides implicitly in the other's dependence" (p. 32).

As Pfeffer (1981a) points out, most contemporary definitions of power "are virtually identical to Emerson's original formulation" (p. 99). Pfeffer argues that while dependence is important, it is only one of the elements necessary for power to actually be exerted over another. Among other sources of power in organizations which he identifies are the ability to cope with uncertainty; being irreplaceable, such as the maintenance engineers in the Crozier (1964) study of tobacco plants; and control of or having a major role to play in organizational decision processes. Pfeffer identifies such structural determinants of individual power as position in the communication network, information control, and the power of one's subunit. Among personal characteristics related to one's individual power, Pfeffer includes performance, verbal skills, skill in power diagnosis, knowing and understanding the decision processes and rules of the game operating in the organization, and political skills. Many of the personal characteristics Pfeffer identifies are ones which are acquired through organizational socialization. Ryff (1982) suggests that middle age is a period of "maximal social power", a time when one has a sense of being in-command and capable of manipulating the social environment on the basis of prestige and expertise (p. 61).

One of the more interesting elements in the definitional evolution of the concept of power has been the recognition that employees working at lower levels in the organization may themselves wield power (Crozier, 1971; Janeway, 1975; Mechanic, 1987). The exercise of power by lower level employees may derive from the fact that they are at a position in the organization where they may control access to information, resources or aspects of decision making or even in their

simple refusal to go along with the demands of a superior. Crozier (1971) and Rashid and Archer (1983) examine the ways in which low-ranking persons who have no organizational authority gain access to and exercise power. Among these are expertise, a willingness to do special jobs for the boss, location (work space near the president's or CEO's office), social activities (e.g. golfing), communication networks (employees in the personnel department, membership in "cliques"), creativity, or knowledge of rules and procedures in a highly bureaucratic organization.

Humour, perhaps, represents another way in which people normally thought of as powerless may wield power. Allport (1958) was one of the first to discuss the use of humour by victims of discrimination and, more recently, Tague and Harris (1988), Milwid (1990) and Barreca (1991) discuss this phenomenon as it relates to women. Humour appears to be used by women to help reduce the stress of discrimination, allowing them to take control of a situation without making people in positions of power feel uncomfortable. Louch (1992) calls this "humour of survival". Kanter (1977a) reports that humour was an important part of the culture of the organization she studied and that a good sense of humour "seemed to be a requisite for mobility" (p. 41) and Tague and Harris (1988) say that it "can act as a facilitating agent" (p. 242). Women may feel that they will fit in better if they ignore gender bias in organizational practices (Stokes, 1984). As one woman participant in a recent study said, "(d)on't get hung up on gender. Do your best, work hard, and keep a sense of humour" (Lee and Bremner, 1991, p. 9).

Research and observation suggest that "the most important source of power is absence of routinization" (Sayles, 1979, p. 87). Jobs that are routinizable, highly predictable, and regularizable have less power than ones which are not. He identifies strategies designed to increase one's power in an organization, including professionalizing or giving a "technical mystique" to one's work; getting rid of routinizable "service work"; gaining functions that allow for the appraisal of others' work, getting "sign-off" power; shifting location of one's department in any decision-making from later to earlier stages of the decision process; adjusting informational and communications systems and linkages so that one is more likely than one's competitors to receive critical information on organizational problems; and adding research-like or innovational tasks to one's workload, tasks which are difficult for outsiders to evaluate. Sayles says that "power seekers endeavor to institutionalize their base by accruing activities, job slots, and roles that will involve the opportunity to initiate and to control the work of others and to resist having to defer to those others" (pp. 101-2) in service and routine tasks. Power is enhanced by one's ability to monopolize and manipulate resources. One of the most relevant features of the Sayles review of strategies designed to increase power is the impact of routinizable "service work" on one's power. In most organizations women, almost regardless of training or experience, are more likely than men to be expected to provide such "service" functions. Stokes (1984) reports that men tend to have more control over company budgets than do women and Woo (1985) and Lindberg (1985) identify knowledge of finance and budgeting as an area which women need to better master in order to exercise power.

Among general bases of power Mintzberg (1983, p. 24) identifies are control of a resource (supply of raw material), control of a technical skill, and control of a body of knowledge. To serve as a basis of power these must be essential to the functioning of the organization, concentrated or in short supply or in the hands of one person or a small number of people who cooperate to some extent, and nonsubstitutable or irreplaceable. Other bases of power include legal prerogatives - exclusive rights or privileges to impose choices; and access to those who can rely on the other four (spouses and friends of the powerful, control of a large constituency, influence with media, etc.).

Kanter (1987) sees power as coming from three main sources: lines of supply, the capacity of a manager to bring into the organization things that are needed such as "materials, money, resources to distribute as rewards, and perhaps even prestige" ; lines of information, the manager's need to be "in the know" in the formal and informal sense; and lines of support, the managers' need to know that they can innovate, make judgements, etc. (p. 350). Information appears to be one of the most valuable resources for those aspiring to power. Crozier (1973) says that in any organization or system of human relationships "(i)nformation is power, and sometimes, for a brief moment, it is the essential instrument of power" (p. 55).

In a study of subordinate teacher power in school organizations, Barnett (1984) used questionnaires to identify those teachers depended on most by colleagues, perceived by their colleagues to be most powerful, and to determine whether those so identified were aware of their power. He reports the source of power for powerful teachers was based in their access to key people, information, and material resources.

Access to information was the most important, "gatekeepers" or "brokers" of information being much more likely than their colleagues to become more powerful. The teachers perceived to be most powerful served on many committees and were more likely to chair departments.

In a similar study of personal power and influence in staff members of six high schools, Spieth (1979) studied the characteristics which contribute most to one's personal power. One purpose of the study was to develop a means to measure these qualities in order to more effectively use individuals who possess them. Relatively consistent measures of personal power, he reports, are the ability to help with problems in both work related and personal areas, speaking out at meetings, and the ability to solve major problems facing the school. Other characteristics more common to those perceived to have the most personal power were age and years of teaching, more being better or providing more power; community and voluntary work outside the school, holding positions in teacher organizations, and knowing people who hold power.

In a study conducted in a business setting, Martin and Sims (1977) interviewed executives and studied biographies of well known leaders to identify power tactics. They report that listening too much to subordinates can erode power by wasting time and confusing issues, and that while it is important to communicate, withholding information or timing its release can be strategically advantageous. Other qualities they identify as important to the exercise of power are maneuverability, maintaining flexibility and never totally committing oneself to one position or program; "self-dramatization", developing the art of persuading; and an outward appearance of confidence. In relation to

maneuverability, they say that it is important to have "escape hatches" and "transferable talents". They acknowledge that in an age of "groupiness" and the democratization of businesses these suggestions may not be well received, but they do contribute to the more effective use of power.

Various approaches to measuring power have been used, as the studies just reviewed illustrate. One of the best known and widely cited measures is one based on a conceptual scheme developed by French and Raven (1959) in which they identify five sources of interpersonal power. The original categories in their typology include coercive, reward, legitimate, expert, and referent power. Expert power they define as a manager's ability to influence subordinates' behavior because of the manager's perceived skills, talents, or knowledge. Expert power usually has a very narrow scope and the subordinate must regard the manager as possessing knowledge or abilities that are potentially useful to him or her. Females seem to perceive this as one of the more viable forms of power for them judging from the high priority they give academic credentials and professional qualifications as well as professional development activities (Neuse, 1978; Shakeshaft, 1987; Asplund, 1988). However, as Crozier (1964) points out, expert power exists only on the front line of progress and is a constantly shifting and fragile form of power. According to him, "as soon as the first intuitions and innovations can be translated into rules and programs, the expert's power disappears" (p. 165), relating perhaps to the view that routine jobs carry less power than non-routine ones (Sayles, 1979; Kanter, 1977a).

While the French and Raven typology and the instruments based on it have been widely used in the study of power in organizations, there is an increasing dissatisfaction with it among researchers who argue that power in organizations is much more complex than it was perceived to be in the late 1950s when the typology was developed (Kanter, 1977a; Frey, personal communication, January 26, 1990). According to Kanter, this typology is "most useful for understanding one-on-one exchanges or the exercise of influence in rather small-scale interpersonal situations" (p. 174). She goes on to say that "(t)he politics of a large-scale system are more complex and often do not seem reducible to such simple elements, even though the actual wielding of influence in any one instance may seem to rest on one or another of those five bases of power" (p. 174). It is a typology which still remains popular partly, perhaps, because it makes sense on an intuitive level and partly because few other measures exist which are as straightforward and easy to administer and interpret. Deutchman (1984) concludes that the best way to study the exercise of power would be through participant observation techniques but that the cost of that approach is prohibitive for most doctoral students.

As Wright (1988) notes, scholars in recent years have become increasingly interested in the view of "real power as distinct from formal authority within organizations" (p. 174) and in the relationship between gender and power. Sayles (1979) writes that while the hierarchy in an organization specifies power, it is "only the tip of the power iceberg" (p. 86). Much of women's power and influence, according to Stamm and Ryff (1984), has tended to operate outside traditional authority structures and social structures. Actual power may

be far greater than one's formal status or, as Kanter (1977a) points out, it is also possible that one's actual power will be less than one's formal status, something which many women managers report experiencing (Morgan, 1988b). Yutzey (1988) reports that the woman manager she studied relied on influence rather than her formal position to gain compliance from both peers and subordinates. Thirty-four percent of interviewees, male and female, in one study did not believe that women have the same power as men do in similar positions (Fernandez, 1981) and, according to MacLeod (1988), the greater the power granted to an administrative position in the field of education, the fewer women are represented at that level. For example, she reports, six percent of superintendent positions in Canada are held by women. Some research might lead one to expect that males will be more likely to associate power with formal position. For example, a number of studies (Neuse, 1976; Jardim and Hennig, 1990) suggest that males are more sensitive to and aware of status and symbols of power than are women, while women have less time for and interest in the trappings of power. Jardim and Hennig suggest that women should give more attention to these symbols if they want to be accepted and to advance their careers. Others (Kanter, 1977a; Fernandez, 1981) suggest that women are naive about how organizations really operate, giving much more attention to formal structures, and, perhaps, suggesting that they will tend more than males to associate power with position. Korda (1975) describes the symbols and rituals of power as so male-oriented that women who actually have power have difficulty projecting it.

There is a significant body of literature which suggests that males and females tend to experience, exercise, and define power differently.

According to that literature, men tend to view it more positively and are more direct and unapologetic about their desire for it while women are more likely to view it negatively "as an acid that corrodes femininity" and an "isolating force" (Dowd, 1991, p. 98). While power has most often been equated with domination and coercion, in the 1920s and 1930s some writers, including Follett (1951), were writing about such concepts as the "pooling of power", giving up individual power in favour of joint activity. Power produced by these relationships is a qualitative not a quantitative thing and makes sense, she says, if we think of power as the power to do something, "(i)f we follow our rule throughout of translating everything into activity, if we look at power as the power *to do* something" (p. 191).

The prevailing view of power as expressed by feminist writers (Shakeshaft, 1987) is of a sharing and cooperative exercise of power. Women often talk of "influence" rather than power, preferring to see power in "interpersonal and value-oriented terms" (Astin and Leland, 1991). Wartenberg (1990) describes the model of power which women tend to favour as "one in which one person's possession of power does not exist through the diminishing of someone else's" (p. 189) and in which a person seeks to empower another. Men, he says, are often described as favouring a power-over approach to dominate others and thus enhance their own situation while women, who have been more traditionally engaged in social practices have more often had empowerment as their objective. In criticizing some earlier feminist perspectives of power, Wartenberg (1990) argues that the source of and inspiration for their analysis was an idealized view of the mothering relationship in which the possibility of domination in the relationship

is ignored (p. 194). While feminist critiques of power have produced some profitable examination and debate of power-related concepts, feminists have not produced a model which can be applied in organizational settings.

A problem associated with some of these emerging concepts of power is the difficulty of implementing them. The contemporary reality of power relationships in organizations is well expressed by a Canadian woman politician (Brown, 1990) who appears to share the view of power held by Follett and many feminists. She suggests that, despite these beliefs, in practical terms one must be prepared to access and use power in more traditional ways in order to survive in organizations as they are currently structured. In describing her own experience, she says:

I was actually very disappointed by how little real power I had . . . In retrospect, I realize that it was power in the traditional patriarchal context that I lacked, rather than the more personal and compelling power that comes from collective decision-making and the mutual respect people of like mind share with each other. But when one works in a traditional patriarchal institution, it is necessary to have power in what I perceive as the negative context before one is able to redesign, reform and redirect such power into a more positive force " (Brown, p. 225).

The work of both Kanter (1977a) and Ortiz (1982) suggests that women are less able to access and use many of the traditional determinants of power described as essential by Pfeffer (1981a) and Sayles (1979), among others. As Wright (1988) points out, assumptions exist about the different ways in which men and women exercise power, but there is little empirical data to support these assumptions. Very few

follow-up studies to the work of Kanter or Ortiz exist, particularly any related to power style.

A number of writers (Hennig and Jardim, 1976; Fernandez, 1981; Asplund, 1988) suggest that women tend to be naive about how organizations actually function, assuming that hard work and good performance lead fairly directly to career advancement in the form of challenging assignments and promotions. They tend to ignore or to be unaware of the role power and politics play in organizations. Goldner, Ritti and Ference (1977) use the expression "cynical knowledge" to refer to the knowing and understanding of the decision processes and "rules of the game" operating in organizations, as well as political skills and, according to Fernandez (1981), such knowledge becomes much more critical to success as one moves up in the organization. According to Pfeffer (1981a), an ideology of cooperative effort, goal maximization, and working together in the organizational interests tends to work against one's discovery and use of such knowledge, knowledge which tends to relate more to the informal side or "soft underbelly" (Mintzberg, 1989) of organizational life. Recent research suggests that women are more likely than men to possess such an ideology of cooperation (Neuse, 1978; Shakeshaft, 1987) and that women do not understand the informal side of organizational life as well as men do (Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Fernandez, 1981). A number of writers suggest that women value power more because it enables them to accomplish or change something rather than for any status it provides (Neuse, 1978; Dowd, 1991). Kanter (1977a) defines power as "the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet" (p.

166). For her, power is very close to the way people talk about power in their everyday lives. This definition of power is also adopted by Mintzberg (1983) in his work on power in organizations and is similar to that of Follett (1951) for whom power is the ability to make things happen, to be a causal agent, and to initiate change.

Kanter (1977a) says that power "is not a characterological but a social structure issue" (p. 172). She uses power in a sense that distinguishes it from hierarchical domination, using it to mean something "closer to 'mastery' or 'autonomy' than to domination or control over others" (p. 166). Power, for her, includes the "ability to mobilize others", an important quality in leadership. She describes "absolute power, a total monopoly on power", as problematic because it renders everyone else powerless. Sharing power or empowering others through participation in decision making or access to resources "increases the total capacity for effective action rather than increases domination" (p. 166). Jamieson and O'Mara (1991) point out that this view of power requires that the leader depend less on power of position gained through job title and credentials and more on personal powers of influence and persuasion.

Kanter (1977a, p. 203) notes that many women managers are not in positions of power comparable to their male peers. She also points out that more women managers are found in the "female" professions such as teaching, nursing, social work, and in government agencies, work environments characterized more than others by "rules conscious hierarchies" and "endless red tape" which restrict their power. Another problem, according to Morgan (1988b), is that women sometimes find that positions may have the real power removed after

women move into them. That is, certain powers of decision making may be transferred to others in the organization.

Drawing on the work of Crozier (1964) and Sayles (1979), Kanter (1977a) identifies measurable behaviors associated with power and powerlessness in organizations as well as criteria for evaluating an individual's real power in an organization. "People who are thought to have power already and to be well placed in hierarchies of prestige and status may also be more influential and more effective in getting the people around them to do things and feel satisfied about it" (Kanter, 1981, p. 78). Dowd (1991) appears to agree with that assessment, saying that "(i)f you act like you're a powerful person, then powerful things happen to you" (p. 99). The tendency of women to avoid the limelight (Low, 1989), their fear of visibility (Kanter, 1977a), as well as their tendency to share power (Shakeshaft, 1987) and to downplay symbols of power (Jardim and Hennig, 1990), may result in their being perceived as less powerful (Korda, 1975). Epstein (1979) concludes that women executives cannot get ahead as rapidly as their male peers because "women are not viewed as powerful" (p. 571).

Much has been made in the literature of women managers' superior interpersonal skills, their "care voice" (Scott-Jones, 1991), but that quality represents only one aspect of the management role. According to Kanter (1977a) "lack of system power could undermine the best of human relations" (p. 169). She hypothesizes that the mixed results produced by the human relations research on effective leadership styles may be best understood from a power perspective. According to her, good human relations, along with power, produces effective leaders and higher morale (pp. 168-170). Kanter says that

"(p)eople wanted to work for someone on the move who had something to teach and enough power to take others along" (p. 178) rather than work for "a dead-ender" (p. 173). Kanter contends that "Preference for Men (bosses) = Preference for Power" (p. 197). Cartwright (1959) and Crozier (1964), too, point out that the supervisors most popular with subordinates are those who have more influence in the organization. As Cartwright says, "a supervisor who is helpful in form only is not appreciated or even resented, and a spiteful supervisor who cannot carry out his malevolent designs offers no real threat" (p. 3). While interpersonal skills are important, their contribution to employee morale and performance is limited without the power to influence. One can only empower if one has power to share.

Sayles (1979) points out that a number of studies demonstrate that organizational members have no trouble identifying power deficiencies within an organization. If true, this factor may explain the results of studies that indicate many employees prefer male bosses since women appear less likely to hold positions of real power in organizations and thus be in a position to reward staff.

While, as this review suggests, a number of researchers (Dalton, 1959; Crozier, 1964; Mintzberg, 1983) have identified factors related to access to and use of power in organizations, these studies are largely limited to male workers. Studies by Kanter (1977a) and Ortiz (1982) represent two of the most systematic and comprehensive analyses of both male and female workers to date. These studies make an important contribution to an increased understanding of power dynamics in organizations by combining systematic thinking and

empirical research, a comprehensive approach that is all too rare (Lips, 1961).

As Yukl (1989) summarizes it, sources of power in organizations can be seen as positional, personal, and political. He includes control over resources, rewards, punishments, and information as well as ecological control (technology and organization of the work) in the category of formal authority. Personal power, for him, includes expertise, friendship/loyalty, and charisma and political power includes control over decision processes, coalitions, co-optation, and institutionalization. Research (Korda, 1975; Kanter, 1977a) indicates that women do not have the same opportunities to experience and exercise power in ways associated with its use by those perceived as powerful. The works of Marshall (1979a, b), Kanter (1977a, b), and Ortiz (1982) suggest that organizations fail to provide women with organizational socialization experiences similar to those provided men and designed to give them the knowledge and experience of the formal and informal sides of organizational life necessary for advancement and effective exercise of power. In addition, recent studies suggest that interventions (Livingston, 1991, p. 61) at the organizational rather than, or in addition to, individual levels appear to have significant positive impact on the careers of both women and minorities.

The literature which is reviewed in this chapter suggests that there are differences in the ways men and women perceive power, are perceived to use it, and in the sources of their power. The works of Crozier (1964; 1973); Kanter (1977a); Sayles (1979); Mintzberg (1983); and Rashid and Archer (1983) identify a number of power-related factors which have relevance for this study. This study tests a framework

which posits links between power and organizational socialization to explain the barriers to career advancement experienced by women in organizations. According to this view, women as newcomers to and minorities at the management level of work organizations exist as tokens or outsiders to the "shadow structure" behind the organization chart (Kanter, 1977a). A number of researchers (Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Kanter, 1977a; Ortiz, 1982; Asplund, 1988) whose work has involved empirical studies suggest that this failure of outsider groups to understand and become involved in the informal side of organizational life best explains the differences in career outcomes between men and women managers. As tokens, research predicts, women will not have access to the same range of organizational socialization experiences which would equip them to understand and participate in the informal side of organizational life where critical information exchange and formation of alliances takes place. It seems likely that they will be perceived by peers and staff to have less power and will themselves recognize that the range of power bases they have to draw on is more limited than that of their male peers. They may also have greater confidence in power resulting from position or authority, what Marshall (1979a, p. 13) terms "operating under the umbrella of the law", and expertise than will men.

The variables selected for examination in this study are drawn from related research on power and organizational socialization. Figure II presents a socialization-to-power framework which this study proposes to examine. A more detailed breakdown of the variables associated with organizational socialization is presented in Appendix F adapted somewhat loosely from Feldman (1976).

POWER:

- The ability to act or produce an effect.
- The ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet.
- (Follett, 1951; Kanter, 1977; Mintzberg, 1983)

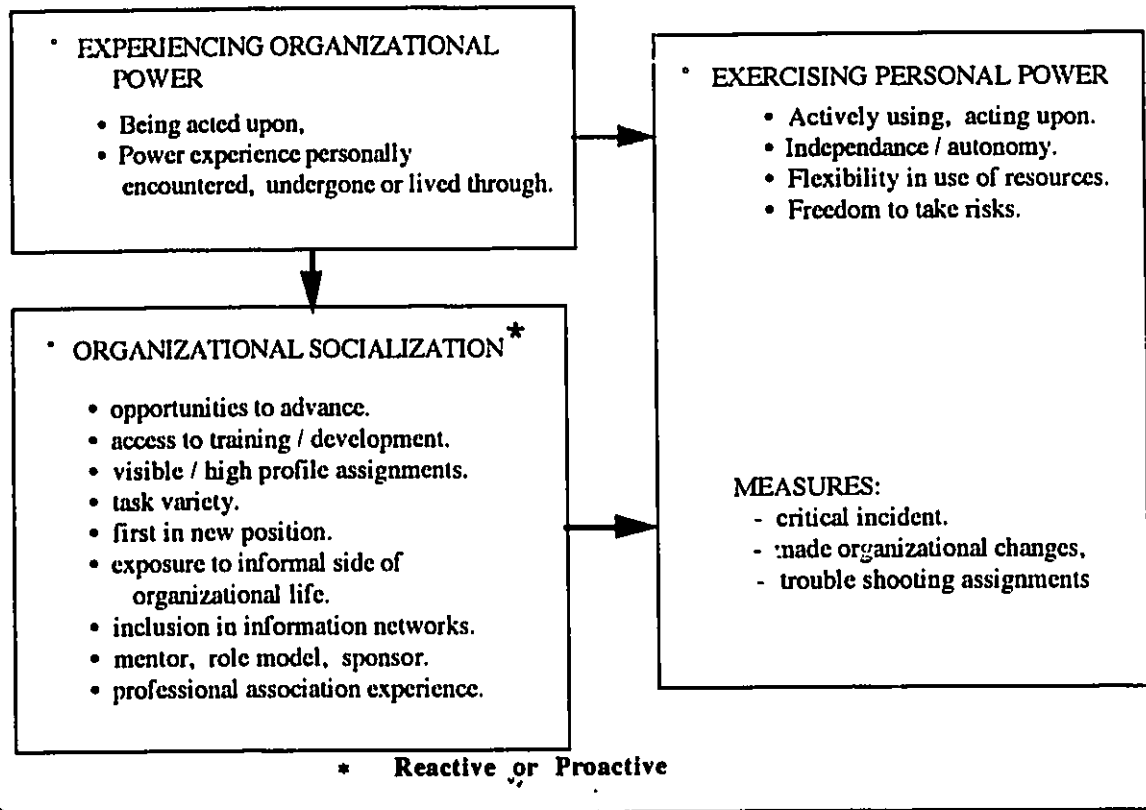


Figure II: ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION AND POWER

In conclusion, then, the theoretical framework which guides the study focuses on the impact of tokenism generated differential organizational expectations for men and women employees. These differential expectations will influence the power-related organizational socialization of male and female managers. That is, the organization's response to individuals may limit interaction possibilities related to

organizational socialization and ultimately the way as managers they use or exercise power.

The analysis of the literature related to gender and organizational socialization leads to the first two research questions which this study seeks to answer. They are as follows;

Question I:

Do the early career patterns of female middle managers differ from those of male middle managers in terms of the range and number of organization initiated opportunities provided them for power-related socialization?

Question II:

- i) Do female middle managers perceive more barriers to their advancement to senior levels of management than do their male peers?**
- ii) Do female and male middle managers perceive different barriers to advancement?**

The analysis of the literature related to gender and power produces the study's final three research questions;

Question III:

Do female and male middle managers view power differently?

Question IV:

Do female and male middle managers identify the same people in their organizations as being powerful?

Question V:

Do female and male middle managers exercise power differently?

The organizational socialization and power relationships which will be studied are represented in Figure III below. As illustrated, token status reduces access to organizational socialization and will tend to result in tokens having less power, falling more toward the powerless end of the power-powerlessness continuum represented at the bottom of the map.

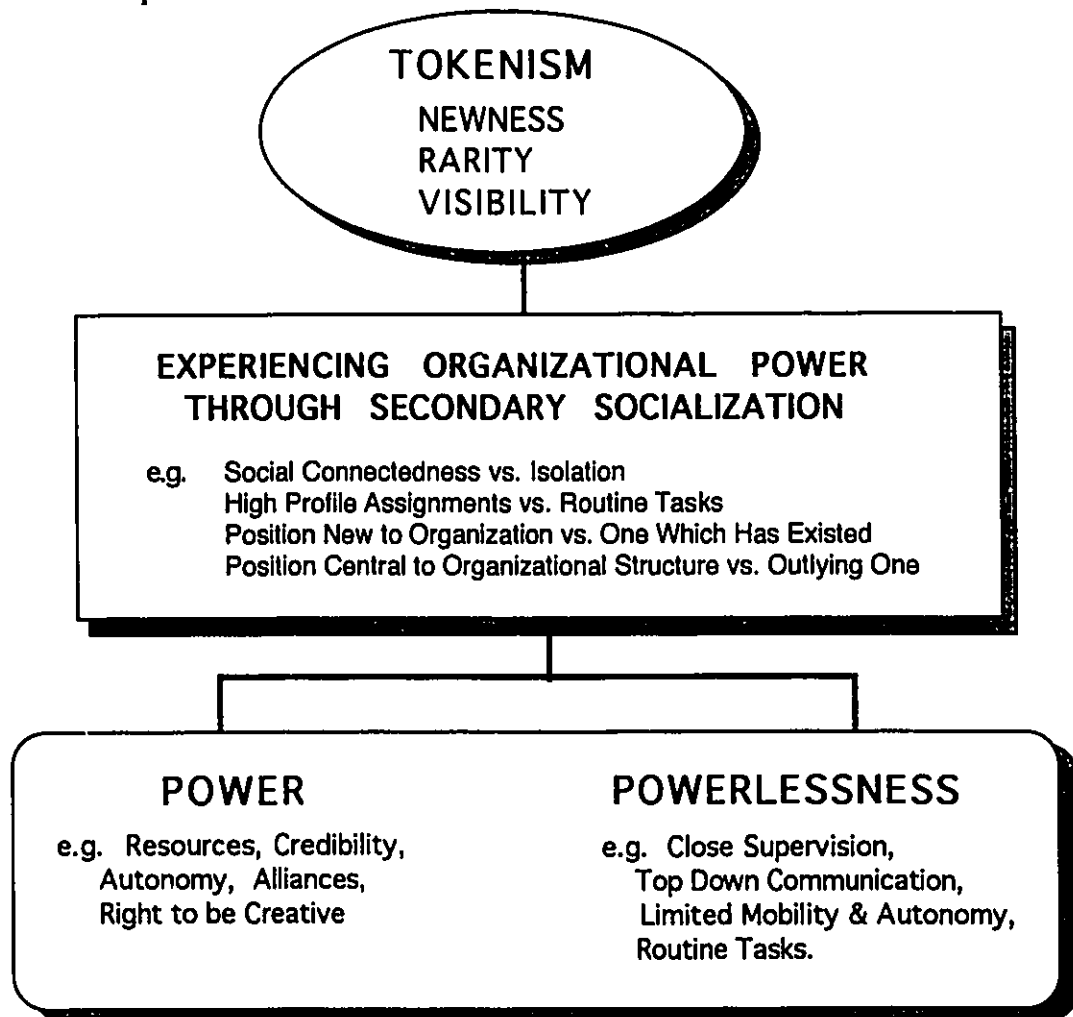


Figure III CONCEPTUAL MAP

Operational Definitions of Major Concepts and Variables

The major concepts and variables used in this study are defined operationally as follows:

Anticipatory Socialization

Anticipatory socialization is the process by which one develops a positive orientation or a predisposition toward an occupation or membership in another group. Role models, parental influence, opportunities to observe, and mentors are examples of factors which may facilitate the process as it relates to careers or occupations.

Power

For the purposes of this study, power is defined as "the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet" (Kanter, 1977a, p. 166).

Experiencing Power

Experiencing power includes being acted upon, personally encountering, undergoing, or living through power experiences. Thus for the purposes of this study, experiencing power includes those experiences which serve to limit or control one's access to such organizational socialization experiences as training and development, high profile assignments, sponsors, mentors, task variety, and other

opportunities to develop and advance one's knowledge of the organization.

Exercising Power

Exercising power involves "the actualization of power" (Abbott and Caracheo, 1988, p. 242), actively using or bringing individual or personal power to bear through such activities as making structural changes in an organization, acting independently, using resources with a degree of flexibility, and risk taking.

Power style

Power style refers to an individual's way of behaving either as the influencer, or the one being acted upon, the influencee.

Token Status

The concept of token used refers to those individuals who are alone or nearly alone in a peer group. Token or outsider status is determined by one's newness to, visibility in, and numerical participation or rarity at the management level of organizational life (Kanter, 1977a).

Organizational Socialization

Organizational socialization refers to the range of early career experiences which teach organizational norms, values, and ways of behaving (Pfeffer, 1982).

Power Related Socialization

Power related socialization refers to socialization experiences which provide for the accumulation of power related resources such as information, influential networks, special knowledge (especially political), of an organization or a subject of the type usually held only by organizational insiders.

Range

Range refers to the number and diversity of socialization experiences.

Middle Manager

Middle manager refers to an organizational position characterized by its location at approximately the mid-level of the organizational hierarchy. As such, middle managers have the potential to influence and be influenced by others above and below them in the organizational hierarchy.

In the following chapter, Chapter III, the study design, the methodology used and the standards of inquiry which were observed in the process of data collection and analysis to ensure the methodological adequacy, rigour, of the study are described. Because the methodology involves multiple lines of inquiry and is such a critical component of this dissertation, it is described in more detail and is more heavily referenced than might be usual for such a study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology used in conducting a study of middle managers. It includes a description of the population, the design and the methods of data collection and analysis used. The general purpose of the study was to develop a better understanding of the early career experiences of men and women who eventually become middle managers, the impact of those experiences on their later perceptions and use of power as managers, and whether their early career experiences are influenced by gender. In particular, the study examines facets of those experiences relating to organizational socialization in the early years of their careers with a view to determining whether there are any links between that socialization and their later access to and use of power in the role of middle manager. The procedures and methods used in this study are adapted from the work of a number of qualitative researchers including Owens (1982), Miles and Huberman (1984), Taylor and Bogdan (1984), Field and Morse (1985), Morgan (1988a), and Marshall and Rossman (1989).

Several key methodological assumptions underpin this study. First, it was assumed that knowledge generation would be successfully accomplished through an interactive and iterative research design that allows participants and researcher alike to continually add to the underlying analysis. Second, it was assumed that participants would recall thoughts and articulate issues that would prove useful to the study. Third, it was assumed that the unique multiple realities of

participants could be brought together to inform the research questions. Fourth, it was assumed that the researcher could interact in a conversational way with the interviewees and still maintain a scholarly stance, provided that a subjectivity audit (Peshkin, 1988) was instituted that could account for her own biases and preconceptions.

Data Collection

This study used interconnected lines of inquiry based on focus groups, elite interviews involving significant leaders in policy, planning, research, and practice relating to the subject of the study, and semi-structured interviews with the participating middle managers who made up the sample for the study itself.

All data collection strategies used throughout the study are represented in Figure IV. As explained in subsequent sections, the strategies were interactive and iterative. Because this process was so dynamic and free flowing, it was important to document it well. The documentation process used is detailed at a later point in this chapter in a discussion of methodological rigour.

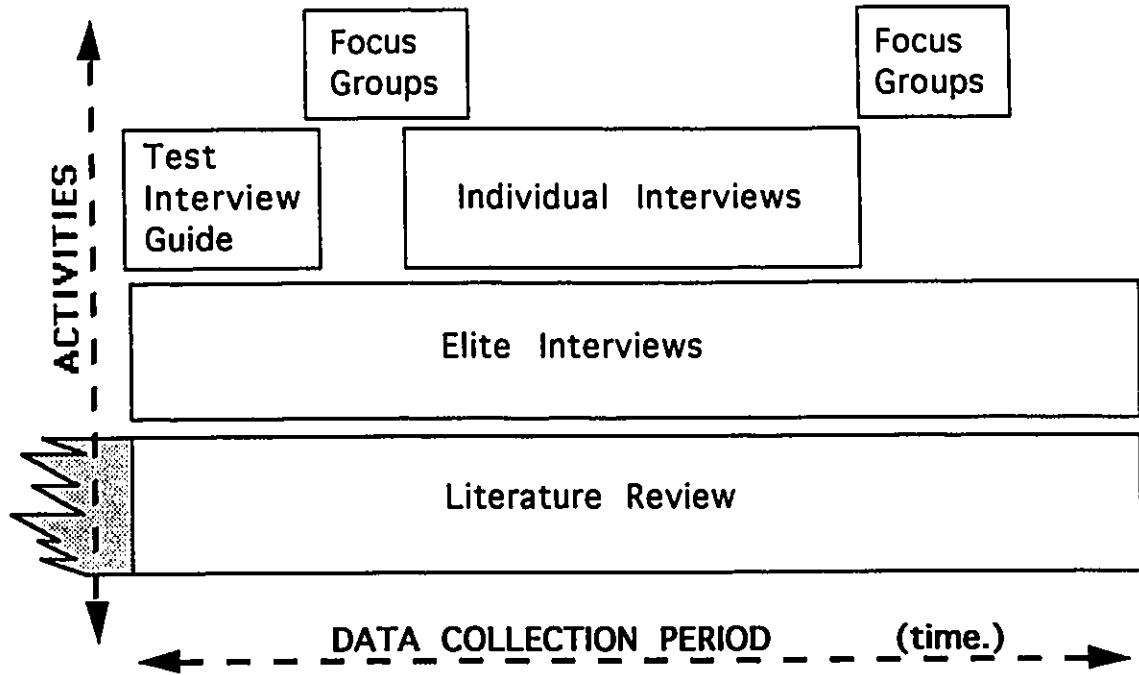


Fig IV STRATEGIES & SCHEDULING OF DATA COLLECTION

The combination of multiple interviewing strategies made possible the triangulation of data (Field and Morse, 1985, p. 117), enabling the researcher to verify data from several sources. The use of individual and group interviews with individuals possessing expertise in fields related to the subject being studied provided a type of reality check, enabling the researcher to avoid irrelevant or ill-conceived lines of inquiry. According to Whyte, Greenwood, and Lazes (1989), the active involvement of practitioners in this way can lead to sharper focused and more productive research which is more likely to lead to advances in theory as well as practice. Demonstrating the commonality of experiences and behavior across data gathered in several ways (Owens, 1982; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Willower, 1988) increased validity and reliability. Table I lists the objectives of the methodology and the lines of inquiry used to achieve those objectives.

Objective	Line of Inquiry
To generate insights based on informants' knowledge and experience To obtain participants' interpretation of results from earlier studies To assist in finalizing interview guide	Focus Groups (Morgan, 1988a, p. 11) Elite Interviews (Marshall Rossman, 1989, p. 94)
To document the experiences of the key participants	In-depth Semi-Structured Interviews (McCracken, 1988)
To vet preliminary findings during analysis To critique and interpret findings	Focus Groups (Krueger, 1988) Elite Interviews (Marshall and Rossman, 1989, p. 94)

Table 1: LINES OF INQUIRY

Each line of inquiry that was utilized in this study is reviewed below.

Focus Groups

Focus groups were first used in market research, but their use by social scientists as a self-contained means of collecting data or to supplement other methods is increasing (Morgan, 1988a; Stewart and Shandasani, 1990). While, according to Krueger (1988), the "surface simplicity" of the focus group approach makes it seem artless and uncomplicated, it, in fact, requires a great deal of advance work to ensure that it works as it should. Its advantages are that it provides a non-threatening setting for getting at deeply held attitudes and perceptions and can provide these results in a relatively low cost and speedy manner. The interaction with other people can get at views

which might be less likely to surface in individual structured interviews. As Morgan (1988a) expresses it, "(t)he hallmark of focus groups is the explicit use of the group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group" (p. 12). For these reasons the technique can be a rich source of data for social science researchers.

Focus groups were used in this study to finalize the interview guide and to vet preliminary findings. In finalizing the interview guide, focus groups were used to identify any "issues that the researchers had not anticipated" (Morgan, 1988a) and to protect the study from what has been referred to as "scientific colonialism" (Briggs, 1986, p. 121), imposing the researcher's perspective by force fitting participants' experiences through the researcher's set of "disciplinary filters and blinders" (Morgan, 1988a, p. 31). Focus groups, thus, helped the researcher "to see the 'real' world as those under study see it" (Owens, 1982, p. 7).

Two series of focus groups were conducted, one at the beginning of the individual interviews and one following preliminary analysis of data. The first series consisted of three focus groups of six to eight people each, one group made up of both men and women, one made up of women only, and one made up of men only. Information on the size and composition of each group used is provided in Appendix A. While some authors recommend the use of groups as large as 10 or 12, it was assumed that groups made up of people interested in discussing an issue may function best if they are no larger than eight. Larger groups are likely to be frustrating for those people who, because of the size of the group, do not get an opportunity to fully express their views.

Also, these interviews were conducted at the researcher's home. Most private homes cannot comfortably accommodate a group larger than eight and groups will function best if members are comfortable. Other practical considerations related to the setting are important, as well. Ease of parking was another consideration, making the university a less desirable setting for groups.

Focus groups were used during the early stages of the study to guide the final construction of the interview guide and to determine whether the issues identified in the research literature were relevant to the observations and experiences of group members, as well as to identify any issues and attitudes which seemed relevant to the research questions but which did not appear to be covered by research to date. All groups took place in the researcher's home and were held in the evening. Participants came directly from work, met over appetizers, and shared a light dinner. Since most were strangers to one another, this served as a method of relaxing people before the groups began. As Krueger (1988) suggests, a pre-interview social activity such as this provided the researcher with an opportunity to observe individual styles which assisted in the group process later. Each group interview lasted from one and a half to two hours in length. The group interview began over dessert and coffee, with participants sitting around a table on which "name tents" had been placed by the researcher to try to ensure that quiet and more talkative individuals were strategically located to maximize their contribution, the more talkative ones at either side and quieter ones opposite the researcher-leader. The groups were made up of a combination of people with middle management experience, people knowledgeable about issues

related to gender and organizations (i.e. individuals who had participated in national task forces or commissions related to gender equity), and researchers and specialists (i.e. human resource or employment equity advisors) on women in the workplace. All groups were led by the researcher except for an all-male group which was led by a male and in which she did not participate.

The need for at least one focus group composed entirely of females was indicated by Stewart and Shandasani (1990) who report that research has consistently demonstrated that the nature of interaction in a group as well as the quality of the data obtained will be influenced by the gender composition of the group. For this reason, they report, many researchers conduct both same-gender and mixed-gender groups. According to the authors, among differences documented are that men in all male groups tend to be more competitive and status conscious while women in mixed groups tend to be less dominant than in all-female groups. They suggest that conducting both same-gender and mixed-gender groups produces "different but complementary insights" and "takes maximum advantage of the group as a data collection tool" (p. 43).

Focus groups were used again during the analysis phase of this study for the purpose of vetting preliminary "findings" and to test meanings, particularly themes, emerging from the data for their confirmability or validity. As part of the researcher's commitment to an interactive process, all managers who were interviewed were asked if they wished to participate in this series of post interview focus groups; approximately one third of them were randomly selected to do so in combination with individuals who had not been participants in

individual interviews. The anonymity of the interviewees was protected by asking them not to reveal to other group members that they had been interviewees and by the requirement that all participants sign a consent form designed specifically for focus group participants (Appendix B), agreeing not to reveal the results of focus group discussions and to respect the confidentiality of the other individuals involved. The researcher took care not to use personal quotations from the transcripts in group discussions nor in any other way to identify interviewees to others in the group.

This use of focus groups in analysis is consistent with the view (Krueger, 1988) that focus groups can be effectively used before, during and at the end of a study. Krueger advises (pp. 167-8) group leaders to consider providing an activity or something for participants to respond to, and this technique was used for the second series of groups where the objective was to gain reactions to the data and its interpretation. This use of focus groups during the analysis phase appears to be similar to the use made by Kanter (1977a) of "co-researchers" or organizational insiders who acted as a sounding board and testing ground for ideas and observations during the life of her study. Fernandez (1981), too, has used groups as a sounding board for ideas and interpretations during the analysis phase of a study. In that case, ten percent of the original sample participated in groups of ten to fifteen people. While he does not describe these as focus groups, they appear to have performed a function somewhat similar to that of focus groups.

The summary of focus group deliberations can take the form of a thematic summary of key points or themes discussed or an exact transcription (Morgan, 1988a, p. 69). Some researchers use content

analysis to systematically code and statistically analyze the data which, according to Morgan, is controversial. In his own research, he typically presents simple counts from transcripts of focus group data but does not perform any statistical tests which he argues would be an invalid use of statistics. Since the purpose of this study was to elicit new insights rather than to verify a priori hypotheses, the thematic summary seemed most appropriate. In addition, since the focus group discussions were wide ranging in order to draw on the individual expertise and experience of group members and, thus, were not directed by a standard guide, the researcher concluded that counts would be misleading. While all groups were audio-taped, the summary rather than exact transcriptions were used for the analysis of the deliberations of all groups.

Elite Interviews

Marshall and Rossman (1989) describe the use of elite interviews as a "specialized treatment of interviewing that focuses on a particular type of respondent" (p. 94). According to them, elites are those people considered to be influential, prominent or well-informed on an issue or subject relevant to the research. Goetz and LeCompte (1984) use the term key informant to describe such respondents, that is, "individuals who possess special knowledge, status, or communicative skills" (p. 119) which they are willing to share. The elites in this study included affirmative action and employment equity specialists, individuals who had served on various national and provincial commissions or task forces on such subjects as the status of women, affirmative action, or employment equity; as well as individual researchers who had

completed studies on these or a related subject. Elite interviews were conducted during the life of the study and their use illustrates the interactive process of data collection and analysis. They were used during the design and pre-testing of the interview guide to finalize it, while at later stages in the study elites interviewed were asked to react to emerging themes and interpretations as the interviews, and later the analysis, progressed. Each elite interview focused on the individual expertise of the interviewee rather than relying on a standard or uniform protocol for all. Thus, a researcher who had studied power would be asked to react to interpretations relating to that subject while an expert on employment equity might be expected to address issues of systemic discrimination. The national capital region was an excellent setting for this aspect of the study since it is the home base for many national organizations and individuals who have participated in national commissions or task forces, providing a large pool of informed and experienced potential interviewees from which to draw.

Not all elite interviews were audio-taped, but the tapes that were, were transcribed exactly. In cases in which company personnel specialists, for example, were uncomfortable about being identified or in which interviews with individuals in other cities were conducted by telephone, no audio-tapes were made. These interviews continued until "saturation", what Gummesson (1991) describes as the "diminishing marginal contribution of each additional case" (p. 85) was reached. At this point additional interviews were simply confirming conclusions from earlier interviews, focus groups, and the literature review. A list of the categories of elites included in the study is provided as Appendix L.

In-Depth Semi-Structured Interviews

The study employed in-depth interviews using a semi-structured interview technique (Briggs, 1986; Mishler, 1986) as its central data collection strategy. The researcher endeavoured to conduct all interviews in the offices of participating managers. Goetz and LeCompte (1984) report that life-history interviews are often conducted in respondents' homes or offices, settings interviewees tend to find most comfortable (p. 130). The interviews were transcribed exactly. Guba (1989) and Miles and Huberman (1984) promote the idea of analyzing during data collection because it enables the researcher to produce "rival hypotheses" which challenge routine hypotheses and biases and allows the researcher to collect new data to fill in gaps. According to them, "(a)nalysis during data collection lets the fieldworker cycle back and forth between thinking about existing data and generating strategies for collecting new, often better quality - data; . . . a healthy corrective for built-in blind spots" (p. 49). The plan is to transcribe and do a preliminary analysis of each interview before taping the next.

Among major limitations of many studies of gender and career, has been the reliance on literature reviews and survey research as well as the failure to include a matched sample of males. Until recently, research on women in leadership and management has been dominated by literature reviews (Fishel and Pottker, 1977; Frasher and Frasher, 1979; Adkison, 1981; Fauth, 1984; Yeakey, Johnston, and Adkison, 1986; Shakeshaft, 1987; and Beijer, 1988) and survey research (Schein, 1973 & 1976; Neuse, 1978; Palmer, 1983; Highman, 1985; and Pietromonaco, Manis, and Frohardt-Lane, 1986). Shakeshaft (1987)

speculates that the fact that many studies are the work of doctoral students with limited research budgets may explain the emphasis on literature reviews and survey research.

For the purposes of this study, it was assumed that interviews would provide an opportunity to extend earlier research by identifying subtle organizational factors which existing quantitative measures, particularly those relating to power (Wright, 1988; Frey, 1990), appear not to be refined enough at this point to identify. Another consideration was that interviews tend to be more inclusive than exclusive and might therefore identify new avenues for further study.

Males were included as participants in the study because recent research has tended to ignore their experiences. There has been a tendency to assume that the work of such writers as Whyte (1956), Dalton (1959), and Packard (1962) continues to accurately reflect the male experience in contemporary organizations. Apparently, in a reaction to some of the male-female comparisons of earlier research which took a difference-equals-deficit approach to the interpretation of results, many management researchers, particularly women researchers, have in recent years chosen not to include male managers in their studies. These same researchers conclude that contemporary women managers are more democratic, team-oriented, and humanitarian than are men. What such investigators may miss is that men may have become more democratic in management style in recent years. There is clearly a need for contemporary studies which examine the experiences of both males and females as this study undertakes to do.

A five part guide, Appendix D, served as the basis for the interview. The guide had been used for a study of visible minority managers in education (Russell and Wright, 1990) and finally pilot tested with four individuals comparable to those to be interviewed for the study, male and female middle level managers in education and public administration. The four test interviews were transcribed and analyzed by the researcher to determine the degree to which the guide elicited the kind of information on which to base an understanding of individual socialization and power experiences in organizations. Based on that analysis it was decided that with minor adjustments (Part 1, demographic data, became Part 5 and the question on marital status was reworded) the guide was ready to be used.

Areas covered by the guide include early career experiences or career histories (Goetz and Lecompte, 1984, p. 120) and work history; values and attitudes related to mentoring, professionalism, power, and success; current use of power; and views on male and female management styles and opportunities in contemporary organizations. Because the most difficult questions for respondents may be those relating to personal values and opinions on professionalism, success, and power, these were reserved for the middle part of the interview when rapport had been established and interviewee interest had been aroused (Goetz and LeCompte, p. 129).

Demographic and biographical information related to variables reported in the research literature were included as Part 5 of the interview guide. In particular, the interviews examined the career histories of interviewees, including their experience of organizational power through early career socialization experiences (Ortiz, 1982; Gould

and Penley, 1984), and their exercise of individual power later in their careers when they became managers. In the actual interview, points included in later sections of the guide sometimes came up in Part 1 as individuals described their careers. As Goetz and LeCompte point out, the flexibility in question order that is permitted with the nonscheduled and semi-structured interview approaches, made it possible for the interviewer to be more natural and responsive.

Experiencing organizational power through organizational socialization was examined by asking interviewees to describe their early career experiences (early career assignments, timing and reasons for job changes, whether they have had mentors, sponsors, or role models) and what they believed contributed most to their career success. A number of "why" questions, appropriate follow-up probes drawn from the literature, were used to determine whether socialization experiences had involved a response to opportunities provided by the organization or were in response to initiatives taken by the interviewee. In this way an attempt was made to separate personality factors related to primary socialization from organizational socialization factors determined by tokenism. Factors related to perception of power were studied by asking interviewees to identify the most powerful people in their organization by their location in the organization and the sources of their power and to provide a definition of power. Lastly, the exercise of power or power style was examined by means of a critical incident methodology and by having interviewees describe how they "get their own way" in the organization.

While the interview guide (Appendix D) was quite detailed, the researcher kept the interview itself as informal and conversational as

possible. The original plan had been to use a highly structured interview guide and to follow it exactly, what Goetz and LeCompte (1984) might describe as an "orally administered questionnaire". However, on the advice of Ortiz (Personal communication, March 29, 1990) a more semi-structured guide and the more informal, conversational approach to interviewing was adopted. As she pointed out, the highly structured approach would simply confirm or disconfirm what the literature reported while a guide which encouraged a more wide ranging and inclusive discussion would be more likely to generate new information and understandings.

The decision to adopt this more inclusive approach resulted in Part 1 of the guide becoming a very open ended question in which interviewees were asked to describe how they had entered the field, the types of positions held from first permanent job to the position currently held, reasons for changes along the way, and so on. Part 1, thus, produced a career history for each respondent. The sub-headings in the guide were used only when the interview bogged down or when more detail was needed to clarify points. Thus, the five major headings of the guide served as an outline to provide structure and consistency for each interview and the sub-headings served as material to be used in probing for more detail when required and when deemed appropriate rather than as sub-questions.

Each interview began with information about the purpose of the study, how the interview data would be used, and how confidentiality and anonymity would be protected. (See Appendix E for a copy of the interview consent form.) At the end of each interview respondents were asked if they could be contacted later to answer any questions that

might come up during transcription and analysis and whether they would be willing to participate in focus groups at the end of the study. None refused, although three males said that they might not have the time to do so because of work demands.

Personal power style was examined primarily using a critical-incident interview technique similar to that used by Mainiero (1980). While at an early stage in developing the study design, the plan had been to adopt measures of power based on the French and Raven (1959) typology, this was eventually rejected in favour of incorporating questions related to power in the interview guide itself. An assumption which this particular line of inquiry adopted was that interviews provided a more adequate measure of the phenomena being examined.

Interviews have an advantage over questionnaires, the preferred method of much of the previous research on gender, power, and leadership, in that they enable the researcher to probe subjects for further detail. The semi-structured interview technique was selected because it is less likely to unintentionally force-fit the experiences of females to a perspective defined by the experiences of white males, a perspective which dominates the research literature (Ortiz, personal communication, March 29, 1990). Daniels (1989a) writes that "an alert, experienced interviewer is sensitive to non-verbal communication . . . which can serve to give the interviewer important clues on when to press for additional comment or clarification". Frey (personal communication, January 21, 1990) suggests that the freedom to probe in this way increases the likelihood of identifying an individual's core style of exercising power. While interviews are more costly, and time

consuming to administer and analyze; often seeming to be "a task with no foreseeable end" (Daniels, 1989a), they can offer a richer source of information than do questionnaires.

Settings and Participants : Rationale, Selection, and Negotiation of Access

The settings and the participants for the study, including the rationale for choosing these particular settings and participants, are described below. The process of negotiating access to the settings and study participants is described, as well.

Settings

A number of researchers (McBroom, 1986) argue that since each field or type of organization has its own values, beliefs, and practices one should limit studies to one field or organization type. While acknowledging the value of this, Shakeshaft (1989b) points out that there is a need for comparative work to provide a better overview of the common problems women face in organizations. A practical difficulty of implementing the single organization view as promoted by McBroom is there are so few women at the management level in any one organization that restricting a researcher to one organization makes studies such as this one almost impossible.

Two settings, secondary school systems and federal government departments, were chosen for a number of reasons. They are structurally similar, characterized by closer supervisory hierarchies (Kanter, 1981; Asplund, 1988) than business; have been long-time

employers of women; have had fewer of the access barriers to women that have existed in such fields as science or business (Shakeshaft, 1987; Adler and Izraeli, 1988; Rebne, 1988); and employ adequate numbers of women in middle management positions to make a study of this type possible. Another reason for selecting the fields of education and public administration was that a number of studies have concluded that the men and women who choose careers in these fields are more similar in background, experience, and educational credentials than those who choose careers in other fields (Neuse, 1978; Shakeshaft, 1987).

Both settings could be described as examples of the professional organization (Mintzberg, 1989), existing in a stable environment and having their work standardized through the professional training workers bring to these settings. In support of the federal government as a setting, Sylvia Gold, former Chair of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, says "as the largest employer of women in Canada, the federal public service offers an ideal laboratory to study changing gender relations" (Morgan, 1988b, p.i). While, as noted earlier, two other recent studies (Morgan, 1988b; Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service, 1990) have involved federal government employees, neither focused directly on power or organizational socialization.

It was expected that the fact that approximately half the researcher's work career had been spent in each of the two organizational settings would facilitate boundary spanning (Schensul, Schensul, Gonzales, and Caro, 1981; Goetz and LeCompte, 1984). While acknowledging that unfamiliarity with the setting "allows for a fertile

'decentering' ", Miles and Huberman (1984) note that it can also engender "relatively naive, easily misled, easily distracted, and data overloaded field research" (p. 48). For them, the challenge for such researchers is to become "empirically literate" (p. 48).

Interviewees

Because the study included females and males as well as two organizational settings, a relatively large number of individuals were interviewed. In all, 12 male and 12 female middle-level managers were individually interviewed, all but one based in the national-capital region. It should be noted that the number of interviews is consistent with a number of qualitative studies using similar methodology. For example, Bendalow (1984) reports on 15 females; Lindberg (1985) reports on 12 females; Apfelbaum and Hadley (1986) report on 15 female interviewees; Lubin (1987) reports on five females; Bell and Chase (1989) report on 17 females; and Low (1989) interviewed 15 females.

The interviewees for this study are middle managers in six school systems and four government departments. While there was a scarcity of women managers at the secondary school level, there was a shortage of men at the senior management (SM) level, at least in the federal government departments involved in this study. One personnel officer offered the view that so few men hold SM positions because the management-oriented men in the organization have already been promoted beyond that level or moved through it quickly while women are just beginning to move into it in significant numbers or have stayed at that level longer.

The experience of middle managers presents an interesting focus for the study of organizational life. Sandwiched between the executive level at the top and the direct service delivery workers below and horizontally centred in the organization, they serve as a "linking pin" (Yutzey, 1988, p. 37) at the centre of people interactions in the organization. Thus, it was believed that they would have a particularly interesting perspective on power in organizations.

For the purposes of this study, middle manager is used in its generic sense to include those managers located at the middle level of the organizational hierarchy although the term middle manager tends to be used by the federal public service for a level just below the SM. Secondary school principals and vice-principals and SM category managers appear to have comparable levels of responsibility within their respective organizations, representing the top point of a relatively self-contained school or program setting. As middle level managers, both groups have opportunities to exercise power up and down in the organization and, it was believed, should have a better perspective on career paths to upward mobility, one aspect of this study. The degree to which this was true was determined by comparing generic job descriptions for each group as well as through consultations with personnel directors from both types of organizations.

Negotiation of Access

The study called for education-based interviewees to be drawn from the secondary school principalship only and public servant interviewees from SM level managers within the federal public service. Concern was expressed by the research committee of one board

of education that because the number of female principals in the entire region was so small (seven women principals out of 46), it would be difficult to preserve the anonymity of female participants. The research committee suggested that the study be extended to include elementary principals because "the jobs were similar enough to warrant inclusion of both panels" (Letter, December 19, 1991).

The researcher offered an alternative proposal to the board which involved, if necessary, extension of the study to include more boards and participants from the secondary vice-principalship rather than the elementary principalship. The rationale provided for this was that a focus of the study was career patterns and the literature suggests that elementary principalships, like the "velvet ghetto" (Ghiloni, 1987) of communications and personnel in business and public administration, have traditionally been more open to women. Because the careers of women administrators in elementary and secondary schools may develop quite differently, the researcher was concerned that the study could be complicated by combining interviewees from both the elementary and secondary panels. The alternative suggested was acceptable to the board. In the end, this was not required. The pilot interview which had been conducted with a woman principal from another jurisdiction was included in the group of six women educators.

Another board was concerned that the proposal called for participants to be nominated rather than to be "randomly selected" from a public document, the Directory of Education published by the Ontario Ministry of Education. This recommendation presented two problems, random sampling for a qualitative study and the source of

interviewees. Because the document cited for use identified some female principals as Ms. or Mrs. and others by first initial only, it was impossible to use it to compile a list of potential interviewees which was half male and half female. While most boards had other public documents listing administrators by first name, some did not. It was therefore necessary to contact these boards directly, asking them to identify their female administrators. For the sake of expediency, the researcher agreed at the request of two research committees to randomly select potential interviewees from lists which combined information obtained from public documents with that obtained by personal contacts.

There was no consistent pattern for negotiating access to employees of school systems, some systems having a very informal process which simply required the researcher to provide one set of documents relating to the study and others having a much more formal and time consuming review process and requiring as many as 13 copies of all documents related to the study. One factor in shaping their response may have been sensitivity to gender issues generated by the recent directive from the Ontario Ministry of Education (Appendix K) setting the year 2000 as the target date for staffing half the administrative positions in Ontario school systems with women.

The SM interviewees were selected from lists of SM level managers compiled using the Government of Canada Telephone Directory, SM level managers usually holding positions with the title of director. Participants were drawn from departments which have a social or cultural focus, excluding any managers from the "velvet ghetto" (Ghiloni, 1987) of personnel or communications.

In summary then, the following choices regarding sampling parameters as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984, pp. 37-8) grew out of the conceptual framework and the five research questions which guided this study.

SAMPLING PARAMETERS	CHOICES
Settings	Work organizations, specifically secondary schools and government departments
Actors	Male and female middle managers (Principals, SMs)
Events	Organizational socialization, management power style
Process	Individual interviews, focus groups

Table II: CHOICES REGARDING SAMPLING PARAMETERS

Data Analysis: Reduction and Display Techniques

Miles and Huberman (1984) consider analysis to involve "three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification" (p. 21). Data reduction for them includes selecting and transforming the raw data by such means as summaries, clustering, and "teasing out themes" (p. 21). Wolcott (1990,

p. 18) describes this process as a winnowing of material to communicate only its essence, something he acknowledges becomes more difficult as one's commitment to letting the interviewees or respondents provide their own interpretation of meanings and events increases. Miles and Huberman see data display as an organized assembly of information by means of a matrix and conclusion drawing/verification as involving decisions on meanings, patterns, explanations, etc. (p. 22). Figure V illustrates the process by which data drawn from the various interview strategies used were synthesized.

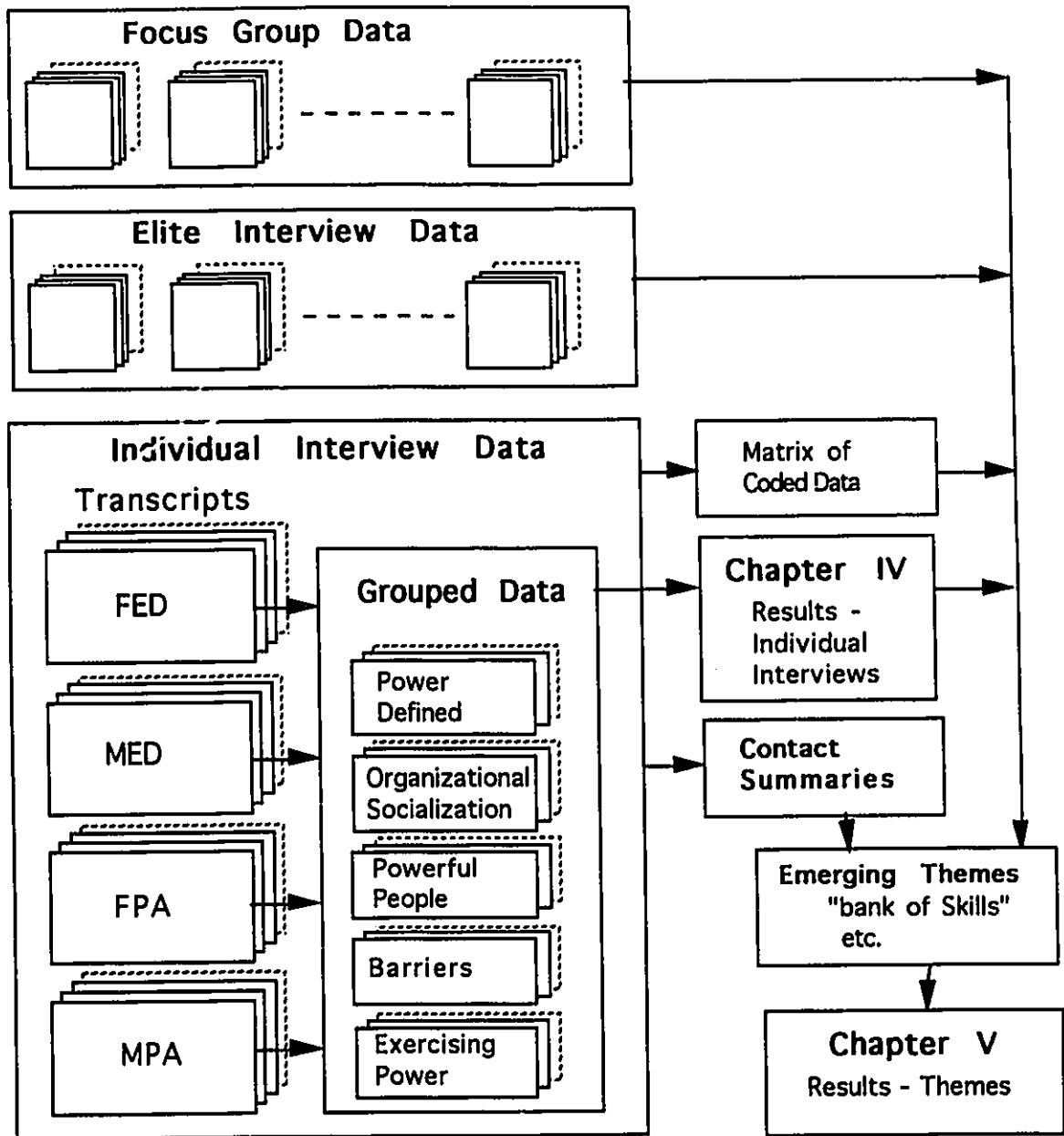


FIGURE V THE DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS

While Figure V may make it appear that the process proceeds in a linear way, it, in fact, is an iterative interactive process, which makes use of the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) or "running analysis" of materials (Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961). Data gathering and analysis occurred concurrently. As recommended

by Becker et al. (1961), Spradley (1979), and Guba (1989), the researcher attempted to conduct a preliminary analysis of each interview before proceeding to the next. Systematic procedures were used in the transcription of the taped interviews, including all interviewer questions (Spradley, 1979; Mischler, 1986). Analysis also included field notes on more objective information such as individual work environments and factors relating to the actual interviews. A diary or journal (Field and Morse, 1985) was kept in order to record more subjective hunches and preliminary impressions. Spradley (1979) describes this technique as a form of "brainstorming". All data were analyzed on the basis of the research questions. Focus groups and peer examination techniques were used to vet some of these findings following the preliminary analysis. Descriptions of the components of data analysis follow.

Contact Summaries

Contact summaries (Appendix J) were compiled for each interview during the process of transcribing the tape and the final editing of the transcript. Compilation of the contact summaries involved making notes of any insights gained during the interview or transcription as well as any relationships to experiences described by other interviewees. Notes on the setting and impressions of the interviewee made at the time of the interview were included in these contact summaries. Reflective remarks involving second thoughts on meanings, mental notes, references to links to other data were identified by square brackets, [], (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 65).

This convention was used as a way of separating descriptive and reflective notes during data collection and analysis.

Emerging Themes

During transcription, themes emerged which related to themes already noted or ones which had not yet occurred to the researcher. The emerging sub-file (Appendix J) documenting these themes performed a useful data reduction function, what Miles and Huberman (1984) might describe as "making metaphors" (p. 221). This technique is a particularly useful one for drawing together and integrating data from interconnected lines of inquiry. Additions were made to this sub-file as they developed, as opposed to only during the transcription process. As each theme was created it was dated and sourced (interview, focus group, elite interview, conversation, a rereading of the literature) so that at any point in the study it would be possible to retrace one's steps. These themes are presented in Chapter V.

Coding

According to Taylor and Bogdan (1984), "in qualitative research coding is a systematic way of developing and refining interpretation of the data" (p. 136). In this study, each transcript was reviewed for content and marginal notes were made. Data were then coded, initially according to the main categories identified in the conceptual map for the overall study, Figure II. An identification code was assigned to each data category and these were used to translate that information to a matrix (Table III, Socialization to Work, and Appendix F). Every effort was made to have the codes "fit the data and not vice versa" (Taylor

and Bogdan, 1984, p. 137), allowing for addition of an "other" category over time. Data were also colour coded on the transcript itself using highlighters, each main subject area in a different colour. This process facilitated analysis of data in Data Grouping.

Matrix

The matrix presented in Appendix F was used to summarize demographic and other data related to the key concepts being examined, organizational socialization and power. The categories for the matrix were initially drawn from the literature review and early focus group and elite interview data, but they evolved over the life of data collection and analysis, new categories being added as new data or continuing examination of existing data suggested new categories. For example, "humour" (III, 3, a - HU) was added after the two pilot interviews with women middle managers who described using humour to deal with gender stereotyping; "teaching/coaching" experience (I, 7, d - T) was added after several male educators described how experience in coaching a sports activity had influenced their later choice of education as a career; and "major/discipline" (I, 9 - DIS) was added after two early interviews in which managers described how their university majors had provided them with unexpected visibility and opportunities. It is easy when using a matrix in this way to force fit data into existing categories rather than searching for new ones. The matrix was used in an "accounting for" rather than in a "counting" approach, only the presence or absence of data being noted. While useful in helping to identify patterns of experience or common elements of anticipatory socialization, this use of a matrix had less

utility than expected since it was not possible to capture the degree to which a variable was present or not when the main source of information was semi-structured interviews rather than highly structured interviews or questionnaires. For the same reason an early plan to construct conceptual maps similar to those used by Yutzey (1988) for each interviewee was discarded. This activity had been designed as an attempt to discern patterns in or relationships between concepts or categories but it failed to illustrate such patterns reliably. Again, the problem was that the data obtained from semi-structured interviews were difficult to reduce to a manageable number of categories.

Data Grouping

This activity involved grouping data into categories that had been colour coded as part of the coding process. Each category was identified by the focus of the five research questions, as powerful people, definitions of power, and so on. Lindberg (1985) describes such grouping of data as providing "a physical picture of the amount of data going into each category" (p. 80). Its purpose is not to base conclusions or interpretations on the amount of data since "(t)he best insights sometimes come from a small amount of data" (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984, p. 139). Grouping data in this way facilitates analysis. In this study, it was useful to be able to do a search for key words, such as those relating to values, power, or confidence.

One of the challenges of reporting the results of a qualitative study such as this one is the balance that must be maintained between the need to reveal enough to assure the reader that the conclusions

drawn are justified while not revealing enough to put the anonymity promised participants at risk. The method that was used involved presentation of a combination of jump cuts, the layering and dovetailing of elements of their experiences in such a way as to protect their identities while accurately reflecting those experiences. Printouts of the contact summaries, subjectivity audit, and emerging themes sub-file as well as a diary or log were kept in a binder for mulling over during fallow periods in data collection and analysis. As Ortiz (1972) notes, this can serve as a useful record of the process, as a source of material for elite interviews and focus groups, and as a facilitator for thinking about the emerging findings.

Methodological Rigour

The following discussion describes the standards of inquiry which were observed in the process of data collection and analysis to ensure the methodological adequacy of the study. Miles and Huberman (1984) are critical of the "somewhat magical approach" (p. 20) to analysis of qualitative data which tends to dominate discussions of methodology. They say that since qualitative researchers are in a more fluid and pioneering position than are quantitative researchers, "qualitative analysis needs to be documented as a process more fully than it has been to date" (p. 23) in order to facilitate auditing and to develop methods which are more generally reproducible. Further support for rigorously documenting the process is provided by Wolcott (1990) who cautions against simply assuming method in qualitative study.

To ensure that rigorous standards of inquiry are observed and maintained and to document the process of design, data collection, analysis, and interpretation, a running file was maintained which was updated on a regular basis. It included a log, which contained a record of the study as well as material for an audit trail; the record of emerging themes, notes for a subjectivity audit (Peshkin, 1988), and contact summaries (Miles and Huberman, 1984) of each interview. The diary or log included impressions and insights resulting from conversations, reading, etc.; notes on conversations and written communications with people such as committee members and university or school system ethics and research committees, insights gained from presentations to classes or other groups including questions asked or suggestions made, and contacts related to appointments for interviews. In addition, the diary-log served as an annotated index to make possible an "audit trail" as recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985). According to them, "(t)he audit trail may be the single most important trustworthiness technique available" to the qualitative researcher (p. 283).

While for the purposes of this study the two were treated as one, Owens (1982) distinguishes an audit trail from a log. According to him, the log functions as a personal journal in which the nature and locale of all contacts including interviews and peer consultations, and how these affected the study are recorded during the length of the study. An audit trail consists of this log but includes information on the logic behind all decisions and documents decisions related to design and implementation as they are made. In addition, he says, the audit trail records what triggered decisions and the "hunches, guesses, feelings, and perceptions of the investigator as they occurred" (Owens, 1982, p.

13). The log used for this study noted the version and location of documents which preserve the record of the study such as notes on meetings, transcripts and raw notes from interviews, audio tapes, documents which served as data sources, all versions of interview guides as they developed, and focus group guidelines. With this information an audit trail exists, making it possible for the researcher or independent external auditors to examine and verify the study at any time during or afterwards or for another researcher to replicate the study, an important aid to establishing trustworthiness.

Researchers must be concerned about the impact of their subjectivity on a study. Rather than trying to deny or repress this since, as Peshkin (1988) notes, "one's subjectivity is like a garment that cannot be removed" (p. 17), the researcher can adopt a technique suggested by Peshkin for conducting a "subjectivity audit" to systematically identify instances of subjectivity as the study progresses. Peshkin suggests that becoming aware of one's subjectivity in this way keeps one "mindful of its enabling and disabling potential" (1988, p. 18). Notes for the subjectivity audit were made during or immediately after an interview, since interviewees often seem to find note taking during the actual interview distracting. The subjectivity audit revealed a tendency on the part of the researcher to stereotype male interviewees, to assume that male managers would not exhibit a "care voice" (Gilligan, 1982), for example. The subjectivity audit generated awareness of this and other biases, reducing their potential for damage.

Field and Morse (1985, p. 121) suggest that peer examination, soliciting colleagues' assistance in examining field notes and transcripts to see if they identify the same categories and structures within the data

as the researcher does, can serve as a validity and reliability check, as well. Peer examination was used in the development of the interview guide; in interpretations of some early transcripts, and in the summaries of focus group transcripts. Examiners included two experienced sociologists and two psychologists from work organizations as well as four professors. Owens promotes the use of member checks, "perhaps the single most important means available to the naturalistic inquirer for establishing the credibility of an inquiry" (1982, p. 15). Member checking was done less directly by incorporating that concept in elite interviews and focus groups, particularly the final series of focus groups in which some interviewees participated.

Limitations to the Study

The following limitations to the study are acknowledged. The organizational settings for the study - government agencies with a focus on educational, cultural and social issues and school boards, as well as the geographic setting - the region surrounding the national capital, are unique in many ways. Some of the data obtained, therefore, may not be generalizable beyond those particular organizational settings and that region. The intent of the study, however, is not to generate data which will be immediately generalizable, but rather to test a framework based on concepts which have not yet been combined or tested in quite this way and to provide for possible transferability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) to other settings. Such a study may generate insights which contribute to a better understanding of men and

women middle managers' careers and work lives across organizational settings.

The data were obtained largely from individual interviews. Although these were conducted in work settings, opportunities for observing interactions and behaviors were limited. The researcher was dependent on respondents' reconstruction of events and critical incident methodology to determine respondent experiences, behaviors, and views. Ideally, observation of the managers in action and/or interviews with colleagues would strengthen the study.

A final limitation is that participants were asked to provide retrospective perceptions as well as current ones. As oral history research has argued, such introspections are subject to some distortion.

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has described the data sources for this study as well as the methodology used in collecting and analyzing that data. A number of procedures have been described which are designed to check and validate conclusions and thus enhance the credibility of the study. Among these are triangulation, using a number of sources of information and data to collect information on the same phenomena, ensuring "the potential for cross-checking and verifying the data" (Owens, 1982, p. 15); a subjectivity audit (Peshkin, 1988), peer examination or consultation, discussing the study with "qualified peers who are interested" (Glazer and Strauss, 1967) and member checks (Owens, 1982); and the log or diary which includes documentation and annotations which can be used as an audit trail.

In the next chapter the results of the study are presented organized by research question and interviewee group. The focus of the chapter is the data obtained from individual interviews with middle managers. Where possible, these findings are presented in both narrative and tabular form. In Chapter V themes which emerged during the life of the study are presented. These themes integrate data obtained from the individual interviews, focus groups, and elite interviews and are organized under the conceptual umbrellas of organizational socialization and power.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

Chapter IV presents the results of interviews with men and women middle managers with regard to their experience and exercise of power. It begins by presenting the results of the first research question which examines the early career experiences interviewees describe having undergone which relate to organizational socialization. As outlined in Chapters I and II, for the purposes of this study organizational socialization represents the experiencing of organizational power. The organization can choose to provide or to withhold these types of experiences and the research literature (Kanter 1977a; McCall et al., 1988) suggests that those from whom they are withheld will be less able to exercise power when they assume management positions.

Following the presentation of results drawn from interview data relating to experiencing power, Research Question #1, and to interviewee perceptions of barriers to advancement, Research Question #2, the chapter continues with the presentation of results of the remaining three research questions which relate to how the study participants perceive and exercise power.

Quotations from interviewee transcripts are identified by the pseudonym assigned that interviewee (Appendix C) and by numbers in brackets which indicate the line numbers for locating the quotation in the original transcript.

**Early Career Patterns - Organization Initiated Opportunities
For Power Related Socialization**

Research Question #1

Do the early career patterns of female middle managers differ from those of male middle managers in terms of the range and number of organization initiated opportunities provided them for power-related socialization?

In this section, the type, range and frequency of organizational socialization to work experiences are reported. As Table III illustrates, in comparing male and female interviewees, both educators and public administrators, appear to be relatively similar in terms of credentials and experience. The differences between the two groups tend to be ones which only become clear when interview data are subjected to qualitative analysis.

TABLE III: SOCIALIZATION TO WORK

		FED	FPA	MED	MPA
I.	Anticipatory Socialization				
1.	Family Influence				
	a. Parents	FI F/M M=2;F=3	M=4;F=3	M=1;F=2+,2-	M=1;F=2-
	b. Grandparents	GM/GF GM=1;GF=0	GM=3;GF=1	GM=0;GF=1	-
	c. Other	O -	1	-	-
2.	Role Model	RM 2	2	1	1
3.	Mentor	M 3	-	1	-
4.	Teachers	T 3	2	1	2
5.	Leadership experience	LD			
	a. Clubs, cadets, etc.	C 1	1	1	3
	b. Student government	SG 1	1	5	2
	c. Debating	D 1	1	1	-
	d. Teaching/coaching	TC -	3	4	2
6.	Schools	SCH			
	a. Single sex	P 3	3	3	1
	b. Co-ed	CE 3	3	3	5
	c. Catholic	CA 2	1	2	1
7.	Major/Discipline				
	a. Arts	A 2	-	2	1
	b. Math &/or Sciences	M 3	3	2	-
	c. Social Sciences	SS 1	3	2	5
8.	P.A./Educ. in Family	FA 3	-	3	2
9.	Sports	SP 1	2	5	5
II.	Organizational Socialization	OS			
1.	Training	TR 1	2	-	-
2.	Development	DEV			
	a. Conferences	C 3	2	1	1
	b. Special assignments	SA 6	6	6	6
	c. Highly visible assignment	VI 6	6	6	6
	d. Task force	TF 3	3	2	3
	e. Union Experience	UN 4	-	4	-
3.	Task variety	VAR 6	6	6	6
4.	Mentor/Coach	MEN 3	4	4	4
5.	Role Model	RM 2	1	-	4
6.	Colleague support	COL 5	3	3	-
7.	Sponsor	SP 5	2	3	3
8.	Professional Association	PA 6	6	1	3
9.	Community Group Work	CO 2	4	1	1
10.	Appraisal	APP 1	1	-	-
11.	Risk taking	RT 1	4	6	1

Code:

FED = Female Educators
 FPA = Female Public Administrators
 MED = Male Educators
 MPA = Male Public Administrators

+ = positive influence
 - = negative influence
 0 = clearly negative response
 - = not mentioned

Excerpts of interviewee comments which relate to organizational socialization are presented in Appendix H.

Female Educators

Ann:

Ann has the most administrative experience of any of the women educators interviewed. She has been principal of a secondary school for six and a half years following nine years as a vice-principal, and 12 years in the classroom. She at first explains her entry into administration as due to luck, but then explains that by luck she means timing, having the needed skills and experience when opportunities for women in educational administration were opening up.

Of all the women interviewed, both educators and public servants, Ann has had the longest and most positive experience of being mentored by a single individual. Her mentor, a former teacher, had persuaded her to become an educator after she had decided on another field and had been her principal during her first years as a teacher. She describes him as coaching and encouraging her, "setting the stage" (963-964) for her career, with such comments as, "go get your master's. Plan. You should be in administration" (42-43); "you are probably going to decide that you want a career in administration and you're not going to be satisfied just being in the classroom" (107-108); and, "you're probably going to become a principal . . . or . . . you know, you should be working on your doctorate" (961-962). "And so", she says, "I started my masters because I like going to school" (109-110). Her mentor-principal said that he wanted her to chair a committee on "new math". She had a mathematics degree and, as she says, "(a)t that time the fellows who had maybe been teaching six to seven years more

were afraid of 'new math' " (80-82). Thus, while still a relative beginner she had considerable visibility across the system.

Like a number of interviewees, Ann describes encountering barriers and while she says that it was not in her nature "to rock the boat" or to confront someone in authority she would "make it very plain that I didn't appreciate that and find another way to go and do what I wanted to do" (126-128). While Ann has benefited from having had a mentor, she has also been very proactive in terms of dealing head-on with problems and opportunities. She does not wait for things to happen. Her career has advanced at a steady pace while she has been accumulating experience and credentials. Ann brings a lot of energy and enthusiasm to her work. As she describes those early years, she was an eager volunteer and, because there were not a lot of teachers who were "wanting to do things", she got into executive positions early.

Her first assignment as a vice-principal was with a principal and vice-principal who were very close to retirement and not particularly dynamic or inspiring colleagues. However, like several others interviewed who were able to make the best of what others might see as a negative experience, she says, "(I)t was a hoot because they would let me do whatever I wanted and I, of course, I wanted to do things because I was new" (307-309). She goes on to describe the high comfort level she felt in this situation despite challenges. "(A)nd I knew that I would have their support so I got myself into all kinds of things and the guys started to challenge. It was always the men" (311-313). Her sense that she had support and her own sense of justice and fair play,

that everyone should be treated in the same way, seem to have carried her through these situations.

Like two other women educators interviewed, Mary and Marianne, Ann depends on and receives moral support from a network of friends in the field. Unlike men's networks, theirs seem to be based more on nurturing support than on professional experience and information sharing.

Mary:

Mary, too, majored in math, a non-traditional field for women at the time she was studying, as well as in chemistry. While Mary did not have a mentor, in many other ways her career closely parallels Ann's. She is an extremely involved educator, active in professional associations and tried for leadership positions relatively early in her career.

Mary describes her first permanent assignment in an administrative role and the new perspective, "big picture", of the organization which that experience provided her. She seems to have sensed at this point in her career that such experiences were important ones in providing the skill base and overview necessary to succeeding as an administrator. She participated in a number of activities which provided visibility, including production of math teaching materials for non-math specialists.

Mary describes her early exposure to administration and how that rather unusual experience resulted in her ambition for and understanding of how one advances into administration. As she describes it, she was offered an acting headship replacing a mathematics

head who was on leave. She had never thought, she says, of moving up but that exposure to administration seems to have generated interest in and ambition for an administrative career. Early in her career she had wanted only to be head of mathematics, but says that those jobs always went to men. Mary says that she would have been content to be head of mathematics with no ambitions beyond that. However, when she was denied that job she felt frustrated and started to compete for other administrative positions, eventually becoming a principal.

Looking back over the 22 years of her teaching career during which she completed her teacher training and obtained masters and doctoral degrees, Mary talks about the importance which access to good child care has made in her career. An older female relative came daily to her home so that, as she says, "I certainly didn't feel uncomfortable if I had a meeting, staying for a meeting. It made all of that possible for me. Which wouldn't have happened if I had to go to day care" (215-218). Thus, she appears not to have had to significantly reduce her professional activities with the arrival of children.

Mary also talks about the lag in women's careers and the way in which women's career advancement used to be slowed by motherhood. This, she says, was especially true a few years ago when the board used a point system for promotions and women lost points when they took maternity leave.

Early in the interview Mary had described her colleagues and herself in the early days of her career as working and playing hard. Late in the interview she again makes reference to this in comparing teachers coming into the field nowadays with her peer group, "I don't

think any of them are as driven as we were" (508). She does not appear to see these different values which some younger teachers hold in negative terms, however. She goes on to talk about how things have changed over the past 20 years, particularly about how ambitious her generation of teachers were for promotion.

Mary, like Ann, has a female colleague with whom she prepared for competitions, something male educators have just begun to do. Later in her career she has benefited from both mentors and role models, all female it appears. She describes what one of these people, a woman administrator who has served as a role model, has done for her and that through that example she has learned to do the same for others. She says of that experience, "(b)ut I realized from people helping me how much a little bit is. How little you have to give somebody who just needs that little push" (Mary, 554-556).

Mary is critical of the path some women choose to get ahead and attributes her own success to the fact that she competed for jobs she felt she could do well. She was not, she says, prepared to take any job simply to advance her career.

Connie:

During her career, Connie has taught every grade. This range of teaching experience is quite unusual among those interviewed, especially when compared to that of the men interviewed. Early in her career and later, after taking a number of years off to care for children, Connie was encouraged to consider an administrative career. She says that initially she had no interest in it and that her interest only developed about five years ago. As she describes herself, "I was a late

bloomer on the administration end of things" (431-432). When she returned to full-time teaching after a break to care for her young children, she worked for a principal who encouraged her to consider a career in administration.

Like Ann and Mary, Connie was very active in various professional activities early in her career. These activities, along with her teaching performance, appear to have brought her to the attention of more senior staff and she was asked if she would be interested in a principalship. She was not interested in a principalship at that time, feeling that she "was not ready", but admits that in later years as she observed others who had been promoted to principalships that she had some regrets, feeling that she could have done just as well as they did in the job.

Among activities she was involved in very early in her career were negotiations involving work conditions and salaries. In her early twenties, she served on the local teacher's association, worked on the executive and worked her way up to serve as president of the local association for two terms. She describes those years as "a much less complicated time" (123). Like Ann, she says that not many others were interested in doing volunteer work for teacher organizations and other groups so she quickly rose to executive positions. While she was at home with young children she did a lot of volunteer work for her local school, developing an overview of school operations, a better political awareness, and an understanding of fiscal issues. She has had several mentors, male and female.

One of the most striking features about Connie's career, when compared with those of the other women educators interviewed, is

that while she appears to be the most passive of the women interviewed, she has been offered administrative opportunities for which the others have had to fight. Perhaps, because she was so passive her male colleagues considered her a "safe" woman to promote. She says that because the "old boy's network" still exists, women like her have to work especially hard to establish networks of their own. She talks about the difficulty many women have in finding mentors, partly because men in senior positions do not know how to mentor female colleagues. She has benefited from being mentored by someone whom she describes as less than comfortable in the role, but she describes another colleague who was very direct and clear that his was a mentoring role. She goes on to describe that experience as follows, "yet another person, the gentleman who originally encouraged me to get into this, was very clear that it was a mentoring role, and that he would meddle in my career as much as he had to in order to help me get to where I wanted to go" (Connie, 418-421).

Connie attributes her success to hard work and to having grown up in a very supportive family. She firmly believes that hard work will be rewarded with recognition, and that one can accomplish almost anything if one works hard enough.

All of the women educators comment on their feelings of being all alone, being in "a bit of a lonely position" (Mary, 102-103), of "you're on your own" (Ann, 502-503). Connie illustrates these experiences with a description of the first meeting of principals she attended after her appointment. She was the only woman principal at the meeting and admits to feeling intimidated by this.

Alison:

Alison, like Connie, has taken time out from her career. While Connie did it to concentrate on her parenting responsibilities, Alison took several leaves to follow her husband's career assignments. As she explains it, "given the times, I moved for his career all over the world" (16). Like Connie, Alison used these periods away from her job to advantage. In each location she studied or did voluntary work in education related activities which have added considerably to her bank of skills. Often she participated in activities which would have been impossible to do in her own community during those years, such as working with racial minority students in an inner city school. While following a husband's career can limit career advancement since one usually loses one's place in the hierarchy or seniority in the organization, in Alison's case she seems to have come back from each of these assignments considerably enriched and more valuable to her organization. The difference for Alison may be in her more positive and curious approach, always seeing the opportunities provided by a new setting or new experience, living out a kind of "lifelong learning" perspective. As she sums up these experiences, "(t)he moving was interesting, it provoked new situations and luckily always positive" (278-279). While the end result for Alison has been positive, clearly it is very challenging to keep a career alive under such circumstances.

Like Mary, Alison has had excellent child care arrangements which she acknowledges is very important. She says that she was always able to go to work feeling quite relaxed about the welfare of her children. She also says that child care remains a major concern for members of her staff.

She describes the difficulty she experienced in getting access to the principal's training course, a prerequisite to competing for a position as principal, and her determination to acquire the credentials necessary for advancement. She was rejected for the principals' course twice, not gaining acceptance until the selection process was opened up to any applicant interested in taking the course, not simply to those who were nominated by their supervisors.

Alison, like Connie, was active in her teachers' organization, holding a number of executive positions over the years. She takes pride in the fact that "I worked my way up right through the hierarchy, no jumping" (243-244). On the work side Alison had responsibility for a variety of projects early in her career, including implementation of a very controversial new curriculum. These experiences gave her visibility and exposure to the administrative side of education. She describes developing ambition for administration from a close-up look or exposure to the role:

And in it (the curriculum project), of course, I worked with principals. And, well, I thought, "I think I'd like to try it". It was observing, having the chance of observing. I could see what they were doing and maybe saying, "I could do it as well, if not better", and having your own ideas of how you'd run a school. (97-100).

Again, like several of the other women managers and a couple of the male managers interviewed, Alison turns what could be a career setback to her advantage. A reorganization of the school system with which she was employed resulted in her and several others "who were the rookies" (107) being declared redundant. She used that situation as

an opportunity to complete a degree program she had been enrolled in on a part-time basis. Looking back on that experience now she says, "(S)o I chose to take that year off. That was a good decision. I chunked away virtually all of my M.A." (110-111). Her mother's early encouragement "to get those credentials" (91) and the support of her husband, one of those she identifies as a mentor, for her career probably account to a large degree for that decision.

Another family member whom she describes as a mentor is her mother. She says that her mother worked hard, raising 10 children and then returning to university to complete a degree and graduating at age 62. Among role models Alison talks about are, "some principals, both male and female" (212). She goes on to say, "I taught with Sisters in both (place name) and (place name). They were definitely pro-young women getting their degrees. There was that factor. My first experience with a principal here, so so, but there were some good dynamic young women on the staff and everyone was doing their degrees so it was the norm, they were all doing it, peer support" (212-217). In terms of pressure to get her credentials, she also had a woman principal whom she describes as very encouraging and who kept advising her to get the courses worked off so that if some opportunity came along she would be ready.

Alison describes herself as having a "pretty good network" (335). Like Mary and Ann and, Matt, one of the male educators, she says she uses her network now to get a "reflective perspective" (343-344), as a kind of sounding board. She says that she is sometimes accused of rambling or not being as "focussed" as her male colleagues would prefer. She says later, however, that she tries "to keep the entire

operation kind of in context and try to look at all the various bits and pieces. I'm not a single minded curriculum person. I'm very open" (384-386).

Alison talks about the frustrations of middle management, but reveals, perhaps, an alternative style of management which allows a leader to admit a mistake. She says that as a middle manager she is sometimes caught between decisions of senior managers and her staff or students. She illustrates this with an example of a senior manager's mistake which she has to live with simply because he refuses to acknowledge his error in judgement.

Kathryn:

Kathryn is the only one of the women educators interviewed who had started her working life in another profession. She left her first career because of marriage and her husband's move to another region. She came into education in the 1960s when there was a shortage of teachers and after having been at home with young children for a short time. She started her career in another province and eventually moved to Ontario, again following her husband's career.

Like Ann and Mary, Kathryn became a mathematics specialist. At this point in her teaching career she says, "I was anxious to get on because I started to look back and to be rather angry at the fact that I had to start three times. It made me angry and I guess it gave me a bit of an impetus to try and do" (84-86). She seems to have had a clearer idea than any of the other women educators of how one got ahead and she was very focused in her approach. When asked what she did, she says,

"(i)t was just slogging away, doing all the right things, teaching at the university, doing all the stuff that's expected, making people notice you and then the climate was right for women" (38-40). When asked how she figured out that this was the way to advance, Kathryn says that it just made sense to her because "the competition is so extreme that you have to do something that makes you noticed more than the others" (82-83).

She identifies one woman colleague as having been very supportive of her career, "because she saw I was competent and just generally, I think, furthering the cause of women" (148-149). She goes on to point out that "I've had many men who have been extremely supportive of me as a person and as a colleague, absolutely. It's just that the others (ones who tried to hold her back) I remember, they come to mind first" (184-186).

Like a number of the women educators, Kathryn has been active in her teachers' organization. She explains her reason for that involvement as follows: "(i)f you are a mover and shaker you're going to want to have some control of your destiny and the federation is a logical place to get involved" (350-352).

Marianne:

From the beginning of her career, Marianne has devoted a lot of time and energy to her academic studies as well as to special projects and work with professional associations, at the national as well as local and provincial levels. She sees these provincial and national projects as particularly useful in providing her with an overview of the organization. She has authored curriculum documents, undertaken

projects for the provincial ministry of education, and taken on numerous high profile projects locally. She eventually developed interest in administration because of the encouragement of two male principals for whom she worked. One of these men advised her to apply for administrative positions to get, as she describes it, "a broader look at things". Again, like several others of the women interviewed, she learned early that acquiring that "big picture" was important to career advancement. Like Alison, she encountered difficulties gaining access to the principals' course. As she describes it, she was informed that the male candidates had to be sent to the course first. When asked why she thinks this happened, she describes the attitudes which she believes shaped the thinking of senior board officials during that period. In those days, she says, it was unlikely that women would be considered for principalships or vice-principalships so that from the perspective of senior administrators, it made sense to send men to the course.

She uses one of her job changes to illustrate what she sees as the difference in the way men and women view the word challenge. She transferred to a school where the resources for her subject area were inadequate or in short supply. She says that some of her male colleagues and even her new principal saw the position as being beneath her skills and experience and saw the move as a career risk. Of this she says, "I think if women say it's a challenge, they mean it might be interesting and 'I'm going to learn a lot. And I'm going to really get into it.' Men who hear women say that think that women mean, 'I don't want to take the job and I can't do it' " (125-128). This experience, she says, taught her a lot about change, made her more promotable and

hireable, and put her in another setting where she had a very supportive male principal, the third in her teaching career.

Marianne describes what she sees as "some very fortunate happenstances along the way" (166) in her career. One of these, she says, was the fact that "(a) woman had been promoted ahead of me, an exceptionally talented woman, so it made it easier, I think. At least in our board we can't afford any female duds yet because there aren't enough of us" (166-169). She adds that she "had that good fortune" plus "some male mentorship support" (170-171). She says that each of her first two mentors valued talent and competence. She describes how the older of the two, a man whom many people viewed as very conservative and traditional, helped her;

He was a person who also valued competence and talent and he'd never had an opportunity to work with a woman before and he decided that I was principal material so he gave me a lot of tough assignments and a lot of opportunities to learn and a lot of tough, tough, honest feedback. He thought enough of me to tell me the truth. (Marianne, 189-193)

She describes how he told other people that she was "principal material" and how that "pre-publicity" helped her career. According to Marianne, this man created an expectation across the system that she would succeed in becoming a manager in a way "that's pretty typical of how the old boys' network worked" (221-222).

In building her career, Marianne says, "I didn't target a position and go after it. I had a particular view about children and learning and I wanted to try and reach it and if I couldn't get that vision in place by one avenue I was going to try several" (271-274). Like Kathryn she

worked on acquiring a broad range of experiences. She says, "I had lots of irons in the fire and I could see that being a school principal would be a way of trying to put that vision into place, too. So it seemed to be the thing to do" (276-278).

Marianne describes herself as "a very optimistic person and I think that if this isn't working, isn't right, there is something else out there that's right" (644-645). She goes on to say that, "I get a tremendous amount of positive feedback, even during times that aren't going so well so that keeps you going and, I think, you have to think that not everything is going to be smooth" (656-659).

Her teachers' organization or union experience she describes as minimal. She points out that in order to get ahead with her particular board: "(b)reaking into our bureaucracy and doing some kind of board office task so you rub shoulders with the superintendent and the trustees. You moved out into a number of schools and that kind of thing, that seemed to be the way things happened" (307-310).

She describes herself as she provides a snapshot of those who are moving into administration with her board. "(t)he newest of us are all exceptionally serious and intense, probably the bulk of us are workaholics", "(w)e're very linear left-brained kinds of people", "we're known to be very efficient and task oriented, we're know for our collaborative management style and our ability to diffuse conflicts. So that's the skill set of the bulk of the current of us" (320-328). The intensity she describes seems to be characteristic of all but one of the women educators, but only two of the female public servants.

Conclusion

The six women educators interviewed present a formidable range of experience. As the summary presented in Table III at the beginning of this chapter illustrates, they have many experiences in common with their male colleagues, but these experiences appear to differ in a number of ways such as ease of access, frequency and range. These women appear not to have expected any shortcuts to management careers and have systematically tried to cover all the bases in acquiring the range of experiences they believed was needed in order to advance. All have had mentors, but most of these were for a short term.

These women educators tend to see themselves as different from the men managers, particularly the older ones, with whom they work. As Ann says, "they still like to function from the 'great man' theory" (862-863). Alison says of her male colleagues, "I find males that I deal with, again one should never generalize, tend to be more business oriented, letter of the law kind of thing, less concerned frequently about the fall-out of decisions with staff and students" (386-388). She goes on to say that she does not think that the human relations side of management is everything, but that it is an important part of management and one which men often neglect.

Female Public Administrators

Maria:

Maria describes how she came into the public service after seeing an advertisement in a newspaper for language teachers. "(s)o, I started as a language teacher. That's how I came into the government. In those years it was fairly, not fairly common, but the way francophones of my generation entered the government" (75-78). Like Jeff, one of the male educators, Maria expressed interest in taking on additional responsibilities early in her career and, like him, her aspirations were dismissed. She describes this experience as follows, "I was very young compared to the other people around me and I would have wanted to get a senior teacher responsibility and I was told I was too young for that. So, I said, 'up yours' and I walked out (of government)" (100-103). When asked why she wanted to be a manager, Maria says that she likes to work with people to accomplish things and that she feels she has the leadership and people skills to accomplish this.

Later in the interview Maria says in relation to gaining visibility, "I did that by instinct. Circumstances, of course, were there but also, that's me. I'm a mover and shaker. I like things happening" (202-204). Like a number of the men educators interviewed, she describes herself as high energy. She sums up her philosophy as follows, "(m)y philosophy is the following, it's easier to ask forgiveness than to ask permission" (217-218). She makes the point that, "I cannot say that I've been lucky, I made my luck. And if you're not a go getter, forget it (a management career)" (220-221). Maria did not have the benefit of mentors nor female role models, but she stresses their importance.

She expresses the view that she has done well to have advanced as far as she has considering that she made her own way without the benefit of mentor or role model or influential friends or family. In concluding her description of career assignments, barriers encountered and dealt with, and the situation for people interested in management careers, Maria says of herself, "I am also an indestructable optimist. I'm very much of an optimist and I believe that every human success story is a story of optimism. It's also a story of conquered fears. If you fail and you conquer your fear of failure and bounce out of a failure. Because think of it, you've never seen a pessimist be successful in the history of mankind. I don't think so, anyway" (400-404). Maria also stresses a personal quality she believes to be important to her success, "I've always been very curious. I always wanted to know where do I fit in all of this? What is the broader picture? That's my way" (458-460).

Janice:

Janice started at a relatively low level in the public service despite her education, but this was not particularly unusual in the mid-1970s. However, she encountered discrimination because of this. After applying in writing for a position she was asked by a manager, "(w)ho wrote the application?" and when she responded that she had, he said, "(y)ou couldn't possibly . . . you couldn't have done all the things that you've said you've done, you're only an AS3 (junior level administrative officer)" (261-266). Like Maria, she did not receive any "taps on the shoulder", advice from mentors, or any other "leg ups". Janice describes herself as a workaholic and as driven. Through her own efforts she has managed to acquire a broad range of experience in

several departments. She is able to describe a number of occasions on which she was blocked in her efforts to advance and was seen as someone's wife rather than as a director and colleague by male supervisors.

She describes the frustrations of the competitive process and illustrates this with the following example, "(i)t was a fixed board. Nevertheless, that was fine but it did make me sit back and think about why I wasn't winning and about how fair the system really was. What I realize is that the system, although it purports to be impartial and on the merit principle, isn't. There's no question, it isn't" (342-346). In describing reasons for not moving on one occasion when there was an opportunity to do so, she says that she stayed out of loyalty to the project which she saw as having national implications and, thus, as much more important than her personal career.

Despite having a wide range of experience, "(y)ou name it, I've now done it. Okay" (585-586). Janice was still overlooked or not seriously considered for advancement. A few years ago she decided she had had enough and as she says, "for the first time in my career, I finally put my foot down and said, If you want me, I have three conditions. Number one, that it be a real job. I don't want a bullshit job. I want one with some substance to it and I want you to pay me at an appropriate level which means that I am not coming unless you give me an SM job and the third thing is I want a computer" (426-431). Of that experience she says, "(t)hat taught me a couple of things. It taught me first of all that I knew my own value and I was damned if I was going to be bought for less than my value" (447-449).

Suzanne:

Like Maria and Janice, Suzanne, too, has considerable work experience, including experience working for non-governmental organizations (NGOs), a university research project, and provincial and federal governments. She has been involved in a number of high profile and innovative projects. Unlike these other two women, she had the benefit rather early in her career of mentors who advised her and supported her in, among other things, an application for educational leave to improve her credentials through graduate work. Of one of these mentors she says, "(h)e really created an environment where you could be creative, where you could develop" (148-150) and "(h)e was very supportive. He encouraged me to continue in the field and to grow and to go back and to get my degree" (154-155).

Suzanne describes having to lobby hard for a position for which she was uniquely qualified but one for which the senior official involved had not seriously considered her. She used a very direct approach and logic to convince him to consider her. From this experience she learned, she says, that one has to make one's own opportunities even though one may, as a woman, find it difficult.

Beth:

Beth entered the public service with a strong academic base in mathematics and science and had the good fortune, as she describes it, of starting in a policy position despite her inexperience. She had a mentor in her first director who gave her a lot of autonomy, lead responsibility on projects, and allowed her to have senior authorship on some of the papers she wrote. She describes her mentor as "actively

creating sort of open doors for me. And then, giving me a chance to get experience and to do some things where I actually had some responsibility, a couple of things that were not typical of what people in first time jobs normally get and lots of advice" (239-243). She goes on to say that, "it was not a paternalistic sort of situation, he gave me opportunities. He encouraged me to go out and have interviews and take on assignments rather independently. He was always there when I had questions to come back and ask" (276-279). In her early positions she was based in multi-disciplinary units and ones in which pioneering work was being done in her field. She describes this environment as a dynamic one in which there was much to be learned and says that she just absorbed what was going on around her. Like Suzanne, her first work assignments appear to have been in the kind of nurturing work environment described by Young (1991).

Beth acknowledges that she has been provided many opportunities, but says, "I've had the good fortune to have had various opportunities throughout my career which I've acted upon and I think I've made something out of which then led to other opportunities. It's a balancing, I guess, of open doors and my own abilities to meet whatever the challenges were and to make the most of them and to succeed" (351-355). Thus, for her, success seems to have led to opportunities for more success.

Joyce:

Like three of the four women already described, Joyce, too, had previous work experience outside the federal government. Early in her career in the federal public service she had a male manager who

provided her with management experiences such as acting in his position when he was absent, and recommending her for senior management training. She stresses the important role that her good inter-personal skills, and extensive network and visibility in her area of specialization played in her being considered for management responsibilities. Despite this, unlike the other women, she attributes her success to luck, saying, "I think I've just been lucky, I've had good people to work with, people have given me opportunities" (185-186) and "I just seemed to be in the right place at the right time" (296-297). Of those who advance too quickly she says, "I've always felt it's unfair to the division you're director of, if your first priority is to get a leg up in the system, as opposed to trying to improve the program" (577-579). She advises people interested in advancement to be proactive, not waiting for supervisors to suggest courses, etc.

Nan:

Nan, too, entered the federal public service with considerable experience in her field, and thought that she had been recruited for just that experience. Throughout her career, she has deliberately sought out a variety of work experiences, believing that this would provide her with greater career mobility and choice. Of her diverse background she says, "it gives you perspective whereby almost nothing surprises you or daunts you in a way that you know what it means, what's possible, what's not possible, what your limitations are. That's the perspective that I find quite comforting and it gives confidence, too" (71-74). Like several of the women interviewed, but none of the men, she talks about the need to feel confident. Like Janice, Joyce, and Mary,

she has turned down jobs in which she thought she would not be happy. As she expresses it, it "just didn't seem appropriate. I didn't believe that taking a promotion for a promotion's sake, just to get ahead" (244-245). In discussing mentors, of whom she has had several, she says that the best ones have been women, that women have very quietly and without fanfare come through with support.

Conclusion

Five of the six women in this group of female public servants entered the public service with exceptionally high levels of experience, in fact, they appear to have been recruited because of that experience. Like female educators, they see themselves as different from their male colleagues, particularly the older males. Maria describes these older and more senior men as "dinosaurs" and says that there will be no real change for women until these men retire. As a group these women are positive and proactive, express a high degree of career satisfaction, are more confident of support from above than are female educators, and are very active in professional associations. Their positive response to barriers they encounter is well illustrated in their strategic use of humour to reduce the stress and personal frustration they experience without antagonizing colleagues or superiors.

Like Kathryn, one of the women educators, two of these women recognized early in their careers that it was important to get a broad range of experiences in order to get, as Nan describes it, the "big picture", the organizational overview. While Nan credits her father with helping her recognize the need for a range of experiences, Maria is

less clear on how she came to attach so much importance to it. She seems to have figured it out from observing others' careers. Maria says that in her career, "I touched just about everything. In the line departments, central agencies, headquarters, regions" (141-142). Maria also says that to get into management, "I think that you have to sell yourself and I had to do that" (170). . . . "Yes, I think that I have a knack for doing that (making herself visible). For always putting myself in an unusual kind of . . . in a unique or unusual kind of circumstance" (175-177).

Maria and Suzanne describe having to aggressively pursue positions they felt uniquely qualified to fill. These experiences, perhaps, illustrate a point which Janice makes several times in her interview. That is that male supervisors often are not even conscious of the skills and experiences that more junior female employees have to offer, are not aware that women want to be managers, and/or make assumptions about women's aspirations and availability without consulting the women, themselves. Janice suggests that such situations may represent the most formidable invisible barriers to the career advancement of women. According to her, the problem with such barriers is their invisibility. It is not possible, she says, to address a problem that you do not know exists.

Isolation remains one of the major problems for women middle managers, although some men complained of feeling isolated in their positions. As one woman interviewed says, "(b)eing a principal is very lonely for a woman". Having fewer people with whom to discuss and work through problems probably limits one's ability to improve problem-solving and decision-making skills. Women interviewees

appear to become accustomed to not being included in work related social events or being included but reminded in various ways that they are really outsiders. This limited participation in the social side of work relations appears to result in more limited access to opportunities to learn aspects of the "presentation of self" as described by Greene (1977). Thus, it appears that in various ways many of the techniques described in the literature for denying access to socialization to organizational norms and values have been experienced to varying degrees by women interviewees of this study.

A number of women comment on the fact that women as a group do not seem to recognize the need to market themselves, assuming that one's work speaks for itself. One says that men are better at getting noticed, at bragging, and at promoting themselves. Another says that women make it all look so easy, managing a job and a home, and that this may work against women when their performance is compared to that of males who are more skilled in self promotion.

Male Educators

Jeff:

As Jeff describes his early years in the field it seems clear that he was determined to become an administrator and that he had a fairly good sense, early in his teaching career, of how to get there. For example, when his board split into two, creating a new board, he opted to move to the new board. He says that he moved because the new board would provide greater opportunities, places for people to go. In

describing his career, he says, "(i)t has been so varied. I have done so many things. There's never been an avenue that has disappointed me and when I've run into minor road blocks I've just found another way around it" (113-116). His career has included a wide range of high profile assignments, both politically and professionally. When he experienced what he describes as roadblocks in his career path, he decided to get more involved in work with his teachers' organization which he saw as providing new opportunities and challenges. He has been involved in major research studies, province-wide fact finding studies, collective bargaining, and has held a headship. The latter is something which several women principals interviewed describe as virtually closed to them. A couple of times in his career he has been assigned to newly created positions. Clearly these assignments provided him with visibility within his board as well as provincially.

He describes exceptions being made for him when he acquired his headship and when he entered the principals' course. While it was normal procedure to go through a competition for acceptance into the principals' course, he says, "I was actually invited by the board to take part in the principals' course" (211-212). In a similar way, a chance encounter with a superintendent who had heard he wanted a headship resulted in his being assigned one without competition or any sort of screening interview. He goes on to provide a number of examples of similar exceptions being made for him in the early years of his career.

Of those years Jeff says, "(i)t was the old days. You know, it doesn't happen anymore" (215-216). In the past ten to twelve years procedures have been gradually put in place to govern advancement and to ensure fair and equitable treatment. While Jeff provides a

number of very specific examples, other male educators, too, allude to these informal ways of doing things in the "old days". Jeff expresses some nostalgia for the days when these processes were less bureaucratic. He describes a kind of "selective equity" when he says, "(y)ou know, the systems that were used in the sixties and seventies, although we had an equity process, there was still the possibility for management to reach out if they felt there was somebody they wanted for something" (252-255).

Jeff has experienced in a very positive way the power of the organization to provide or withhold opportunities for socialization in a very positive way. He has had exceptions made for him, been "tapped on the shoulder", and, generally, seen his career nurtured by the organization.

Eric:

Eric is the only one of the male educators who had worked in another field before coming into education and is one of two who have teaching experience in another region. He is also the only one of the male educators whose father was an educator. He has been very active in his union and sees that as valuable experience for an administrator, helping one to understand why unions operate the way they do and, thus, being better able to work with them. For somewhat similar reasons, Eric sees his decision to transfer his masters level major from administration to guidance counselling as particularly useful in his management role since management involves so much work with people and people problems.

Eric has coached a number of women administrators and has much to say about the critical role which experience, as well as "paper qualifications", play in administrative success. He appears to be the most sensitive of any of the male educators to the more limited opportunities for women to develop and to advance, describing in very specific terms the ways in which women's access to these experiences is more limited than that of their male colleagues.

Ian:

Ian says of his career, "I sort of moved very quickly, at least by present day norms" (48). He taught for five years, was a head for another five, and has been a vice-principal or principal for the past 20 years. Of those early years when his career was advancing so quickly, he says, "there was very rapid growth so if you were in the right place at the right time, which I was . . ." (70-71) and "(n)ow they have competitions, it was timing. Today it would probably be difficult for me to get a position, knowing the competition that's out there. The training is a lot different. The training today is a little bit better than it was then" (96-99). He describes applying for the principals' course "on a whim", he thinks now. He enjoyed the social and networking side of it as well as the content which he remembers as having little to do with management, but covering the key issues of the day well.

Ian attributes his career success to the fact that he was in the right place at the right time during a period of rapid expansion. Ian is a very sociable person who keeps in touch with people. He has a coaching background and describes himself as high in energy, competitive and a

"jock", saying "there's also a competitive streak in all jocks anyway" (181-182).

Dennis:

Dennis came into teaching in the 1960s when "things were expanding so fast. I was a teacher for two years and then I was a department head and it went from there" (15-16). He came into education with a masters degree in a subject area which was just gaining prominence, providing him with visibility within the organization. As he describes it, "I was in a narrow field, the subject field had just opened . . . and there was a period in there where this field had just started. I had a masters degree and I had experience teaching at university. So I had the paper hoops that opened the doors" (255-258). In addition to that Dennis was very active in his teachers' organization which he says taught him "the art of negotiation and the art of when to have expectations" (307-308).

Like Jeff and others, Dennis talks about the informal way in which promotions were made in the early years of his career, saying "and in those days there was no competition for the jobs. Someone just came and tapped you on the shoulder . . . I never competed for any of those early jobs" (292-294). Such experiences appear to be unique to older men. Women and younger men have competed for most, if not all, promotions.

Like most of the male educators, Dennis attributes much of his success to luck. His description of his early career illustrates the high degree of encouragement that men receive from one another. As Dennis describes his experience, he had mentors and colleagues who encouraged him to apply for advancement, something which was

particularly important to him after he had exercised poor judgement in dealing with another individual causing his career to plateau for a period. Like Maria, one of the women public servants interviewed, Dennis gives as one of his reasons for wanting to be in management the fact that "I like to run things" (378).

Michael:

Michael is a very high energy person, like Ian, but is also very entrepreneurial. Also, like Ian, who describes himself as liking to try new things, Michael has lived this out through an extensive range of activities. He has conducted a number of studies and projects which have gained him considerable visibility in the system and in one case media attention outside. He appears to thrive on variety and challenge. He sees himself as representing the "newer model" principal within his organization, people who gain visibility and contacts through special assignments at the board's central office. He says that the profile and visibility that a central office assignment provides is very important to getting promoted within his board. Thus, while work with the teachers' organization was an important element in the career advancement of many principals promoted a few years before he was, it now counts for much less with his board.

According to Michael, he has mellowed in recent years, partly through human relations training and partly as the result of career disappointments which taught him greater sensitivity. He says of those experiences, "I think I had good interpersonal skills at the time anyways but it bumped them up even more" (138-139) and "it softened the edges. I was far more task oriented before" (144).

Michael goes on to describe how system changes better accommodate his style. As he describes it, he got lucky because the times changed to suit his personality more. He says that when site-based decision making was adopted and collegiality and collaboration were emphasized more "it was sort of a good fit you know" (229-232). Michael sees one of his strengths as "always to be able to see a total picture" (249).

Michael describes the benefits of the central office assignment as including an informal runner's group where through informal discussions he learned a lot about how the system worked and made some contacts with board officials who became important to his career. Like several of the males interviewed, Michael has team sports experience which he sees as very helpful. He says that sports experience is beneficial in that it teaches you that even good teams lose sometimes and that there is another game tomorrow. He says that women who have no team sports experience have difficulty dealing with losing and failure for that reason. Michael has had male mentors and friends with whom he has prepared for competitions, a relatively recent phenomenon for males and something they appear to have learned from observing female colleagues.

Matt:

Matt's career closely parallels Michael's in many ways. They both have central office experience, and each has been involved with a wide range of high profile assignments. They seem to have started their careers with the same high involvement approach which

resulted in successes which gave them visibility, and more opportunities.

Matt skipped one stage in his climb up the hierarchy but is confident that he "had enough experience in various jobs to be able to skip it" (125-126). In his previous assignments he says, "I did the discipline, I did the time table building, and so on. I dealt with the parents. And then that additional two years at the board office gave me those other things so I just believed I could, you know, I could do it. And I think I've been a successful principal, so I believe now that I was right" (229-233).

Matt is the only man who uses the word confidence, a word women interviewees use frequently. In relation to skipping a stage in the traditional career ladder he says, "I felt confident enough that I could do it" (239-240). Like Ann, one of the women educators interviewed, he credits much of his success to the fact that he handled a difficult early assignment well. Like a number of the women educators and public servants interviewed, Matt makes the point that he would not accept any job simply because it offered a promotion and, like Joyce, he expresses frustration with those who move on before they have completed their present job.

Like Mary, one of the female educators, Matt describes the importance of having someone to confide in. The person who used to fill that role for him has moved out of the region and Matt says that now, "I don't have anyone that I can phone and say, you know, 'today I feel like I'm the worst principal in the board, let me tell you what's happening' (376-378). When asked why he chose a management career, Matt says, "I'd like to say that I made a rational decision, that I

looked at the people who were doing the job and thought I could do a better job. Although that's true, I don't know that that was the driving force. I'm very, very, very competitive. It doesn't make any difference what I'm doing" (Matt, 405-408).

Conclusion

Male educational administrators seem to be particularly aware of the need for a wide range of experiences and the need to make themselves visible. As one said, "I think basically, in terms of major advancement, I think people are not aware of the types of experiences, the range that are necessary to nurture growth . . ." (Michael, 1082-1083). Another says that although he was naive at the beginning of his teaching career, believing that hard work and credentials got one ahead, he eventually learned that in order to advance "you went and took on tasks that gave you some sort of visibility even though you didn't like to do those jobs" (Dennis, 107-109). He goes on to say, "(s)o, we (men who became principals) did all these things, we went through it . . ." (Dennis, 140). Both Michael and Dennis stress the need to pay one's dues and to be seen to pay them.

All describe having had a wide range of experiences across their systems. Some of these experiences appear to have been initiated by others at more senior levels in their organizations, but all the men interviewed seem to have been proactive to some degree, volunteering for many of these activities initially because they were interested in trying something new, looking for a challenge, or were just very energetic. In some school systems teacher organization experience

served to provide networking and leadership opportunities as well as visibility early in their careers. One interviewee suggests, however, that teacher organization experience is no longer seen as that valuable. Increasingly, special assignments at the main board office which provide access to powerful information networks and opportunities to develop networks and visibility are seen as more important to upward mobility in contemporary school systems.

One male educator looks back somewhat fondly to the days when promotion was a much less formal process and a kind of "selective equity" was practised. A couple of interviewees describe having been able to skip what most people assume are necessary stages in the career hierarchy. Neither was concerned that he would not be able to function well without having fulfilled all these "requirements". Both expressed confidence that they had gotten the required experiences in other ways.

All had gained considerable leadership experience in their youth through coaching, youth groups, student government, team sports, etc. All but one display confidence of receiving support from more senior levels in times of crisis or extreme need or, at least, in being able to manipulate the system in order to get that support.

Most seem satisfied with their career achievements to date, although their careers have slowed down considerably in recent years. A number of them describe the system they came into in the 1960s as providing lots of opportunities for promotion because there was so much growth and less competition than exists today. In addition, several describe their own success as the result of good luck and timing. More recently, however, most have experienced a plateauing of their

careers. One describes the slowdown of his own career as due to "things slowing down (generally) and the attention to other groups" (Dennis, 62-63) He goes on to say, "(a)nd I think in perspective, I think there were a lot of people who would probably reflect the same thing, they started off on a real rocket and, you know, the world is going to open up for you, for example. And there were opportunities" (Dennis, 76-80). In terms of advice on how to be successful, Dennis stresses the need to be political and alludes in the interview to times in his career when he was not and how it negatively affected his career. Like Eric, he stresses that the best approach is to be constructive and positive.

Male Public Administrators

Richard:

Richard developed an interest in management relatively late in his career, after nearly 16 years of government employment. Of a management career he says, "I think I've shied away from a career in management" (96). In fact, when offered an acting directorship several years ago, he refused it because he says that he was afraid he could not do it. His personal life and hobbies are important to him. He says that he does not function well as a totally career oriented person, feeling "bored and boring". In the past he says, "I channeled a lot of energy outside and about a couple of years ago I decided that I was going to stop doing that and that was one reason, I think, for me being more available to do things at work. That I've just, I'm making the time and the opportunities are there" (118-122). He describes the route his career has taken as not having been planned, but sees much of his previous

experience and academic work as coming together to uniquely qualify him for his present job. Like Nan, one of the women public servants, he seems to have very deliberately "covered all the bases" in acquiring a wide range of skills.

In discussing the management role, he stresses the importance of having "people skills", something only one other male public administrator mentions, and the importance of management training, something he has done on his own, not yet having completed the senior management course offered by his employer. While he says, "I'd like some more training in management" (181), none of the educators mention this as a need. Like a couple of other male managers in government, Richard reflects what may be a growing recognition that in the more professionalized public service of the future, management training will be extremely important.

Richard says, "I've never had the feeling that career planning exists or that there is a lot of support from the organization to do that" (214-216). He describes his own frustration when, at one point in his career, he was looking for a job change and did not know where to go for advice and help.

Richard has not had any mentors since joining government although he describes two professors from graduate school days who might be described as mentors. However, he says they were more "walls to bounce things off" (495) than people who identified options or future directions and attempted to coach or guide him.

Fred:

Fred is one of two members of this group who has considerable pre-government work experience and has worked in four federal departments. This is his second period of working for the federal government. He stayed five years the first time and then went back to work in the private sector because he found it difficult to deal with the bureaucracy in government. Judging from his later comments on his style of work and what he enjoys doing, it seems likely that he needs to have a fair degree of autonomy to experience job satisfaction. In fact, he says that in those early days in government he never was able to make decisions on his own but that in his present job he does. As he describes his present situation, "I've been given a little more leeway to do my thing here so it's working out quite well" (69-70).

Fred has very specialized skills and says that he believes in the old European tradition of having a trade rather than being a generalist. He loves his field and contributes to it by working for various professional associations and teaching graduate courses at a local university. He talks about the importance of doing what you know best, as follows: "(t)he university asked me to teach outside that area and I'm not interested because this is what I know. You should teach what you know and not something you get out of a book" (126-128).

He has little interest in a promotion, saying that money has never been a big motivator for him, that he prefers to stay in a job where he can do work which he loves. Again, he stresses the importance of autonomy. Success for him is, "are you making an impact out there, are you making the world a little bit better?" (181-182). He continues as follows: "that's how I measure success. Jobs,

position, the fact that one has an EX (executive level position) or whatever, that's good, that's a nice recognition, it puts a few dollars in your pocket but that's not what's going to do it for me" (191-193).

Fred has had numerous mentors throughout his working life. He describes them as coaching him, sponsoring him, and as having had an "incredible influence" (700) on his career. In answer to a question as to why he would have found it easy to obtain mentors, he replies that it may be because he excels at what he does. He says that nobody wants to mentor somebody who is "a bit of a zero" (707) and that he, himself, chooses to mentor people who are "pretty damn good" (708).

Like several of the male educators and none of the other public administrators, Fred describes himself as a very high energy person. He also describes himself as pushy and "a jock". He has worked in one field but in various government and non-governmental settings so has a lot of experience and a broad overview of the field. He is pragmatic, not adverse to asking for what he wants and loves new challenges. He is incredibly enthusiastic about his work and his field.

Trevor:

Trevor gives as his reason for coming into government a desire to do something worthwhile, suggesting a service motive. Later in the interview when he discusses briefing new members of staff this theme emerges again as he spells out the purpose of their work as to meet real needs out there in the real world.

He had travelled internationally in the year between his completion of university and his joining the government. Like Fred,

he finds satisfaction in work which involves "(w)orking with people directly, actually being of assistance and getting immediate feedback" (62-63). Early in his career he attracted the attention of more senior staff and became the assistant to an assistant deputy minister (ADM), a position which offered a lot of visibility, an excellent opportunity to gain an overview of the system, and a better understanding of how government works. Trevor's career has included a wide range of experiences including program management, direct client services, policy and planning, and administrative work. He has served on task forces and new projects which were, he says, on "the cutting edge of government" (125).

While he entered the government at a relatively low level in the hierarchy, his career got off to a very promising start. However, after such a promising start he experienced an eight year long plateau while he served in various acting positions. As he describes it, "(e)very time my job was about to be classified so that I could compete for it, the unit was re-organized and the job (description) had to re-done again and I was moved around, reporting to various people. It was very unpleasant for years" (168-171).

Eventually he decided, as he says, "to cut his losses", not depend on others' promises, and to get on with his career and his life. His strengths he sees as follows, "I have a fair amount of corporate history. I know this area probably as well as anyone around and I know all the people so when things have to get done they come to me" (297-299). He also says that he is a good writer, someone who can make an argument, express one's thoughts clearly, and get to the point without going around in circles.

He is one of the few participants in this study who talks very directly and positively about power. He describes the "power trip" that comes from using "the system to make people's lives better" (180) and drafting policies and speeches which put words in the Minister's mouth. He says, "things that I wrote, unless they were totally out to lunch and they virtually never were, it would go up verbatim. The Minister would see them and use those words if he wanted to say anything" (190-193).

He describes how he uses someone he worked with prior to his career in government as an example to illustrate to staff the concept of professionalism. "He and I had a lot of long discussions and I guess it was a starting point of my feeling that if you're going to do something, you have to put everything you have into it. He was my inspiration, as it was, just carried me through from there to the federal government" (460-464). Trevor sums up his approach to his work by describing the orientation speech he uses for new staff members where he reminds them that the government exists for a reason, to meet needs in society, and that as government employees they should be prepared to do "their best and beyond" to ensure that those needs are met.

Ron:

Ron worked for several years in private industry in the years just after he finished secondary school. Eventually, he went to university and completed an M.B.A. Like, Trevor, his career got off to a very promising start and he became a manager about six years after beginning to work for the government. Ron has been the first in a new position and has served as a special advisor. At the time of the

interview Ron had been a manager for nearly 11 years and had had no further promotions during that period. He says of his career after that first promotion, "(a)nd then I plateaued" (158). His first job had been in a field office which he sees as providing "a better chance to see what the game is all about" (91-92) and because "it's the 'hands' on part of the business" (95).

Ron talks about two colleagues who entered the public service at the same time he did and compares their careers to his. He describes one of them, now an assistant deputy minister, as much more diplomatic than he is, as more skilful with people, and "just more capable". The other had left government to become a consultant. He sees himself as functioning best in an operational area and is trying to get back to that. He also sees operational people like himself as less in demand or valued by the organization which is increasingly favouring theorists, those "less tainted with the realities of life in the trenches" (434-435).

He describes the challenges of his early years as a manager when the program was in "a bit of a growth phase and there was a change in philosophy" (115-116) and "the rules were evolving almost on a month to month basis" (118). In his position as manager "there were some risks when you're trying to maintain the integrity of programs which some are trying to push beyond their limits" (123-125).

In discussing why he entered the public service, he says that in addition to the ambition which most Canadian males "learn to have", there was a tradition in his family of working for the public service. Both his grandfathers had been public servants, one a deputy minister, and his father and three of his mother's five brothers had been public

servants so "there was the view that the public service was an honourable profession" (353-354).

Ron, like Ann and Matt, identifies an early assignment which made him visible in the organization, bringing him additional opportunities. "I think it was as a result of that project, in particular, that I came to Ottawa the first time in the consultant's shop" (140-142). In talking about advancement, Ron says that "(i)n order to achieve one has to have the opportunity and one has to have the resources to be able to avail themselves of the opportunity. It's not enough to trip over the brick, one has to recognize it, and pick it up and run with it. So, it's a series of circumstances, some of which are within the control of the individual, some of which are not" (474-479).

Ron has never had a mentor nor a role model. He is anxious to get out of his current position because he does not like the work and also because "in terms of my relationship with my boss, I'm considerably out of favour" (613-614). He sees his boss, a woman, as overly concerned with serving more senior levels of the hierarchy and with organizational "cosmetics" rather than with "reading her own people" (652). Like Paul, another manager in this group, who became a manager early and then experienced a career plateau, Ron is bored and disappointed with what his career has become. Their attitudes may reflect, as well, what some interviewees describe as a growing cynicism among middle level managers with PS2000, the plan for the renewal of the federal public service.

Glen:

Glen had some highly visible assignments early in his career including that of special assistant to a deputy minister (DM), but as he sees it now he was probably too young and inexperienced to benefit from them adequately. As he says, "(y)es, I look back at it now as a unique assignment. The problem was that I was 21 years old, I had just graduated, wanted to change the world" (32-34). He goes on to say that "the tragedy is that I really didn't get near what I could have gotten from him (DM). Because, as I say, I was just out of school, I thought I knew all about social policy, and everything and I really knew nothing" (50-53). He acknowledges that the assignment gave him visibility, but says, "I wasn't even looking for visibility. I was looking for truth" (64).

After joining the federal public service Glen worked in a number of different program areas, some of them very high profile. Eventually he "had an opportunity to go to the Privy Council Office (PCO) and was told that you only say 'no' once to an offer to go to PCO. And I thought, 'it's not my idea of exciting stuff but I do want to do policy work and want to go to the top in policy stuff', so I went to PCO and did my requisite three years there and after that I was really more interested in management kind of experience" (91-96). He looks back somewhat regretfully on these experiences, saying that "the interesting thing is that I never really did take advantage of those things. I mean, there was just a tremendous amount of learning to be done and I never sort of watched it and became a student in the sense of public administration, not in a conscious way" (119-122). He acknowledges that despite his youth the experience of working for a deputy minister gave him a "very unique view of two sides of the same coin, how the

public service and the political system interact" (125-127). In talking about his career motivation, he says that the driving force for him has been his sense of commitment to social policy rather than advancing to the top of the organization.

Like a number of the male educators, Glen attributes a lot of his success in obtaining exciting assignments to luck, but acknowledges that he was guided by a vision of what he wanted to accomplish in his career. Like a number of others he seems to have been guided by a service motive, by a wish to bring about social change. He talks about the need to see "the big picture", to know how decisions get made above you in the organization, and "to just read things". While his career has given him opportunities to learn these things, he says that he did not get a lot of experiences designed to give him the "small picture", "the more mundane and pedantic kinds of things such as staffing" (180). These latter experiences, he says, are a very important part of a manager's role. In describing his motivation for wanting to be a manager, Glen says, "(w)hat I really knew I wanted to do is work with people, work in a program area that I felt really did make some tangible impact in a very broad sort of social development way to people in the country" (248-251).

Glen has never had a mentor, but sees an advantage in having someone who sometimes says to you, "'(l)ook, you are paying too much attention to this and not enough to that'. In my case it was not enough to sort out the administrative details and that and also by nature I just find that (details) like pulling fingernails" (351-353). Like Richard, he has not completed the management training offered by his employer and every time he has been scheduled to receive it some

crisis on the job has made it impossible for him to participate. He says that he would advise someone starting a career in the public service to "find a mentor, don't wait to be trained" (377).

When he entered the public service in the mid-1970s, the system was still expanding and employees were encouraged to move frequently to get a range of experiences. He points out that with the number of management positions in government being cut there will be fewer opportunities to advance in future, unlike the mid-1970s. He says of those early days, "when I came in the whole thing was to move up. That's what it was all about, just to move up. Sort of like getting on an elevator on the ground floor and there was almost, it was like a rush, scrambling" (655-657) and "I don't think it was to get rich or anything, it was just to move up" (662).

Glen has had an exciting and challenging career in the public service and while some male public servants have seen their career advancement slow because of equity initiatives which have broadened the pool of applicants for management positions to include groups previously excluded, this has not been his experience. He is re-evaluating his career, however, and considering an exchange assignment with an NGO, and questioning whether he can achieve what he wants to in terms of social change from inside a federal department. He appears to have no regrets about having chosen a public service career in the first place, something his father encouraged, but appears to believe that current priorities within government limit his ability to accomplish what he sees as important.

Paul:

Paul entered the public service with high level skills as a French writer which was needed and valued in the federal government in the 1960s and one which provided visibility, often attracting the attention of senior staff. Despite having a role model and mentor who "really thought I should do something with my life" (85), Paul quit his first public service job in the 1960s to travel in Europe. He returned to the public service three years later with no intention of making a career in the public service. However, he says, "things just began to happen and those were good years in the public service because there were a lot of opportunities. Lots of money, lots of new programs. As a consequence of that I was able to get many promotions over a very short period of time" (36-40). He says that management training was little emphasized and that it was assumed that people who handled program tasks well would be good managers, too. Like Glen and Beth (one of the female public servants interviewed) he was involved in policy work very early in his career. Because policy work usually provides visibility, status, and access to critical information, it can advance a career considerably. In addition to working as a policy analyst, Paul was an advisor to regional staff and others on legislation, policy issues, and particularly complex cases. He describes these experiences as having provided a very good foundation for his management career. Like a number of the male educators who describe the relative ease with which they got into management positions in the 1960s and 1970s, Paul describes how he basically "fell" into these jobs. He describes those years as ones during which there were lots of opportunities for promotion and the promotion process was relatively informal.

Again, like Beth, Paul has worked in one department only in his most recent public service career. Paul is the only male public servant to explicitly talk about the need for a positive outlook. Like Richard, Ron, and Glen, Paul talks about the need to invest in one's personal life and says that one should never give himself totally to the job. None of the female public servants interviewed express such views. Like Richard, Paul sums up his career as quite successful but makes the point that he never gave everything to his career, always having placed a higher value on his personal life.

Paul, like Ron and Glen, is somewhat disillusioned with the public service of today and says he would not encourage anyone to join the public service. He sees it as a very slow destructive life which "creates a false sense of security" (647) and discourages people from trying new things. The result, he says, is that public servants become cynical and boring. This somewhat negative view may relate to current cuts to management levels, cynicism about PS2000, or just mid-career boredom.

Conclusion

Male public servants demonstrate the lowest level of career satisfaction of any of the four groups studied, while women public servants demonstrate the highest level. Male public servants report having had a wide range of work and training and development assignments. Two have had the experience of working for very senior officials at an early point in their careers, something no woman public servant interviewed reports. Both men recognize that such

experiences provide special career advantages, but one believes that the experience came too early in his career to be as beneficial to him as it could have been a few years later. Male public servants (5 of 6) entered the public service with a narrower range of professional experience than five of the six women public servants interviewed.

Three of the male public servants moved into policy work early in their careers, experience which only one woman public servant reports. Like male educators, several male public servants report that they or male colleagues were "tapped on the shoulder", allowed to skip steps in the career ladder, and to acquire promotions without competing for them. The most obvious difference between male public servants and women public servants and women educators is in the nature of some of their early organization socialization experiences. Men had more policy-related assignments as well as special advisory ones with very senior officials. Both types of assignments are widely recognized as ones which carry status, provide visibility, and provide incumbents with valuable insights on organizational dynamics.

Summary

Interview data suggest that there are differences in the ways in which men and women experience organizational life and that these differences may have a significant impact on career outcomes and on their effectiveness as managers. The most striking differences between male and female public servants are the differences in the speed with which their careers "take off", men's quickly while women's tend to

lag, and with the comfort level men feel in their better understanding of organizational cultures. It is interesting to note that while two of the men report having had special assignments working with officials at very senior levels of the organization, experiences which can "kick start" a career, none of the women had held such positions in the early years of their careers. Female public servants appear to be more active in professional associations than members of any of the other three groups, and do not provide as many examples of colleague support as do either group of males interviewed. Women tend, more than men, to have followed multiple career paths to their present positions. Women are also more likely to have changed careers and to have a variety of voluntary experiences on which to draw.

Like female educators, female public servants are attempting to advance into management positions in a much more rigid and structured environment than their male peers who began their careers in the 1960s and early 1970s. While some of these women did not come into the public service as early as some of the men, they brought in most cases a rich array of experience and credentials which one might have expected would fast track them into management careers. That has not happened. They have no stories of easy promotions, of being "tapped on the shoulder", or of being told they can skip a step in their advancement up the hierarchy. Instead, in at least two cases women describe not even being considered for positions for which they were uniquely qualified. These experiences illustrate, perhaps, what Janice describes as those unexpressed assumptions which more senior managers tend to make about female employees and which, she says, limit the upward mobility of women.

While both male educators and male public servants attribute much of their success to luck, something the literature would predict women more likely to do, few of the women even mention it. Women interviewees tend, as a group, to emphasize their credentials, hard work, workaholism in fact, and great attention to detail in meeting all the requirements for the next stage up the ladder. While women tend to assume that superior qualifications and hard work will lead to advancement, men interviewees tend to better understand the importance of visibility and connections. Male careers appear to get more of a head start as the result of contacts with other males who have relevant experiences and information to share and men tend to be proactive, seeking out such aids to advancement, while women tend to be more reactive.

Women appear to feel like outsiders, often expressing entitlement concerns, something men rarely do. They appear eager to please and to fit in and are careful not to be seen as aggressive in pursuing advancement. They may challenge sexist practice, but only indirectly through such things as the use of humour. They appear to try to very systematically accumulate all the required credentials and experience they believe are needed in order to advance. They talk often about the confidence this provides them. Male interviewees appear to be more relaxed about the career advancement process, only one even uses the word confidence, using it to say that he was confident he could do a particular job despite not having fulfilled all the experience requirements which most people assumed were prerequisites to promotion. Men see individual contacts and networks as important to the process of advancing a career. Several male interviewees describe

skipping steps in the credentials or experience hierarchy and make no apology for doing so.

Thus, a qualitative analysis of the interview data indicates that in response to Research Question #1, the early career patterns of female and male middle managers do differ in terms of the range and number of organization initiated opportunities for power related socialization with which they are provided.

Perceptions of Barriers Research

Question # 2

- i) Do female middle managers perceive more barriers to their advancement to senior levels of management than do their male peers?**
- ii) Do female and male middle managers perceive different barriers to advancement?**

Questions on this topic were designed to test awareness of and sensitivity to barriers to career advancement. It is likely that one's career advancement strategies are considerably influenced by what one sees as barriers to that advancement. A number of question areas were tapped in order to determine what interviewees see as barriers to career advancement. These included a direct question late in the interview which asks what they see as barriers as well as asking them what accounts for their own success. Each interviewee was also asked general questions about what it takes to succeed in his or her organization and whether there are special or different barriers for women than for men.

Female Educators

In describing how one succeeds in becoming a manager, women educators stress the values of perseverance, hard work, doing a good job, competence, and credentials. Few of these qualities are noted by male respondents who tend to talk about the impact on their careers of such factors as luck, timing, and helpful friends. Among barriers which affect women specifically, women educators highlight tokenism, attitudes, the numerical dominance of males at the middle and top levels of the organizational hierarchy, the dominance of male leadership models, and the old boy's network. Three women see the special demands of family on women, conflicts unique to women such as child care, as major barriers for career women. One woman, however, describes some of her younger male staff members as becoming more involved with parenting and struggling with some of these same conflicts. Interestingly, when women educators describe barriers to career advancement, in general, they tend to focus much more than their male peers on individual qualities, but when discussing barriers peculiar to women their focus becomes the organization and what they see as its systemic discrimination.

Female Public Administrators

Female public service managers provide a list of career barriers remarkably similar to the list provided by their male peers. The only striking difference is in their inclusion of lack of education. In their

discussion of barriers particular to women's careers, several women in this group talk about the invisible barriers created by the attitudes and assumptions of their managers and supervisors who make judgements about their willingness to relocate, etc. without consulting them directly. Since managers rarely seem to verbalize these attitudes and assumptions, women often do not understand how a career may be limited by such assumptions. Janice describes her personal experience of this when she tells her manager that she would like to broaden her experience by working in a region and discovers that he had assumed she could or would not be willing to relocate to a region. As she says, "(t)here was an assumption built in that because I was a woman, a single parent, I would not want a job where I had to move. That to me is really indicative again of the sort of barriers that women face" (576-578).

Other factors identified by members of this group as limiting to women's careers include sexism, perceptions, and the need for women to be overly positive. The emphasis is clearly on the informal requirements of institutions rather than on individual qualities.

Male Educators

A number of men see the increased attention to gender balance in the staffing of management positions as a barrier for males. One says that women and minorities do not have to pay their dues to the same degree as men used to be required to do. Several suggest that women do not apply for leadership roles in sufficient numbers, but acknowledge at the same time that originally they, themselves, had no

aspirations for an administrative career, often developing those aspirations only after someone suggested to them that they should or after having experienced leadership roles through union experience, special assignments, etc. Of the present system, one says, "(o)h, I couldn't get any further up the ladder, the ladder's closed. For people of my age and in this particular thing the ladder is absolutely closed" (Dennis, 201-203). He goes on to say that, "I feel very honestly, this is honest and it's not a perjorative comment, I would think that there's no more fair competitions. For example, there will be an opening when (a senior official) retires, but it's been pretty well understood by the people that a white male, late forties need not apply" (Dennis, 205-209).

One says, when asked initially what barriers exist for women, that there are none. When pushed a bit on this, he responds that the only barrier is the reduced credibility they will have in the system due to their inexperience. He had alluded earlier to the fact that men had to pay their dues through taking a wide range of assignments, but that women nowadays do not.

While several see their own career opportunities reduced by employment equity, particularly since the provincial ministry of education's 1990 directive, Memorandum 111, (Appendix K) regarding employment equity, they do identify other barriers to advancement. Among these are the bureaucracy of the competitive process, an individual's capacity to be political, and personal rigidity.

Male Public Administrators

Male public service managers identify a number of barriers which have increasingly preoccupied many public servants since the mid-1980s. Among these are the fiscal environment, demographics, the downsizing of the public service, and the fast tracking of the careers of more recent hirees, the result of a newly implemented management development program. They also talk about the qualities needed in order to succeed including gaining visibility through high profile assignments or being associated with "high fliers", timing, being able to make good use of "windows of opportunity", and understanding organizational politics. This group of respondents is the only one to emphasize the need for exceptional writing and other communication and interpersonal skills. This is as true of the business graduate as of the philosophy major and did not appear to be related to the type of work they now do. Like male educators, half these men see employment equity as a career barrier. Two of the six also identify the official language policy as a barrier for some, although not necessarily themselves.

In identifying barriers which most affect women's careers, both male and female public servants name about half as many as do their counterparts in education. Male managers in the public service see women as having fewer opportunities than males, being assigned a lower entry level position than males when they enter the public service, the "fact" that their skills do not get the same recognition as do those of males, and discrimination, in general. One says that women

are not tied into male dominated peer groups and he sees this as representing one of the most formidable barriers for them.

The male public servants interviewed appear to have a better comprehension of systemic discrimination than do male educators who participated in the study. Their employers' efforts to generate awareness and to develop programmatic responses to discrimination against female employees may account for their identification of fewer barriers and their focus on the umbrella concept of systemic discrimination rather than more specific or individual barriers.

Conclusion

Unlike their male peers, female educators are more likely to see systemic discrimination as the major hurdle for women. Women educators and public servants note the importance of credentials to career success, but neither group of males mention education or credentials. Male perceptions of barriers appear to be changing. Clearly the rules that existed when most of them began their careers have changed. Those who discuss this change over time see two such barriers, bilingualism and employment equity. Their ways of handling these changes are interesting, particularly interesting are those who have developed some innovative responses to these barriers. No women educators identify bilingualism requirements as a barrier, but a couple of women public administrators do. Public servants who mention it are all professionals who have come into the federal government in mid-career and have been educated outside Ontario or Quebec.

Overall the women interviewed, while recognizing that there are significant barriers to their building a career, remain optimistic about their personal career prospects. Part of the explanation for this may relate to the fact that these individuals have already experienced some success in having reached middle management. Men might be described as somewhat less optimistic. Several are clearly questioning goals they set for themselves early in their careers. It is difficult to know whether they see their opportunities as more limited and are simply making the best of the situation or whether their values are actually changing. Several express interest in new and enriching assignments rather than promotions. A summary of responses to this question area are presented in Appendix I which summarizes interviewee views on career barriers, factors which most limit women's careers, and how one succeeds in becoming a manager.

Views of Power

Research Question # 3

Do female and male middle managers view power differently?

At the completion of discussions related to the use of power and powerful people in the organization, interviewees were asked to provide their personal definition of power.

Female Educators

Ann and Marianne respond to being asked to define power by revealing that they have some discomfort with the concept. Ann says that she has trouble with power and authority, but none with responsibility or involvement as long as individual responsibilities are understood. Mary says about power that she has "never liked that word very much" (954), preferring instead to use influence. Both define power in education in terms of the outcome they hope to accomplish. In Ann's case it is to support and develop educators so that they continue to contribute to the field and to enjoy what they are doing while Marianne sees it as helping kids to succeed and contributing to their welfare. Like Ann, Connie sees power as enabling others to do their work rather than "domineering" them. Mary continues in a similar vein by saying, "(r)real power is the influential leader, it's the most powerful, you can really get something done" (949-951).

Only one of the women educators speaks about power in a particularly enthusiastic way, saying, "(l)et's be extremely honest, I like the power and I like being able to use it in ways I see fit" (Kathryn, 139-141). With this one exception, women educators tend to want to avoid use of words like power and control and define it, instead, in terms of enabling or empowering.

Female Public Administrators

Maria sees power as influence. She acknowledges that there is power of authority, but this she believes "is artificial". She goes on to

say that by artificial she means that it goes with the position rather than more personal power which can mobilize people. She says that she does not believe that you gain power by "domineering or dominating. All you gain is fear and lack of trust. To me, the person who claims to be powerful is also a person who should be seen as trustworthy" (616-618). Her emphasis on trustworthiness and inner qualities reflects the tendency of women interviewees, much more than men, to emphasize morality and justice related values in their discussions. Several other women define power in a way similar to Maria's definition. For Janice it is "(t)he ability to influence decisions, the ability to affect decisions and to implement the decision" (957-958). Joyce sees power as the capacity to make decisions when they have to be made without having to go to others for permission. This perspective is interesting in that it relates to something both Maria and Janice discuss. Both cite the Jesuit proverb "(i)t's easier to ask forgiveness than to ask permission" to explain their style. Neither feels the need to constantly ask more senior managers for permission to make a decision or to take a particular course of action. For Nan, power is the ability to get things done.

In her definition of power, Beth seems to introduce the concept of empowerment. She introduces the concept of shared power through delegation of authority. She points out that much of the rhetoric about empowerment is just that. She says,

There is a lot of talk with Public Service 2000 of shifting that power downward but. . . Well, it depends, too. There are a lot of things that can be shifted downward. It's a question of getting around this mentality of

needing to control when you delegate. Can you delegate with authority and exercise that responsibility or are you going to persist in controlling that delegation? If you do, then you haven't really delegated. I think we're still too much tied into the control mechanism of the past to really have gone too far with this whole notion of front line power and delegation to the lower levels. And the powers that have been delegated have been rather minor, things that people have already been exercising anyway. You maybe didn't really have the authority to do it, but you couldn't do your job without it. (Beth, 576-590)

In summary, women public administrators see power in terms of getting things done, mobilizing and empowering people to do rather than dominating them.

Male Educators

According to Jeff, power is a "facility to influence change" (622). He goes on to say that he never thinks about power but that he loves to use it, one of the very few interviewees to speak so positively about the concept. He sees power as working against collegiality and as something one uses to make those maintenance decisions that most people want nothing to do with. He says that 10 or 15 or 20 years ago people holding middle and senior management positions in education had more power, more control because "they could make decisions less encumbered with policy, collective agreements, established practices" (648-650). Of his own use of power, he says, "I don't pull that power thing very often, at least not that I'm conscious. I may do it. I might do

it" (669-671). However, he says, his teaching staff may see him in a different way.

When asked if he thinks that all the power is at the top of the organization, Eric says, " (o)h no, I think quite the contrary. I think there's very little up there. Unless you want it to be there" (563-564). Of his own situation, he says that he makes all his own decisions for the most part. His superiors allow him a lot of autonomy "because what they're interested in, I do" (572). Like Michael, Eric appears to believe that his own unique style gives him some additional power within his organization. Thus, despite the fact that his superiors may see his approach as unorthodox, or "strange", they recognize that he serves them and the system well.

Matt defines power as "the ability to influence" (566). He is a clear exception to the male educators who tend to believe in positional power, even as they describe their own relatively autonomous work lives. Like Jeff, he talks about power as control and admits that he has very high control needs. "(m)y staff would say that. My wife would say that. But I guess it's different. I don't want to control for the sake of controlling. Okay? I think what I want to do is to control for the sake of quality" (577-581). Again, like Jeff, Matt acknowledges that some of his staff may have "a little bit of a different perception" (591).

One of the key issues that comes up in these interviews relates to differences between ascribed power and empowerment and whether it is an "either/or" or "a blended issue". Michael concludes that "essentially it's a blended issue" (765-767). Ian, perhaps, best sums up the overall conclusion of most of the male educators interviewed when he says that while individuals may have a certain amount of

power because of their personal style or personality, ultimately in most organizations power is tied to certain key positions. Jeff says that those who will be affected by a decision should have input and Michael says that eventually you must have consensus, that ascribed power can only go so far. As Jeff says, the controlling type of power exercised by leaders when he entered the field of education is no longer possible and these male educators seem to acknowledge that this is true. Male educators tend to use positional power as the starting point for their discussion of power, but in discussing their own work lives it is clear that they can draw on various resources beyond their positions to exercise power, if need be.

Male Public Administrators

Richard defines power as "access and authority. Access to senior managers and, I guess, access that may be more than just through the normal, more than through normal channels, and authority to . . . authority to do things" (608-611). For him quick and easy access to a hands-on ADM (assistant deputy minister) but one who lets him do his job represents a fair degree of power.

Fred sees power, at least in the federal public service, as positional although he appears to see himself as the exception to that as he describes how his personal style provides access, visibility and, hence, power. Trevor seems to agree with Fred that power in government is more likely to be at the top of the organization and related to position, but he also acknowledges that despite the existence of structures there are ways of getting around these set channels of

information. Like Fred, he believes that he can manipulate the system to some degree but he makes the point that he doesn't play games. His manipulation appears to be more intellectual and done with a service rather than personal career gain motive.

Two of these male public servants tend to define power in terms of discretion or capacity to make decisions and two clearly see it as residing in a position although they acknowledge that they are often able to get around that positional power to accomplish what they want. The remaining two define it as access and authority to do things or the capacity to influence results. Two clearly enjoy using power and provide lots of examples of their manipulation of the formal power structures. One appears to base this on his intellectual capacity and his "track record", the other's power appears to rest more in his personal style which is very action and people oriented.

Like male educators, male public servants tend more than either female educators or public servants to see power as positional. In terms of volume, male public servants had less to say about power than did female public servants, much less to say on the subject than male educators, and about the same as women educators. On the other hand they were very focused, not wasting words. The reduced volume of this group may relate to their capacity to be concise, skills particularly important to two in their current jobs which require them to oversee briefings and communications strategies.

Conclusion

While men tend more than women to perceive power in more traditional hierarchical terms, when they describe how they exercise power in their own work lives there appears to be much less difference between men and women than the research literature would suggest. Two of the male educators use the word control to describe their view of power and two male public servants view it in terms of position while several of the women define it in terms of enabling, mobilizing, and empowering. However, in later discussions of power use men are less likely than their definitions of power suggest to describe using power in controlling ways. Table IV below summarizes these views by group.

TABLE IV: VIEWS OF POWER

Female Educators	Female Public Administrators	Male Educators	Male Public Administrators
Enabling Influence (3) Responsibility & involvement Ability to make things happen	Influence Ability to influence decisions Autonomy in decision making Ability to get things done Capacity to mobilize people Empowerment	Facility to influence change Ability to influence Control (2) A blend of ascribed power & empowerment Capacity to take decisions	Access & authority (2) Capacity to make decisions Capacity to influence results Position (2)

People Perceived as Powerful

Research Question # 4

Do female and male middle managers identify the same people in their organizations as being powerful?

In another approach to examining the views interviewees hold of power, they were asked to identify the three people in their own organization whom they perceived as most powerful, tell where in the organization each was located, and describe what made these people powerful. Analysis of interview transcripts focused on those people interviewees defined as powerful and what they thought was the basis of that power.

Female Educators

Mary starts by identifying two men in her organization who are at or near the top of the organizational structure. She describes them as overbearing and aggressive. She goes on to say of these gatekeepers to the Director that, "they decide what is important and they have a value system that I don't really agree with but it reflects the value system of the board and that's another reason why I think they're powerful. They seem to be portraying those values to a certain extent" (875-878). This may suggest that more than personal qualities, their power results from being in the right place at the right time.

The women educators who describe people in lower level positions as powerful, talked about professionalism as an example to

others, educators who are "loved by the kids", leadership by example, and people who "are well respected in terms of their practising performance and their contribution to the system" (Marianne, 938-940). As in their discussion of the concept of power, they introduce values and moral concepts which few males do. Connie, one of those who identifies people in lower level positions as powerful, acknowledges the power at central office, but says you can get around this if you choose to. She goes on to illustrate what she sees as power by describing a vice-principal who is powerful because he is so respected and well loved by students.

Contrary to the fairly positive descriptions of powerful people provided by women public administrators, women educators are the only ones to describe powerful people in their organization in more negative terms. This more negative tone may relate to the fact that women educators have not gained access to management positions in their organizations to the same degree as women public administrators have in theirs. This group of women educators, with one exception, appears to be less sensitive than males to the political side of organizational power.

Female Public Administrators

Women managers in the public service appear to focus more on personal qualities and style than on position in defining powerful people in their organizations. Maria's response to the question illustrates this more typically female response. She says that "one of the most powerful people is the one who is at the top, that's for sure"

(545-546). She goes on to describe him in a way which highlights his personal qualities including his humanity and his strong intellectual skills. She identifies another person as having "power of position", but as she describes the woman's power it becomes clear that rather than positional power based on hierarchy which is how men are more likely to describe it, the woman she describes is at a relatively low level in the organization but one which plays a gatekeeping role, providing access to key information. Maria says, "(h)er power has nothing to do with her personality, her confidence, her abilities, her skills. . . It's the position" (564-565; 567). Like several of the other women interviewees, Maria identifies only two powerful people.

Janice focuses on style in describing the three most powerful people in her organization, none of whom is at the most senior levels of the organizational hierarchy. She describes the first of these people, a director, as "the best straight ahead manager he's (a more senior manager) got. Now he will ride over everything in his way, just steam rolls over everything, but he gets there, he delivers. You can count on him. He has a very forceful personality, he's bright, and so you can't discount what he's saying" (906-910). The second person she describes is an executive assistant. She describes this person as a real decision maker, someone with a lot of experience, grace and humour. The third powerful person she identifies is an assistant regional director, "one who I see as a leader. The others (other regional directors) will consult, not always follow, but they will always consult. I would say that in terms of influencing the direction, the decision, that's my vote " (939-941). She goes on to say that he "generally exercises very sound judgement. He also has probably the best feel for what goes on in his

area of responsibility. He has a good grassroots feel. That's just the way he operates " (946-948).

The other women interviewees in this group tend to respond in much the same way as Maria and Janice, identifying people who, for the most part, are not placed near the top of the organizational hierarchy. One of the women identifies a member of her own staff, a program officer, because, as she says, "(h)e has an impact in the field" through "his knowledge, his experience, his personality, in some sense. It's his ability to speak authoritatively, to influence people" (711; 714-716). The same woman identifies a colleague, another SM, who she says, "is extremely well respected professionally and internationally, he runs a tight ship, his people work well for him. . . an influential network" (706-708).

Nan identifies her own boss, "because she is very fair, very balanced, has a very broad vision, she looks at issues in departmental and political and economic contexts. She has a grand sense of fairness and mission, the forward thinkingness which I think is very important. She's very, very encouraging. She's a powerful person but (in a low key way)" (507-512).

Women public administrators are less likely to identify three people and Nan, perhaps, sums up their problem when she says, "(n)ow, I'd be hard pressed to pick one other in this organization, there are thousands of people. And there are lots of individuals that I have a lot of respect for, they get things done, they achieve results, they work well with people, they do good things, the whole range" (498-502). If, as male respondents tend to do, you focus on people who are at the top of

the hierarchy, it may be easier to single people out. Since women tend not to do that, they appear to have more difficulty in naming three.

In describing powerful people, this group of managers tends to focus on such qualities as good interpersonal skills, capacity to generate trust, respect for others, personal warmth, doing "good things", making a contribution to their field, and fairness. The difference between the responses of this group of managers and either of the male groups is quite striking. As the following review demonstrates, male managers very rarely give as much priority to personal qualities.

Male Educators

Male educators in identifying powerful people, tend to focus on people in higher positions in their organizational hierarchy, although one does include himself among the three most powerful people he describes. Interestingly, one other male educator and one female educator include him in their groups of three most powerful people. School trustees, but no chairs of boards, were mentioned by three, two identified trustees, in general, while one named a specific trustee, one with considerable experience and acknowledged political skills. Directors were mentioned by four, but two were critical of their directors. A number of people in positions to resource and service schools such as superintendents or directors of finance or student services were identified by these men as powerful. One named students and parents as more powerful than his third choice, the director.

Jeff sees power as centralized at the top of the organization which initially suggests a belief in positional power. However, in describing the people in his organization who are powerful he alludes to their personality, the way they behave, ability, and influence on others as accounting for their power along with the position they occupy. He describes one of the three powerful people he identifies as having power far beyond what the position would normally provide. He says that in his organization the consultative process tends to be narrowly defined - there is a group of insiders who make the decisions.

Both Eric and Ian see the position of director as very powerful while Michael describes the director as having "no power at all". Both Eric and Michael focus on visible positions and both include trustees in their groups of three. Michael is particularly conscious of the power of interest groups, students and parents, saying that directors are confined with little freedom to move, that they have "zero autonomy". Contrary to Michael's view that the director has no power, Ian says that the "the power the Director has over the total system is awesome" (538). He goes on to say that "you understand the power and authority is there with the various positions in the hierarchy" (541-542)

Matt's views of people with power differ significantly from those of the other male educators and in some ways parallel those of the women educators and public administrators interviewed. He does not identify his director or senior administrators as powerful, instead naming himself, an employee at the board office who has access to a lot of information despite not being high in the organizational hierarchy, and a particular trustee who is "influential". In conclusion, male educators focus on positional power more than either female group of

interviewees. This may reflect their greater belief or faith in hierarchies, their background in team sports, and/or their own primary and organizational socialization.

Male Public Administrators

Male public administrators tend, perhaps even more than male educators, to see power in terms of position on the organizational hierarchy. As Fred expresses this view, power in government is at the top. He says, "(y)es it's at the top. If you talk about absolute power in this department, it's very top heavy. It's up there and not here" (280-281). He goes on to say that he thinks "it's a case of position" (287), that government is structured that way.

Trevor describes his deputy minister as exercising power in a "totally different" way from previous deputies, as someone who has vision, wants to be seen as a role model for the department, and has a global and strategic perspective which is bringing diverse elements in the department together so that "we're starting to think like one department" (526-527).

While acknowledging that "(i)t's a bit of a moveable feast right now because we've just got a new senior ADM" (557-558), Glen does not hesitate to identify his deputy minister as one of the three most powerful people in his organization. He explains that the deputy minister has an extensive and powerful personal network which combined with the power of the position makes this person very powerful. A previous deputy, he says, "had no power, the people who had power were a bunch of ADMs and running the department like

little fiefdoms. We now have a new deputy who has brought power into the job" (583-585).

Paul talks about the importance of style, often over substance, in terms of who has power and who does not. As he sees it, those with strong personalities and extensive networks are more likely to have power.

Male public administrators are more likely than any of the other manager groups to associate power with the more senior levels of the organizational hierarchy. While they comment on the style of individual people, they tend to see power as top-down and hierarchical.

There are fewer differences in the responses of men and women educators. Both tend to focus on directors and superintendents. Women educators seem to be less sensitive to the political side of organizational life, none mentioning interest groups and only one naming a trustee. Like women public servants, women managers in the educational field focus a lot on personal qualities although women educators choose positions at the top of the organizational hierarchy as their starting position more often than female public administrators. The educators then move on to a discussion of more personal qualities, and unlike the women public administrators, ones which are not always admirable.

Exercising Power

Research Question # 5

Do female and male middle managers exercise power differently?

Questions on this topic were designed to determine how interviewees exercise power. A critical incident methodology was used to elicit responses. Interviewees were asked to describe how they had handled a critical work related incident in the past 18 months. In probing for details, the interviewer attempted to determine how they exercised power in their roles as managers. Interviewees were also asked to describe how they got their way or gained support among colleagues or senior executives for a controversial position.

Female Educators

The crisis situations described by women educators include the threatened closure of one's school, having one's leadership and authority challenged by older male members of staff, removing an incompetent member of staff, dealing with a student who is sexually harrassing female students, student-teacher conflicts, and school/student-local property owner conflicts.

Their approach in dealing with the various crises they describe can be characterized as involving a considerable commitment of time, a lot of patience, and major attention to preserving relationships. They stress that they do not play games, they do play by the rules, and do try to see both sides in a dispute. They are not confrontational, but do not hide from problems (Alison, 454). They describe using a team approach, "I can't do this alone" (Alison, 485), and having no reluctance to consult or seek assistance from others. Their style of exercising power can best be described as a combination of master teacher and labour negotiator. They seem to place a high value on negotiating solutions and teaching these skills to staff and students. Kathryn describes trying to get students to understand how the local community feels about certain student behaviors and Ann invests a lot of time in helping students understand how they can take responsibility for finding the solution to a problem. Mary describes the middle manager's dilemma, being caught in the middle, and her own capacity to empathize with both sides when she says, "I could sympathize with both sides. I could see the logic in the board's position and the disappointment in the parents' side" (776-778). Both Marianne

and Kathryn give specific examples of similar experiences and describe how they work to negotiate solutions by using that capacity to see issues from both sides.

Marianne appears to be more conscious of the importance of optics in a crisis situation as she describes the need to sometimes "bleed publicly" in order for your opposition to feel they have gained something. She describes her approach as illustrative of the "Tylenol Model". By this she means that one should not try to hide mistakes, but acknowledge them openly and work on finding solutions quickly. This appears to relate to this group of interviewees' emphasis on the need to be direct, not manipulative, and to avoid playing games.

While, as a group, they are more consultative than their male peers, this does not appear to mean that they fear making a decision as some of the literature on women leaders suggests. As Ann says, "I think I'm open, I'm direct, forthright. I will take the heat if it's necessary. I think things through and I anticipate . . . and I can anticipate when the flak is going to fly. But, if I decide I'm going with it, I'm going with it" (778-781).

Female Public Administrators

Examples of incidents described to illustrate their exercise of power include dealing with a staffing problem created by bureaucratic bungling, federal-provincial jurisdictional sensitivities, major career barriers, getting new ideas accepted, and personal conflicts between project leaders which are so severe as to threaten a major project.

The approach of this group of managers tends to be characterized by patience and persistence, words used frequently in their descriptions of how they operate at a critical time. As Nan says, "I believe in progress by inches" (276-277) and "significant progress can be made in little ways" (279). Maria says "you have to be persistent" (536). In dealing with barriers to career advancement, both Maria and Suzanne describe taking very direct action, appealing personally to people at much more senior levels of the organization. All members of this group stress the importance of attention to detail and thinking things through, in handling a crisis. Nan describes her approach as involving a meticulous attention to detail while at the same time never losing sight of the "big picture", the vision of what needs to be done.

Both Janice and Nan talk about their use of staff, colleagues, and friends to help in finding solutions. As Janice says, "I cannot work without soliciting opinions from everyone else in town. Because I know that my product is infinitely better when I've done that" (791-793). Like Maria, Janice cites the Jesuit proverb, "it is easier to ask forgiveness than to ask permission" to explain her direct and proactive approach to problem solving. Thus, while these women describe using a consultative approach Janice stresses the point that this should not be misinterpreted as an unwillingness or fear of making decisions.

Beth describes a somewhat more intellectual approach. As she describes it, "(b)asically I think it's important to, and what I tend to do is, to be very clear about what I think my point is and to be sure that it is, in fact, something that I can defend and that I think quite strongly ought to take place" (601-603). She goes on to describe how she uses her powers of persuasion and her capacity to read her environment

accurately in dealing with problems or getting her ideas accepted. Like several others, she stresses the need for patience and persistence.

Joyce describes her approach as "a personal approach as opposed to a hierarchical thing" (741). She tends to rely on her own highly specialized knowledge of her field and knowing the people. She has a very relaxed style and makes good use of humour. She is somewhat entrepreneurial in the creative way in which she trades information and resources. Clearly relationships are important to her success. After describing one of her successes, she says, "I've been able to get favours from them (other departments). (Laughter) You see I don't worry about using just my own resources" (753-4).

Interestingly, all four women in this group who have previously worked outside government are particularly conscious of the political side of their work. Their approach to dealing with a crisis tends to be deliberate, direct, patient, and persistent.

Male Educators

Male educators describe incidents including the termination of a high profile project just as it was to be implemented, budgetary control items, school revitalization efforts, school-parent conflicts, and incidents involving student violence in schools.

Jeff describes how in dealing with the termination of a high profile project he used all his "connections" and old friends. He says, "they all supported me" (531) and "I had the whole board behind me" (521). The support he has from more senior staff is illustrated by his director's assuring him that "I trust you" (563-564). The network he

has built up over the years, the credibility develop over several years of successful performance on a range of projects, and his direct personal style seem to characterize his approach.

Like Jeff, Eric has built up a bank of credibility over a number of years of good performance. One difference in their approaches, however, appears to be Eric's capacity for putting himself in the shoes of or understanding the needs of his senior administration and his ability to package or repackage his needs and requests in such a way that these people are able to give him the support he needs. Some of his colleagues appear to look to him to establish precedents or define the boundaries on new issues or in new areas, such as services to disabled students. He sees his responsibility to be in finding ways of making it possible for senior staff to give him the approval he needs. Sometimes this may involve some creative bending of the rules but he clearly recognizes the need to avoid embarrassing or placing these people in a compromising situation. He describes his as a service motive and is guided in his actions by what he sees as the needs of his students and how the system can best meet those needs. Often these needs represent new ones for school systems, such as the integration of severely disabled students, race relations, etc.

Both Ian and Michael describe how they give staff the tools, information and support, to problem solve. Theirs appears to be a more team oriented approach. As Michael says in describing what for him is still a relatively new approach, "(l)ike, I don't have to do it all myself" (650). Michael is more entrepreneurial in his approach, describing how he trades information and "hustles" for his staff. Dennis, too, uses a similar approach, but he invests considerable time

and energy in orchestrating a solution. Clearly, like several of the other male educators, experience has taught Dennis a range of strategies which he can draw on in times of crisis and he appears to be relatively confident that he can control the outcome.

Like Beth, Matt describes using a more intellectual approach which he prefers to describe as pragmatic. He explains that he tries to think things through and consult before reacting and stresses the importance of appearing to be calm and unruffled in a crisis situation. This he describes as difficult for him because he is a very intense person and that often "inside I'm really churning" (648). He says that it is important in these situations "not to box yourself into a corner" (635). Matt has a certain confidence which appears to come from his connections to central office insiders and his own credibility built up over several years of successfully managing some very complex projects.

While there are variations in styles, male educators tend to have a wider range of responses available to them than do the women interviewees. These men are relatively confident as a group that they can get the support and resources they need from their systems in a time of crisis. That confidence, however, is often linked to their own special contacts, powerful networks, and manipulative skills rather than to any expectation on their part that as middle managers they had a right to expect such support from those above them in the organization.

Male Public Administrators

The examples of crises provided by male public servants include federal-provincial jurisdictional disputes, a sensitive and big budget communications strategy, an oppressive boss, and advancing the cause of a project for which program criteria provide no guidance. Two of the male managers could not provide specific examples of a crisis which had occurred in the past eighteen months so described their usual style instead.

Both Richard and Trevor describe their basic approach as dependent on the credibility they have established over the years and their ability to build a solid case for their position, Trevor makes the point that "I don't play games although I know there are games to be played, maybe I'm a little naive, too" (Trevor, 630-632). Paul, too, describes his approach as philosophical and intellectual and dependent on logical, well presented arguments.

Ron appears to draw on his business training in dealing with difficult situations, falling back on team management, problem solving, and decision making skills developed in those years. Glen, who describes himself as attempting to adopt a more collegial approach to management, depends on personal eye-to-eye contact with the people most involved. His approach appears to be the most direct and personal of any of this group of male managers. Fred, unlike any of the others, can best be described as aggressive. He is vocal, visible even a little flamboyant, and pushy. He seems to take pride in the fact that others see him as aggressive and "pushy". Fred is careful to explain that although he is very much a risk taker they are "calculated risks not

stupid risks" (349). He says, "(b)ut if you want to get your way you have to be pushy, especially in government" (311-312).

As a group, these managers, with the exception of Fred, appear to be more intellectual and less manipulative than their male counterparts in education. They seem to be less personal or relationship focused than female managers in education and less deliberate and patient than female public administrators. They definitely do not play the master teacher role which characterizes female educators' crisis management style.

Conclusion

In terms of how they exercise power in a crisis situation, men appear to be more willing to take chances. They appear to have more friends who are organizational insiders to whom they can turn and on whom they can depend in times of crisis. They describe the advantages this provides in times of crisis or just on days when they are feeling down, how they use these people as sounding boards while they try to formulate a response to some crisis. Women seem much less likely to have and to use insiders in this way. In times of crisis, women are more likely to adopt a more reflective and disciplined approach to problem solving. This approach tends to be more time consuming than many others described.

Several of the women interviewed who had held a range of positions early in their careers and so probably had an opportunity for more extensive organizational socialization were particularly confident in coping with a crisis. As one woman principal says, "I mean, I just

knew I wasn't going to do something that wasn't legitimate within the system. . . And I knew the system well enough to say, '(o)h, hey I know what's going on out there' "(Ann, 558-562). Thus, in terms of power style in times of crisis, men tend to use organizational insiders, to respond more quickly, and to take more risks while women appear to make greater use of a more deliberate and reflective approach.

Women educators, particularly, tend to be less manipulative and to depend more on their personal skills in mediation and negotiation to handle a crisis than do their male peers. Women educators and public servants tend to display a narrower range of responses to problems and crises than male educators and to depend on a more personal approach.

The following chapter presents themes which emerged from data over the life of this study. These themes integrate the individual interview results reported in this chapter with data gathered by means of other lines of inquiry, including focus groups and elite interviews.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

THEMES EMERGING FROM INDIVIDUAL AND ELITE INTERVIEWS AND FROM FOCUS GROUPS

A number of themes related to the key concepts being studied emerged as interviews were transcribed, contact summaries finalized, focus groups summarized, and the diary kept up to date. As described in Chapter III, these themes were collected in an emerging themes subfile. What follows is a presentation of those themes which relate to organizational socialization and power. Exerpts from the various data sources which contributed to the themes are included to illustrate how each theme developed. As analysis of interview data proceeded, the emerging themes sub file provided a vehicle for integrating data obtained from the other data sources with data from the individual interviews with managers. The winnowing of data thematically provided an effective means of integrating data from various sources in a systematic way. In the thematic summary which follows, data sources are identified as (FG) for focus group with a number indicating the group; (E) for elite interview with a number or other information indicating the specific interview; (CS) for contact summary with a name identifying the interviewee or a number identifying the location in the summary for the quotation; and (D) for diary and including the date of the original entry. Individual interviewees are identified as they were in Chapter IV, by the pseudonym assigned each interviewee.

Experiencing Power Through Organizational Socialization

The following is a summary of themes which relate to the concept of organizational socialization. As described earlier, organizational socialization is used in this study as the concept for describing and assessing the experience of organizational power. That is, experiencing power includes those experiences which research demonstrates serve to limit or to control one's access to organizational socialization experiences which develop and advance one's knowledge of the organization. These themes cover the range of experiences of organizational power including training, learning organizational rules, norms, and roles, and others identified in Figure II, Organizational Socialization and Power.

Apprenticeship By Observation

A number of women, including Alison and Mary, describe having no interest in a management career until a chance assignment placed them in a position to observe the management function up close. Alison describes working with principals for five years as a consultant and through observing them at work, deciding that a principalship would be interesting and feeling that she could do it as well "if not better" than the principals she observed (CS - 10). Women educators give more examples of this than women public servants or men in either group do. Eric provides a negative example of this, saying that he resisted a career in education because his father, a very authoritarian principal, made it appear to be so unattractive (CS - 8). Members of one focus group (FG - 4) see the exposure to leadership

which special assignments can provide as allowing individuals to see if they are even interested in becoming leaders. They may well decide after seeing it up close that it does not appeal to them and proceed to define and direct their careers in other directions rather than focusing on upward movement.

Bank of Skills

Frequent job changes and particular types of assignments can increase one's bank of skills, making one more mobile or marketable, according to several interviewed. Alison, Nan, Michael, and Dennis are particularly conscious of this and provide numerous examples of ways in which they consciously sought to gain these benefits for themselves. Trevor was able to combine a positive attitude to a career in the public service with a desire to learn in order to deal with a difficult work situation. Twice he worked for supervisors with little interest in their jobs, but who welcomed his offers to take on work they did not wish to do themselves (CS - 40). By volunteering for extra work, he gained valuable experience and added to his personal bank of skills. Nan describes the broad range of work experiences she has acquired as comforting and giving her confidence (CS - 7). She talks about being a "richer commodity" because of these experiences (CS - 15).

Barriers and Ceilings

Discussions of barriers focused on different kinds and ways of dealing with them. Several males see affirmative action/employment equity as a barrier for them. Dennis and Glen describe looking for

ways, including special assignments, to enrich their work lives if further promotional opportunities are denied them because the promotions will go to women candidates. Several women interviewees (Janice, Maria) comment on the sexism of the system, as perhaps more of a barrier than the sexism of individuals. One of the elite interviewees (E - the former chair of a national study) was particularly articulate on the concept of systemic discrimination as was a personnel director (E-1).

The personnel director says that it is not the differences between men and women, but rather the refusal to recognize those differences which is the problem. He also expresses the view that it is "inertia", not ill will or a conspiracy, which is the main barrier for women. That is, a poor understanding of the impact of some organizational practices rather than ill intent results in some groups being disadvantaged. He gives as an example of this systemic discrimination the fact that the principal's course used to be residential and was only available at an institution two hours away, making it difficult for some women with young children to participate. He goes on to discuss what he understands to be the difference between equity and equality, illustrating the difference as follows; "(w)e don't talk about equality of educational opportunity and say to the physically disabled child, 'English is offered in Room 7. Get up the stairs as you can.' Students may not travel to the class in an identical way. You treat everyone the same, equally, if everyone has the same conditions." He says that the differences between equity and equality are critical but are also ones which many people have difficulty in grasping.

Ian says that the reason there are fewer women secondary school principals is that for years women screened themselves out of high school positions, but that part of the problem was also the "people doing the hiring" (CS - 41). Jeff, too, starts by saying that women are not interested in promotions, but as he talks he comes to the conclusion that women are more isolated from information and opportunity which makes it difficult for their career advancement interests to be visible to others and to be realized.

Some (FG - 3) predict that more female managers may change models of success and leadership since increased numbers will increase the confidence of women managers and they will not feel so pressured to conform to male models. However, one woman argues that women feel held back by the lack of acceptance of their different style of managing and that, while the system may be gradually integrating some features of that style, it is at the cost of the careers of the women pioneers who have been the first hired (Follow-up correspondence from a member of FG - 1). According to Ian, school systems inherited many leaders in the post World War II period who, because of their military experience and training, tended to be more autocratic in style (CS - 22). As these men retire, he and others (FG - 3; Morgan, 1988b) predict, other leadership styles will become more acceptable. One man suggests that some women managers "overplay the role" (FG - 3), behaving more male than the male managers. Another in the same group comments that the "system" does not believe that a career is important to women with children.

Like Janice, Paul talks about the subtle and deep rooted forms of sexism in organizations. He says that one has to "scratch really deep to

become aware of it" (CS - 21). Nan talks about the barriers that can result from a "shrill and shrew-like" response to sexism, stressing the need for women to deal with it with "as much grace as possible". The barriers one creates by overreacting to sexism, she says, can never be undone (CS - 52).

Ceilings are described in various ways as plexiglas, "you can't even scratch it"; concrete, you can't see through it; and quotas or "hiring targets (OME Directive) become ceilings" (FG - 1). It appears that qualifications and hard work can advance a career to a certain point, perhaps middle manager level, but that who you know and what information you have access to is critical for people who are aspiring to or are functioning at more senior levels of organizational life (FG - 3; Fernandez, 1981)

Soft Wall of Resistance

This expression sums up the views of several women interviewees who describe organizational factors which in subtle ways make them feel like outsiders and work against their careers. Both Janice and Eric describe this phenomenon at some length, illustrating their views with examples of how they have seen the process work against the career advancement of women within their organizations. Members of the all male focus group made a number of observations on the subject. Among these were the view that "(w)hile overt sexism is not seen anymore, it is still there. It is just invisible"; "(n)othing has really changed for women. They may get more computer and scientific training, but they do not get preparation to manage these functions."; and, "(o)nly radical means such as a 10 year moratorium on promoting

males will bring about change" (FG - 3). In-basket exercises based on male experiences were among examples of systemic discrimination which were discussed (FG - 3; E-2).

Time Famine

Women interviewed are especially conscious of time. They sometimes express impatience with lengthy meetings, believing that the same could be accomplished in 15 minutes rather than 45. Mary suggests that one reason for this may be that women who have family responsibilities feel they do not have time to "waste" because they "have to pack so much into a day. We (women) aren't the people who have a lot to say about nothing", she says. (CS - 24). According to members of two focus groups (FGs - 1, 4), these time pressures are real for women with families since women, rather than men, appear to still carry the primary responsibility for keeping the family "social network going" (FG - 4). One woman concludes that it will be difficult for women to achieve equality in the workplace until they demand and achieve it in the home (FG - 4).

Women also appear not to understand the importance men give to the informal side of organizational life so do not recognize the value of the unspoken dimensions of meetings such as the homage paid to some, favours exchanged, etc. (Jardim and Hennig, 1990). One woman interviewed suggested that because of their response to time pressures, they may sometimes be perceived as abrupt while another (FG - 1) suggested that women may devalue their own contribution so rush through their own points or presentations, believing that what others have to say is of more importance. The informal activities in which

their male colleagues participate, such as golf or running, are essentially closed to most women since, even if they are athletic, they usually do not have the "time to play games" (FG - 4).

Viewing the Organization Up and Down

A number of interviewees talk about the need for "the big picture" as well as the fact that until they got close to management they had no interest in it or thought they would be incapable of functioning well as a manager. While related, perhaps, to the themes of apprenticeship by observation and need for the "big picture" (CS - 30, Nan) and "great broad strokes" (CS - 30, Alison), there appears to be an added dimension here. That added dimension seems to be how differently the organization looks from below management and above management positions. The employees who appear to advance are those who can move outside or rise above their own experience to comprehend the needs of others in the organization and the organization, itself, and how they, as individuals, fit into the overall package. Thus, Eric sees as one of his strengths his capacity to understand and anticipate his supervisors' needs while working to ensure that his own are met (CS - 9, 15). Glen says that "(i)t's not good enough to just see yourself as being here in the middle", but you always have to be thinking of what's happening on top of you and how those decisions get made" (CS - 11).

Among organizational socialization experiences which study participants describe as particularly useful in helping employees move beyond their own experience to a broader understanding of larger organizational needs are central office experience for educators (Matt,

Michael, Marianne, Dennis) or, for public servants, serving as assistant to senior officials or on national committees and task forces (Trevor, Nan, Suzanne). The understandings gained from such experiences are probably particularly important to middle managers who must meet the needs of executives above them and staff below.

Active Waiting

This theme started to develop after the first focus group in which one of the women participants described using volunteer work to make use of skills which she possessed but which her current job did not enable her to use. While searching for a more challenging position she used this volunteer experience to maintain her skills, as well as confidence in her abilities (FG - 1). Thus, like others (Trevor; E - a male union representative), she was actively involved in maintaining skills and confidence and developing new skills while waiting for opportunities for more challenging work to come along. As Trevor describes his experience, "I worked for a few people who had retired before they actually left. But it's good for you because it means you take on that much more responsibility from the ones who don't do anything . . . I took on everything I could get. It was a great learning experience" (CS - 40). As they describe it, active waiting appears to serve to help employees maintain positive feelings about their careers.

While several others interviewed talked about their volunteer experience in a somewhat similar way, there was a significant difference. Those who were "actively waiting" saw themselves as being in dead-end jobs which did not challenge them in any major way, while the others were relatively happy with their current jobs and

were simply using volunteer work to "top up" their bank of skills, not using it to survive what for them was a very disagreeable experience.

Visibility

Many of the opportunities for visibility interviewees describe are ones which result from chance (Bandura, 1982; Young, 1990) rather than ones which can be planned for. However, knowing how powerful visibility is and the kinds of experiences which best provide it enables one to better position oneself for such opportunities. Men appear to have recognized early that visibility is important and to be better at making themselves visible, to "distinguishing yourself from the crowd" (Fernandez, 1991, p. 251). A sports background seems to be related to this capacity. While Kathryn says that it just made sense to her that because "the competition is so extreme you have to do something that makes you noticed more than the others" (CS - 9), she was one of only two women who expressed that awareness.

Ann's mathematics degree helped her obtain a position as chair of a "New Math" committee, despite the fact that she was a beginning teacher (CS - 1). Connie had been active in a work group studying child abuse just as the issue was gaining attention (CS - 10). Dennis describes the value of his geography degree just when that subject was developing as a subject on its own rather than as part of social studies (CS - 12). Another says that environmental studies skills serve that function in the 1990s (FG - 1). Many public service managers and a few educators worked on issues related to bilingualism early in their careers. Some had been language majors at university while others were experts in testing, such as psychology majors. In most cases, none

of the organizational needs which gave them early visibility could have been predicted and planned for. Thus, chance (Bandura, 1982 ; Young, 1989) played some role in their early career visibility. Routine assignments (FG - 1) or ones on which the organization places a low value or priority, such as affirmative action (D - January 9, 1991; E - affirmative action officer; Ortiz, 1982), were identified as ones to be avoided by those wanting to advance their careers. Such assignments not only keep one invisible, it appears, they may ghettoize one (Ortiz, 1982) within the organization.

Marianne describes the negative visibility to which women principals are sometimes subjected, saying that as a "lady principal", as she is sometimes called, one experiences "some fairly heavy duty stress" (CS - 47). Like Ann, she has experienced people "taking me on in a very, very demanding way". She clearly feels the performance pressures to which tokens are prone (Kanter, 1977a). As she describes it, "(i)t's the old Charlotte Whitton thing of having to be better than your male colleagues 'cause there's still a lot of question about women being competent in this role" (CS - 48). Visibility concerns due to performance pressures may account for the fact that women appear to be particularly worried about taking shortcuts when they are offered, while men describe accepting such offers. While several men describe skipping what most people assume are the necessary stages in a career ladder, only one woman does and several women talk about the need to pay and to be seen to pay one's dues (FG - 1; E - woman manager).

Invisibility

Several women (Suzanne, Maria, Janice) describe being treated at meetings and when opportunities for promotion come up as if they are invisible to their male colleagues and supervisors. An elite interviewee (E - a male union representative) describes having observed such a situation. He describes attending a meeting which a female business colleague had with a banker and observing that her ideas and suggestions were ignored by the banker until he repeated them, making him feel, he says, like a "parrot". Nan describes experiencing this invisibility at meetings where she would raise a point early in the discussion which would "go unnoticed until one of them (men) said it and then it's a wonderful idea" (CS - 48). Marianne describes the invisibility of the lone female in committees or meetings where her ideas are listened to "respectfully, but her ideas are just dismissed" (CS - 72). She says that this happens less than in the past, but that it still happens.

Equity Training

A number of study participants (FG - 2; E - human resource specialists, government) focused on training as a way to make organizational insiders of outsiders. The focus group participants describe training approaches used since the 1960s as moving through three phases. The first was a "fix the outsider phase", how "to make these poor souls fit in" through such activities as assertiveness training; the second, training managers to better cope with them; and third, training senior executives to better understand the problem and get them to support change from the top of the organization down

through the ranks. What is needed now, they say, is training for the colleagues with whom they have ongoing contact and who are in a position to school organizational outsiders in the way organizations really work. They also stress the importance of having permanent members of staff to provide training rather than depending on outside consultants. Some study participants who have work experience in both education and in public administration see the field of education as behind the public service in its awareness of the kinds of barriers that work against the career advancement of women (FG - 2).

Learning on the Job

The research literature (Hall, 1987; McCall et al., 1988; Mintzberg, 1990) stresses the importance of on-the-job learning for those aspiring to be managers as opposed to learning acquired primarily from books or courses and study participants tended to agree with that view. Eric talks about the importance of actual exposure to management like experiences and the fact that women are less likely to get those experiences, particularly early in their careers. He uses the example of the principal who has to be away from his school and asks a member of staff, usually a male teacher, to cover for him (CS - 15). According to Michael, decision making cannot be taught, it has to be learned through experience not in an academic way (CS - 51). The examples given by Alison and Beth of the ways in which they benefitted from being given management like experiences and responsibilities early in their careers provide support for this view. The all male focus group stressed that it was more important for leaders to have a broad range of experiences than educational credentials (FG - 3; D - 12/01/91). The

same focus group saw formal training for management as being less important in the public service because the content is seen as poor. The key to good management is in the selection process for managers, they believe.

Stretch Assignments

Related to the previous theme, several people talk about the importance of "stretch" assignments, ones which exposed them to a wide new range of experiences. These seem to develop confidence although initially they may have generated a lot of stress/anxiety in the individual. Trevor had "a chance to get involved in a lot of things" and "even more than that, I got involved in the machinery of government at a very early age. I was around when the Ministry of State for Social Development . . . was being formed" (CS - 26). Nan describes moving from work with a provincial government to a national organization as "a bit of a stretch" (CS - 15), but as valuable because successfully making that transition gave her more confidence and a better overview of the field (CS - 17).

Marginality

Marginality is discussed in both positive and negative terms. Although marginal status has tended to be seen as a negative, there may be positive features to marginality which make the boundary spanning capacity of marginal people "functional" (Park, 1967). Just as Simmel's marginality (Kandal, 1988) in German society made him particularly sensitive to the experiences of other outsiders, women as relative newcomers to the management world can subtly challenge by

example traditional models of behavior. Ian, for example, describes coming to see that someone who is "humane and open" can be more effective than "someone who gains respect through a very cold, autocratic approach" (CS - 21). Marginality can also provide people with a wider horizon, and a more detached and rational viewpoint, the product of living in two different worlds. Such people can become messengers back and forth between the two worlds - "boundary spanners". Women may bring new perspectives on models and structures to the management world (D - 3/10/90). The negative perspective sees women as tokens who are marginalized, "ghettoized" (FG - 1), in the life of organizations. This marginalization contributes to their unequal access to organizational socialization experiences and opportunities (FG - 1; FG - 3).

Need to Market/Self Promote

Maria says "you have to sell yourself" (CS - 11). Suzanne talks about the need to promote oneself, to say "I can do this for you", but acknowledges that this may be very difficult for some women (CS - 21). Nan seems to be particularly aware of the need to acquire a range of experiences which make one "marketable" (CS - 2). This view comes out in the all female focus group (FG - 1), as well, where several women in the group discuss the fact that while women assume that good work speaks for itself and do not market themselves, men are better at getting noticed and at self-promotion. As one says, "(w)e don't market ourselves". Trevor, on the other hand, says that he chose to do graduate work in business rather than in public administration because

he "wanted something that was marketable. People know an MBA more than an MPA" (CS - 28).

Mentors and Role Models

Several women allude to the concept of "conditional" mentoring, that is, men who promote "safe" women who will not challenge them. Such women may be seen as controllable and will function as an extension of the mentor, remaining a "loyal lieutenant". Such mentors may be perceived by some as progressive and supportive of affirmative action but may be seen by others as "playing Pygmalion" (Morgan,1988b). This may relate to a point that men and women (FG - 1; FG - 3) make about men who may be extremely supportive of individual women employees but may in other ways work against equity for female employees in general.

Some explain it as a response to peer pressure or to being confined by organizational structures (E - 1). The advantages of having several mentors was also discussed (Ron, CS - 19). Multiple mentoring was seen as allowing one to be exposed to different styles while at the same time reducing the risk that one's career takes a downturn when one's mentor's career does (FG - 1). Both Beth and Suzanne talk about the nurturing work environment created for them by their mentors, making the work setting a place where they felt they would not be punished for making a mistake. Suzanne says of her mentor that he "created an environment where you could be creative, where you could develop" (CS - 9).

Beth says that her mentor made it possible for her to "learn in an environment where a mistake was not a problem" (CS - 22). A couple

of women describe their mentors as men who were new to the organization and who were dependent on the experience and knowledge of the organization which these women had. In return the male newcomers provided career support through mentoring (D - 18/04/1991). A primary benefit of mentors, according to those who describe having had the experience, is the mentor's role in reducing stress caused by fear of the unknown by "forecasting" (Strauss, 1959) what the newcomer can expect.

Nan talks about the difference between men and women mentors, saying that men make "more show of it" while the women "come through quietly, without fanfare" (CS - 35). Glen who had a mentor for a short period at the very beginning of his career says that having a mentor "really does help you" (CS - 20) and advises people who want to get ahead to "find a mentor, don't wait to be trained" (CS - 21). Glen also addresses the issue of timing (Strauss, 1959), saying that he was too young and inexperienced in government at that early stage to benefit as fully as he would have liked from such an experienced mentor.

Older males whose careers advanced during the years of "taps on shoulders" and less formal requirements for advancement may not be effective coaches to women trying to move their careers ahead in a more structured work environment, according to men in two groups (FG - 4; FG - 5). If based on their own experience, the advice these men give may not be relevant unless they receive some specialized training (FG - 5), but managers are not being trained to recognize or to deal with the power of the systemic barriers women are experiencing (FG - 5).

Role models are seen by some women as allowing them to take control of their fate rather than waiting for someone to choose to mentor them (FG - 1). Marianne worries that she may be a "negative role model" for some younger women because she is divorced and works eighteen hour days (CS - 42).

Multiple Career Paths

While the career literature tends to represent a career as following a path in a logical progression of assignments usually in a single field or discipline, this was certainly not the case for many of the women interviewed. Women's careers, and men's more recently, tend to involve movement in and out and back and forth among a range of paid and volunteer activities and to be made up of multiple paths. This has often been necessary for women as they followed husband's careers, as Alison has done. This can have both positive results, through exposure to a range of new learning experiences, and negative results, including the stress and energy demands of relearning and of establishing credibility with each job change.

Networks and Support Systems

Several discuss job changes as serving to expand their networks by exposing them to new people and as having the potential for both expanding one's networks and adding to one's bank of skills. Knowing people who hold power and networking with people for what they "do" rather than for who they are are important, according to several men (FG - 3). They see managers' information networks and informal networks as more important to their functioning than training is. As

older males retire they suggest that networks will open up to women. On the subject of women's networks, men (FG - 3) see women's smaller networks as explaining why fewer women are in management while several women (FG - 1) complain that women's networks have a forced and artificial quality as they try to model their networks after those of males, but have so much less information to share.

While the literature suggests that men tend to nurture their networks through socializing after work or shared sports activities, as Matt and Michael describe doing, two women, Joyce and Nan describe doing it through personal notes attached to clippings or copies of journal articles they send to contacts who may be interested in that subject. They use mail, telephone, and FAX machines to accomplish this. Joyce suggests that time is a factor, they want to keep up contacts but lack the time for socializing.

Women perceive themselves as having support systems which are "collegial", (CS - 51, Nan; CS -19, Mary) not "backstabbing" as they believe the men's tend to be (CS -19, Mary). Mary says that a very important kind of support, "the kind of support you need", is having someone who calls to see how you are when they know you are in the middle of a crisis (CS - 32). Matt, too, describes that type of support as very important to him. Marianne sees the "very strong women's network" she has been part of as very important to her success (CS - 32). The network seems to have allowed her to vent her frustrations. As she describes it, "we'd get mad all together and talk and rage. You could use bad words and that kind of stuff" (CS - 54). These women seem to have discovered female support systems later in life than their male colleagues. Networks, like mentors, are described by several

women as most important for their nurturing function (D - 04/03/91). However important women's networks are for their nurturant qualities, they do not make up for the fact that women are still excluded from the more powerful male networks where information critical to the organization is shared (FG - 4).

Backlash

The all woman focus group (FG - 1) describes backlash as "an occupational hazard", saying that it "just goes with the territory" and is "worth taking in order to get women ahead". Ian talks about the "strong reaction from males who are being overlooked" (CS - 42) and Kathryn reports hearing men who do not get promoted saying that they missed out because they are men (CS - 15). Connie dismisses these concerns on the part of males as "a lot of sour grapes" (CS - 73). Marianne describes how "the sharks came out of the woodwork" when no males qualified for a competition, saying that it was the first time she had seen real hostility directed at women in this way (CS - 45). Kathryn talks about the resentment of some of her male colleagues when she was appointed a principal and says that "(i)t wasn't terribly comfortable for me at principal's meetings" (CS - 8). She attributes the behavior to male colleagues "salvaging their pride" and sees it as "very understandable" that they should say that they couldn't get the job because they weren't "wearing a skirt" (CS - 15). These examples all come from educators. One male public servant (FG - 5) commented that male public servants had so much less than male educators to say about how to advance their careers (Appendix I), suggesting to him a

certain defeatism. They see their careers as doomed if being male is no longer enough because they have little else to offer, he concludes.

Responsibility to Others

A high proportion of educators and public servants, both male and female, demonstrate a strong service motivation, but there is an added dimension to women's. Several women (Mary, Connie, Alison) talk about "hanging in" during difficult times because they hope their success will make it easier for their daughters, and others like themselves whose careers will follow theirs. Marianne expresses concern that the fact that she is divorced and works eighteen hour days will negatively influence younger women's career aspirations (CS - 42). Several women (FG - 2; CS - 56, Nan) talk of how much their mothers and others like themselves were cheated of a career by the values of earlier times. They describe these concerns as elements of feminism, breaking down barriers so that others who follow will not have to do so. In fact, a number of the older women managers interviewed describe themselves as feminists. This brings to mind a woman elite's comment that "(m)ost women don't become feminists until they are 35. I think then they begin to see what's happening" (E - former chair of national study).

Fitting In

Men, too, can share the experience of not fitting in which many women describe. One male (FG - 3) trying to conform says that he is seen as "some kind of Trojan horse". If they let him in, they will have to accept others like him who do not fit the model of the ideal male

manager. Dress for success is still a part of management training in education, according to another (FG - 3; D - 08/01/91). "Dress codes will be the last to go" in education, he says. Others (FG - 5) talk about the ways in which the closed and secretive nature of organizations has worked against many men as well as women. Women and men (FGs - 3; 4) who do not fit the traditional male leadership model are very conscious of the fact that male managers who dominate the senior levels of most organizations tend to select people for special assignments and promotion who fit their own image. They select people with whom they are comfortable, who share a culture and values.

While mentors, role models, and various support systems can be helpful, one female focus group member (FG - 4) points out that "they're opening up the wrong doors for women", that they should be changing the culture of organizations to make them more inclusive of different management styles.

Summary

The organizational socialization of male and female managers interviewed demonstrates some significant differences. In addition to the differences in range and frequency of socialization experiences reported in Chapter IV, there are differences related to the ease of access to such experiences and the degree to which these experiences are understood to be important to career advancement and to functioning effectively as a manager. Women with management potential tend to be provided a range of organizational socialization experiences which is more limited than that provided males. In large part this difference

is due to the fact that women are not perceived by those who are gatekeepers to such experiences as potential managers. Judging from the male managers interviewed as well as male elites and male focus group participants, many of these people still unconsciously define managers as male.

Combined with this largely unconscious discrimination, a soft wall of resistance, is the fact that the women interviewed are less aware than their male colleagues of the experiences which best equip employees to advance. The women interviewed are more aware of these factors than they were at the beginning of their careers but this awareness came to them later than it did their male colleagues. The men interviewed provide numerous examples of the ways in which they learned relatively early in their working lives how to move their careers forward. Most of the examples they provide can be traced to the informal networks they formed with other men through mentoring relationships, experiences in teacher unions and sports or recreational events. The women who are now middle managers came into organizations during a period when these male networks dominated the informal side of organizational life and when they almost totally excluded women.

These themes illustrate some of the special challenges which women face in trying to manage their time and to balance the demands of family and career. They also face the challenge of trying to build a career in organizations which continue to define career in very traditional male terms, terms which may not be particularly relevant to women's experiences. Their emphasis on the interpersonal is reflected in what they say about the personal aspects of networks and support

systems as well as the responsibility they describe feeling for those whose careers will follow theirs. Their attitude to backlash reveals a determination to "stay the course", for the sake of other women as well as for themselves.

While the women middle managers interviewed have had some catching up to do, they are developing quickly in their understanding of the need for visibility, the value of stretch assignments, the need for "the big picture", the value of a variety of work experiences, and the importance of finding mentors and other support systems. At the same time, they describe devising alternatives to some of the strategies males have used to advance careers. Among these are the benefits of using role models effectively, how to develop networks which focus on the particular needs of women, and to value and promote within organizations the different perspectives many women bring to organizational life.

Defining and Exercising Power

The following themes are ones which relate to the concept of power, that is, how it is defined, perceived, and exercised by individual managers. The research literature suggests that men and women define power differently and have different perceptions of what makes people powerful. In this study managers interviewed were asked to define power and to identify the people in their own organizations whom they perceived to be most powerful. For the purposes of this study, exercising power involves actively using or bringing individual or personal power to bear through activities which demonstrate the

"ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet" (Kanter, 1977a, p. 166). That is, how, as managers, they are able to exercise power through such leadership activities as making structural changes, acting independently, using resources with a degree of flexibility, and risk taking. The themes presented here integrate the data collected which illustrate how the managers studied describe exercising power and their views on power. The themes integrate, as well, the views and experiences of focus group members and elite interviewees.

Viewing Power

Members of the all male focus group had more to say about power than any other group or individual. After considerable discussion, they conclude that it is "more personal than organizational" (FG - 3). They do not appear to perceive the organization as having power. The definition of power in schools has changed, they say, from autocratic to facilitative and; power rests in one's leadership qualities, not in position. They do not see differences in power style as gender based. Maria, a manager in the public service, agrees that power does not come automatically with the position. Members of one focus group (FG - 2) talk about the need for some power to be given up by those in leadership now if others are to be given access, but conclude that such sharing of power is unlikely.

Power of Principals

A number of principals (FG - 4) talked about the power they have relative to people higher in the organization. They tend to see their frequent contact with the community as a source of power. Because of this they can mobilize a community around issues quickly in a way that people at higher levels cannot. Examples presented included stories of a principal who, because of his "front line" position was able to mobilize the community to protest budget cuts imposed by the province and thus provide support to senior management.

Both Ian (CS - 22) and Ron (CS - 38) talk about the changing power styles of principals from an autocratic and militaristic style inherited from post World War II leaders (D - April 18, 1991) to the current one which is increasingly one based on control through planning and organization. The old autocratic environment, according to Ian, did not enable employees to develop their potential. The newer style, he suggests, produces a better "product" because it is more likely to reflect the work and talent of a group rather than only one person, the leader. According to school principals in one group (FG - 4), principals can be an important factor in advancing individual careers since they are in a position to make talented individuals visible to senior levels and can and should play an important role in mentoring beginning teachers.

Playing Games and Playing Roles

Michael describes how sports helps you see your job as a game. He says that women have more difficulty with this because they don't have a team sports background. Many of the men interviewed refer to

their work as a game. Ron, for example, talks about working in a field office as providing "a better chance to see what the game is all about" (CS - 5). Marianne, one of the few women to see her work in this way, talks about the need for a manager to "bleed publicly" sometimes, saying that it is just a ritual which makes one's opponent feel satisfied without really costing oneself anything in real terms. She attributes her ability to do this to a theatre background. As she says, "I'm a former drama person, I have a range of strategies" (CS - 62). Marianne seems to be particularly sensitive to the power tactics (Martin and Sims, 1977), including self-dramatization and the art of persuading, which most of the men interviewed describe using or having the capacity to use. Both Michael and Marianne discuss changing and playing roles as part of administrative role expectations and something that involves "not personal compromise but rather, choosing and playing roles purposefully" (Marshall, 1979b, p. 176). In terms of advancing one's career, the degree to which one is perceived to "play the game", particularly in the public service, is important according to several males (FG - 3). Women appear to view men as better at this, at "finessing" (CS - 40, Alison).

One female member of a group (FG - 2) stressed the need for women to learn "how to roll with the punches and not hold a grudge" as well as how "to project themselves in a more confident way". Another female in the same group, however, disagreed with the latter point, saying that women who do not fit the stereotype of passivity expected of them will be punished by finding themselves negatively labeled as pushy or aggressive.

Several men demonstrate a capacity to adapt to changing rules related to employment equity. This was somewhat unexpected. Glen (CS - 34) and Dennis (CS- 8) provide the best examples of this, describing ways in which they have already or hope in the future to enrich their work lives even if they are not promoted. Several describe ways in which they hope to do this through special projects or work assignments outside the region or their current work organization.

Taking Control

In response to barriers, several interviewees describe "taking control" behaviors such as making contact with someone who can help. Other examples from individual interviews include deciding on a career change or redirection (Matt, Marianne) against the advice of those "who should know", a change in academic major (Eric and Ann), or relocating to get away from a possessive parent as another did. Members of focus group #1 describe choosing a role model rather than searching for a mentor as helping one gain control. While Asplund (1988) and others describe women's tendency to overemphasize the value of education and ignore the informal side of organizational life, others see it as an example of their taking control of those aspects of their lives which they can control (FG - 1; FG - 2). This may relate to women developing alternatives to the organizational socialization their male colleagues can take for granted but which are, in large part, denied them. This involves making choices, choosing not to be a victim of circumstances, much as Dennis and Maria describe. Taking control, as illustrated by these examples, may increase one's sense of individual power (D - 17/01/91). It relates to taking control or being

proactive rather than reactive. Most middle managers interviewed, were quick to recognize barriers to further advancement and move to get around them.

Positive Outlook

Like the "happy warriors" described by Williams and Willower (1983), women interviewees remain very optimistic despite describing having had some frustrating experiences. In spite of the long time it has taken some of them to get into management and having seen others, who were in their opinion less able, promoted past them, they remain optimistic about their future prospects. Most of the managers interviewed, both male and female, could be described as very positive in their approach to life. Michael says you can't afford to "add tension to the environment" (CS - 24) and Maria describes herself as an "indestructable optimist" (CS - 14).

Most are forward looking and there is little looking back on past decisions with regret. Alison is a good example of this. Despite frequent disruptions to her career because of her husband's studies and sabbaticals she made the best of these experiences, adding to her bank of skills by taking courses and doing volunteer work in schools wherever they were living. This eventually paid off for her when the system promoted her, perhaps, recognizing the range of experiences she had to offer. Eric talks about his efforts to get around restrictive guidelines as fighting "for, not against" (CS - 24) something and Dennis talks about the need to be somebody who is "constructive" (CS - 14). Paul says that it is particularly important for managers to be "positive not cynical because the manager sets the tone" (CS - 6).

The difficulty of retaining a positive attitude when one's efforts are not rewarded is reflected in the views of one man (FG - 2) who admits to feeling resentful. He sees his bosses getting "younger and younger" and depending on his experience to make them look good, while he is not benefitting from it.

Humour

Most women interviewed provided examples of how they use humour to deal with difficult or frustrating experiences, often ones involving discrimination. The examples provided are often self-deprecating and not at the expense of others. Some (FG - former chair of national study) say that lack of humour is often a sign of insecurity and uncertainty. This appeared to be true of the women who appear to use humour less. They seem to be capable but are younger, less experienced and seem less sure of themselves. An elite, a leading Canadian feminist, (E -1) says that having a good sense of humour is important to a woman's survival, helping to reduce the pain of temporary setbacks. It may be that humour serves to reduce the kind of tension Michael refers to when he talks about the need to be positive and not to add tension to the system (CS - 24).

Mary says that she was incensed by some of the discrimination she experienced, but that "when you react to them you play into their hands" (CS - 22). Instead she advises using such techniques as saying "the things before they say" them, such as, "(o)h, you don't want to let a girl do that" (CS - 22). Using humour in this way, she says, "saves their face" and stops the behavior. She describes women's humour as more inclusive than men's humour which tends more often to be

sarcastic and directed against others (CS - 23). Marianne describes principals of the 1960s as "an interesting funny group", "lots of jokes" (CS - 37). Others have described jokes as being an important part of company culture and describe situations where "having a good sense of humour" was "a requisite for mobility" (Kanter, 1977a, p. 41). The descriptions provided by women interviewees suggest that humour is often their way of taking control, of resisting the role of victim.

Personal Power Styles

Both Janice and Maria make the point that one does not always ask for permission to do something. Both cite the Jesuit proverb, "it is easier to ask forgiveness than to ask permission", and Janice has a framed copy of the proverb on the wall of her office (CS - 53). The all male focus group (FG - 3) had more to say on the subject of power than did any other group. Many men see their own power as "more personal than organizational" (FG - 3). A number of interviewees talk about how the power styles of leaders in schools have changed. One male (FG - 3) says that the role now is more one of a facilitator than an autocrat and that power is in leadership qualities not position. Variations in leadership style are not gender based they conclude, although women managers tend more to exhibit "female" characteristics, including a more consultative, less controlling, non-confrontational, and team oriented approach.

Kathryn talks about the problems created by an assistant who shouts at people. Women managers describe managing crises in a deliberate and disciplined way, suggesting a style characterized by a "calm in the eye of the storm" approach (D - 14/01/91). Kathryn says of

her approach that she doesn't resolve a conflict with a hammer but "I sure do resolve it and better than most of my male colleagues . . . just by getting people to reflect back, getting the issues out" (CS - 23).

Glen talks about the impact of the women's movement, saying that it has caused men like him to reflect on "what being a man is, what being a person is and it might change your approach to management" (CS - 40). He talks about men with whom he has worked whose management style he abhors, what he describes as "the very traditional ranting and screaming at people", saying "it's not a management style that works" (CS - 41). Paul says that he does not believe in confrontation because "we all have to work together" (CS - 12).

The Good Manager

In describing what they like about being a manager, women public servants and principals tend to focus on such experiences as helping bring out people's talents and helping people develop. This came out most often in discussions of how they handled conflict. Their emphasis was on bringing those involved together to negotiate a solution, and to develop skills in staff and students that will serve them well beyond the current crisis (D - 21/01/91). This point did not come up in focus groups or elite interviews although a couple of men in the all male group talked about women managers as being less likely to be threatened by staff members who make suggestions for change. One man sees male managers as more likely to "squash" ideas and then to revive them later as their own (FG - 3). Quotas will "ensure

equal representation, but not good managers", according to several members of that group.

In defining what makes a good manager, Dennis sees it as acting as a buffer between "political stuff" (CS - 29) and his teachers so that they can do their jobs and Michael sees it as the ability to "hustle" (CS - 68) for them. Jeff and Marianne talk about how the definition of a good manager has changed during their careers. Jeff describes his first principal as "captain of the ship", a very autocratic leader. Marianne describes some of the leaders in the early years of her career as men who had been "outstanding teachers" and who, as leaders, were "lone rangers", non-consultative men "who got on their horse and led their school and the rules be damned" (CS - 37). She describes the current group of principals in her system as more efficient, task oriented, collaborative and having the "ability to diffuse conflicts" (CS - 38).

Image Consciousness and Power Symbols

Men appear to be more conscious of image or status than females. They do not want to be seen doing menial chores and devalue others they see doing them (FG - 1). Women, on the other hand, will do whatever is needed to get the job done. Jardim and Hennig (1990) suggest that women create problems for themselves by not paying proper respect to the symbols and rituals males have been taught to value. Several women interviewees make jokes about the attention men give to such symbols.

Women interviewees tend to define power and powerful people differently from men interviewed, associating it less with position than with personal characteristics and the capacity to accomplish things.

Men rarely define women as powerful even in organizations where the top position is occupied by a woman. The male orientation (Korda, 1975) of the symbols of power may make it difficult for women to be perceived as powerful in the traditional sense, and the way men describe these women would suggest that this may be a factor. Women who use power which is patriarchal in approach, "like a demanding, difficult, stern father, who can reward or punish as he pleases" (Korda, p. 252), may be criticized for "overplaying the (manager) part" (FG - 3). Reading situations correctly, understanding the symbols of power was discussed in one group (FG - 2). While GASing, getting the attention of superiors, (Griffiths et al, 1965) can work for males, women who attempt it may be labeled as pushy (Lips, 1981), "not knowing their place" (FG - 2), and aggressive (FG - 1). It appears that token status limits access to traditional power sources and strategies.

Bending Rules

Eric illustrates the power of the organizational insider in his capacity to bend the rules, something Kanter (1977a) suggests women have difficulty in doing, either because they do not understand its importance or because they lack the confidence to do so. Like Michael and Dennis, Eric is a trader of information and uses this information to identify loopholes which he can use to the advantage of his school and his students (CS - 11). Marianne describes the leaders in the early days of her career as getting "brownie points for manipulating the system" (CS - 37).

Powerlessness

Getting the job is not the end of difficulties for tokens as one woman's experience illustrates (FG - 2). As a middle manager, she had the experience of having members of her staff refuse to "be delegated to" and going around her to more senior staff. This experience is described by Kanter (1976) as one which tokens are more likely to experience. One male (FG - 2) points out that "getting people into the organization and having them move up may not constitute success unless these people feel comfortable". That, he says, requires that the organization change, too.

Summary

The themes related to the exercise of power illustrate some significant differences in the ways in which men and women managers perceive and exercise power. Women tend to view power in terms of the personal and interpersonal and the qualities people bring to their positions while men are more likely to define it in terms of the positions people occupy. While men over the period of a discussion of the concept of power may move away from the view that it is primarily positional, positional power is almost always their starting point. Women define power somewhat differently from men, as well. In defining power, women are more likely to focus on power as influence while men are more likely to associate power with control. Men interviewed are less likely to describe their own use of power in this way, but "when push comes to shove" they are more likely to see themselves as capable of "being ugly and vicious" as Dennis (CS - 31) describes it so that "people know you mean business".

Women managers describe exercising power in ways quite different from those described by their male peers. They describe investing considerable time in coaching staff in problem solving rather than imposing solutions and in helping staff to develop team participation skills. Women are less likely than men to be autocratic in their leadership style and are more likely to depend on special expertise or professional skills than on personal networks across their organizations or on bending the rules in exercising their leadership roles. It appears that the women managers interviewed have less extensive networks than the males interviewed. Women interviewees describe using a range of techniques for exercising power which are not well documented in the literature. Among the ones they describe most frequently are conflict resolution techniques, negotiated solutions to problems, humour, and encouraging people to take the time to reflect on the origins of problems. Several of these women appear to believe that some of the power styles men use would be perceived as too pushy or aggressive if used by women.

Conclusion

With regard to their experiencing of organizational power through their experiences of organizational socialization, there are qualitative differences in the early careers of men and women participants in this study. These differences in organizational socialization relate to both the number and diversity of such experiences and are reflected in the ways in which men and women perceive and exercise power. There are also differences in how men

and women perceive barriers to career advancement, their views of power, the people they perceive to be powerful, and the ways in which they exercise power in their management roles. These differences will be discussed in Chapter VI. Chapter VI will conclude with a discussion of the implications of this study for future research, for the organizational training and development of potential leaders, as well as its implications for individuals attempting to build careers within large organizations.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Introduction

The results presented in Chapters IV and V provide support for the socialization to power framework presented in Chapter II and which forms the basis for the research questions which guided this study. Focus groups conducted at the completion of interview analysis confirmed and reinforced the interview results. Interpretation of the results drew on elite interviews, contact summaries, the emerging themes sub-file, and the researcher's diary as well as various methods of grouping the data as described in Chapter III. Interpretation of the data involved a process of weaving back and forth between the transcripts and these various other data sources.

Environmental Factors

Several events which occurred in the organizational settings for this study just prior to or during the period the study was underway may have had some impact on the results, making participants more sensitive than usual to issues relating to gender and leadership. One such event was a task force undertaken by the federal government, the setting from which half the participants for this study were drawn, to examine barriers to the career advancement of women in the public service (Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service, 1990).

The report of the task force was published in the spring of 1990 just as the pilot interviews for the study were getting underway. Also in 1990 the federal government undertook a project, Public Service 2000, which was designed to identify system needs for the future (Government of Canada, 1990). This last project was highly visible across government because numerous work groups were created which drew their membership from a wide range of levels and sectors of the system. PS 2000 may have stimulated thinking around questions of organizational ethics and morality. Certainly, the last three male public administrators interviewed were struggling with such questions.

In the field of education the provincial ministry of education had released a directive, (Appendix K), in early 1990 requiring that all boards put the necessary systems in place to ensure that by the year 2000 half the administrative positions within each management category will be staffed by women. In the summer of 1990, boards of education were beginning to discuss ways of implementing the provincial directive so that both men and women might be expected to have a higher than usual awareness of employment equity related issues.

In terms of formal preparation for their managerial roles, middle management training programs exist in both organizations. However, there is a significant difference in the ways in which they are implemented. The education system's courses, referred to as vice-principals' and principals' courses, are prerequisites to applying for a position as vice-principal or principal. The courses are offered over two summers. Since 1978, the course has been more accessible to women. Prior to that date, a systemic barrier existed for women since individuals had to be nominated by their superiors for the course and

males were clearly given priority, nominees almost inevitably being male. Now that the course is more accessible, the numbers of women enrolled have increased dramatically, challenging an earlier view that women educators were significantly less interested in management careers than were their male colleagues.

The Senior Management Course offered by the federal government is not a prerequisite to assuming an SM position. In fact, the requirement that SMs complete the course, even after appointment to an SM position, is not rigidly enforced and, as a result, some SMs move on to executive level positions without ever having completed SM training. The experiences of Glen and Janice illustrate some of the problems associated with SM training. Both had had their training delayed because of office crises. Janice eventually completed the course, but Glen still has not. Current wisdom seems to be that the course is too theoretical and not very helpful with the day-to-day challenges a manager faces. For these reasons no one seems to see delays as a problem. However, there appears to be a growing recognition within the public service that there are certain skills a manager should have and that content knowledge alone is no longer sufficient, as both Ron and Paul pointed out.

The attention which these issues were being given is, perhaps, reflected by the degree of attention related question areas were given by the various candidates. Table VII presents a summary of the volume of conversation devoted by individual interviewee groups to each of the major subject areas. For example, educators, both males and females, had much more to say about gender differences, 13.5 and 19.5 pages of 50 pages respectively, as opposed to 8.5 pages for each of the

other groups. This may indicate a greater awareness of these issues stimulated, perhaps, by Memorandum 111 and what educators see as its potential impact on careers. Male educators, the group which is most likely to see Memorandum 111 as a major impediment to their career advancement, had significantly more to say about gender differences. Male educators also had significantly more to say on the subject of what power is than any of the other groups and male public servants had the least to say about exercising power. These differences may be related to their experiences as managers as well as to recent changes within their organizations.

TABLE VI DATA VOLUME BY QUESTION AREA

	MALE EDUCATORS	FEMALE EDUCATORS	MALE PUBLIC SERVANTS	FEMALE PUBLIC SERVANTS	TOTAL (PP) (%)
	MED (PP) (%)	FED (PP) (%)	MPA (PP) (%)	FPA (PP) (%)	
Organizational Socialization	49 (22.9)	51 (24)	59.5 (28)	54 (25)	213.5 (100)
Barriers	9 (27)	8.5 (26)	8.5 (26)	7 (21)	33 (100)
Views on Power	7 (54)	1.5 (11)	1.5 (11)	3 (23)	13 (100)
Powerful People	4 (19)	4.5 (21)	6.5 (31)	6 (29)	21 (100)
Exercising Power	12 (26)	15.5 (34)	7 (15)	11 (24)	45.5 (100)
Gender Differences	13.5 (27)	19.5 (31)	8.5 (17)	8.5 (17)	50 (100)

PP=Pages

Male educators, while claiming that their opportunities for career advancement have been severely impaired by affirmative action, have experienced power as leaders over a number of years and still exercise power and have access to powerful insiders, while male public servants have been conscious for several years of the combined effects on their careers of downsizing, career plateauing, and affirmative action. Male public servants were much less optimistic about their careers than were male educators.

Experiencing Power Through Organizational Socialization

Anticipatory Socialization - Background Factors

As the literature review suggests, a number of factors may predispose individuals to choose a particular career or field of work and influence their success and progress. Among possible predisposing factors for women are parental or other family influences such as encouragement to pursue studies in a particular field, the value placed on education and careers for women, and the actual career experiences of other women in the family. Several women participants in this study, for example, described how their mothers' struggles for an education and a career influenced their choices. While all the males interviewed had grown up in cities, at least three of the women came from rural backgrounds and described that experience in very positive terms, saying that it had made them more independent and less wedded to gender based division of labour.

One of the most striking differences between the male and female participants in the study was in their response to a request to identify people, teachers or family members, who had been particularly influential in their lives. While women reported numerous examples of people influential in their early lives, nearly all males interviewed had difficulty identifying anyone. The examples males reported tended to be negative influences such as fathers who did not appear to be happy in their work or whom they described as workaholics. Ortiz (personal communication, April 6, 1991) suggests that the primary socialization of males in North American society may account for the fact that males tend not to recall early influencers such as an exceptional teacher, grandparents, etc. Males may feel that they have to say they succeeded on their own or that they are so accustomed to receiving help and advice that, from their perspective, it is not worth commenting on.

Career choices were very different for men and women educators. Women had decided on a career in education much earlier than men, several saying that, as women, they had had few choices. From their discussions of this issue, it seems likely that had there been more choices open to them they might not have chosen a career in education. The men interviewed appear to have come to education through coaching, leadership experiences, and so on, and to have decided on a career in education later, sometimes after having started in another field (geology, military, etc.). In two cases these career changes for males resulted from budget cutbacks by the federal government to their chosen fields. As Shakeshaft (1989a) reports, education tends to be a second choice career for men. A more detailed

summary of background characteristics of interviewees, some of which may have influenced their anticipatory socialization, is provided in Appendix G.

Organizational Socialization

A major focus of this study was the comparison of the organizational socialization of male and female managers. Numerous studies suggest that men and women will not receive the same access to experiences and assignments which can teach them how the organization really works.

Women in this study, both educators and public servants, provided numerous examples from their careers to support the view that differential work assignments represented a major career barrier for them. Both men and women said that encouragement and support for an administrative career was important and most report having received it, but from different sources and to varying degrees. Men described receiving it initially from peers and colleagues as well as from more senior officials while women described receiving it from people at more senior levels in the organization. It may be that women value such support more and thus are more likely to remember encouragement if it comes from people higher in the hierarchy.

As the research (Fernandez, 1981; Asplund, 1988) suggests, women interviewees tended, more than men, to assume that hard work and a high level of performance would be rewarded by promotions. While women have been criticized for tending to focus too much on credentials, it is possible that they focus on those aspects

of their work lives over which they believe they have some control. They do not need anyone else's support or permission to register for training courses, particularly if they pay for the courses themselves, as women are more likely than men to do (Asplund, 1988). As Eric, one of the male educators interviewed, said about the credential-experience issue, women are too often denied the opportunities to practice the skills they will need in order to advance. According to him, they are likely to be credential rich, but experience poor as a result.

Nearly all the managers interviewed are decisive and high on career satisfaction. Educators tended to have had more union experience than managers in the public service. As the research (Guy, 1988) reports, the careers of women educators, particularly, benefit from teacher organization or professional association (sports or subject specific) experience outside their local area, preferably at the provincial or national level. This type of experience can provide a valuable overview of the field as well as adding to one's confidence, as Nan described it. According to Eric, union work equipped him as a manager to understand how and why unions function as they do, making it easier for him to deal with them when he became a manager. Several managers, particularly in education, reported that guidance and physical education backgrounds served them well since managing involves people and the major challenges are people ones. They suggested that probably the negotiating, time management, and team-building skills such backgrounds provide are useful skills for managers.

Women leaders have been described (Lubin, 1987) as making decisions quickly whether those decisions involved career or personal

life (e.g. divorce) and most of the middle managers interviewed for this study, both male and female, did the same. There appeared to be no agonizing over these decisions once made or looking back with regret. As a group they were very decisive and forward looking. As Maria expressed it, "I'm a mover and shaker. I like things happening" (204).

Exposure to management through special projects or committee work, an "apprenticeship by observation", had been critical for many of the women interviewed. As Alison described it, seeing management up close through such experiences creates an ambition for it, encouraging women who had never really considered a management career to develop interest in it. According to Beth, building a successful career benefits from getting "onto special projects where you can be seen" (593) and can learn. She was the youngest of all the women interviewed but she had a very good sense of how one advances, knowledge which seems to have come from a boss-mentor she had very early in her career. She attributed his advice and coaching to having given her a slight advantage over her peers which helped her move ahead of them.

While the literature (Hall, 1976) stresses the importance of having "stretch" assignments early in one's career, experiences which could be rich learning ones later in a career may be wasted or less beneficial if provided too early, according to Glen. The majority of these managers' careers illustrate the value of immersion in a work assignment which tests one's ability to deal with challenge and stress and the more limited value of incremental increases in responsibility. Exceptions to this were Richard, who resisted a management career for

many years, and Connie, who took 12 years away from teaching to be at home with her children.

If, as Mintzberg (1989) suggests, today's managers learn about business in much the same way their forefathers did, by talking, then the informal exchanges which male managers describe become even more crucial to women aspiring to be managers. Talking over lunch, on the telephone, during breaks in meetings are all times when women are less likely to be included (Fernandez, 1981). Women interviewees described the challenge women face in their attempts to become a part of these networks and how much harder they must work to be included.

The informal system is at the heart of middle management functioning and becomes even more critical as one moves up the hierarchy. As the research literature suggests, women in this study were often naive about how organizations really operate. This was particularly true of the informal side of organizational life which, as tokens and outsiders, they rarely got to witness. The glass ceiling experienced by many women is, perhaps, best understood in this context. Women can get to middle management positions through hard work and determination, but something else is required beyond that level. That something else appears to relate to the kind of insider knowledge and broadly based and influential networks which produce the comfort level with organizational politics and power necessary to functioning at the most senior levels of an organization. Thus, the "micro-inequities" (Bogart, 1990) experienced by tokens reduce their participation in mainstream organizational life and contribute to their being career plateaued at the mid-management level.

Particularly in the early years of a career in education, a sports and coaching background may help one get the attention of superiors, GAS (Griffiths et al., 1965), and get into networks across the system. These activities are a way for women to get exposure to male networks, as one woman interviewee says. These people also tend to exhibit less formal speech patterns, an advantage since the more formal speech patterns characteristic of females (Booth-Butterfield, 1984) appear to set them apart by identifying them as outsiders, "immigrants" (Bernard, 1981) to the male world of management. A number of the women educators interviewed exhibited speech patterns which would qualify as less formal, including their use of slang expressions. These less formal speech patterns may have helped them fit into male groups, particularly in education where for many years male principals were "jocks", as Ian pointed out.

Having expertise in a particular subject or field has served many of the men and women interviewees well. Mathematics and science degrees for women seemed to give them an edge, probably providing visibility because of their uniqueness as well as teaching women to survive in a largely male environment through their university years. One needs to balance this specialization or expertise, obviously, with a wide enough range of more general experiences.

Both men and women described ways in which early career assignments gave them greater visibility than their peers. Among these were being the first in a newly created position, designing and piloting a new program such as "new math" or French immersion, or high profile assignments with teacher organizations. One woman educator explained that it is advantageous to have specialization in a

field which your employer has identified as a priority, such as environmental studies in the early 1990s. It is, perhaps worth noting, that among both educators and public administrators interviewed, a number reported having been involved in French language programs early in their careers. This, perhaps, should not be surprising given the fact that bilingualism has been a priority for the past 20 or so years in the region which is the setting for the study.

Another factor which appeared to provide visibility within the system was mentioned by several educators. It is, perhaps, best described as a "surprise factor", breaking the pattern or doing the unexpected. A couple of the examples provided included a male perceived by his colleagues as bookish or scholarly choosing to work with students who had difficulty in learning and a woman who was a specialist in a particular field choosing to move to a school which was very poorly equipped to support that specialization. They described such choices as providing them with career challenges, but also acknowledged that such choices also served as attention getters for them, increasing their visibility.

The literature suggests that tokenism has a negative impact on one's capacity to take advantage of opportunities. The isolation described by Connie and others and the male resistance to being managed by a female which Ann described are likely to limit performance without the mediating benefits of other factors such as a mentor. Ann, Marianne, and Beth described experiencing tokenism but appeared to have drawn considerable support from male mentors. That support has, it seems, enabled them to deal with what has variously been described as "performance pressure" (Kanter, 1977a), the

"spotlight effect" (Asplund, 1988), or "living under scrutiny" (Milwid, 1990).

Several of the women interviewees talked about what it took to succeed. According to Maria, both self promotion, something she said she was good at, and visibility are important. Alison appeared to intuitively understand the importance of packaging and promoting oneself although she did not explicitly label it as such. Nan, too, described looking for assignments that would provide her with greater visibility and mobility. While women need visibility, the women interviewed tended to be less conscious than males of the need for it and their male supervisors, unconsciously perhaps, limited women's opportunities for obtaining it. As the literature (Kanter, 1977a; Fernandez, 1981) suggests, supervisors still tend to think of men first when assigning staff to serve on task forces, special projects, etc. It is in these discretionary areas, in the assumptions on which individual decisions and choices are made by a boss, where Janice said that women experienced the greatest barriers. An experience Janice described was one which the literature (Milwid, 1990) reports a number of women experiencing, male colleagues viewing them first as mothers, sisters, or daughters rather than professional colleagues. Janice also reported that people had assumed without consulting her that because of family responsibilities she could not accept an assignment in a regional office, experience which can contribute significantly to career advancement in the public service.

In addition, when opportunities for promotion were available women were less likely to be considered by their supervisors as serious candidates for promotion, even when they were the most qualified in

terms of experience and credentials, as Maria and Suzanne described. While these women may have been naive (Fernandez, 1981) about how promotions are decided, male interviewees, too, reported being naive about such things at the beginning of their careers. Men, however, learned fairly quickly, most often through their informal networks, that other factors such as who you knew and visibility within the organization were important, too. Once they determined the role these factors played, they appeared to have more ready access than women did to the information and experiences needed in order to advance their careers.

The careers of the male educators, in particular, appeared to have played out the success spiral syndrome posited by Hall (1976) and Schein (1978). In most instances visibility early in their careers resulted in special assignments for many of them, assignments which provided valuable opportunities for work on high profile issues, providing access to more information than their peers had, and even greater visibility. Janice and Suzanne, two women public servants, stressed the fact that women could not count on the same kinds of opportunities, but must make their own opportunities.

Gender based differences in opportunities for socialization were played out in terms of exclusion and privilege, women tending to be excluded from a wide range of such experiences while men received "taps on the shoulder" and other special opportunities, sometimes even when their formal qualifications were incomplete. Women were aware that they needed to be perceived to have paid their dues by systematically serving in each position as they moved up the hierarchy. Thus, while Matt, who had skipped one stage in the career ladder,

could say that he knew that he had actually performed all the tasks a principal needed to be able to do in the various positions he had held previously, it appeared that women, as tokens and outsiders, were more likely to lack the confidence to argue that point of view.

In relation to organizational socialization experiences, one of the most surprising results of this particular study was just how little encouragement and support it took to make a difference in some of these women's careers. While several of the women interviewees had had relationships with mentors over a number of years, others described how a few words of encouragement or advice made a great difference in their career aspirations and confidence levels. This suggests that translating a belief in women's leadership potential into supportive action need not entail a huge amount of a supervisor's time or an organization's resources.

In conclusion then, judging from the careers of the women and men who participated in this study, men not only have more and a wider range of organizational socialization experiences, they are also more likely to be the recipient of these experiences without having to actively pursue them. Women, on the other hand, have to cover all the bases. As Kathryn said, "I don't think there's anything I didn't do" (50).

Career Barriers

Female public service managers provided a list of career barriers remarkably similar to the list provided by their male peers. The only striking difference was in their inclusion of lack of education. While women educators noted the importance of credentials to career success,

neither group of male interviewees mentioned education or credentials. As the literature (Fernandez, 1981; Asplund, 1988) suggests, women tended to see education and credentials as, perhaps, overly important to career success. Again as the literature (Fernandez, 1981; Stokes, 1984) suggests, barriers related to access to information and the informal side of organizational life appeared to increase as women advanced up the hierarchy. With each promotion, their isolation from other male managers and their networks appeared to increase.

A number of the men interviewed had been promoted in a more open system and they had advanced quickly as a result. Most of the women interviewed had been working in organizations during that same period but were not being promoted because organizations tended not to see women as serious candidates for advancement. At least one third of the men interviewed demonstrated a good awareness of systemic discrimination and its impact on women's careers as well as a desire to change organizations to reflect more traditionally feminine values, something the literature would not lead one to expect.

It is difficult to know from interviews alone whether the more progressive views expressed by this group of males get played out in the work world, but the fact that the awareness was there is encouraging, since a first stage in the process of societal or organizational change is the recognition that a problem exists. These attitudes appeared to be influenced by the experiences these men were having in their personal lives as Schein (1973) and Jardim and Hennig (1990) predict. The wife of Suzanne's mentor, for example, had

experienced considerable discrimination early in her career and both Eric and Michael have daughters and no sons.

These men fit in many ways the profile of men one might expect to have very traditional views on women in the workplace. In fact, they were among the most sensitive of all those interviewed, male and female, in terms of their understanding of the concepts of systemic discrimination. They could describe in significant detail the kinds of barriers which exist for women and how these barriers serve to limit women's career advancement. Both men have very traditional Catholic backgrounds and for most of their married lives their wives have been full-time homemakers. One of Marianne's early co-mentors had many characteristics in common with Michael and Eric. This same individual was also identified by one of the elites interviewed as someone who had been extremely supportive of women educators interested in an administrative career.

Another male interviewed, a francophone, was particularly sensitive to and articulate on the subject of systemic discrimination. Perhaps, like the black males Fernandez (1981) describes, who were the most sensitive of any of the male respondents he surveyed to discrimination against women, because he has experienced it himself he can understand how it works against other groups. As Paul described the phenomenon, it brought to mind Janice's comments about invisible barriers. Research (Asplund, 1988) suggests that workplace efforts to address discrimination against women need to involve men in developing and implementing change efforts and the men just described appear to be ideal candidates for such a role. They may need considerable support in order to do this, however. For example, since

their careers advanced in a more open organizational climate, they may not be particularly effective in coaching others to advance in today's workplace where opportunities are more limited and where advancement is more formalized, especially if they base their advice on their own experience.

While the myth (Bank of Montreal, 1991) that women are less motivated than men to aspire to management careers has been the explanation given for their underrepresentation in management level positions, several men interviewed for this study said that they had not been motivated initially to become a manager until someone suggested to them that they consider it. Someone "turned them on" to the possibility by saying that they would be good at it or, even better, told others in the organization that they would be, as one of Marianne's principals did for her. As she described it, he provided the "pre-publicity" which set the stage for her advancement. As a result, others in the organization started seeing her as having management potential, setting the stage for her to launch herself into a management career. Male interviewees, more often reported peers rather than supervisors first suggesting that they try for a promotion, telling them that they would be "good in administration".

Participants in this study, both male and female, provided considerable support for the view that, while women may be "indebted to individual men who have provided encouragement and support", they remain "psychologically separate from the dominant culture of their organizations" (Milwid, 1990, pp. 5 -6), "are not accorded team member status" (Stokes, 1984, p. 24), and are marginalized in the life of organizations (Kanter, 1977a). As a result they will have unequal access

to opportunities for socialization to organizational norms and culture, particularly as these relate to power. While women middle managers described their early efforts to get noticed and promoted, men provided numerous examples of the relative ease with which they were able to achieve recognition and advancement. As well, a significant number of male interviewees provided specific examples of the organizational limits placed on women's careers within their organizations. While both groups of women middle managers interviewed, saw systemic discrimination as a major barrier for women, all of them remained optimistic about their own chances of career success. Energy and optimism appeared to be important qualities for those people who succeed in becoming managers. A summary of interviewee views related to barriers to advancement is provided in Appendix I.

Power

Men still appear to receive a wider range of experiences early in their careers which provide them with a better understanding of the norms and values which govern the workings of the organization. A focus of this study was whether exposure to a greater range of experiences better equips one to exercise power, to make things happen, when one becomes a manager. Judging from the literature, it seemed likely that the networks and knowledge developed through a wide range of experiences may better equip managers to handle unexpected emergencies or unique crises particularly well. Thus, the stereotypes of the "take-charge" male manager and the "helpless female" manager may be better explained by their organizational socialization, the bank

of experiences and contacts built up in the early years of their careers, than by personality and psychological factors or gender.

While participants in this study represented a broad range of personality types, their behaviors in exercising power demonstrated significant differences which appeared to be gender-linked. That is, many of those differences appeared to relate to differences in their organizational socialization which had, to a large degree, been shaped by the organization's response to gender differences, a tendency to assign one group, females, token status and treating them accordingly. One cannot manage a crisis without access to influential networks and critical information and men appeared to have a greater range of these on which to draw than did females. An assumption underlying this study was that a cycle of powerlessness is created when women are provided more limited access to socialization experiences. They begin their management career with less access to information and networks and, as a result, may handle each crisis or problem less effectively, and come to be perceived over time as having less and less power.

Defining Power

Much of the feminist literature (Shakeshaft, 1987) suggests that women will have more difficulty with the concept of power as control and dominance than will men. While there was support for this view, several male participants presented a somewhat different profile of males from that which permeates much of the literature. Male public servants were somewhat less likely than male educators to describe power in traditionally male terms of control and dominance. Men interviewed, particularly male educators, talked about power more

openly and had more to say about what it meant to them. Women were less direct, using expressions like "making things happen", "getting things done", or such words as influence.

Powerful People

In describing powerful people, the female public administrators tended to focus on such qualities as good interpersonal skills, the capacity to generate trust, respect for others, personal warmth, doing "good things", making a contribution to their field, and fairness. The difference between the responses of this group of managers and either of the male groups was quite striking. Male managers very rarely gave as much priority to personal qualities, tending to focus more on positional power. The tendency of women to be more sensitive to relational (Gilligan, 1982) and non-verbal factors (Henley, 1977) in the workplace and to be especially conscious of fairness and justice issues (Neuse, 1978) may account for the emphasis these women managers placed on personal qualities in their discussion of powerful people.

Contrary to the fairly positive descriptions of powerful people provided by women public administrators, women educators tended to describe powerful people in their organization in more negative terms as aggressive and overbearing. This more negative tone may be explained by the fact that women educators have not gained access to management positions in their organizations to the same degree that women public administrators have in theirs. The responses of women educators may reflect a frustration with the slowness of their career advancement. This group of women educators, with one exception,

appeared to be much less sensitive than males to the political side of organizational power, almost never mentioning it.

In the public service two people stood out as powerful, a deputy minister and an assistant deputy minister, and in education, one director stood out. No matter where in the organization interviewees were, they were aware of these leaders and perceived them as having power and as having put their own stamp on the organization. These individuals appeared to have some of the qualities of which organizational myths (Mintzberg, 1989) are made. It seemed that they were perceived as powerful because they combined the ability to get things done and charisma, a dynamic personality, or had the ability to do things with flare which explained their being perceived as powerful.

While some (Marshall, 1977a, p. 51) have predicted that women will have more confidence in positional power, this appeared not to be true of the women interviewed for this study. This may relate to the fact that the power which normally goes with a position can disappear when a woman assumes the position (Morgan, 1988b). That is, the organization moves the power to other positions occupied by males. Women appeared to value in others and to depend, themselves, more on their personal power resources than did men. It was not completely clear whether this was based on preference or necessity, or a combination of the two.

The differences in the ways men and women see power as illustrated in their definitions of power and their descriptions of powerful people may create barriers in understanding one another's positions and in communication, in general. Any extreme failure to understand and accept power as it works in organizations as they are

presently structured may create significant barriers to upward mobility in those organizations. The tendency of women to see power in ways which men do not associate with power may result in their male supervisors perceiving them as weak, as not having the capacity to manage difficult situations, and, thus, not recommending them for promotions.

Exercising Power: Power Style

In times of crisis, women interviewees reported that they were more likely to adopt a more reflective and disciplined approach to problem solving. That approach appeared to take more time and they appeared to be quite prepared to devote whatever time was required to deal with the crisis in a way which was non-confrontational and which preserved relationships. As some researchers (Haring-Hidore et al., 1990) have reported, women often describe specific mediation strategies which they use to reduce conflict and the women participants in this study described doing exactly that. Women managers were much more likely than their male colleagues to describe investing energy and time in trying to maintain and preserve relationships. While a number of women managers talked about their work in building and maintaining relationships between individuals, work groups, and organizations, few of the male interviewees focused on relationships in this way. Joyce and Nan described these activities as "fence mending" and "bridge building".

Many educators and female public servants described playing a kind of master teacher role. Power for them was enabling or "empowering", although Beth was the only one who actually used the

term empowering. In describing how they handled conflict and crisis, Marianne, Kathryn, and Ian talked about bringing people together to work out a solution, the importance of people having involvement in the process, and of developing skills in staff and students that will serve them well beyond the current crisis. In discussing how they handle a crisis, women described approaches characterized by persistence, an effort to understand opposing points of view, and attention to detail. A number of males described using a more aggressive approach, one which not one female educator or public servant described using. Fred, for example, made no apology for using what, he said, others have described as an aggressive approach.

Most men, with the exception of a few like Eric and Glen, appeared to have difficulty understanding that they are systemically (Fisher, 1991) more powerful than women. In terms of power, men appeared more likely to see themselves as possessing economic, social, and positional power and less likely to associate their exercise of power with the personal, emotional, or spiritual. One of the male exceptions to this was Paul whose approach was very similar to that which Nan and Beth described using. Most of the women interviewed devoted considerable attention to a discussion of values of justice and fairness, focusing on what appeared to be a spiritual and personal form of power. Few men talked about power in this way, with the exception of Michael, one of the educators, who talked about the importance of integrity.

While organizational insiders identify women as "being too 'by the book' " and "cautious" (Morrison, White, and VanVelsor, 1987, p. 21), it seems clear from this study that women, as tokens, have "little

leeway for mistakes" (p. 24). Male participants in this study appeared more willing than female participants to take chances. This appeared to relate to the fact that men had more friends who are organizational insiders. They described the advantages this provides in times of crisis or just on days when they are feeling down, how they use these people as sounding boards while they try to formulate a response to some crisis. Women seemed much less likely to have and to use insiders in this way, perhaps because most of these insiders are males and numerous studies (Pitner, 1981; Yutzey, 1988; Fierman, 1990) demonstrate that such communication across gender lines is unlikely. Also women, as outsiders and newcomers, may be reluctant to communicate something which might be perceived as an inability to handle a difficult problem. It is possible that if they were more confident in their positions they would consult male insiders more or if there were sufficient numbers of women insiders there would be more reports of such consultation or sounding out of insiders.

While the focus of the exercise of power was crisis management, descriptions of how women dealt with discrimination illustrated another way of exercising power. A number of them described using humour as a way of taking control of such situations. These women appeared to use humour both to reduce the stress caused by discrimination and to educate, to try to help other women who will follow in their footsteps. Most of the examples provided by female interviewees would qualify as what has been described as "humour of survival" (Ken Louch, CBC Newsworld, 1992). Nan, who used such humour, cautioned that it must be used with care to avoid alienating people with whom you need to be able to work.

The interview with Ann generated interest in women's use of humour and this was reinforced by other interviews with both women and visible minority managers (Russell and Wright, 1990). Kanter (1977a), too, has commented on the use of humour in the workplace. Jokes, she says, were an important part of the company culture of the organization she studied and "having a good sense of humour also seemed to be a requisite for mobility" (p. 41). This behavior also illustrates, perhaps, what has been described as a kind of power of the powerless (Bernard, 1981).

Rather than simply suffering in silence, women may feel they take some control of a difficult situation when they use humour in this way and men may perceive these women as less formal and less "foreign" to the culture of the organization, as someone who "fits in". Related, perhaps, to the capacity to exercise power through the use of humour is the ability to play roles and games and to bend rules. While one woman who had a background in amateur theatre described using such techniques, men were much more likely to do so. Perhaps, it requires the confidence of the organizational insider to use such techniques. A number of women interviewed expressed resentment of what they describe as men's ability or willingness to bend rules and play games, complaining that it was unfair.

In summary, men and women tended to define and to exercise power differently. Women tended toward use of a personal power perspective, while men's was more likely to be positional. Women were more likely to gather information, engage staff and colleagues in identifying solutions, and to invest considerable time and effort in trying to preserve relationships between individuals and between

sectors of an organization. Men tended to involve fewer people, but to have more ready access to organizational insiders, and to act much more quickly. The speed with which they described being able to respond to a crisis situation as well as the range of response styles on which men drew appears to relate to this more ready access to powerful insiders. While there were significant differences in the ways in which men and women perceived and exercised power, these differences can be expected to become less pronounced in workplaces of the future as women make greater gains toward insider status and men develop a wider range of power perspectives and styles.

Implications for Theory, Research and for the Workplace

Throughout the discussion of the results of this study, implications for individual workers and for work organizations as well as questions for future research have been suggested. In this section the contributions of this study to theory and research and its implications for the workplace, as well as some suggested directions for future research are discussed.

Contribution to Theory and Research

This study contributes to a better understanding of the relationship between gender and organizational socialization. Although organizational socialization has been the subject of numerous studies, the focus of these studies, with a few exceptions (Ortiz, 1972), has been male managers. This study extends

organizational socialization theory by empirically studying the impact of gender on careers and management practice. By systematically examining the relationship of token status, organizational socialization, and the capacity to exercise power, the study contributes to the advancement of theoretical perspectives on the interaction of gender, organizational structure and socialization, and power.

Alternative Methodologies

The need to examine a range of methodologies for studying organizational life is indicated by the richness of the data obtained by the interconnected lines of inquiry used in this study. Related to this is the need to give greater attention to better documenting the processes and procedures followed in the analysis of qualitative data so that studies may be replicated. Without this, qualitative research studies will tend to exist as unconnected bodies of knowledge lacking the foundation on which to build and advance understanding. While a study such as this one based on interviews contributes to a better understanding of women's careers and the barriers which limit their advancement, there is a need for further research which involves observation of participants and interviews with their colleagues, staff, and supervisors, as well.

Applicability of American Research in a Canadian Setting

This study examines the results of American-based research in a Canadian setting. While much of the American research appears to apply to Canadian settings, one area in which it does not is in its presentation of the male worker's experience. Among explanations for

this difference provided by several elite interviewees and focus group participants, are the influence of military experience on many American male professionals, as well as the fact that much of the available research of males is dated, males having been studied less in recent years. While many American males of this generation of professionals have been required to serve in the military, this is not the case for Canadians of the same generation. It may be that military training encourages a greater affinity for hierarchical structures and more traditional leadership models.

New Directions

This study updates research on male managers by comparing the contemporary experiences and perceptions of males and females in comparable positions of responsibility. In relation to the latter point there has been a tendency to assume that the experiences of contemporary men are accurately represented by studies conducted fifteen or more years ago and largely in business settings (Whyte, 1956; Packard, 1962; Schein, 1976). This study suggests that men are developing a broader range of ways of defining careers and that those differences are less related to age than such factors as their personal experiences of parenting daughters and of supporting wives in their careers. The insights provided by this study into the male experience in contemporary organizations points to the need for further comparative studies of this type.

Systemic Barriers

This study provides a rationale for a focus on organizations rather than individuals. Many of the stories women told in describing their careers were stories of how they overcame barriers. While important, it is easy to become so focused on these individual experiences that one forgets the organization and its role in supporting the barriers these women describe experiencing. The focus on individuals which has characterized so much of the research on successful career women may reflect an ideology of individual achievement which is prevalent in North American society. However, individual actions do not change systems in any significant way, and this study demonstrates that systemic barriers represent a formidable limitation on the advancement of women's careers. The way in which gender influences the organizational socialization of workers presents one of the best explanations to date for the underrepresentation of women at the middle management level of organizations and the glass ceiling which prevents their rise to more senior levels.

Implications for the Workplace

Among implications for the workplace are the following:

Awareness of informal systems

Organizations need to devote resources to helping newcomers understand the informal side of organizational life. The purpose of this should not be to help women behave more like men, but to help them develop a more realistic understanding of organizations in order

to plan their careers in an informed way. This has implications for management training, since managers will need to better understand how traditional organizational practices have worked against the full participation of many workers, both male and female. Coupled with this awareness managers need to be equipped to more effectively assist employees to develop careers whether that development involves lateral or upward movement and to respect the choices employees make.

Innovative Staff Development Models and Practices

There is no need to invest resources in inventing such models since they are already being used by some of the more progressive organizations in North America, including individual businesses, universities, federal and provincial government departments, school systems, and universities. Many existing models and practices would transfer, with little need for adaptation, to other organizations. Among some of the models and practices suggested by this study are formalized mentoring programs, buddy systems, more systematic and prolonged orientation programs for newcomers, and anti-sexist peer support systems for males.

Training Versus Experience

Women participants in this study talked a lot about confidence, their need for more, and the kinds of experiences which increase their level of confidence, while only one man used the word and then only to emphasize his belief that he could handle his new job despite having skipped one of the positions normally regarded as a

prerequisite to promotion. This apparent difference between men and women may relate to the fact that women appeared to place a lot of time and attention on ensuring that they had the necessary credentials while men expected to be allowed to learn some of these things on the job. In terms of training and development, women focused on the need for confidence building. One of the fears which some women reported having about advancement was that they did not know what happens at the level above them and were not sure they had the skills or experience to survive there. This lack of knowledge about the next level above them serves as a ceiling preventing their career advancement. Overcoming these fears or lack of confidence might best be accomplished through such content experiences as job shadowing of more senior staff or short courses in specific skill areas such as financial management rather than training which focuses on building confidence.

Making the Management of Change More Inclusive: Enlisting Allies in Working for Change

As Asplund (1988) suggests, there is a clear need to involve all employees, not only human resource specialists and members of the affected group, in work to find solutions to the career barriers experienced by some groups. Not involving males, for example, in issues related to the systematic discrimination women experience denies them an opportunity to increase their awareness and understanding of the issue and may even create camps of male resistance within the organization, increasing the risk of backlash.

Involving them increases their investment in and commitment to change and provides allies who have much to share and to teach.

Michael emphasized the value of team sports in teaching one to see that failure on a project is only a temporary setback, not the end of a career. Women, he said, were less likely to get that experience so were more reluctant to make decisions which might be wrong. Eric demonstrated a good understanding of systemic discrimination and Matt volunteered a recent example of sexism which he had witnessed. All of these examples suggest that there are potentially important allies among organizational insiders in efforts to combat systemic discrimination. Such people may not speak out often yet, but might if there were more occasions to do so. It may be effective to focus positive attention, in the form of rewards which are visible across the organization, on those men who successfully mentor and in other ways support the careers of women.

As already discussed, individual males may not discriminate against women but may in groups. What may be needed is a kind of male anti-sexist peer pressure group model. It appears likely that activities which actually involve male employees in support activities, such as mentoring, will be most effective. The frequency with which female interviewees gave examples of male colleagues and supervisors who had helped them to advance their careers provides further support for this view. All of this suggests that there is an underlying belief in justice and fair play among men which can support change efforts.

Women described experiencing fewer instances of discrimination or sexist behavior from individual male colleagues

than from males in groups. This suggests, perhaps, that aware and sympathetic males need greater organizational support to enable them to "walk their talk line", as one employment equity specialist expressed it. When men come together in groups in which women are clearly a minority, they are more likely to engage in sexist humour and other discriminatory behaviors, according to several of the women interviewed.

Organizational leaders need to rethink such concepts as power and achievement if they are to include women. They need to study not only what women managers do, but how. As Dowd (1991) sees the future, "hopefully men and women will meet somewhere in the middle" (p. 99). That is, women will feel entitled to power and continue to exercise it with respect for the opinions of others and put aside their excessive fears about whether they are liked and "(m)en will stop thinking of power as the best way to validate themselves", "will incorporate more humanity into their leadership style and will keep power in a better balance with the rest of their lives" (p. 99). Jardim and Hennig (1990), too, predict that in the future there will be a recognition that "(m)utual respect for different management styles - and, eventually, a melding of approaches - is the solution that will most benefit women, men and corporate America" (p.164).

Collective Bargaining Agreements

A climate more receptive to negotiating the kinds of changes in training and provision of opportunities in the workplace suggested by this study is likely to result from reduced opportunities to negotiate salary increases and the increase in quality of life concerns of an aging

work force. In such a climate training and development related to career advancement and enrichment should be much easier to negotiate.

Personnel Policies and Support from the Top

As managers described the ups and downs of their careers, it became clear that one of the consistent features of the most positive experiences described was the commitment of senior officials who have the power necessary to translate commitment to change into action. Such messages from the most senior levels of an organization are difficult to ignore.

Because, as Janice pointed out, the systemic discrimination which reduces women's access to a wide range of socialization experiences is largely unconscious and invisible (Stokes, 1984), it is particularly difficult to address. Unenlightened leaders and decision makers may subtly sabotage the best of selection procedures and other measures designed to advance the careers of women. It is important that organizational efforts to reduce such discrimination focus on organizational leaders, not only on the victims of discrimination. These leaders should be used to "direct attention, confidence and support for these changes" (Stokes, p. 23) by adopting a system of management accountability for the improvement of conditions for women.

The kinds of changes in manager responsibility for career development assistance to staff suggested by this study will only be provided in a comprehensive way if it is a formal requirement of the performance appraisal process and if annual performance appraisals of

managers are a formal requirement of the organization. The federal government has initiated a wide range of initiatives in response to the Report of the Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service (1990). A major effort has been devoted to making managers at all levels accountable for employment equity, making it a management issue not a women's issue. Efforts to increase managers' awareness of the issue as well as of ways in which they can address it most effectively have included discussion groups for managers in which they work together to develop better ways of supporting employment equity. Involving managers in finding solutions is also an effective way of increasing their commitment to change.

Recommendations for Future Research

In this section several broad areas for future research are presented and discussed.

The Informal Side of Organizational Life

As this study and other research (Kanter, 1977a; Marshall, 1979a, b; Ortiz, 1982; Feagin, 1991) continue to document, the influence of informal processes in shaping career outcomes and the access to and use of power in organizations is profound and deserves more study. As demographic change reshapes the employee mix in organizations, it will become increasingly important to better understand the role organizational socialization plays in the career outcomes of women and other newcomers to organizations, such as visible minorities, and

to develop strategies for directing the process more effectively rather than leaving it to chance.

Female Designed Models for Structuring and Managing Organizations

While women interviewees appear to be more prepared to try new organizational and management models (Helgesen, 1990; Fisher, 1991), two male participants (Glen and Michael) in this study expressed interest in them, as well. Increasingly, men are expressing dissatisfaction with traditional management styles (Fisher, 1991). This was illustrated by Glen, a manager in the public service, who admires the methods he sees his women colleagues using but lamented the fact that the "system" does not provide support for people like himself who would like to learn to use a more participatory leadership style. He expressed the view that women more "naturally" use these methods effectively.

While women are said to prefer heterarchies, "webs of inclusion" (Helgesen, 1990), over hierarchies, as organizational outsiders they may find that they do not have equal access to the resources (networks, information, access to powerful leaders) required for traditional models of leadership. They may opt to use alternative models out of necessity rather than because those are the ones they prefer. However, women managers interviewed for this study, particularly women educators, also seem to share a concept of management which focuses on relationships, "bonds of attachment" (Belenky et al., 1986). They appear to see greater value in investing considerable time in resolving the people problems that develop in their organizations and, as Eric noted, most of a manager's problems

are ones relating to people. Nan and Joyce's "fence mending" and "bridge building" activities illustrate the importance women managers attach to resolving these problems as well as the methods they use.

While it would be misleading to suggest that there are styles and models which are strictly male or female, the stories men and women participants in this study tell about their own career experiences provide strong support for the view that there are particular models and styles with which women tend to be more comfortable. Whether their capacity to try non-traditional approaches is conscious or simply the product of their marginal and token status is not clear. It may simply be that as outsiders, largely unschooled in male management models, they resort to what they know, a more relationship and people centred approach. While men are much less likely to use and to discuss such approaches, a few indicated a strong interest in learning more about them. More systematic studies of ways in which women prefer to manage and of women's work groups would make a valuable contribution to organizational and leadership theory.

Assumptions About Careers

The careers of the participants of this study suggest, that men and women's career paths and patterns may differ considerably. Much of the career literature promotes a three-to-five year plan approach. That is, major writers in the field promote explicitly the view that employees have a three-to-five year period in which to get noticed and fast tracked by their employers and implicitly, for the most part, that this period is at the beginning of one's working life. This perspective does not contribute to an understanding of women's careers. Several

women participants in this study described dropping out once or several times to care for children or to follow a husband's career. One woman manager had been out of the work force for twelve years. Few career analysts have looked closely at what women are doing during those periods out of the work force and the role that parenting and community volunteer work can play in helping them to, not only maintain, but add to the bank of skills they had when they dropped out. Thus, many women may have multiple paths to their careers, as they move in and out or make lateral career moves between organizations or paid and volunteer work during their early parenting years.

As illustrated in Figure VII, men's careers may plateau by their choice after a fast start while some women's may plateau, again by choice, through their parenting years and then accelerate as the mothering role becomes less demanding of their time and energy. Women at that stage in their lives still have many years to give to an organization. If so, career development advice based on studies of men's careers in years past may be less useful to both men and women in contemporary work settings. However, in light of the emphasis most organizations place on identifying promising employees in the very early years of their careers, there is a need to develop strategies for enabling women to become visible at a later stage in their careers, as well.

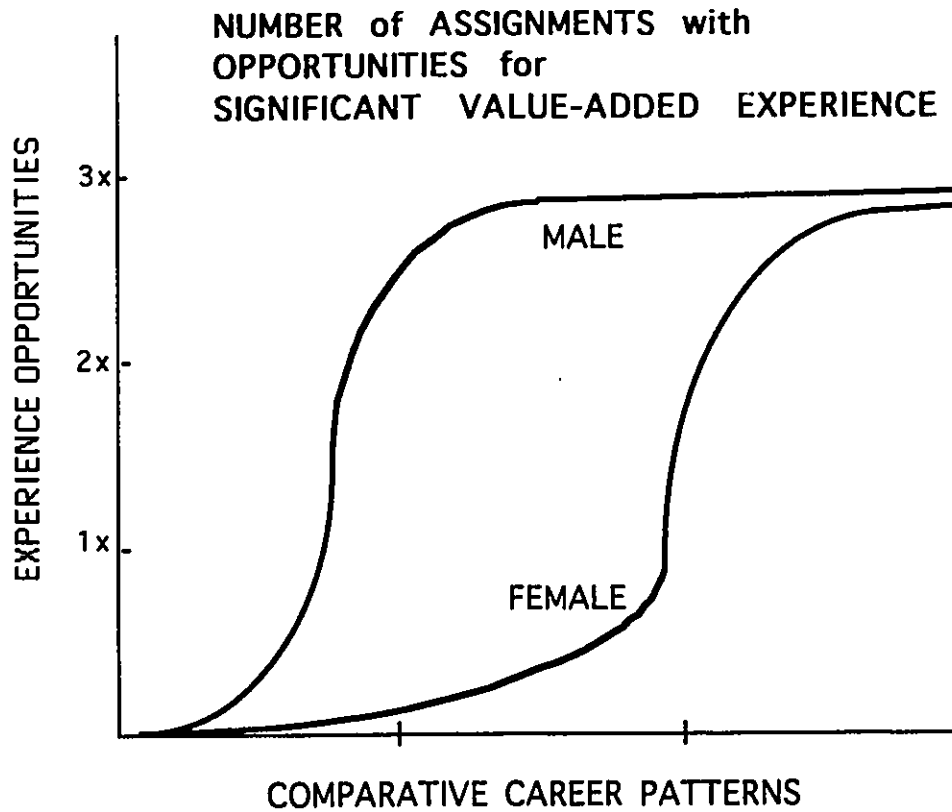


Figure VI Comparative Career Patterns

Volunteer Work

The role of volunteer work in helping to maintain skills one already has or to help one to develop new skills has been noted, but a number of interviewees and focus group members described another function of volunteer activity. Several people talked about the way in which such activity helped them to maintain their self-confidence and morale during periods of "active waiting", when they were in dead-end jobs, but were actively searching for other positions. Volunteer work exposed them to new networks and skills and helped them to maintain an optimistic and positive outlook while they waited for other career related opportunities. Because of the positive role it appears to play for

individual workers as well as the impact it could have on volunteer recruitment, this phenomenon deserves to be examined more systematically.

Male Careers in the 1990s

While there have been relatively few studies of male careers in recent years, the experiences of male participants in this study suggest a number of aspects of career and management which deserve further study. Among these are career plateauing (whether by individual choice or imposed by outside factors), possible changes in how men define careers, motivation to and capacity for mentoring, and preferred management models.

There are ways (Bardwick, 1983) in which organizations may continue to provide a satisfying work experience for males whose careers have plateaued. Dennis, who described his early career as taking off like a rocket but whose career has now plateaued, has been able to find ways of enriching his work life with little, if any, help from the organization. Studying the experiences of men like him could provide some useful knowledge of how other men and women whose careers have plateaued because of demographic changes in society or organizational downsizing might do the same.

Evaluation of Alternative Management Methods and Models

Organizations are developing and implementing various management models and practices, many of which have not been subjected to systematic evaluation. Evaluative studies which examine the effectiveness of individual approaches as well as comparative

studies should become a research priority for organizations and universities. It is particularly important during a period of economic uncertainty that organizations have grounds for justifying adoption or rejection of such models and practices.

Taking Responsibility for One's Career

While Richard blamed the system for not providing him with more training and career advice, he also acknowledged that he, too, has a responsibility in this area. He says, "I've never had the feeling that career planning exists or that there is a lot of support from the organization to do that" (214-216). Several other public servants interviewed complained that there is little, if any, career planning in government. This came up, as well, in the all female focus group (FG - 1) which preceded the individual interviewing phase.

Taking responsibility for one's career, keeping it moving, as many researchers (Morrison et al. 1987, p. 25; McCall et al., 1988, p.123) and human resource specialists have recently begun to advise women to do, needs to be examined carefully. On one level it serves as good advice to anyone, on another is there not a risk that this may get played out as just another variation on the "blame the victim" (Ryan, 1971) theme? The message to women is that if they just work hard enough, all will be well. In dealing with systemic barriers, however, as this research illustrates, there is not a lot an individual can do to change the situation. At the same time, however, women do need to be more proactive. They should not assume that their managers will look after their careers for them. Systematically studying the strategies that have

worked and documenting them for others would be valuable to organizations and individual employees.

Denial of Problems

Stokes (1984, p. 18) suggests that women use the denial of discriminatory experiences as a defense mechanism and this may be true of some of the women who participated in this study. The women interviewed for this study tended not to dwell on discriminatory experiences. They and some of the men interviewed emphasized the need to be positive and forward looking in order to advance. Whether this is good or bad is difficult to say, but it needs to be looked at more carefully. Women need to participate in solving the structural problems which limit their careers, but in order to do this they must first recognize them and admit that they exist. If, as research suggests, women are more prepared than men are to try new models of leadership and management, they may be especially well suited to identifying organizational structural problems and replacement models.

Responsibility to Others

Women interviewees spoke often about their responsibility to other women whose careers will follow theirs. This is also illustrated by Williams and Willower (1983) who report one of the women they interviewed as saying that one must protect oneself and "those women coming up by being competent" (p. 22) and Milwid (1990) who describes many women she interviewed as saying that they agreed to be interviewed in order "to give the next generation an insider's

perspective on making it in a man's world" (p. 35). Marianne acknowledged the importance of having extremely competent women in these pioneering roles, saying that it was easier for her because her predecessors were so competent and that we can't afford any women "duds" yet. It seems likely that this creates additional performance pressures (Kanter, 1977a) for these women.

As Marshall (1979b) notes, participants in this study were often very interested in knowing what others who were interviewed had said. Both male and female interviewees, expressed interest in what others had said. They wanted to know about the backgrounds, training, and career success of others like themselves. They were curious to know how others were dealing with the new challenges posed by societal and organizational change. Both men and women seemed interested in trying to understand and deal with change in the workplace.

The participants of this study and the research literature are agreed that support networks, male and female, are extremely important because "(i)f institutions do not insure survival, support systems must" (Stokes, 1984, p. 25). There seems to be a recognition that many males have always had support systems and that women need them, but little awareness that men unhappy with the status quo and attempting to change themselves and the system may need support, too. They may feel isolated with nowhere to go for advice or help, as Glen described it. A number of organizations have provided support for women's networks in the form of space for meetings, resources for newsletters, and staff time for coordination. These networks provide valuable assistance to newcomers having difficulty

adjusting to the organizational culture. A systematic examination of the various forms networks take and the relative value of each in providing support to members of various groups would provide valuable direction on how to best allocate limited resources to best meet needs.

The experiences of women building careers in organizations and the impact of increasing numbers of women employees and women managers on the ways organizations function is worthy of increased research attention. It is important, however, that researchers take a more holistic view of the women in the workplace, looking at men as well as women. Comparative studies offer the best means of understanding their experiences most fully, of isolating those experiences which are a function of organizational response to gender from those which are a function of other societal changes and which apply to men, as well.

Conclusion

Both the SM level position in government and the secondary school principalship can be seen to represent points in their respective organizations where management functions become more leadership focused, more autonomous, high profile, and visible. As such, they provided an excellent means for studying the concepts which were the focus of this study.

As already discussed, the study has implications for both policy and intervention strategies designed to increase opportunities for previously underrepresented groups. Support for the proposed

relationship between gender, power and organizational socialization contributes to a rationale for retreating from efforts to address supposed individual deficiencies, the "blame the victim" perspective, and for giving greater attention to those features of organizational life which relate to organizational structures and socialization processes.

This study contributes toward the construction of an overall conceptual and theoretical framework for better understanding the processes which come into play in organizations when members of groups which have traditionally existed as "outsiders" to organizational life, such as women, the disabled, racial minorities and aboriginal Canadians, attempt to become "insiders". An advantage of this approach is that it provides a framework for looking at these issues in terms of the impact of socially constructed gender, race or other limitations which come into play when new types of workers holding different cultural values and life experiences begin to move into organizations rather than in terms of men against women or one racial group(s) against others. As Rebane (1988) notes, the Kanter theory "does not oblige us to make the uncharitable assumption that male faculty (or other colleagues) actively discriminate against women in the manner proposed by the nonstructural theories" (p. 84). The focus of the problem becomes socially constructed organizational structures and processes, rather than individuals or groups of individuals, and the solution involves everyone.

The importance of individual and organizational commitment to learning as a means of keeping abreast of change is one of the common threads running through these implications and recommendations. Like Kanter's *giants learning to dance* (1989), those

who can adapt most quickly and appropriately to change will best master the challenges of management and careers in the 1990s.

The opportunities this provides for the field of education are almost beyond imagining. The resources schools of education have to offer in the areas of implementation, evaluation, training, and management could play an important role in helping organizations of all kinds to master these challenges.

In summary, the major contributions of this study are in the knowledge and insights it has generated about the powerful influence of the informal side of organizational life, the role of organizational socialization in advancing or limiting individual careers, the ways in which men's definitions of career and of success appear to be changing, and the applicability of American research to a Canadian setting.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A	Size and Composition of Focus Groups	310
Appendix B	Consent Form: Focus Group Participants	312
Appendix C	Interviewees	314
Appendix D	Interview Guide	315
Appendix E	Consent Form: Interviewees	320
Appendix F	Data Summary Matrix	322
Appendix G	Background and Biographical Characteristics	323
Appendix H	Experiencing Power Through Organizational Socialization:	331
Appendix I	Barriers to Advancement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Factors Which Interviewees See as Limiting Career Advancement • Factors Which Interviewees See as Most Limiting Career Advancement of Women • Views on How One Succeeds in Becoming a Manager 	343
Appendix J	Excerpts from Contact Summaries and Emerging Themes File	346
Appendix K	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ontario Ministry of Education Memorandum 111: Employment Equity for Women in School Boards (Feb. 02, 1990) • Follow-Up Action Regarding Policy/Program Memorandum 111: Employment Equity for Women in School Boards (July 12, 1990) 	348
Appendix L	Elite Interviewee Categories	354

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF FOCUS GROUPS

Focus Group 1:

The first focus group consisted of seven women who were informed on the issues being discussed by virtue of their experience as managers, management aspirants, or researchers on issues related to the subject. Members of the group were selected for their interest in the issues being discussed and their experience. Among participants were; 3 experienced managers, women with degrees in economics, education and the social sciences (2 with Ph.D. degrees and 1 with a Ph.D. minus thesis); 2 have extensive experience with women's issues, 1 had taught a course in management skills for women. The group included 3 women who have worked both in education and the public service. All participants have at least 10 years' experience in work organizations.

Focus Group 2:

The second focus group consisted of two men and three women, who were informed on the issues being discussed by virtue of their experience as managers, affirmative action specialists at both the national and local level or researchers/program specialists on issues related to the subject. Members of the group were selected for their interest in the issues being discussed and their experience. Among participants were; 3 (1 f., 2 m) experienced middle managers, people with degrees in political science, education, nursing and social work; 2 have extensive experience with equity issues. Two (males) have experience in cross cultural/"dealing with diversity" training for the workplace. Two (1 male & 1 female) have experience with women's and ethnic organizations and unions. The group included 3 people who have worked in both education and the public service. All participants have at least 10 years' experience in work organizations.

Focus Group 3:

This group consisted of six men and had a male leader. Three of the men are managers and one of the three has experience with employment equity issues. A fourth member of the group, an educator, is a member of a status of committee within his own organization. The remaining two members of the group have considerable experience with equity issues. Three members of the group have worked in both education and government settings. All members of the group except one have masters level degrees and one had begun a doctoral degree which he did not complete.

Groups 4 & 5:

These groups consisted of a mix of individuals who had been interviewees and individuals who had participated in the earlier focus groups. The composition of the groups was approximately one third former

focus group participants and two thirds interviewees. Each group of ten was composed of roughly half educators and half public servants.

**INFORMED CONSENT: FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT
MEN AND WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT PROJECT**

WHEN A RESEARCH PROJECT IS UNDERTAKEN BY A MEMBER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA, THE ETHICS COMMITTEE OF THE UNIVERSITY REQUIRES THE WRITTEN CONSENT OF THE PARTICIPANTS. THE INTENTION IS SIMPLY TO ASSURE THE RESPECT AND THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE INDIVIDUALS CONCERNED.

THIS PROJECT IS PART OF DOCTORAL RESEARCH WHICH DEALS WITH MEN AND WOMEN WHO HOLD POSITIONS AS MIDDLE LEVEL MANAGERS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION. THE PROJECT INTENDS TO STUDY THEIR EARLY CAREER EXPERIENCES, THEIR VIEWS ABOUT THEIR OWN CAREERS, AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED FOR MANAGEMENT CAREERS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE FIELDS. FOR MORE DETAILS ON THE STUDY PLEASE SEE THE BACK OF THIS FORM.

AS ONE OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THIS STUDY, YOU ARE ASKED TO AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN A FOCUS GROUP WHICH WILL BE TAPE-RECORDED AND WILL TAKE ABOUT TWO HOURS TO COMPLETE. IF YOU AGREE, PLEASE SIGN THIS FORM IN THE SPACE PROVIDED BELOW AND INITIAL AT THE BOTTOM TO INDICATE THAT YOU RECEIVED A COPY OF THE FORM FOR YOUR OWN RECORDS. TO ENSURE ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY, ALL TAPES WILL BE ERASED AFTER BEING TRANSCRIBED AND PERSONAL AND PLACE NAMES AS WELL AS ANY OTHER INFORMATION WHICH MIGHT SERVE TO IDENTIFY PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY WILL BE EDITED OUT OF THE TRANSCRIPTS. YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS PROJECT AT ANY TIME.

I WILLINGLY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT MY ANSWERS WILL REMAIN STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL AND THAT I WILL NOT BE IDENTIFIABLE IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS. I AGREE NOT TO REVEAL THE RESULTS OF THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS AND TO RESPECT THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE INDIVIDUALS CONCERNED.

SIGNATURE _____
DATE _____

YOU CAN COMMUNICATE WITH ME IN ORDER TO GIVE ME ANY FURTHER COMMENTS OR ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PROJECT AT THE ADDRESS BELOW:

ROBERTA J. RUSSELL
2068 CABOT ST.
OTTAWA
K1H 6J9 TEL: 613-521-9676

DISSERTATION SUPERVISOR IS:
DR. HAROLD JAKES,
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA, (613) 564-7725.

PLEASE INITIAL TO INDICATE THAT YOU RECEIVED A COPY OF THE FORM TO KEEP _____

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS
PROJECT DESCRIPTION

**A STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN MIDDLE MANAGERS IN
EDUCATION AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

Doctoral Research Project: Roberta Russell
Dissertation Supervisor: Dr. Harold E. Jakes

THIS PROJECT IS PART OF DOCTORAL RESEARCH WHICH DEALS WITH MEN AND WOMEN WHO HOLD POSITIONS AS MIDDLE LEVEL MANAGERS IN TWO TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION, IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION. THE STUDY ADDRESSES A NUMBER OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS RELATING TO POSSIBLE DIFFERENCES IN CAREER PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE WORKERS, INCLUDING DIFFERENCES IN THE WAYS THEY EXPERIENCE ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE, IN THE BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES THEY PERCEIVE WHICH MAY HAVE AN IMPACT ON THEIR ADVANCEMENT TO SENIOR LEVELS OF MANAGEMENT, AND IN THE WAYS THEY VIEW AND EXERCISE THEIR POSITIONS.

THE STUDY INVOLVES IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH MIDDLE MANAGERS IN EDUCATION AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. SUBJECTS ARE SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS FROM EDUCATION AND SM (SENIOR MANAGEMENT) LEVEL MANAGERS FROM THE PUBLIC SERVICE. THE INTERVIEWS ARE SEMI-STRUCTURED AND DIVIDED INTO 5 PARTS;

- BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION**
- EARLY CAREER EXPERIENCES (ASSIGNMENTS, TRAINING, ETC.)**
- VIEWS ON MENTORING, PROFESSIONALISM, SUCCESS, ETC.**
- CURRENT USE OF POSITION**
- VIEWS ON MALE AND FEMALE MANAGEMENT STYLES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN CONTEMPORARY ORGANIZATIONS.**

THESE INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS ARE FOLLOWED BY A SERIES OF FOCUS GROUPS. THE FOCUS GROUPS ARE APPROXIMATELY 2 HOURS IN LENGTH AND INVOLVE PEOPLE WHO BECAUSE OF WORK OR OTHER EXPERIENCE CAN BE EXPECTED TO HAVE SPECIAL INSIGHTS AND VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT UNDER STUDY. THE PURPOSE OF THE FOCUS GROUPS IS TO ACT AS A SOUNDING BOARD OR TESTING GROUND FOR GLOBAL ASSUMPTIONS, IDEAS AND OBSERVATIONS WHICH DEVELOP DURING DATA ANALYSIS.

INTERVIEWEES

SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

FEMALES:

MARY
CONNIE
MARIANNE
ALISON
ANN
KATHRYN

MALES:

MICHAEL
IAN
MATT
DENNIS
JEFF
ERIC

MANAGERS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

FEMALES:

NAN
JOYCE
MARIA
SUZANNE
BETH
JANICE

MALES:

PAUL
RICHARD
FRED
GLEN
TREVOR
RON

ROBERTA J RUSSELL, OCTOBER 1990

INTERVIEW GUIDE
(MEN & WOMEN MIDDLE MANAGERS)

PREAMBLE:

THE PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH IS TO STUDY THE CAREER PATTERNS AND MANAGEMENT STYLES OF MIDDLE LEVEL MANAGERS.

I WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN BY GETTING SOME PERSONAL HISTORY. THESE ITEMS ARE ONES I PICK UP ON BECAUSE THEY APPEAR SO FREQUENTLY IN THE LITERATURE I HAVE BEEN REVIEWING.

PART 1

CAREER EXPERIENCE

1. HOW AND WHY DID YOU CHOOSE THIS FIELD (EDUCATION OR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION)? (MENTOR, ROLE MODEL, ETC.)
2. IN WHAT YEAR DID YOU BEGIN FULL TIME WORK?
3. WHAT IS YOUR CURRENT POSITION? YEARS IN YOUR CURRENT POSITION?
4. EXPERIENCE AND ASPIRATIONS
 - HOW DID YOU HEAR ABOUT THIS POSITION?
READ ABOUT IT _____
TOLD ABOUT IT _____ BY WHOM?
OTHER _____
 - WHAT OTHER POSITIONS HAVE YOU HELD PRIOR TO YOUR PRESENT ONE?
 - WHEN DID YOU FIRST DECIDE THAT YOU WANTED TO BECOME A MANAGER? _____ WHY AT THAT PARTICULAR TIME?
 - DID YOU EXPRESS THAT INTEREST TO ANYONE IN THE ORGANIZATION? MANAGER, COLLEAGUES? THEIR RESPONSE?
 - WHAT WERE YOUR REASONS FOR WANTING TO BE A MANAGER?
 - HOW DID YOU TRY TO CONVINC OTHERS THAT YOU SHOULD BE CONSIDERED FOR MANAGEMENT? (EXTRA DUTIES, GASING)
 - WHAT BEST PREPARED YOU TO BE A MANAGER?
5. VISIBILITY
 - HOW MUCH TASK VARIETY DO YOU HAVE IN YOUR CURRENT POSITION?
 - DOES YOUR CURRENT POSITION PROVIDE A HIGH DEGREE OF INTERPERSONAL CONTACT WITH OTHER UNITS IN THE ORGANIZATION?
 - HAVE YOU PARTICIPATED IN PROBLEM SOLVING TASK FORCES OR ON SPECIAL HIGH PRIORITY HIGH PROFILE PROJECTS? HOW OFTEN? DID YOU VOLUNTEER OR WERE YOU DELEGATED? IF THE LATTER, BY WHOM?
6. EXTRAORDINARY ACTIVITIES
 - WHAT PROPORTION OF YOUR DAILY ACTIVITIES WOULD YOU CLASSIFY AS ROUTINE? AS CREATIVE?

•HAVE YOU EVER BEEN THE FIRST TO OCCUPY A NEW POSITION? AT WHAT POINT IN YOUR CAREER?

•HAVE YOU EVER MADE ORGANIZATIONAL / STRUCTURAL CHANGES DURING YOUR YEARS WITH THIS ORGANIZATION? AT WHAT POINT IN YOUR CAREER?

7. CHARISMA

•HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN GREAT RISKS WHICH WERE SUCCESSFUL? AT WHAT POINT IN YOUR CAREER? PLEASE DESCRIBE.

8. AUTONOMY

•HOW CLOSELY DO YOU HAVE TO CONSULT WITH COLLEAGUES AND SUPERIORS BEFORE MAKING DECISIONS ABOUT POLICIES AND PROCEDURES INVOLVING DAILY ACTIVITIES?

•WHAT PROPORTION OF THE DAILY ACTIVITIES FOR YOUR CURRENT POSITION CONFORM CLOSELY TO YOUR OFFICIAL JOB DESCRIPTION?

•HOW MUCH FLEXIBILITY DO YOU HAVE AROUND THE USE OF PEOPLE (SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS, REDEPLOYMENT OF STAFF, HIRING AND FIRING)?

9. RESOURCES

•WHAT CAPACITY DO YOU HAVE IN YOUR CURRENT POSITION TO REWARD SUBORDINATES (BONUS, INTERESTING ASSIGNMENT, TASK FORCE OR HIGH PROFILE COMMITTEE, ABOVE AVERAGE SALARY INCREASE, ETC.)

•,HOW CAN YOU HELP A PARTICULARLY TALENTED SUBORDINATE'S CAREER ADVANCE?

10. ALLIANCES/SOCIAL CONNECTEDNESS

•DO YOU INVEST MUCH TIME IN DEVELOPING AND MAINTAINING CONTACTS WITH PEERS OUTSIDE YOUR OWN DIVISION (SCHOOL)?

PART 2

VIEWS AND VALUES

11. MENTORING

•DO YOU NOW OR HAVE YOU EVER HAD A MENTOR OR SPONSOR? IF YES, WHAT KINDS OF THINGS DID THIS PERSON DO FOR YOU?

•DO YOU BELIEVE MENTORING IS IMPORTANT?

•DO YOU MENTOR? HOW AND TO WHOM?

12. THE MEANING OF SUCCESS

•HOW DO YOU DEFINE SUCCESS?

•WHAT ARE THE THINGS ABOUT YOUR WORK IN WHICH YOU TAKE THE GREATEST PRIDE/SATISFACTION? (POSITION, STATUS, SERVICE, ACCOMPLISHMENT, PRIDE YOUR FAMILY TAKES IN YOUR SUCCESS)

•TO WHAT DO YOU ATTRIBUTE YOUR SUCCESS? WHAT MADE THE DIFFERENCE FOR YOU?

13. PROFESSIONALISM

•HOW DO YOU DEFINE PROFESSIONALISM?

•HOW DID YOU LEARN TO BE A PROFESSIONAL? (TRAINING, OTHER PEOPLE, ETC.)

•ARE YOU ACTIVE IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS? (MEMBER, COMMITTEES, EXECUTIVE)

•HOW MANY PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS DO YOU HOLD?

•NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT/CAREER DEVELOPMENT COURSES TAKEN (LESS THAN 5, 5-10, MORE THAN 10). WERE THESE FUNDED BY YOU OR BY YOUR EMPLOYER?

•HAVE ANY OF THESE ASSOCIATIONS BEEN PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT TO YOU? GIVEN YOU SPECIAL JOB RELATED SKILLS?

•WHAT FACTORS (LIFE EXPERIENCE, SELECTION PROCESSES, APPRAISALS) DO YOU THINK ARE MOST IMPORTANT IN CAREER DEVELOPMENT OF MANAGERS? WHICH OF THESE HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED?

PART 3

POWER

14. CREDIBILITY UPWARD

•IF YOU TAKE A CONTROVERSIAL POSITION WITH REGARD TO ONE OF YOUR STAFF, CAN YOU BE ASSURED THAT ONE OF YOUR SUPERIORS WILL SUPPORT YOU?

•HOW FAST IS YOUR ACCESS TO THE C.E.O., IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR, THAT IS, HOW QUICKLY CAN YOU EXPECT TO GET A RESPONSE THROUGH USING REGULAR CHANNELS?

•HOW QUICKLY IS YOUR ACCESS IN AN EMERGENCY SITUATION?

•ARE YOU WELL PLACED IN THE ORGANIZATION TO GET ADVANCE NEWS ABOUT POLICY SHIFTS, MAJOR ORGANIZATIONAL SHIFTS IN DIRECTION, ETC? HOW DO YOU HEAR? (ADVANCE BRIEFINGS, GRAPEVINE, OVER LUNCH?)

15. CRITICAL INCIDENT

•GIVE AN EXAMPLE OF A RECENT (WITHIN THE PAST 18 MONTHS) FRUSTRATING WORKPLACE EXPERIENCE/SITUATION/CRISIS IN WHICH YOU WERE DEPENDENT ON OTHERS FOR TASK OR CAREER REASONS. DESCRIBE THE ACTION YOU TOOK, INCLUDING THE STRATEGY(IES) YOU USED, THE DEGREE TO WHICH EACH WAS SUCCESSFUL, AND THE REASONS FOR YOUR CHOICES.

AND/OR

•DESCRIBE THE STRATEGIES YOU USE TO GET YOUR WAY AT WORK

16. SHARING POWER/EMPOWERING OTHERS

•HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK IT IS TO INVEST TIME IN HELPING STAFF TO GET AHEAD, TO MENTOR?

17. PERCEPTIONS OF POWER

•PLEASE DESCRIBE THE 3 MOST POWERFUL PEOPLE IN YOUR ORGANIZATION.

•WHERE IN THE ORGANIZATION ARE THEY SITUATED?

•JUSTIFY YOUR CHOICES.

18. LEGITIMACY/ENTITLEMENT

•AS A MANAGER, DO YOU EVER HAVE ANY CONCERNS ABOUT YOUR RIGHT TO MAKE CERTAIN DEMANDS OF OTHERS? WHY?

19. POWER DEFINED

•HOW DO YOU DEFINE POWER?

PART 4

VIEWS ON OPPORTUNITY AND MALE AND FEMALE STYLES

20. PERCEIVED OPPORTUNITIES TO ADVANCE.

- ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR CAREER ACHIEVEMENTS TO DATE (PROVIDE REASONS)?.
- WHAT CAREER OBJECTIVES DO YOU STILL WANT TO ACCOMPLISH?
- ARE THE MEANS FOR CAREER ADVANCEMENT WITHIN THIS ORGANIZATION CLEAR TO YOU? DO YOU CONSIDER THEM TO BE FAIR AND OBJECTIVE? RELEVANT?

**21. DO YOU THINK THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES IN THE WAYS MEN AND WOMEN MANAGE? IF YES, EXAMPLES?
IN THE WAY THEY VIEW CAREERS?**

22. ARE WOMEN CAPABLE OF DOING THE SAME WORK AS MEN? CAN THEY EXERCISE POWER AND AUTHORITY TO THE SAME DEGREE?

23. DO YOU THINK THAT MEN AND WOMEN HAVE THE SAME OPPORTUNITIES TO ADVANCE TO MANAGEMENT LEVEL POSITIONS? IF NO, EXAMPLES?

24. ARE WOMEN TREATED DIFFERENTLY IN DAY-TO -DAY ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE? IF YES, HOW? (MENTORING, INFORMAL SIDE)

25. ARE THERE SPECIAL SACRIFICES THAT WOMEN HAVE TO MAKE FOR A MANAGEMENT CAREER? (MARRIAGE, CHILDREN, FEMININITY) EASIER FOR MARRIED OR SINGLE WOMEN?

26. ARE WOMEN JUDGED DIFFERENTLY? AT ENTRY, LATER IN THEIR CAREERS?

27. DOES YOUR EMPLOYER HAVE AN ACTION PLAN OR A SPECIFIC PROGRAM DESIGNED TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT AND EXECUTIVE POSITIONS?

- IF YES, WHAT DOES THIS PROGRAM HAVE AS ITS MAIN PRIORITY? (HIRING, TRAINING, PROMOTION, DEVELOPMENT, ETC.)
- HAVE YOU OR DO YOU KNOW INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE BENEFITED FROM IT? IN WHAT WAY?
- ASSUMING THAT THEY ARE EQUALLY COMPETENT, DO YOU THINK THAT YOUR ORGANIZATION WOULD BE MORE LIKELY TO HIRE FOR A MANAGEMENT POSITION OR TO ADVANCE THE MANAGEMENT CAREER OF A MAN ? OR BOTH EQUALLY?

PART 5

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA/PERSONAL HISTORY

28. ARE YOU OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN LIVING IN A SITUATION WHERE YOU CONSIDERED YOURSELF PART OF A COUPLE? (MARITAL STATUS)

29. IF YES, WHAT IS (WAS) YOUR PARTNER'S OCCUPATION?

30. HAVE YOU EVER HAD RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CARE OF ANY CHILDREN?

31. HOW MANY SISTERS AND BROTHERS DO YOU HAVE THAT ARE
OLDER THAN YOU
YOUNGER THAN YOU
YOUR TWIN

32. TYPE OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED
CO-ED
MALE/FEMALE ONLY
PRIVATE

33. IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL DID YOU PARTICIPATE IN ANY OF
THE FOLLOWING?
TEAM SPORTS
STUDENT GOVERNMENT
CLUBS
DEBATING TEAMS
OTHER _____

34. IN UNIVERSITY DID YOU PARTICIPATE IN ANY OF THE FOLLOWING?
TEAM SPORTS
STUDENT GOVERNMENT
CLUBS
DEBATING TEAMS
OTHER _____

35. HIGHEST DEGREE/DIPLOMA RECEIVED _____
MAJOR/CONCENTRATION _____

36. HIGHEST LEVEL OF STUDIES REACHED BY
FATHER
MOTHER
GRANDPARENTS

37. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE IMPACT OF THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE ON YOU?
(E.G. THEIR EXPECTATIONS AND INFLUENCE)
MOTHER _____
FATHER _____
GRANDPARENTS _____
TEACHERS _____

**INFORMED CONSENT - INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWEE
MEN AND WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT PROJECT**

WHEN A RESEARCH PROJECT IS UNDERTAKEN BY A MEMBER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA, THE ETHICS COMMITTEE OF THE UNIVERSITY REQUIRES THE WRITTEN CONSENT OF THE PARTICIPANTS. THE INTENTION IS SIMPLY TO ASSURE THE RESPECT AND THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE INDIVIDUALS CONCERNED.

THIS PROJECT IS PART OF DOCTORAL RESEARCH WHICH DEALS WITH MEN AND WOMEN WHO HOLD POSITIONS AS MIDDLE LEVEL MANAGERS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION. THE PROJECT INTENDS TO STUDY THEIR EARLY CAREER EXPERIENCES, THEIR VIEWS ABOUT THEIR OWN CAREERS, AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED FOR MANAGEMENT CAREERS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE FIELDS. FOR MORE DETAILS ON THE STUDY PLEASE SEE THE BACK OF THIS FORM.

AS ONE OF THE SUBJECTS IN THIS STUDY, YOU ARE ASKED TO AGREE TO AN INTERVIEW WHICH WILL BE TAPE-RECORDED AND WILL TAKE ABOUT ONE TO ONE AND A HALF HOURS TO COMPLETE. IF YOU AGREE, PLEASE SIGN THIS FORM IN THE SPACE PROVIDED BELOW AND INITIAL AT THE BOTTOM TO INDICATE THAT YOU RECEIVED A COPY OF THE FORM FOR YOUR OWN RECORDS. TO ENSURE ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY, ALL TAPES WILL BE ERASED AFTER BEING TRANSCRIBED AND PERSONAL AND PLACE NAMES AS WELL AS ANY OTHER INFORMATION WHICH MIGHT SERVE TO IDENTIFY PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY WILL BE EDITED OUT OF THE TRANSCRIPTS. YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS PROJECT AT ANY TIME.

I WILLINGLY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT MY ANSWERS WILL REMAIN STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL AND THAT I WILL NOT BE IDENTIFIABLE IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS.

SIGNATURE _____
DATE _____

YOU CAN COMMUNICATE WITH ME IN ORDER TO GIVE ME ANY FURTHER COMMENTS OR ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PROJECT AT THE ADDRESS BELOW:

ROBERTA J. RUSSELL
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TEL: (613) 521-9676.

DISSERTATION SUPERVISOR IS:
DR. HAROLD JAKES,
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA, (613) 564-7725.

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PROJECT DESCRIPTION

A STUDY OF MEN AND WOMEN MIDDLE MANAGERS IN EDUCATION AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Doctoral Research Project: Roberta Russell
Dissertation Supervisor: Dr. Harold E. Jakes

THIS PROJECT IS PART OF DOCTORAL RESEARCH WHICH DEALS WITH MEN AND WOMEN WHO HOLD POSITIONS AS MIDDLE LEVEL MANAGERS IN TWO TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION, IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION. THE STUDY ADDRESSES A NUMBER OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS RELATING TO POSSIBLE DIFFERENCES IN CAREER PATTERNS OF MALE AND FEMALE WORKERS, INCLUDING DIFFERENCES IN THE WAYS THEY EXPERIENCE ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE, IN THE BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES THEY PERCEIVE WHICH MAY HAVE AN IMPACT ON THEIR ADVANCEMENT TO SENIOR LEVELS OF MANAGEMENT, AND IN THE WAYS THEY VIEW AND EXERCISE THEIR POSITIONS.

THE STUDY INVOLVES IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH MIDDLE MANAGERS IN EDUCATION AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. SUBJECTS ARE SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS AND VICE-PRINCIPALS FROM EDUCATION AND SM (SENIOR MANAGEMENT) LEVEL MANAGERS FROM THE PUBLIC SERVICE. THE INTERVIEWS ARE APPROXIMATELY 1-1 1/2 HOURS IN LENGTH. THE INTERVIEWS ARE SEMI-STRUCTURED AND DIVIDED INTO 5 PARTS;

- BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION
- EARLY CAREER EXPERIENCES (ASSIGNMENTS, TRAINING, ETC.)
- VIEWS ON MENTORING, PROFESSIONALISM, SUCCESS, ETC.
- CURRENT USE OF POSITION
- VIEWS ON MALE AND FEMALE MANAGEMENT STYLES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN CONTEMPORARY ORGANIZATIONS.

Data Summary Matrix

	01MPA	02MPA	03MPA	04MPA	05MPA	06MPA
I. Anticipatory Socialization						
1. Family Influence						
a. Parents	FI					
b. Grandparents	P					
c. Other	G					
d. Birth order	O					
2. Role Model	B					
3. Mentor	RM					
4. Teachers	M					
5. Realism	T					
6. Congruence	REA					
7. Leadership experience	CON					
a. Clubs, cadets, etc.	LD					
b. Student gover.	C					
c. Debating	SG					
d. Teaching/coaching	D					
8. Schools	T					
a. Private (single sex)	SCH					
b. Co-ed	P					
c. Catholic	CO					
9. Major/Discipline	DIS					
10. P.S./Educ. in Fam	FA					
11. Sports	SP					
II Accommodation	ACC					
1. Training	TR					
2. Development	DEV					
a. Conferences	C					
b. Special assignments	SA					
c. Highly visible assignment	VI					
d. Task force	TF					
e. Union	UN					
3. Task variety	VAR					
4. Mentor/ Coach	MEN					
5. Role Model	RM					
6. Colleague support	COL					
7. Sponsor	SP					
8. Professional Association	PA					
9. Unions Experience	UN					
10. Community Group Work	CO					
11. Appraisal	APP					
12. Social Activities	SOC					
13. Risk Taking	RT					
14. Other	OT					
III Role Management	RM					
1. Family Demands	FD					
2. Insider vs Outsider Relations	T					
3. Attitude toward rejection	ATT					
a. Humour	HU					
b. Victim stance	VIC					
c. Active/taking control	ACT					
4. General satisfaction w. job	GS					
5. Mutual Influence						
Degree of influence	MI					
6. Success - Status/ symbols vs. personal	SU					
7. Satisfaction with Career Achievements	SA					
8. Confident of Support Credibility Upward	CR					
IV Marital Status						
M						
D						
S						
RM						
Children #						
Male						
Female						
Ethnicity						
Rural/Urban						

Background and Biographical Characteristics

Information on such background and biographical characteristics as birth order, marital status, early life influences, etc. was collected from each interviewee.

Female Educators

Four of the six women educators interviewed had made the decision to become teachers early in their lives. As two of the four express it, "I guess I probably always thought I would like teaching" (Mary, 7-8); and "I think I always wanted to be a teacher, certainly as far as the administration end of it, that's another thing, but I always wanted to be a teacher and I never really considered any other profession" (Connie, 8-11). The career opportunities open to women in the 1960s clearly played a role in their choices since, as one expressed it, women really had only three career choices open to them; teacher, secretary, or nurse. Often there were others in these women's families who were or had been teachers or they had had teachers they admired and wanted to be like. Three of these women had been taught by Roman Catholic teaching sisters whom Alison describes as being very "pro young women getting their degrees".

One of the two for whom education was a second choice describes her high school vice-principal who has mentored her throughout her career in education as advising her to choose a career in education rather than in business. As she describes it:

He was trying to recruit a good teacher. That's what he was after. But he said, "If you go into education you'll be able to do exactly what you want and you won't find anyone telling you you can't do something because you're a woman" and he said, "business will do that to you". (Ann, 34-37)

Three of the six educators were still working in the regions in which they had grown up. The others had all experienced moves and two had teaching experience in other provinces or regions. Four of the women had had degrees when they started teaching. All but one have master's degrees now, one has completed her doctorate, and one has a professional degree. Three have degrees in mathematics or science. Like the male educators interviewed, all began their careers in the 1960s or very early 1970s when teaching positions were plentiful. Their ages range from the middle forties to late fifties.

Four of the six women educators had grown up on farms where as one said, "(t)here were no males, there was work to be done. I didn't know about gender issues for most of my life. I had specific tasks. I had to drive the tractor and do bales of hay and tinker with machinery." (Marianne, 630-633).

These responsibilities coupled with seeing other females in such roles, appears to have increased their confidence in their ability take charge of their own lives and look after themselves.

When asked about people who had been influential in their early years, women educators could provide numerous examples of such people. They talk most about their parents but in several cases teachers had also clearly played a role in shaping their choice of career and giving them the courage to pursue academic studies despite the fact that they had little money and few, if any role models. The mothers of these women tended to have had high aspirations for their daughters. Two of the mothers had been teachers and another had had a secretarial career before her marriage. One mother had completed a degree after having been widowed and having raised her family. As Marianne says, "I was very fortunate to have a mom who insisted on [my] getting some kind of training so you can look after yourself" (642-644). Mothers seemed to have set high standards for achievement while fathers were more often described as believing in their daughters and providing moral support. Three of the women had attended Catholic schools.

None of the women educators had experience in team sports. Their primarily rural background may have limited their opportunities to participate in sports activities.

All have been married, two are divorced and one of the two has remarried. Two of the six have no children, one having made the choice not to have children because she felt she would not be able to cope adequately with the demands of parenting and a career.

Female Public Servants

None of these women seems to have started out with a strong desire to build a career in the public service. Several came to the public service after having worked in another field or for the private sector. Marriage or other job opportunities had brought most of them to this region and, once here, the public service was often their next move simply because of the fact that it is one of the major employers of women in the region. Thus, most had ended up in the public service more by chance than by deliberate choice. Like Janice, their careers were not planned, they "just happened".

This group was the most cosmopolitan of any in the study, more than female educators and much more so than either of the two groups of males. All but one had experience studying outside Canada (N=3), or working in other countries or provinces (N=5). One of the women has a math degree, two have bachelors's degrees in the social or health sciences, two have master's level degrees, and one has completed all the requirements for a doctorate with the exception of the thesis. Two have teaching experience, one

in both the secondary and post-secondary systems, the other in the secondary system only. Except for one who has a degree in mathematics, their degrees are in traditional fields for women, the social and health sciences and education.

Only two of these women had grown up in a large city and one who had grown up on a farm sees that experience as especially beneficial. As she describes it, "you'd go back home [from school in town] to lots of work inside and outside related to the farm operation. I was involved in Brownies and the 4H Club. The 4H Club is a wonderful opportunity for young people. You learn public speaking, hold offices of president and treasurer and so on at a very early age" (Nan, 770-773). Nan describes the advantages of her farm background as follows:

It gives an enormous edge. I find it has been a great advantage, my early life. A small community, the sense of self reliance, people were capable, they took on challenges, a kind of pioneer spirit thing that children who grow up in cities don't have. (Nan, 789-792).

People these women describe as having been influential in their early lives include both parents and grandparents, particularly grandmothers. Like the women educators, they have a lot to say about the positive influence of their parents. Their descriptions of their families bring to mind the concept of the "empowering family" (Miles, 1985). Maria talks most of her mother about whom she says the following:

I was brought up with care given to developing autonomy and independence for children. There were 3 girls and one boy in my family and mother had a very strong influence on us and also she was determined that her girls were not going to become housewives. If they were going to marry eventually, they would work outside the house. They would be professional women. And she was the model for that. (Maria, 85-90).

Two of the women describe their cultures as matriarchal and attribute their parents' support for education and independence for their daughters as due to that. The fathers of two of the women had died when the daughters were in early to late adolescence. The woman who lost her father earliest described her mother as having to go to work to support the family, suggesting that the children would have had additional responsibilities at home, perhaps, as well as the role model of a working mother. The mothers of four of the women in this group had jobs outside the home, three full-time and one part-time, while their daughters were still young. None of the mothers of the women educators had taken work outside the home while their daughters were still in school. Nan describes the influence on her early life of her mother's poor health. Because of this Nan had had to take on

certain responsibilities earlier in life than most of her peers. This, she says, made her "an adult, capable and responsible at an early age" (803-4).

Nan describes her mother as having had "an expectation of high standards" (710). Joyce says of her parents' support of her educational aspirations; "they knew I wanted to go [to university] and I think my father would have sold his car to pay my tuition if it came down to it. They were really supportive" (983-985). Like the mothers of the women educators, the mothers of this group of women seem to have set high standards of achievement for them while their fathers were morally supportive. Janice whose parents were least supportive, describes them as explaining her desire for a career as due to the fact that, according to her mother, she wasn't very maternal and according to her father she had always thought like a man anyway. Three of these women had attended all female schools, one a Roman Catholic school.

Three of the women in this group had very strong grandmothers, women who were long lived and powerful models of independence. Maria describes hers as strong willed, a quality she says that she "takes" from her grandmother; Nan says her grandmother was very active in her community, with eclectic interests, and "an expectation of involvement" (742); and, Suzanne describes her grandmother as "quick and bright" (670-1) and coming from a culture "where women are expected to reach their potential and make decisions" (675-6).

Members of this group of women are less likely than the women educators, but more likely than the male educators and public servants, to identify teachers as having been influential in their lives. Joyce describes a male science teacher as encouraging her by telling her that she could go to university despite the fact that she had little money. She quotes him as saying, "You can go to university. You'll find a job and get the money somehow" (978-979).

Two of the women public servants had sisters only, one was the middle of three daughters and one the younger of two. Two had no sisters, but each had one younger brother, neither of whom had attended university. The remaining two had one to two sisters and one brother each.

All but one of these women have married and two are now divorced. Three have children, two a son and daughter each and one a son.

Male Educators

Teaching school was not the first career choice for any of these men, although one had planned to become a university professor. Most, if not all, had gotten exposure to teaching through such instruction-related activities as coaching sports, working as a teaching assistant while at university, or

sharing with others some special skill they possessed. When their first career choice did not work out, teaching was something they thought they knew a little about, teaching jobs were plentiful and, if like Ian they liked children, it was an obvious choice. Only one had teaching or administrative experience outside the region, having gotten his teacher education and early teaching experience in another province. Another had accepted a special short term administrative assignment outside the region later in his career.

All had mothers who had been full time homemakers. While this may not have been unusual for the period during which they were growing up, none of the other groups in this study so uniformly report having had that experience, making this group unique among the four groups included in the study. Only one reported growing up in a family that was not intact. In his case his mother had died when he was a child. All grew up in urban centres or small towns. All but one began his teaching career with a degree. Most had had a master's level degree when they entered teaching. This relates, perhaps, to their original plans to go into other fields where an advanced degree would probably have been a prerequisite to access. All have master's level degrees now, but not necessarily in education, and one has completed his Ph. D. All except one began their careers in the 1960s when jobs and opportunities for advancement in the field of education were plentiful. The one exception began his teaching career in the very early 1970s.

In terms of people who had been influential in their early years, members of this group are much less likely than any of the others to name specific individuals who have shaped their early lives by example or in a mentoring or advisory role. Two mention that their fathers had negatively influenced them, making them aware of the things they did not want in a career. In one case the interviewee describes his father as a workaholic with little time for family and in the other the interviewee's father had been a school principal whom his son describes as very authoritarian, making the role an unattractive career choice for the son. Only one describes having had a particularly close relationship to his mother, saying that she had been influential in that "(s)he was the driving force in everything" (Matt, 818-819). None of the men named specific school teachers as having been influential, although one who had attended a Catholic boys' school talked about "the tremendous influence on my life" which the school provided. When asked in what way the school had influenced him, he says, "values, beliefs, words like sacrifice, being tough, sense of tradition and pride, integrity, they were all the values" (Michael, 1238-9). Two of the male educators had attended Catholic boys' schools, while the other four had attended regular public schools.

All had been active in sports. Most describe themselves as high energy and competitive. All are married, one for the second time, and all have children. Three of the six male educators interviewed have female children only.

Male Public Administrators

Only one of the six male public administrators had made a deliberate decision to become a public servant. He was influenced by the fact that he was the son of a former public servant and the grandson of a former senior public servant. Some of his professors in graduate school, he says, had seen the public service as an arena for making an important contribution to society, as well. This individual clearly entered the federal public service with a motive to serve. Other members of this group came to the public service by chance, as the result of seeing an advertisement in the paper at a time when they were out of money to continue graduate studies, looking for a job in a region where the high profile employer is the federal public service, or simply looking for a change. As Paul says when asked,

My father was, he's retired now, was a public servant. Middle manager, I guess. I don't know how much of that had a sort of conscious, anyway consciously had an influence on me. I can't say that I was steered into that. I came into the public service in the '60s. And I worked for a while and then left. About five years and then I travelled in Europe. And I came back . . . I'm trying to remember, first of all, why I went into the public service in the first place and I think it was just convenience or something. (6-12)

Unlike male educator interviewees, male public administrators have considerable experience working in the private sector or for provincial governments prior to joining the federal government. Two had travelled considerably after completing university and two had worked for eight and ten years in the private sector. While as a group they do not have as much exposure to international and other work experiences as women public servants, they most closely resemble this group. All had grown up in Ontario or Quebec and most of their work experience had been in these two provinces.

All but one had mothers who were full-time homemakers. The one exception worked in the family business. All but one grew up in families which were intact. This was the most ethnically diverse of the groups, with one of French, two of Jewish, and three of British origin. Like male educators, all grew up in small towns or cities. All came into government with degrees, two with masters level degrees in the social sciences, two with masters level degrees in business, and two with bachelor's level degrees, one in public administration and one in arts. Unlike the educators interviewed, only one has continued his academic studies since joining the federal government and that out of interest rather than because he thinks it will contribute to his career advancement.

In describing people who had been influential on their early lives, several men describe their fathers as having had a negative influence. Paul says, "I think my parents had more of a negative than a positive impact" (774) and this, he says, is truer of his father than of his mother. He sees the reason for this as his failure to meet his father's expectations and says that his father provided "constant reminders of what I don't want certain things to be like in my life" (787-788). He makes the point that his experience is fairly typical of people his age who grew up in the 1960s and developed views on religion and politics which were very different from their parents. Both Ron and Glen describe being close to their mothers who they describe as warmer than their fathers. Glen sums up the influence of his parents as follows, "(f)ather, in a negative sense, not wanting to be what my father was. Values from my mother and what I didn't want to be from my father" (917-918). All perceive their parents as having had high expectations for them, two say their parents "pushed" them and another says that parents should push children more, suggesting that contemporary parents do not push enough. All except one attended regular public schools, he attended a Catholic school for boys.

Like male educators, few male public servants appear to remember people influential in their early lives. Two exceptions are Ron and Glen. Ron, who worked for several years between high school and university, describes his grade thirteen English teacher who insisted that he complete a course which was a prerequisite for university. The teacher said, "(w)ell, you're going to have to get your grade thirteen English. You are going to come over to my house on Monday nights and I'm going to tutor you" (867-869). Looking back on that experience, he says of the teacher, "(h)e was a weird duck but he had a passion for what he did" (872-873). He also describes a grade four teacher who "was fairly influential in terms of what I thought about life" (863-864). Glen describes several teachers who "had a real impact on me" (953). Among the teachers he describes is a grade seven teacher, "a very ordinary man as a teacher who helped coach football and knew nothing about football, but I was always quite impressed with his gumption and capacity to get out there and lend a hand" (928-930). This teacher also exposed him to literature, poetry particularly. Glen describes passing through the town where he had gone to school in later years and wanting to stop to tell the teacher how much this class had meant to him. Each of these men appears to value what Ron describes as the "passion" these teachers had for what they did.

Only one male public servant describes himself as having been active in sports and unlike the male educators who describe themselves as being high energy and competitive people, only one member of this group describes himself in that way. Two of these men have divorced and are remarried, one is separated, two are in first marriages, and one has never married. Of those who have ever married, one never had children and the others have from one to three children each.

Summary:

Interview participants in the study ranged in age from thirty-five to fifty-nine. Several women but no men describe having a rural background, viewing this as an important factor in their lives. Among women managers degrees in pure science, math, and the social sciences predominate. Among male managers in government, three have masters level degrees in public or business administration. A number of women in both education and public administration had attended all girl schools. Male educators, particularly, tended to have had coaching and other early leadership experiences. Fewer educators than public administrators had worked at any other career before choosing education. An examination of family size and birth order suggests that for several being the youngest child may have real benefits. While several describe having had grandparents who had been especially influential, most had not had much, if any, contact with grandparents—since they lived far away or were deceased. Males were much less likely than females to remember people who had been particularly influential in their early lives. This difference may be due to the emphasis on independence which characterizes the socialization of males in our society.

EXPERIENCING ORGANIZATIONAL POWER THROUGH ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION

CAREER SUPPORT

I had a Principal who started pushing me out a little bit and I had taken the course work (the Principals' course) simply out of interest. But, I had a principal who said "You should be thinking about this" I was a department head but that was very much on the local scene. So, this principal started pushing me a little bit. I guess I was in the right place at the right time because there were a number of changes in our Board and I was appointed. I applied for a Vice Principalship and served in that capacity for four months, then our board went through some re-arranging at the upper levels and the Principal in the school that had encouraged me was appointed a superintendent and there were changes and I was appointed the Principal. (Connie, 51-61).

I had had a varied experience on my own. Not really because I was plotting a career pattern, but simply because circumstances permitted it, I suppose. This gentleman sat me down one day and said, "Look you're wasting your time in the classroom" and we had great and long argument about that because I don't believe anybody wastes their time in the classroom. I believe what he meant was, it's time for you to start looking at other things. I had worked closely with him, he was new in the school. (Connie, 90-98)

The people who give me the most career advice are people who are going through the process of retiring. Usually in the last couple of weeks they'll come around and talk. I've talked to a number of senior people who within a few days of retirement say, "Now I want to talk to you about your career" and they'll always say, "Make sure you get lots of policy experience, don't worry about going out to the Regions, you can do that anytime, policy stuff, policy". (Trevor, 314-320)

MENTORING

And she has done a lot of work for women and men. She gives a lot of her time and that was a good role model for me because I, in turn, I didn't really feel I had a whole lot to share with these people, to give them. But I realized from people helping me how much a little bit is. How little you have to give somebody who just needs that little push. (Mary, 552-556).

Today, too, I think there are some women who want mentoring and there are men who are a little more uncomfortable with giving it. I have a very dear friend in the profession that I tease regularly because he has been very good to me in terms of my career in terms of helping more, but he's very uncomfortable because he doesn't know what to do with me. I tease him and say, "I'm not your wife, I'm not your secretary, I'm another principal" and he's not quite comfortable with that and yet on a one to one basis he's been marvelous to me and taught me many things but he's a reluctant mentor and probably doesn't know how much he has helped me because he's not used to working in that equal capacity. He shows better skills working with someone on a lower level because he's a very kind and sharing person. (Connie, 398-409)

One, he gave me an honest critical feedback. I must tell you quite frankly, I went home a couple of nights in tears. He was the kind of person that made you want to live up to these high standards and be accountable. And the second thing that he did, he told the whole world that I was Principal material and because of his credibility people believed him. I've always contended, I had to

go through the hoops, to be selected and appointed, but I always contended that it was his pre-publicity because of the respect with which our system held him. (Marianne, 210-217).

He really created an environment where you could be creative, where you could develop. (Suzanne, 148-150)

He wasn't that much older than me. But even that exposure to Government, he gave me a quick learning on how government works and to a certain extent, I guess, the person who hired me in this Branch was also a mentor of sorts because he brought me over to a program branch knowing that I had no program experience and allowed me to kind of learn in an environment where a mistake was not a problem. (Beth, 243-249)

I've seen people mentored who have moved up and some of them very quickly and some moved too quickly because they didn't have enough appreciation of the job they'd been in, never mind the one they were going to or the department as a whole. (Joyce, 552-555)

The best mentors I've had have been women. They haven't all been men. Actually, it's funny, the men have made more show of it but the women have come through. They've delivered quietly, without fanfare and sometimes there have been occasions where I've discovered this years later, someone who has really helped very significantly, but they never said anything about it. But, the women, the women have come through (Nan, 434-441).

They helped me, they gave me a profile and when I looked for new jobs they gave me a lot of support and spoke to other people on my behalf and they interceded on my behalf, coached me. People that I've known, even my boss here now is a big supporter of mine. Mentors and some of my bosses have been the most incredible influence, more than what I can think of. My superiors, my bosses have had incredible influence, even my woman bosses (Laughs). (Fred, 694-700).

I've seen people who have had a mentor and all of a sudden that mentor disappeared and their rise is likewise. It would seem so. One friend of mine that happened to him. He had a mentor and he had a pretty good career in another organization, he had a pretty good rise and his mentor died and he was on his way out of that organization. He has never recaptured his former status. (Ron, 461-467)

He was one of these people that was willing to go that extra step. A year after I did the training, he'd been giving me some management opportunities, acting for him when he was away and that sort of thing. And then he went on to another position and there was a competition for the director's job. I had some experience in it and the management training so I was able to compete successfully for the job. (Joyce, 64-69)

CREDENTIALS

Twice I asked to be considered and I got lovely answers. I have kept them - in writing. Because they had male vice principals who didn't have the qualifications and they had to go first and I should try again the next year. Well, the rules changed and it was open and I got in. (Alison, 77-81).

[and]

It may have given me a reverse reaction, I may have said, "In spite of this I'm going to do it". Again, I think it was my mother always having said, "Get those credentials" and she was still alive at the time. It had become a personal issue. (Alison, 89-92).

I was the only female applicant [for the principals' course] that year out of sixteen people. They chose seven and, of course, I wasn't chosen. I went back and asked why and they said they could send only seven and they needed to send the men. That was very clearly said to me. (Marianne, 76-79).

You see, to me there's a lot more to being a principal than saying, "I want to take a course and get a certificate". (Eric, 377-378)

Someone said, "Why don't you apply for a Principalship?", so I applied for the course at Queens. I was accepted, went down and took a 5-6 week course. (Ian, 122-124)

I was in a narrow field, the subject field had just opened. Geography was a social studies thing and there was a period in there where this field had just started. I had a Masters degree and I had experience teaching at University. So I had the paper hoops that opened the doors. (Dennis, 255-258)

I'm now saying 90% of the decisions I make are based on experience, they have nothing to do with paper or with memorizing the Education Act. (Dennis, 1015-1017)

I wanted something that was marketable. People know an MBA more than an MPA. (Trevor, 348-349)

COMPETING

I had a very good friend and we competed together often for the same list but it was very different from the men. We would study together, share our resources together, we were prepared to be disappointed if one or the other of us didn't get on but happy for the other one and the same for getting off. We were lucky in that we both, she was in another subject area and she could not get beyond assistant head. They would not choose a female head either. (Mary, 533-539).

It isn't that you can't afford to "school up" and beat them. When I was competing and being rejected there were times when I thought, "Who needs this?". There are lots of things I could be doing with my time that would make me feel better about myself than having people say, "No, we don't want you to again". But I thought of [daughter] and I thought if we don't keep saying "Yes, we are here, we do want these jobs and we can do them", it will never be any easier for women behind us, for girls. So it kept me going (Mary, 1041-1048)

And in those days there was no competition for the jobs. Someone just came and tapped you on the shoulder. I never competed for any of those early jobs. (Dennis, 292-294)

There was still very much, an attempt to screen candidates by way of interviews and my theory is that by the composition of those interview teams that they had at the board, if you had your handle on information that the people at the board office were interested in, it's not necessarily the same

information that you have your hands on in a school, you appear to be more knowledgeable. (Matt, 259-265)

I wonder how they got away with it because appointments simply seemed to be made. People would offer you jobs. I remember somebody coming in and saying, well, I had been there I think 6 months as a PM1 doing ministerial correspondence, the boss came in and said, "Would you like to head a unit, would you like to be the supervisor?" There was more money involved and I said, "Yeah". And it just happened. I'm not sure how they did it, but the rules weren't as strict then obviously or weren't applied. (Paul, 116-124)

VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

I started out teaching and got involved. Well, I was involved with the teachers' association to start with. Again, within the first couple of years of teaching I got involved. And at that time they didn't have a lot of people wanting to do things so I got on the executive right away. And the Math Teachers' Association and PDK to keep myself up and aware. (Ann, 280-285).

It was a much less complicated time then and I kind of again happened to be in the right place or the wrong place however you want to term it, I was a very young teacher and probably should never have been president at that time, but a number of circumstances and there I was, and there weren't too many other people interested, so it was more circumstance than choice that I ended up there. (Connie, 123-130)

SUCCESS/GETTING AHEAD

I never asked for a job that I didn't believe I could do as well or better than some of the people I'd seen in the job. I never asked for one that I didn't want to try. And I think that's important. A lot of women look for a career path, any path at all, that will get them where they want to be. Well, I wasn't prepared to do that, although I did take kind of a circuitous route and I didn't get where I really wanted to be, head of math, so you have to recognize when it's time to cut your losses and move on. (Mary, 1127-1134)

Hard work. I grew up in a very supportive family and I was the eldest. I think I always knew that I could do whatever I wanted to. I got that sense from my parents, although my father was a dreadful chauvinist (Laughter) and would never believe that I was here today and unfortunately he hasn't seen this, but I think I always believed that if you wanted to do something and if you worked hard, you could do it. You might not get the breaks, but if you did what you you did as well as you could, it would be acknowledged. (Connie, 501-511)

I cannot say that I've been lucky, I made my luck. (Uhhh) And if you're not a go getter, forget it. (Maria, 220-221)

I think, one of the main things is to become visible and try to get onto special projects where you may be seen and may have the opportunity to work (Beth, 592-594)

Be open to lots of possibilities, don't be selfish, try not to be too narrow or too rigid in one's approach to career. Openness and flexibility is really important. Don't lose contact with your network, whatever it is, strengthen and nourish it. (Nan, 470-473)

[I was] in the right place at the right time, the school and board was expanding, there were a lot of openings and there was minimal competition. [current barriers - few openings, good solid competition] At that point in time it wasn't so much that you had to be a hot, warm body and be alive, you had to have some skills but it wasn't as if there were a lot of highly trained people ready to take the jobs so you learned the job experientially and environmentally, you learned it by doing it. (Ian, 147-154)

You went and took on tasks that gave you some sort of visibility even though you didn't like to do those jobs" (Dennis, 107-9)

So, we [men who became principals] did all these things, we went through it . . . (Dennis, 140).

Well my own success is, I would say 40% ability and 60% luck, being in the right place at the right time. (Dennis, 491-492)

Then, I guess, I got lucky because the times changed to suit my personality more. You know education is sort of left brain type of process but you know when site-based decision making came in and collegiality and collaboration and all that buzz started to pop up, it was sort of a good fit , you know. (Michael, 229-232).

And doing a good job with those kids proved, I think, to people that I was capable of handling a difficult situation. And, as much as I hate to admit it, being at the board office for two years right in that period before I applied for the principalship gave me 20 yards out of the starting blocks in comparison to the other candidates who were competing for the same eligibility list for principalship that I was. (Matt, 249-254).

So, I think it was that [curiosity] plus just some good luck. To some extent you could say I created it but I created it only by having that sense of where I wanted to go but never setting people up, taking them out to lunch to try to do it, you know. It was more, yes it was fortunate that about the time I wanted to leave [Department] there was an opening in [agency] and then when it closed down obviously they were looking in PCO for some analysts so there was that, as well. (Glen, 157-164).

The big picture is necessary. Just fundamentals, understanding the department, who does what, how decisions get made, the relationship between the department and the central agencies, not MYOPs and that sort of thing but just the general cycle of decision making within government, etc, etc. I really do think that it is important. The other side is probably and the thing I didn't get a lot of it, is to see some of the ways, the more mundane and pedantic kinds of things such as staffing. The big picture and the small picture and a combination of the two and the need to appreciate both sides of the coin and how they can be used in a complimentary way to sort of advance interest. (Glen, 174-183)

Take as many management courses as possible because management is a discipline. I mean, it is something that can be learned contrary to the old school of thought that I came from. (Paul, 211-214)

OPPORTUNITIES

I think the only thing that I probably ever regretted that I didn't do in the career kind of thing, and it was probably smart that I didn't do it, but when I was a very young teacher in elementary school, I had been teaching for about four years, my superintendent at that time suggested that they were opening a new school and would I like to be the Principal and I very quickly said, "No, I would not like to be" as I knew I was not ready. The staff had twenty to thirty years experience and there was no way I was going in there. In the intervening years I looked at some of those who had gone on to be principal and thought I could have done just as well as they did. It was the smart thing to do, but then sometimes you'd say, "Gee, I was as prepared as he was". (Connie, 271-281).

Yes, and the area was a new area to get into. So there was no program, it was up to me to do whatever I wanted to create that program and in that sense there weren't any set directions. I could take it anywhere I wanted. (Beth, 154-156)

After two years I became a full time permanent employee. I was identified by one of my managers as someone with potential for a management position and was sent on a Senior Management development program. (Joyce, 38-41)

I think I've just been lucky, I've had good people to work with, people have given me opportunities. (Joyce, 185-186)

In '78 I was actually invited by the board to take part in the principal's course. Those were the times when it was hard to get on You had to go through competitions. But I got a 'phone call and someone said "What are you doing this summer?" I said "What have you got in mind?" It was the old days. You know, it doesn't happen anymore. (Jeff, 211-216)

We have seen it now in the last two years in the board where they are constantly putting women into positions where, in many cases they were excellent, but I have seen women put into positions where we knew they weren't going to make it. They didn't have the skills. And there is no program in place to, you know, develop mentors or coaches for them to work with them. No, what's happened is, is we are putting a lot of people into jobs where they have not had the opportunity to work in that area. An example would be if we were to go back to ten years ago If the principal were going to be out he'd walk down the hall and say to a male teacher on staff, you know, "Watch the school while I'm out". He would never think of going to one of the female teachers and saying, "Watch the school". It always had to be a male teacher. So for years and years the women of our system have never had this opportunity to be chairpersons of committees, to run committees. Now all of a sudden somebody comes out with a regulation that says this is what you have to. . . And the three power groups at the top say, "We've gotta do this". What's happening is the people who should have been being provided these opportunities don't have these opportunities. They're fully qualified though. . . Any man who applies, I'll guarantee even to this day, any man who applies for a position of responsibility has had every opportunity to practice some of those skills. Most likely the women have not, okay. Unless the woman has made it her business to get out there and do some things. (Eric, 862-913)

I applied in 1969, I think it was, on a whim. Someone said, why don't you apply for a principalship, so I applied for the course at Queens. I was accepted, went down and took a 5-6 week course. It was nice, social, we had a lot of fun, played a little golf, met some good people. We had some pretty good

presentations on issues of the time. You've got to think, it was 1969. The issue was primarily expanding the facilities and maybe curriculum a little bit, but not a whole lot to do with administration per se. So I finished that one, finished the part two, you couldn't take it unless you were a vice-principal or a principal, so I took it two years later. You couldn't do it in the second summer. So I took the part two which was again a five week course and again it was an enjoyable summer and then I applied for a vice-principalship, and had two interviews and within a week I got a 'phone call saying I had a job. So, I didn't really . . . While I wasn't properly trained for it, I had a feeling that I could do the job but I certainly didn't have an awful lot of administrative training at that point in time I had my administrative degree in [a subject area] almost or just completed. I guess it was completed. (Ian, 122-137).

I was by far the most junior person on the task force, everyone else was a senior manager and here I was an inexperienced and very junior person. Well, a few reasons, they wanted a totally different outlook. I wasn't a career public servant at that time. I had 3 years so I brought a different perspective. In some respects I think it was a training position for me. It gave me a chance to meet people from all over the country, to do some things I'd normally not have a chance to do. (Trevor, 105-111)

What I got mostly were opportunities that gave me a chance to get involved in a lot of things. (Trevor, 327-328)

In order to achieve one has to have the opportunity and one has to have the resources to be able to avail themselves of the opportunity. It's not enough to trip over the brick, one has to recognize it, and pick it up and run with it. So, it's a series of circumstances, some of which are within the control of the individual, some of which are not". (Ron, 474-479).

I was very lucky, they were good years in the public service, opportunities were there, I took advantage of them, but I never . . . I have never completely given all of myself, I've always had my own personal life. I have, you know, I have different interests. I have never concentrated all of my effort, my intellectual activity around a job. I very, very seldom, or have in the past years, spent week-ends doing anything even close to what I do here. I like to read, I like literature, and I like films, I like to travel, and I like to do . . . and music. You know, all kinds of other things. And these things have occupied me as much as anything else so I don't know that. . . , honestly, and I've been very lucky in that sense. (Paul, 336-346)

What's happening is the people who should have been being provided these opportunities don't have these opportunities. They're fully qualified though. Any man who applies, I'll guarantee even to this day, any man who applies for a position of responsibility has had every opportunity to practice some of those skills. (Eric, 905-911)

There is no doubt in my mind, not even a shadow of one that I have been given opportunities, I have been given the interesting things to do because people know that come hell or high water I will produce. (Janice, 840-842)

I've talked to other women, they have made their own opportunities. If they had waited, now, if I had waited and (name) appointed someone else and it came to competition, chances are I would have won the competition because they hadn't the experience in the field, as one of the important criteria. If

they hadn't (held a competition), I couldn't have, obviously. But a lot of women have had to make their own opportunities. They see something and go for it and say, "(l)ook I can do this for you". It's probably not easy for a lot of women. (Suzanne, 277-340)

VISIBILITY

My first principals' meeting when I was appointed, I went to our family of schools meeting and walked in and sat down and was the only woman in the room and it was a bit intimidating in the sense of a) being new, being the only secondary principal there, and b) being the only woman there. I was marvelously supported so it has never been a bad experience. You're conscious of how visibly different you are. (Connie, 339-345).

That [special project] was probably the thing that drew attention to me, at least at senior staff level, because at the meeting I had to present it at the board level and answer the questions, etc. It went reasonably well. (Michael, 61-64)

I interacted with a lot of senior managers in my position. (Trevor, 90-91)

I did get visibility within the branch because I worked on policy very early. (Paul, 98-100)

UNION EXPERIENCE

You come to understand what a federation or a union stands for. Because as an administrator you have to deal with unions. The janitors belong to a union, the secretaries belong to a union, the teachers belong to a union. They all belong to different unions and you understand how they operate and why they operate in that fashion. Because most times what happens with managers is they're dealing from their set of rules which is not the same set of rules that a union's operating from. And you run into constant dilemmas. (Eric, 82-97)

EXPOSURE TO MANAGEMENT

And in it (the curriculum project), of course I worked with principals. And, well, I thought, "I think I'd like to try it". It was observing, having the chance of observing. I could see what they were doing and maybe saying, "I could do it as well, if not better", and having your own ideas of how you'd run a school. (Alison, 97-100).

TIMING

He (boss) must have been 60 at the time. A lot of experience. I mean, he built the department and the tragedy is that I really didn't get near what I could have gotten from him. Because, as I say, I was just out of school, I thought I knew all about social policy, and everything and I really knew nothing. (Glen, 49-53)

NETWORKS

"the old boy's network is very much there and again as someone who's, for my age, very new at the business, they've known one another for generations. Many of my colleagues have been principals for many years, and so they've known one another for many years and the networks are there. So women have to work at that a little bit harder, at least I have to work at it a little harder" (Connie, 445-450).

HIGH PROFILE ASSIGNMENTS

Yes, quite, it gives you perspective whereby almost nothing surprises you or daunts you in a way that you know what it means, what's possible, what's not possible, what your limitations are. That's the perspective that I find quite comforting and it gives confidence too. (Nan, 71-74)

That's right, so I proceeded and did other things within the system. But I probably did other things, I took on challenges and so on that I wouldn't have otherwise. It made me more confident and I looked at the system differently, it changed the dynamics. (Nan, 191-194)

PERCEPTIONS

The interesting thing was that although I was one of his senior people who was busting her ass for him, producing like crazy, it was not how he perceived me. He perceived me in my role as another DG's (director-general's) wife. It's those perceptions that limit how we're seen. We're (women) not seen as professional, we're not seen as equals. (Janice, 1059-1063).

EXPERIENCE

You work and you try and you say, "(w)hat haven't I done? I haven't administered summer school, I'd better do that." I taught students in the classroom, students at the university. I don't think there's anything I didn't do. It's a great relief to me now to do things that I want to do because I don't want to get any further. That's the story, you strive. The climate was kind to women, they were looking very hard for competent women. (Kathryn, 47-53)

BARRIERS

I'm not sure how big a hurdle that was, it's never very overt, but it exists. I mean, nobody admits this, but there were a lot of signs. Jokes and allusions to francophones, as far back as I can remember, as being less competent in administration. (Paul, 599-603)

No one says, "I don't think we should have a woman in this job because they're emotional". And no one says, "Francophones take long lunch hours or whatever and we shouldn't". No one articulates that. But to what extent it's part of our whole value judgement, you know. It probably was there. It's like racism or anything else, I mean it's very, very deep rooted and . . . (Paul, 621-625)

POWERPOWERFUL PEOPLE

To me he's become a role model. I guess what I appreciate about that individual is the fine sense of strategy, he's a strategist. A strategist with street smarts. Very much attuned to the human side of the enterprise. Very sensitive, level headed. Is capable of, can be very penetrating at times, capable of zeroing in on the key issue. A very clear thinker. Is not full of himself and therefore it makes him very accessible. At the same time he does not fall victim to his accessibility. He knows where it should stop. . . He exercises power of influence, his power. . . he really inspires calm, confidence, warmth. He's a very warm person, he's no cold dude. He's soothing to his superiors, to his peers, and to his staff. (Maria, 46-557).

He's been around the Branch for a long time. He does it with a great deal of grace and humour. He never, and he makes it quite clear, that he does not assume the mantle of power for the ADM. (Janice, 916-919)

(It's) Partly their personality. No, they don't have special knowledge, they have a personality that actually. . .one is overbearing, dominates situations when he gets involved, cannot be in a room without his presence being known by one and all. He's always looking for a more important person to talk to and has built his area of the board into quite an empire. He has certainly bent the rules and been able to do that, . . . So I would say that he has a fair bit of power. And the other one, I don't know where he gets his power. He has a different personality, he is also quite aggressive though about what he does. They both share a characteristic and I call it "selective indifference" They choose who gets heard and they choose who doesn't. (Mary, 858-871)

EXERCISING POWER

FENCE MENDING

There was a lot of fence building to be done because some people felt, for some reason, that I shouldn't have been the one to have gotten the amalgamated position, that it should have been the male director of the other division. There was that element and a lot of work to be done to improve the relationship with that group. It's come a long way. (Joyce, 211-216)

I do a fair amount of that, building bridges and maintaining them. (Nan, 305-306)

SEEING BOTH SIDES

I could sympathize with both sides. I could see the logic in the board's position and the disappointment in the parents' side (Mary, 776-778)

PATIENCE AND PERSISTENCE

I believe in progress by inches (Nan, 276-277)

"significant progress can be made in little ways" (Nan, 279).

You have to be persistent (Maria, 536).

We all have to work together so you have to find ways of getting people to see things your way and I think I am able to do that through logical, well presented arguments. And that's usually . . . I think generally, unless I'm terribly naive, I think that generally the people that end up getting what they want are the people who can present their case in an articulate, logical manner. (Paul, 411-416)

ATTENTION TO DETAIL

Basically I think it's important to, and what I tend to do is, to be very clear about what I think my point is and to be sure that it is, in fact, something that I can defend and that I think quite strongly ought to take place and then . . . (Beth, 601-603).

Well, I've made as much of an impact as I can and now I'll just watch and wait for another opportunity and then. . . It's not a matter of backing down it's a matter of realizing that you can actually alienate if you push too hard too fast. Then you have really lost your opportunity so just gauging that. (Beth, 629-633).

Well, it's two things, it's paying attention if you have a vision of what needs to be done, pay attention to that big picture but at the same time be absolutely meticulous in not losing sight of the detail, because the follow-through is as important as the vision, and one without the other falls short. It's not something everyone likes to do, some people love the big picture and conceptual stuff and hate the details and never deal with it, other people get all wrapped up in the detail until they're practically snarled in it, and forget where they're going, what they're doing. I think it's quite a talent to be able to do both at the same time and absolutely necessary if you are involved in a crisis. (Nan, 540-549).

AGGRESSIVE OR PUSHY

I let it network. Go out and do all sorts of [Plant seeds?]. Exactly, I'll just go out there and start buzzing up all sorts of people, I'll buzz them up, we'll never put all the groups together. For example, right in the school a major thing right now is to re-vitalize it. Well we got about 26 people on the go and I'm probably the only person that knows that there's (inaudible) and it's almost manipulative when one of my teachers who is working on this project gets support from downtown or from another area, the support has been set up for about two months. [So you orchestrate these things rather than manipulate?] No, just make sure that all the pieces are in place so that it works. I would say prior to that it just was get down there and hammer it. (So this is a style that has come from experience and the fact that you know everybody in the system?) Yes, but mainly from experience. Mainly from saying, "Hey, that's the way I see that it can work". And then when your old style of really being ugly and vicious, when it pops up, people know you mean business. (So you have that in reserve if you have to use it?) Yes, that bull in a china shop stuff works real well when it's used very infrequently. (Dennis, 784-801)

But if you want to get your way you have to be pushy especially in government. (Fred, 311-312)

to me it's (being called pushy) a compliment because if you're not aggressive you get nothing done. If they want a namby-pamby person who's going to sit here and be a yes person or a yes man and doesn't push their ideas, what the hell, I'd probably leave government. I spent many years in the private sector and I did very well, thank you, and if I am in a position where I can't get my ideas and thinking across then, why bother? I've had my ups and downs like everybody but we win many more than we lose. (Fred, 329-336).

INTEGRITY

From an integrity standpoint we have to stop pretending and say what we can and we can't do. That's why I say students and parents are the most powerful because students now will come into my office and articulate their demands and we're into the converter mentality, that if I don't like this channel I'll just flip to another channel. (Michael, 921-924)

HUMOUR

But it's (discrimination) just a fact. It happens all the time. One sometimes can deal with it with humour at the time but one chooses the moment, you don't want to be harping away and alienating everyone. You still have to work in the system and if you nail someone with that kind of accusation, they don't want to hear it, they'd turn against you. (Nan, 606-612)

PARTICIPATORY STYLE

And they've (women) had to do it all their lives. For men it's a whole different framework now and if you move off that safe ground . . . Women are better equipped in some ways than men are. Even men who are trying to make the change, like myself. I'm sort of a neophyte, I'm struggling, I'm learning to, you know, negotiate. (Glen, 814-818)

you just get yourself into a situation where in terms of my heart and soul that's really how I think one should manage, but, 1) I don't have the skills to do it and, 2) I'm still working in an environment that doesn't recognize or necessarily support that so I go through the process. It takes a lot longer than the other process. The other process says, I need something now. I now find myself with a process that can't deliver. If I step out of that process and end run it, I've got all the people in my division on my back because we have been going through this process of legitimacy and developing trust and suddenly when push comes to shove, I seem to be saying sorry, that's only good for some things. (Glen, 832-841)

PEOPLE SKILLS

I find that it's helped me immensely. As a matter of fact I would think that for people who are studying to be administrators in schools one of the things I think that should be involved is that they should learn some of these skills in relation to listening and speaking. And trying to get down to, "what is that person really telling me?" (Eric, 206-211)

The one thing that I believe to be true, if you want to be an administrator today the toughest part of your job is not the paperwork that you're going to be involved with, not doing the school budgets and all those type of things like inventories, it's dealing with people. Anybody can sit you down and in a month teach you everything there is to know about doing the paperwork of being a principal. As a matter of fact I could take many people who have no background in education and teach them the paperwork . . . But there is a skill that is required in being a principal and that is the ability to communicate, the ability to listen to people, figure out what that parent is really saying to me. (Eric, 228-238)

SELF PROMOTION

I think that you have to sell yourself and I had to do that. (Maria, 170)

I have a knack for doing that. For always putting myself in a unique or unusual kind of circumstance. (Maria, 175-177)

TABLE A: BARRIERS TO ADVANCEMENT
FACTORS WHICH INTERVIEWEES SEE AS LIMITING CAREER ADVANCEMENT

MALE EDUCATORS	FEMALE EDUCATORS	MALE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS	FEMALE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS
<p>Superiors threatened by your talent</p> <p>Youth-being seen as not having paid one's dues</p> <p>Fear of seizing opportunities</p> <p>Personal rigidity-not being open to adapting and adjusting to change</p> <p>Inability to understand the difference between the way things are done and the way people say they are done</p> <p>Organizations don't reach out enough to a broad pool of employees in their search for leaders</p> <p>Not enough encouragement from principals</p> <p>Bureaucracy of competitive process</p> <p>Bilingualism requirement</p> <p>Employment equity</p>	<p>Attitudes of Senior Staff</p> <p>Sexism</p> <p>Point systems/seniority lists</p> <p>Tokenism-negative visibility</p> <p>Failure of organizations to define their human resource needs and develop talented staff accordingly</p>	<p>Individual attributes of superiors</p> <p>Employment Equity (III)</p> <p>Demographics</p> <p>Fiscal environment</p> <p>Downsizing (III)</p> <p>Official languages (II)</p> <p>Fast tracking of newcomers</p>	<p>Downsizing, reduced opportunities (III)</p> <p>Lack of education</p> <p>Economic restraint</p> <p>Racial discrimination</p> <p>Official languages (II)</p>

TABLE B: BARRIERS TO ADVANCEMENT
FACTORS WHICH INTERVIEWEES SEE AS MOST LIMITING WOMEN'S CAREER ADVANCEMENT

MALE EDUCATORS	FEMALE EDUCATORS	MALE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS	FEMALE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS
<p>Male mentor's/coach's fear of gossip Credibility (if they do not have a lot of experience) Women are not proactive enough Fewer opportunities for women to be exposed to information and experiences important to leadership</p>	<p>Women are less likely to be identified as potential leaders OME Directive-will affect credibility (III) Male hierarchy/male dominance at top and middle management levels (II) Male models of leadership History of sexism in organizations Family demands/conflicts unique to women Old Boys' Network Lack of good child care Systemic discrimination (II) Family demands (on males, too)</p>	<p>Fewer opportunities for women Not being tied into male dominated peer groups Women coming into PS are assigned a lower level than man Skills not given same recognition as those of men Discrimination "Invisible" barriers</p>	<p>"Invisible" barriers created by attitudes and assumptions made by higher levels re: willingness to move, etc. Perceptions (II) Sexism Need to be "overly" positive</p>
<p>Women screen themselves out at the secondary level Bias against women among those staffing positions Women's belief that people get promoted for what they have done, or can do Women's lack of team sports background Women don't know how to lose Tokenism-visibility of women's mistakes Women's conforming is perceived as weakness OME Directive</p>			

TABLE C: HOW ONE SUCCEEDS IN BECOMING A MANAGER

MALE EDUCATORS	FEMALE EDUCATORS	MALE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS	FEMALE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS
<p>Need to work very hard</p> <p>Being in right place at right time</p> <p>Capacity to be political</p> <p>Wide range of background experiences (III)</p> <p>Networks (III)</p> <p>Access to insider/board office information (II)</p> <p>System overview</p> <p>Need to take risks</p> <p>Competitive nature (II)</p> <p>Luck (III)</p> <p>Having specialization in a high profile discipline provides visibility</p> <p>Having people to support you</p> <p>Talk to people higher up about how they progressed</p>	<p>Mentors</p> <p>Perseverance</p> <p>Independent streak</p> <p>Range of experiences</p> <p>Competence</p> <p>Hard work</p> <p>Doing a good job</p> <p>Balancing personal & professional life</p> <p>Credentials (III)</p> <p>Political skills</p> <p>Energy</p> <p>Network support</p> <p>Overview of system (II)</p> <p>Profile building/and visibility</p>	<p>Try new things</p> <p>Exceptional writing and communication skills (II)</p> <p>Interpersonal skills</p> <p>Mentors (II)</p> <p>Being associated with/seen as "high fliers"</p> <p>Timing, making good use of "windows of opportunity"</p> <p>Getting visibility</p> <p>Understanding organizational politics</p> <p>High profile assignments</p> <p>Recognizing opportunities</p> <p>"The Big Picture"</p>	<p>Family connections</p> <p>Influential networks</p> <p>Mentor</p> <p>Education (II)</p> <p>Timing</p> <p>Good political sense</p> <p>Being open to lots of possibilities</p> <p>Visibility</p> <p>Being willing to ask for advice or information</p> <p>Not being afraid to "step outside: job description"</p> <p>Hard work</p> <p>Work assignments</p>

Exerpts From Contact Summaries#1 (male principal)

- His office is located at the end of a long, very busy hall. From this location he sees and is part of everything. It is a very noisy location, but he says that this inconvenience is worth it.. He just organizes his schedule so that he is not on the telephone during the 5 minutes every time classes change when it is noisiest. He likes to be where the action is, to see and be seen.
- He eats lunch in the cafeteria with students. Nobody else on staff does this.

#2 (male principal)

Setting: His office in the morning.

Impressions: He had just gotten back from a conference in the U.S. so was probably tired and had things to catch up with, but he seemed to be interested in the study and was prepared to give me as much time as was needed. Appeared to be a man who had been very competitive and a workaholic until mid-life at which point something, health problems perhaps, convinced him to slow down. Seems to really enjoy people. Had some particularly good insights to offer on sexism and its results. . . .

- 8. **Visibility;** "for 2 years we rewrote the curriculum and provided extensive work shops, and in-service for teachers and also my job was to face the public on 8 or 10 parent teacher nights."
- 9. **Commitment/calculated risk;** "I had the feeling that I was out on a limb and the people that asked me to go out were sawing off the branches behind me but I was fairly committed philosophically to the issue "
- 10. **Visibility;** "in terms of connections, I got to know and I guess people got to know me system wide."

#3 (male principal)

- 9. p.5..Attributes his own success to taking on a difficult assignment and doing it well (demonstrating competence) and the board office assignment (gave him a "handle on information that the people at the board office were interested in"). In competition interviews you can talk about issues important to those at the centre of organizational power. The equivalent experience for the P.S. would be working for an ADM (03MWPA), at a central agency (01FWPA), or a minister (06FWPA) and/or having close friends in any of those areas.

#4 (female principal)

•Speech Patterns:

She uses slang and informal speech patterns. In the literature this is more often characteristic of males. Is her pattern of speech more characteristic of the women who were accepted as "one of the guys' (which she seems to have been) 15 or 20 years ago?

#5 (male principal)

- 26. p.12..Board office experience continues to pay off. Gets inside and advance info.because he knows the people and the system (who knows what and how much they can share). an effective trader of info.
- 27. p.12 Success is achieving and "to do a good job in the position that you have achieved".

A Sampling of THEMES EMERGING FROM INTERVIEWS AND OTHER SOURCES

Apprenticeship By Observation:

Women educators give more examples of this than men do. Is it just that they are more aware of it? Several males interviewed could only recall negative influences, such as resisting a career in education or some other field because of the examples their fathers provided. (Weibling, AERA, 1991)

Bank of Skills:

Frequent job changes and particular types of assignments can increase one's bank of skills, making one more mobile or marketable, according to several interviewed (Nan and Dennis, for example).

Barriers, kinds:

Several males see affirmative action/employment equity as a barrier. Some men describe looking for ways (special assignments) to enrich their work lives if further promotional opportunities are denied them because of employment equity. Several women comment on the sexism of system, perhaps more than of individuals(?). (See Elite Interview on systemic discrimination).

Ceilings, On:

It's a plexiglass ceiling, you can't even scratch it. (Focus group #1)

It's a concrete ceiling, you can't even see through it. (Glenda Simms, CCMIE Conference, November 24, 1990)

"Targets become ceilings" (Ottawa alderwoman, Nancy Smith, on hiring quotas, November 20, 1990)

"The glass ceiling isn't glass - it's a thick layer of men doing things their way." (Anne Jardim and Margaret Hennig in Working Woman, Nov. 1990).

Manager as Master Teacher:

In describing what they like about being a manager, women public servants and principals describe such experiences as helping bring out people's talents, helping people develop, "be all that they can be".

Marginality as a Positive:

Although marginal status has tended to be seen as a negative with some exceptions, there may be positive features which see the boundary spanning capacity as "functional marginality". Park (1967, xl) argues that marginality can provide people with a wider horizon, and a more detached and rational viewpoint, the product of living in two different worlds. Such people become messengers back and forth between the two worlds - "boundary spanners"? (03/10/90 - from conversation with J A-S).

Market/Self Promote, Need to :

Maria says "You have to sell yourself". This view comes out in Focus Group #1, as well.

Role Playing:

Michael describes how sports helps you see power struggles as just a game. He says that women have more difficulty with this because they don't have a team sports background. Marianne talks about the need to bleed publicly sometimes, that it's just a ritual. Marshall (1979, p.176) discusses this changing and playing roles as part of administrative role expectations. She says that it is "not personal compromise but rather, choosing and playing roles purposefully".



FEB 4 1990

Date of Issue: February 02, 1990

Effective: Until revoked
or modified

Subject: EMPLOYMENT EQUITY FOR WOMEN IN SCHOOL BOARDS

Application: Chairpersons of School Boards
Directors of Education

Effective September 1, 1990, as announced by the former Minister of Education, the Honourable Chris Ward, on March 30, 1989, all school boards will be required to develop and put in place employment equity policies with respect to the employment and promotion of women. In light of this requirement, it is expected that each board will develop and implement an employment equity program that includes strategies to increase the representation of women in certain occupational categories to 50 per cent or more by the year 2000. These categories are supervisory officer, principal, and vice-principal. The goal of 30 per cent set out in Policy/Program Memorandum No. 92, December 16, 1986, remains in effect for all other occupational categories. School boards are to designate senior officials to be responsible for translating these policies into action.

With regard to this matter, school boards will be required to submit to the Ministry of Education details on their employment equity policies and programs and provide annual progress reports in the September Board Report. The ministry will review and assess this information and publish in the annual minister's report to the Legislature data on the status of women in each board in the Ontario educational system.

School boards will continue to submit employment data as part of the requirements of the September Board Report.

Once an employment equity policy has been developed, the school board will want to tailor a program to reflect the board's needs and priorities. Employment equity programs should include the following components:

- a) Needs Assessment: An analysis of the data on the board's work force should be undertaken to determine the percentages of women employees in each category, and the corporate policies and procedures should be

reviewed to ensure that they do not discriminate on the basis of sex. These activities will provide information on what needs to be done in the school board with respect to employment equity.

- b) Goals and Timetables: Goals that are based on the outcome of the needs assessment should be developed. Timetables should be realistic and should take into consideration projected vacancies.
- c) Strategies: These should be designed in such a way that the goals can be met. Strategies might emphasize the following:
- special measures to increase the representation of women in senior positions;
 - methods to overcome systemic discrimination, such as reviewing and changing hiring and promotion policies and procedures and developing a non-sexist communication policy and guidelines for implementing this policy.
- d) Monitoring and Evaluation Procedures: Monitoring should be carried out periodically to ensure that the program is proceeding as scheduled, and evaluation should take place annually in order to provide information for the September Board Report. As part of the monitoring and evaluation process, goals and timetables should be reviewed and modified as required to ensure that they are appropriate to the organization.
- e) Resources: Budget and human resources must be assigned to ensure that the program is implemented and maintained. A senior official should be appointed to ensure that the program is co-ordinated effectively. Accountability for the success of the program rests with the senior management of the school board.

Staff at all levels in the organization should be made aware of the board's focus on employment equity and should be informed periodically about the progress that is being made.

A school board's commitment to employment equity for women should be reflected in its ongoing human-resources planning and management practices. These might include, among other strategies, employment equity training for personnel, especially for those involved in recruitment, hiring, and promotion of staff; a policy on sexual harassment and procedures for dealing with sexual harassment; and school-based employment equity plans.

Consistent with employment equity principles and goals in the educational system, all programs leading to the certification of principals and supervisory officers will incorporate an employment equity component. The ministry will work with the faculties of education to encourage the inclusion of employment equity training in all teacher education programs as well.

Women represent over half of all staff in school boards. In 1989, over half of the successful candidates for principal's qualifications and supervisory officer examinations were women. Given the increasing number of women eligible for senior positions in the educational system, the implementation of an employment equity program within school boards will help to ensure that a representative number of senior positions will be held by women.

Deputy Minister
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Mowat Bloc
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M7A 1L2**MEMORANDUM TO: Directors of Education
Secretaries of School Boards****FROM: Robert L. Mitton
Deputy Minister of Education****DATE: July 12, 1990****RE: Follow-Up Action Regarding Policy/Program
Memorandum No. 111, Employment Equity for
Women in School Boards**

This memorandum is designed to provide clarification regarding Policy/Program Memorandum No. 111, Employment Equity for Women in School Boards. Over the past few months, we have received numerous enquiries and good suggestions from school boards across the province and wish to provide details about follow-up action as follows:

1. 50% Goal for Women in Positions of Supervisory Officer, Principal and Vice-Principal - It is my expectation that school boards will develop goals and strategies to attain 50% representation of women in these positions of added responsibility in each of the elementary and secondary panels by the year 2000.
2. Employment Equity Policy for Women - According to Memorandum No. 111, school boards are required to develop and put in place an employment equity policy for women by September 1990. The policy must show a commitment to employment equity for the female employees in the board by referring to the development of special measures with regard to the employment and promotion of women.

Alternatively, school boards can develop and put in place an employment equity policy for women and other designated groups providing that special measures for women are clearly specified.

.../2

The board approved employment equity policy is to be submitted by the school board to the appropriate regional office by December 31, 1990 for ministry approval. Boards are encouraged to develop employment equity action plans and to submit them at the same time. These plans should outline how the boards intend to proceed.

3. Methods of Data Collection - School boards will be required to report on their employment equity program beginning September 1991. Data will be collected by means of the following methods:
- (i) The September Board Report will continue to be the vehicle for reporting numerical data which will measure the results of an employment equity program. Data will continue to be requested by panel as well as by occupational categories by sex and on competition outcomes.
 - (ii) Data describing a school board's employment equity program will be collected by means of a survey. Information will be requested from the boards on goals, strategies and special measures for women which have been put in place and other employment equity initiatives the boards have undertaken. The progress of the board's employment equity program as outlined in the Policy/Program Memorandum will be monitored by this method.
- Beginning in September 1991, one-third of the school boards in each region will be surveyed annually so that each board is surveyed every three years. The survey forms will be completed by the school boards which receive them in any given year and returned to the regional office by the end of October.
- (iii) As described in Policy/Program Memorandum No. 102, Affirmative Action/Employment Equity for Women Employees in School Boards, January 11, 1988, the annual reports of the chief executive officers for school boards should refer to the board's employment equity activities for their women employees. This section of the annual report should contain information on the following:

.../3

- 3 -

- a descriptive summary of the board's employment equity program for women including its goals, strategies and special measures for such areas as the recruitment, hiring, promotion, training and development of women, and the results achieved to date.
 - other employment equity initiatives undertaken or in progress, for example, sexual harassment policy, inclusive language policy.
4. Reporting Mechanism - The school board's employment equity program and its results will be reported in The Minister's Report to the Legislature on employment equity in school boards. Each school board's employment equity program will be described using the descriptive data from the survey and the Annual Report of the Chief Executive Officer and the numerical data from the September Board Report. The progress made by a school board in achieving its employment equity goals will be recorded in the Minister's Report.

Finally I would like to emphasize how important it is for our students to have role models of both sexes in our educational system, especially in positions of added responsibility. As leaders in the educational community you are the ones who can make it happen by showing a commitment to employment equity for women.

If your board requires assistance or clarification regarding any of the actions in the memorandum or regarding any of the requirements in the Policy/Program Memorandum, please feel free to contact the Education Officer in the regional office who is responsible for employment equity.



Robert L. Mitton
Deputy Minister

ELITE INTERVIEWEE CATEGORIES

- School board director of personnel (N=1; 1)
- School board equity/affirmative action officers (N=3; 2-4)
- Affirmative action officer for a large American corporation (N=1; 5)
- Affirmative action officer for a large Canadian corporation (N=1; 6)
- Employment equity managers for a Canadian bank (N=2, 7-8)
- Former chair of a national commission on women's issues (N=1; 9)
- Former participant, Task Force on Barriers to Women in the Public Service (N=1; 10)
- Consultant on men's issues (N=1; 11)
- Researcher on the subject of power (N=1; 12)
- Researchers on the subject of women and careers (N=3; 13-15)
- Equity officer, a teachers' federation (N=1; 16)
- Human resources specialists, federal government (N=5; 17-21)
- Researchers using Kanter framework (N=2; 22-23)
- Editor, major publisher of books on women's issues (N=1; 24)
- Co-ordinator, equity officer network (N=1; 25)
- Union representative, federal government (N=1; 26)